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**WHO HOLDS THE POWER WHEN THE
DEMONS ARE LOOSE?**

The Carnival of Riosucio as a Scenario of Peace

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ABSTRACT

Laura Blanco Rengifo: Who Holds the Power When the Demons Are Loose?: The Carnival of Riosucio as a Scenario of Peace

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The study of Carnivals has shown the complexity of their performance, depending on the context and time, that this cultural practice faces in different parts of the world. To talk about the enactment of carnivals in a period of time when social contact is forbidden and public spaces abandoned raises the question of whether the study of this practice is a matter of studying the past or reinventing the present. Taking as the starting point the premise that cultural manifestations such as carnivals cannot disappear as they are in the soul of a society, this thesis aims to explain how a particular carnival, the Carnival of Riosucio in Colombia, presents possibilities of peace practices in terms of the theory of Agonistic and Corporeal Peace. By means of audio-visual material from the decades of the 1980's to the 2010's, and from interviews made by the Carnival Corporation where previous carnival participants are reflecting on the 2021 carnival cancelled due to the Coronavirus and passed experiences, this thesis analyses how the Carnival of Riosucio has been represented, and how the experiences of the people that are filmed can be related to practices of agonistic and corporeal peace. The possibility to present counter-hegemonic acts inside a Carnival that disestablishes and invites reflections as to who are those who govern and why, as well as the possibility to share with dances, lyrics, and protests with persons that otherwise would never be together, shows how this carnival is a tool for peace building in an agonistic and corporeal perspective and why its enactment is of value. The conclusion of this thesis exposes why, this particular case is relevant for the social fabric as the Carnival of Riosucio is interpreted from the data as a setting that channels encounters with the otherness that facilitates a reconfiguration of identities and a recognition of the unfixity of structures with the possibility to challenge and transform them, all of it while acknowledging that the Carnival of Riosucio is not an isolated event, but a construction from the ordinary, that exposes the interrelation in its construction and enactment between different actors and spaces.

Keywords: carnival, carnival of riosucio, colombia, agonistic peace, corporeal turn, agonism, corporeal peace, pluralism, the ordinary, conflict, encounter, otherness.

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service.

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INTRODUCTION

Let's imagine a place where approximately a quarter of its population from 1985 to 2021 have been recognized as victims of armed conflict (Registro Único de Víctimas, 2021). At this place violence persists, there exist active illegal and legal armed groups that interact with the civilians, and that have permeated different spheres of the daily social dynamics of its population (Defensoría del Pueblo 2018; CRIDEC, 2019). In this same place, every two years a Carnival is enacted, and during it, freedom merges with rules, chaos with beauty, and the devils with the divine; on those days, confrontations and stampedes coexist with dances, music, and poetry. In this location the power of creativeness and expression is fuelled by encounters with the opposite, creating a cacophonous setting that is stimulating, rather than calming. Now, after imagining a scenario as such, my questions for the reader, that in the end is the one that encouraged me to do this research, is: Do you think it is possible to talk about peace in a context as such?

As Bolding (1996) states:

Most of humanity lives in societies marked by increasingly high densities of weaponry, from handguns to bombs to the terrors of chemical and biological weapons. But underneath the layers of violence, each society, without exception, has its peace behaviours, precious resources that could be available to help bring about new and more peaceful forms of governance locally and on a larger scale in the next century. (p. 48)

Resonating with this, my goal is that with this Master's Thesis, I explain why in a setting such as the one portrayed it is possible to talk about peace, more concretely, how in this particular place, peace is something feasible to materialize through the acts of the inhabitants, supported by its Carnival, despite a visible coexistence with violence, suffering and inequalities that cannot be ignored.

Referring to the place mentioned above, the name where my research is located is Riosucio, a municipality in the Department of Caldas in Colombia. This place is the host of a Carnival that every odd year is performed during the first six days of January, the year 2021 being one of the few exceptions where the Carnival has been cancelled because of the pandemic of COVID-19.

With that in mind, my research focused on the study of the Carnival of Riosucio by using audio-visual material from 1984 until 2021, where my aim was to answer the question

about: How is Peace enacted during Carnival times in Riosucio, Caldas? This, while analysing from the content of the videos those manifestations of peace, that from my own interpretation, were aligned with the theories of Agonistic Peace, and Corporeal Peace that are the frames I based my understanding of peace on to develop this thesis in a context such as the one presented in Riosucio, Caldas.

In that regard, this Master's Thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter aims to provide background information about the relevant aspects of the study of carnivals and the particular context and dynamic of the Carnival of Riosucio. In that way, the chapter is divided into two sections, the first one is concerned with presenting some features of how scholars have studied carnivals and its relation with control/freedom and other ambiguities that include the study of this practice, later this section is connected to the Latin American context through the role of religion and the symbol of the Devil in festivities. After that, the second section of this background locates the research in the Colombian context by stressing some aspects about the performance of festivities in the country, and then by introducing the social context of Riosucio, Caldas by mentioning some issues of its historical narratives and current dynamics that scholars have stressed, this leads to the last part of the chapter that is concerned with the explanation of some of the relevant roles and dynamics that are alive during the days of the Carnival of Riosucio and that are necessary to highlight in order to understand some aspects of the analysis.

The second chapter of this thesis aims to describe the relevant elements that create my theoretical framework, it is from this chapter that it will be possible to grasp the meaning that I am considering regarding peace, and it is from the tools that provide me a combination of the theories of Agonistic and Corporeal Peace that I am supporting my research and interpretations of the acts of peace that emerge in Riosucio. Later, after having discussed what scholars have stressed about carnivals, Riosucio and the explanation of my theoretical framework; the third chapter seeks to explain how I conducted my research, the audio-visual material used, with which methods I approached it, how I linked the theory in order to analyse the data and the limitations that my research has.

The fourth chapter presents my analysis of the data, and it is in this chapter that I explain why I consider that the Carnival of Riosucio, and the relations that are woven around it, are expressions of peace with an Agonistic and Corporeal perspective. In that regard, this chapter is divided into three sections where I explore how from the encounters with the

otherness, the awareness of the impermanence of identities and structures, and from a construction of the Carnival from the ordinary, it is possible to stress manifestations of peace.

The last part of this thesis aims to present as a conclusion, some discussions about those aspects that my research left open and that could be studied later. Additionally, it leaves an invitation about the possibilities that the study of festivities in terms of Peace and Conflict Studies has, and the challenges that public manifestations such as the Carnival of Riosucio currently face in Colombia. At the end, my wish with this research is to contribute to the study of peace as something possible to enact and create for everyone and not as something that is just held by some experts, in that sense, the manner for me to close this learning process with this thesis is at the same time, a personal door that I am trying to open in order to celebrate and recognize the role that people have in the construction of peace even in the most unreasonable scenarios.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the study of the Carnival of Riosucio that this thesis suggests is not representative of other dynamics that emerge from different Carnivals or festivities in Colombia, nor from other social interactions that could emerge or provide the origin of other festivities in the country, since this Carnival is fed by its particular context and fluent dynamics that from this research are those that I will interpret from the data, and are just connected with Riosucio, Caldas. However, in the first chapter it will be possible to see that the Carnival of Riosucio is not alien to dynamics that could be similar in other festivities, additionally the social context and history that surrounds it, is connected with interactions that are also present in other places in the country and the Latin American region, for instance the colonial history, mining and natural resources exploitation, or the interaction of a diversity of actors, and cultures is not something exclusive to the municipality of Riosucio, if compared with other locations. Therefore, the study of this case even though it is not representative of some others as it is according to this particular context, and the interactions that emerge from it that I will be analysing the acts of peace in terms of agonistic and corporeal peace; as it will also be possible to see in the conclusion's chapter, it left the door open to keep exploring how Carnivals, or other festivities in Colombia could be linked with peace studies as there are dynamics that Riosucio shares with other places and there exists a connection in a broader sense with social dynamics and history that could be studied in the future in alternative contexts in the country.

1 DUALITIES AS COMPONENTS OF CARNIVALS

The word 'carnival' can inspire different ideas, some of them are related to joy, freedom and transgression, others to chaos, or violence, while still others are related to a sense of manipulation, or control. It is therefore apparent that carnivals are not easy to define, although one common idea may be that of contradiction and uncertainty.

What a Carnival is will then depend on different factors, as Scott (1990) clearly stressed:

A complex social event such as Carnival cannot be said to be simply this or that as if it had a given, genetically programmed, function. It makes far greater sense to see carnival as the ritual site of various forms of social conflict and symbolic manipulation, none of which can be said, *prima facie*, to prevail. Carnival, then, may be expected to vary with culture and historic circumstances and is likely to be serving many functions for its participants. (p. 178).

From this perspective, carnivals themselves cannot be generalized, and neither can their functions in social orders. However, the study of carnivals is a clear multidisciplinary field of research interested in different aspects of this cultural practice viewed from a number of perspectives. With the acknowledgement of the impossibility of essentializing or homogenizing this cultural practice, the study of carnivals has provided some elements that allow the approach to this social phenomenon and its understanding in a useful way for the purpose of this research.

1.1. Some Elements that Inspire the Carnival Idea

The origin of carnivals is something addressed by scholars when identifying this practice. For example, Bettez Halnon (2010) explains that *carnival* comes from the Latin word *Carnelavare*, meaning farewell to flesh, and is related to the Lenten meat-eating feast from 965 CE onwards. Halnon (2010) sees this festivity as developing during the 1300's to 1500's in the Christian Middle Ages and then becoming widespread through colonization.

The view on the development of the carnival phenomenon that Halnon (2010) proposes is similar to the one commonly accepted. This sees the origins of carnival in the pagan festivities of Greece and then the Roman Empire which later led to its emergence in the Christian Middle Ages (Vignolo, 2006). The role of the Church is portrayed in this perspective as the most relevant one, not only as the institution that moderated this pagan

festivity in the Christian Middle Ages, and spread throughout Europe and other continents, but also as the one that managed to channel a diversity of symbols from other cultures into a single festivity (Vignolo, 2006, p. 24).

However, as Vignolo (2006, p. 23) has stressed the continuing diffusion of this historical narrative that presents the history of carnival as a univocal path in syntony with the assumed progress of western civilization that tends to be portrayed as the official history of carnivals, brings with it two main consequences that hinder a deeper understanding about carnivals. The first is that festivities that are not aligned with this narrative or cannot find their origin in it, are framed as residual or not as carnivals. This forces such festivities to constantly find some rituality and traditions aligned to what has commonly been prescribed as the history of carnivals in order to belong to it. The second consequence is that with this narrative the role of other groups that are not aligned with Christianity are pictured as ornamental, in that the exoticism of their expressions is celebrated if it is aligned with this narrative, yet at the same time ignoring their part in it. What in the end, hinders the possibility to study the roles of other groups in carnivals where its positionality goes beyond a decorative function in it.

There are other festivities or fairs worldwide that share characteristics with carnivals even if they are not named as such, for example “the Feast of Krishna (Holi) in Hindu society, [or] the water festival in much of mainland South East Asia” (Scott, 1990, p.173). There are also festivals or other social practices that are named as carnivals because of an unawareness of the term, or to market a spectacle, event or a place that, despite the name, does not share those characteristics that a carnival has (González Pérez, 2014).

In the case of Latin America, Sánchez Sánchez (2017) explains that some difficulties exist about tracking carnivals without the common narrative that prevails in the colonial perspective. For instance, during the period of colonization, the Iberic conquerors dedicated great effort to systematically forbidding and eliminating the cultural expressions, festivities and rituals that were rooted in indigenous culture justifying that those were the manifestation of the devil. An example that Sánchez Sánchez (2017) provides is the request made by the Cacique de Ubaque in 1570, to the Royal Hearing of Santa Fé, where he asked for a license to keep practicing their festivities and it was denied because it would be a manifestation of idolatry of the past (p. 19). Additionally, Sánchez Sánchez (2017) explains that before the colonial times (16th century) another difficulty regarding the study of indigenous festivities and rituals was that the records of them were

made by Iberic chroniclers who, although they could appreciate these events at first hand, interpreted them from their own perspective. This generated misrepresentation of their rituals, and linked it with theatrical performances connected with Greek and Roman traditions that did not correspond to the performing perspective of the indigenous people at the time.

Therefore, it is not possible to consider the origin of carnivals without thinking about the mixing of cultural expressions from Europe, Africa, and the Indigenous people that inhabited the territory (Montoya Bonilla, 2000). Furthermore, there exists a challenge of finding an authenticity about these practices because of the development of history and the construction of their narratives (Sánchez Sánchez, 2017). In that regard it is worth recognizing that there is a lack of studies on diverse narratives about the history of carnivals that could be explained by different reasons, such as the one presented by Sánchez Sánchez (2017). In that sense, carnivals in Latin America are linked by authors to the colonial and post-colonial periods, noting as well that one of the intrinsic characteristics of carnivals is, as mentioned before, the mixing of cultures (Montoya Bonilla, 2000).

To acknowledge how the construction of the narratives of the origin of carnivals has led to some hegemonic roles prevailing over others (Vignolo, 2006), and also to explore why these have happened (Sánchez Sánchez, 2017) provides some tools in order to understand the ruling structures that still predominate and that even keep ordering some dynamics inside carnivals. With that in mind, it is my intention to state that when I refer to what scholars have researched about the history or origin of carnivals in the next sections, I am more focused on depicting some of the structures that allow me to understand the social experiences expressed by the data rather than on establishing a universal origin myself. Moreover, to find some explanations of what scholars have explored regarding the history of carnivals is not only a way to understand how hegemonic rules have prevailed in times of carnivals or after them, but also a way to understand how the perspective of what a carnival is, has developed among us.

However, if to find a common origin about the practice seems not to be the approach to frame the definition of a carnival, and since it is not possible to establish them as having a unique function, as was mentioned at the beginning, the question that remains is: What are those characteristics that made a cultural practice be described as a Carnival?

Without the intention of setting some kind of rules or parameters for a cultural practice, there are some parallels between authors when they describe a carnival that are worth mentioning now, as a tool to understanding what I will be talking about when referring to carnivals.

One of the main aspects that allows one to distinguish carnivals from other festivities is that during their performance the line between spectators and performers is erased. As Bakhtin (1984) stressed: “Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all people.” (p.7). With that in mind, during the carnival, the carnival itself is represented by its participants as the ones who perform, who communicate, and in that sense the feature of anonymity stressed by Scott (1990) makes sense, since during carnivals it is not X or Y who is performing or communicating something, it is the carnival without footlights.

The attribute of anonymity (Scott, 1990) allows people to communicate in ways that are not possible outside carnivals. It is through carnival that “disproval that would be dangerous or socially costly to vent at other times is sanctioned during the carnival. It is the time to settle, verbally at least, personal and social scores.” (p. 173). Therefore, when carnivals are enacted, it is possible to see direct attacks against authorities that otherwise would not be permitted, with public manifestations such as satirical verses, parodies of established rituals, or the burning of effigies (Scott, 1990). Not only are public manifestations against characters that otherwise are not socially attacked latent during carnivals, but so are participants adopting behaviour that could be depicted as not acceptable if performed outside the carnival.

From this perspective, Scott (1990) highlights that for the Church and other elites, carnival is a performance that is required to be under surveillance since it is a source of disorder. In that sense, he explains for example that one of the first legislative acts passed by Francisco Franco after the Spanish Civil War was the prohibition of carnival. As Scott (1990) explains, the instability that carnival brings forth from its structure and anonymity could lead to a scene of open social conflict, from which revolts or violence could also emerge, but that does not mean that the carnival itself would be the cause of it. If carnival differs from other festivities, it is then also because of the altered reality that comes alive during those days, a reality that even if it is seen by some scholars as being provided by the elites and ruled from the outside (Eco, 1984), it is one that provides a sense of

decontrol and seems to allow people to behave in ways that are not possible in other scenarios.

Connected with this, another feature that has been studied by scholars related to carnival is the link of this festivity with control, which has presented a debate related to the function of a carnival where, on one hand, it is understood as a manner to dominate the masses by the elite while allowing people some days of a surveilled freedom (Eco, 1984; Sánchez Sánchez 2017); and on the other, the function of these actions are explained as a way of liberation and subversion of hierarchies, where there exists a possibility of the inversion of norms, values and governors (Bakhtin, 1984), where:

[a] utopian world in which anti-hierarchism, relativity of values, questioning of authority, openness, joyous anarchy, the ridiculing of all dogmas hold sway, a world in which syncretism a myriad of differing perspectives are permitted. (Lachmann Eshelman & Davis, 1988-1989, p. 118).

Both of these perspectives recognize that during the performance of the carnival power structures intervene, and from the next pages it will be possible to see that from my own perspective, these points of view of the function of carnivals are not mutually exclusive but provide different understandings about the diversity of dynamics that emanate from a carnival. In the end, what it is common to perceive from this particular discussion among scholars is that the enactment of carnivals entails some kind of social behaviour that is disruptive. These behaviours are not only related to public manifestations against authorities, but also excesses in what is to be eaten, or drunk, ways to address sexuality or physical and verbal aggression are on the table, presenting a scenario that differs from the morals and institutional rules of everyday life, and that opens a discussion about its management or perspectives for its understanding.

Finally, carnivals are themselves places for encounter, a venue where a plurality of voices are connected. In that sense, carnivals share a common language with the marketplace as it is stated by Bakhtin (1984) that it is a language that is “frank and free, permitting no distance between those who came in contact with each other and liberating from norms of etiquette and decency imposed at other times.” (p. 10). Additionally, Vignolo (2006) notes that some carnivals in the past emerged in places that were known as being centres for economic exchange, where people from different identities interacted. Some of the examples that Vignolo (2006, p. 26) provides are the Carnival in New Orleans (U.S.A.) as a meeting place of people from the Mississippi valley and the Gulf of Mexico; Barranquilla (Colombia), a centre of encounter for people coming from other places in

the Caribbean or along the Magdalena River; and Montevideo (Uruguay), as a forum for people coming from Río de la Plata and interoceanic routes. In that respect, carnivals are then a place for connections with others, platforms that are inhabited by a diversity of identities.

To summarize, carnivals are spaces for convergence and public expression, these scenarios are alive and there is not just one outcome and one path to follow when people participate in them. In that sense, even if there are some rituals and traditions that are performed each time during the carnivals, the development of the carnival itself might change, or be transformed at any time as carnivals are active and in constant construction from social interactions. Therefore, as González Pérez (2014) states, the abuse of the term of Carnival for commercial purposes, or for politicians to advertise themselves and their ideology, prevent the construction of the collective actor that is the one that performs during carnivals. In that sense, in those events where control is managed and people are located as simple spectators where performances take place in distant scenarios, the essence of this term has disappeared, despite the name remaining.

1.1.1. The Element of Control in Latin American Carnivals

Power dynamics during carnivals seems to be a prevalent question among scholars of this field. As previously mentioned, one of the discussions that emerged is whether carnivals are tools of control for the elite or, on the contrary, an avenue for liberation from hegemonic structures. Examining its history, especially in the Latin American context, could provide some answers that will explain that carnivals are not just a way to control or the opposite, but rather a combination of top-down and bottom-up dynamics as Vignolo (2006) explains, where there are rules from the top that frame the practices and viewpoints of a carnival, but also the participants from the bottom are those who give life and provide a standpoint of the enactment of a carnival which constantly transforms.

This is exemplified by the process of colonization in the continent of America, where the Spanish conquerors used the carnivals as an instrument to impose their own aesthetic and cultural expressions. As mentioned by Sánchez Sánchez (2017), it was a common practice on the Iberic Peninsula, for instance, to represent episodes from the Bible in festivities through theatre performances, or parades; and these cultural practices arrived with the colonisers to what are now countries such as México, Perú, or Colombia. Additionally, Triana (2006) explains that the Spanish in their own territory had already instrumentalized

dance and the theatre of biblical episodes as a way to evangelize the Jews during the Middle Ages and in that way this practice was established as a tool to do the same during the first stages of the colonial process.

In that regard, festivities that celebrated and were performed as a recognition of Christianity were imposed and little by little served as a way to replace other festivities of indigenous and African people, where their symbols and rituals were changed through theatre, dance, and celebration following the objectives of the colonisers. Triana (2006) quotes a chronicler that at that time wrote of the importance to keep the indigenous people entertained as a way to control them, and let them celebrate, but just if these festivities were connected to God.

A carnival in that sense can be explained as the mixing of cultures (Montoya Bonilla, 2000), but at the same time needs to be understood as a regulatory structure that emerges in the Latin American context from the colonial process as a way to allow certain jubilant behaviour under parameters marked by what at that time was the authority. Similarly, Sánchez Sánchez (2017) explained that carnivals normally took place before the Catholic Holy Week, because in the carnival it was possible to experience freedom leading to feelings of insanity and guilt that were then redeemed by the holy ashes and different rituals that forgave the manifestations of the evil that may have emerged during carnival times. Therefore, according to Sánchez Sánchez (2017), carnivals were part of the social structure of control that underlie every day of a calendar. It was then, a tool that consciously allows certain freedom with a reward of future control, punishment or forgiveness over the acts committed by the carnival participants. For the author, carnivals were also tools that allowed the sustainability and the construction on the colonial times of specific moral codes, because from the dichotomy of carnival times and holy times, it was possible to appreciate as well an opposition of the carnal versus the spiritual, the good opposed to the evil, and the guilt against forgiveness.

What should be controlled or protected with the carnivals changed over the years. According to Sánchez Sánchez (2017), in the Latin American context during the independence period, for instance, carnivals were a tool to express feelings of patriotism and the aim of freedom, whereas during the 20th century, there was an intention to preserve and protect culture as a heritage through this festivity. Currently, the role of cultural industry is significant during carnival times and it is manifested by its intention

of framing this festive time as a commodity to profit from, ignoring the cultural value that it could have (González Pérez, 2014; Sánchez Sánchez, 2017).

A carnival has then a structure and a system of rules and parameters that cannot be ignored. As Vignolo (2006, p. 30) mentions, carnivals cannot be imagined as a simple eruption of spontaneity and energy without control. Therefore, as this part of the chapter has briefly explained, there have existed over the years an intention from different hegemonic groups to use this practice as something useful inside the social order depending on the context and time, as well as the question among scholars about the part this practice has on social structure and its functionality.

In contrast to the evidence of how carnivals can be used or have been framed from hegemonic groups, there is something that at the end cannot be controlled and that is that carnivals are alive just while people participate in them. In that sense, as Vignolo (2006) explains, the “top” is only one of the parts of the carnival, but the participation and the dynamics that could emerge during the days of the carnivals are born from what people resist, subvert, maintain, or transform about the rules that intend to frame it. For Vignolo (2006), carnivals are one of the few celebrations that have had the possibility to adapt to different historical contexts. In consequence, while maintaining a structure, this practice at the same time has bonded with the artistic, religious, and social manifestation that are present at the time it is performed. In that vein, the next section will briefly talk about the figure of the devil in Latin American festivities as a way to explore one of those figures that were imposed from the top as an evil figure to be afraid of, but transformed by the participants of different events and that again represents the duality that could emerge in these scenarios.

1.1.2. Resisting or Succumbing with the Devil

The figure of the devil has been present among Latin American and Caribbean festivities tracing its origin back to colonial times, being the devil, a symbol brought by the Iberic conquerors and their missionaries as the representation of evil; as the figure that punishes whoever subverts or opposes god (Sánchez Sánchez, 2017). The devil arrived in colonial times as a manner to represent what was wrong and how the good was battling against it (García, 2014). However, the devil was assimilated through different interpretations, and appropriated in different ways depending on the context and traditions that people had. As García (2014) explains, the devil became the manifestation of the syncretism of

indigenous, African and colonisers as its figure transformed from one that was brought with the intention to scare and control, to one that became a kind of popular religious figure to be celebrated and enjoyed during carnival times.

To relate the devil in a unique way with different cultural groups is impossible, even though, its prevalence among different territories on the continent and the Caribbean is visible. For instance as Cárdenas (2015) explains with the Carnival of Riosucio, or the “Diablos Arlequines” in Barranquilla, Colombia; the figure of the devil is one of a festive, joyful and powerful character; additionally the “Cachua” of the Dominican Republic is a character of a devil that embodies the figure of someone who punishes with violence, but at the same time is colourful and dances (Así es Cabral, 2008); another example finally of how people have appropriated the figure of the devil is in Costa Chica, México (Cárdenas, 2015), where the devil is personified by different participants in an event that has the intention to commemorate the African-descendant people that were enslaved in their territory. Furthermore, Torres (n.d.) exemplifies the dualities that could emerge in a community when embracing the figure of the devil, this time in the village of Alangasí, Ecuador, where on one hand during the Holy Week a group of demons enter the church, and steal the figure of Jesus Christ while a group of angels battle against them, in order to put it back in place. And on the other, during the celebration of the Inti-Raimi (July-August) in the same village, the demons are called “Umas” and dressed with elegant costumes with belts, boots and a mask, while commanding and guarding the dancers who perform in the city hall.

The devil has therefore been embodied in different ways depending on the context, but there is a similarity about the personification of this character that goes between the sacred and the profane (Sánchez Sánchez, 2017), the joy and the fear, or in general among opposites of the festive and the divine that people have appropriated as a way to make their own character. This shows how during festivities a figure that emerged from the top as a way to control and frighten the people was appropriated and celebrated in different manners from the people that got together in this time.

Thus far, this section has described some of the aspects that have been studied among the scholars about carnivals and other festivities, specially by presenting the challenges that carnival as a concept has, as it is itself full of complexities and contradictions, and it is these that precisely stimulate it and allow that this festivity resists homogenization and control despite the struggles that it has had regarding the actors who could aim to gain a

unique control over it. As Vignolo (2010) states, carnivals are one of the few festivities that still conserves its structure and have remained over the centuries in different contexts and diverse manners, showing its force to adapt and embrace social dynamics that occur over the years.

What has been described in the last parts of this section, is something visible in a similar way to the context where the object of analysis of this research is located. In that manner in the next section, festivities, and particularly carnivals will be located in Colombia, and then the Carnival of Riosucio, Caldas will be described to provide a deeper understanding of the study case of this research.

1.2. The Carnival of Riosucio and its Context

This section will start with a description of Colombia and its relations with festivities. Specially with the intention to connect again the topic about how festivities have been organized or impacted by power dynamics, in this case in a general manner by locating the topic in the country, acknowledging that these dynamics affect the scenes differently depending on the circumstances and environment. After that, I will refer to some of the historical narratives that have constructed identities in Riosucio, and some aspects about its social context that will enable a deeper understanding about the place where the Carnival is enacted; finally, the last section will be dedicated to those elements of the carnival that will help to comprehend it and relate it later with the analytical part of the thesis.

1.2.1. Colombia: Governance Under Festivities

There are various kind of festivities in Colombia, some of them can be traced back before the colonial times, such as festivals related to the season of cultivation and harvest (Sánchez Sánchez, 2017); others emerged from the colonial times during the 16th century like carnivals or religious festivities linked with Catholicism, and others have been born, or transformed from other festivities during the 20th and 21st centuries where other public manifestations such as protests, sports competitions, or memory acts, have embraced elements from the festivities (González Pérez, 2016), evidencing how these social manifestations are not linear or simple to classify.

González Pérez (2014, p. 15) states that in Colombia every year 3.884 festivities are performed, from them 269 are denominated as carnivals. The author clarifies, that to

create a complete map of festivities in the country is difficult, mainly for three reasons. The first one is that festivities are increasingly controlled by private or public actors who aim to transform the festivities in commercial events where the spectacle prevails and with it, a consumption of products where profit is gained from the cultural manifestation. The second reason is that because of the absence of the State in different territories of the country, communities are governed by armed groups who also intervene and decide on the dynamics in a festivity. Finally, the third reason is also related with the armed conflict, and that is that because the fear of violence that remains in the country, festivities have stopped being enacted¹.

Festivities are political, and in that sense, they are affected by what surrounds them, while also transforming in their own context. The element of control, but also freedom of expression and plural participation shapes it, depending on the time and interactions. For instance, during the 16th century the role of the church and conquerors is the one that is narrated the most throughout history, but at the same time it is visible as in the case of the devil in Latin America, how other groups that have also had a main role during the festivities appropriate and reframe its dynamics. Later, in the 19th century, in the Colombian context, the political elites, such as political parties and religious groups of the Republic of Colombia, questioned the consequences in supporting carnivals, especially in urban areas such as the capital of Bogotá. According to González Pérez (2006) the encounters between liberal and conservatives affected the practice of carnivals to the point that the use of masks was forbidden during them (in public spaces), just allowing the use of them in balls and theatres. As the author explains, the treatment of cultural practices, became a discussion between the elites as some of them were related with savageness, such as the carnivals, and despised by the religious and conservative sector. But the acceptance of some other cultural manifestations, such as dances or theatre plays, as far as they were performed inside the theatres and according to the values and the element of civilization, were aimed to be protected. Thus, in the 19th century carnivals became something to reject, as happened in Bogotá (González Pérez, 2006) relating them with signs of misconduct, and against the moral established at the time.

¹ The author (González Pérez, 2014, pp. 36-37) provides some examples of it, one is in El Tigre, Putumayo, where the author relates how after a massacre by paramilitary groups in 1999 the community decided not to meet again in public festivities and the Carnival of the *Negros y Blancos*, that was enacted there, was cancelled.

Festivities, or in the case of study, carnivals, as enrooted in a social order have not then been ignored by the ones who govern over the participants. As González Pérez (2014) manifests, Carnivals and other festivities get affected by, for example, politicians that protected by the excuse of supporting the festivities with public resources, advertise themselves, distorting or transforming a cultural and social manifestation as an event made for their own recognition. Furthermore, as Vignolo (2010) exposes, carnivals play a role in the revitalization of public spaces, sociability and for the encouragement of processes of solidarity, while at the same time, they play a role in the construction of politics and governance. An example of this, is what Vignolo (2010) exposes about the presidential government of Alvaro Uribe from 2002 to 2006, when during his first period, as a media strategy appeared an invitation to people to travel again across the roads that were controlled by armed groups at that time. In that sense, with what was called *touristic caravans*, cars from the civil society travelled in groups that were guard by the army in order to get to know the country. And as the author mentions (Vignolo, 2010), one of the appealing features in the campaign was to highlight the importance to have the chance to enjoy the immense number of festivities that the country has, which shows how relevant and attractive festivities are in social constructions in Colombia and the creation of the public images that the politicians of the time aim to create.

The number of festivities in Colombia allows us to depict how these cultural practices are significant in the social dynamics of the country. As González Pérez (2014) mentions, if someone would like to see all of them, and as some of them are at the same time, it will take more than a decade to go to all of the ones that he has identified. Furthermore, as diverse as they are, the sense of them is the same; as the author also mentions, what is happening in Colombia in the present century is a transformation from the festive, to a celebration. What he means, it is that there is a transformation in festivities where the current focus is on symbolically valuing something, in that sense there are spaces inside a festivity for pleasure and joy, but also for sadness, intimacy and solemnity.

To conclude, there is then among festivities of Colombia an element of control that can emerge from politicians, armed groups, enterprises, or religious elites that affects the dynamics of them. Events, that have been transformed according to their time and place, and are not free or separate from what happens around them. Festivities that in general tend to resist, and evolve, where the question about choosing what a carnival is or is not persist. Therefore, Colombian social context and its dynamics cannot be ignored in this thesis as the practice of festivities, and in the particular case of the Carnival of Riosucio

should be contextualized as it is, from which, it is possible to understand its significance. Now it is time to enter the municipality that hosts the Carnival of Riosucio as a way to understand who are the people and the dynamics that are woven under the surface of the enactment of the festivity that is analysed in this paper.

1.2.2. Riosucio, Caldas: The municipality with two town halls, a place for reconciliation

Riosucio is a municipality located in the north west of the Department of Caldas, Colombia. This municipality has a population of 48,329 inhabitants, according to the 2018 national census (DANE, 2019). As stated in the Development Plan of Riosucio (2016-2019), 70% of the population inhabit rural areas and 30% urban areas. In it, there are four Indigenous reserves: *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Montaña, Cañamomo y Lomaprieta, San Lorenzo* and *Escopetera y Pirza*. Riosucio has its origins in the mixing of cultures that came together through the process of the exploitation of minerals that started during the colonial era. Its emergence was the result of the convergence of two places that were considered mining districts in 1819 (Montoya Bonilla, 2000). The new village made visible the coexistence of indigenous communities, people that had their origins in Africa and arrived in the territory as slaves for the exploitation of mines, as well as people that came from Europe as the managers of mining exploitation (Montoya Bonilla, 2000).

Appelbaum (2003) states that the history of Riosucio, as the one mentioned before, has been re-narrated depending on the century, where the role of the colonisers, the indigenous population and the mestizo have been defined in different ways depending on the moment. According to this author, what is common to see in all narratives is an imagery based on rivals encounters where the emergence of Riosucio has been portrayed as a symbol of unity or coexistence, even though the meaning of these adjectives could change depending on the narrative. An example of this is how in the 19th century the role of indigenous people was narrated in a more indifferent way and the reconciliation with other ethnicities was mainly an achievement of priests from the Catholic church, but later, at the end of 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, indigenous leaders have voiced the struggles that over the years they have had related to rights such as autonomy or property, and therefore they started to be more heard (not completely), and the narratives started to change. Additionally, this is also explained by the change of the National Constitution when from 1991 it mentioned that Colombia is a multi-cultural nation,

providing from that direction a duty to listen to and construct history including the voices of indigenous people (Vignolo, 2010).

Authors such as Vignolo (2006; 2010), Medina Ramírez (2011), or Zapata Mejía (2014) agree about the construction of the history of Riosucio through an imagery of reconciliation, where values of union, forgiveness, and a plural construction of the municipality from three ethnicities are present; additionally, as Vignolo (2010) states there is among this imagery a link between the independence of Colombia and the foundation of its own municipality, celebrating in the same year, 1819, these two events, which connect patriotic values between the Republic of Colombia, and what was lived in the local space of Riosucio at the time.

The narrative then started in the 19th century (Appelbaum, 2003), when as Medina Ramírez (2011) explains, between the years 1813-1814 two catholic priests arrived in the divided territories of *Quiebralomo* and *La Montaña*, that now form part of Riosucio. One of the priests, José Bonifacio Bonafont, was located in La Montaña inhabited by indigenous people, and the other priest José Ramón Bueno in Quiebralomo where the Spanish and their slaves were living. According to Medina Ramírez (2011) the priests were related as advocates of the people that live in the location of their churches, in that sense Bonafont was considered an advocate of the Indigenous people and Bueno of the Spanish.

Zapata Mejía (2014), shares a drawing on her work about the Carnival of Riosucio (see Figure 1), where it is possible to appreciate the location of the two churches, and clarifies the location of the two territories that now constitute the urban area of Riosucio:



Figure 1. Location of the two churches and the fence. Zapata Mejía (2014, p. 41) Image retrieved from Herrera, M (1987) *Las calles confluyen a las dos plazas: el obbligo arquitectónico*.

In consonance with Medina Ramírez (2011) the common narrative states that the two priests decided to start negotiations between them in order to find reconciliation between the two places that hated each other and that were divided by a fence. As stated by Vignolo (2010) in the common narrative it is told that the priests decided to put the image of the devil in the middle of the fence for the people to complain against instead of between themselves, the date that people keep regarding this negotiation, and the emergence of the municipality is, as mentioned before, related with Colombia's independence in 1819.

Medina Ramírez (2011) explains that the history of Riosucio has been created by local historians who aim to leave a mark in their narratives of the feeling of belonging to Riosucio and the values that they want the people to identify with. That is why there has been a representation of the emergence of the village from peaceful negotiations from the church and a reconciliation of ethnicities from cultural manifestations such as the Carnival and the Devil. However, there is another narrative from the emergence of Riosucio, and it is in the year of 1846, and as Medina Ramírez (2011) describes, the negotiations from the priests did not result in the complete convergence of the two territories since the fence and violent confrontation persisted until 1846 when the Governor of the Department of Cauca, which was at that time the jurisdiction of Riosucio,

ordered the lifting of the fence and the creation of the municipality with the settling of a rule of two relevant authorities: a major and a priest.

The division between the two places separated by the fence, contributed to the formation of identities of people from Riosucio that even though they have been transformed, remain until now. Zapata Mejía (2014) from their own experience and her research, explains that even though there is an image of tolerance between the people who inhabited Riosucio, there still remains a clear division between the ones from the town hall of *the upper part*, and the ones from *the lower part* which has created clear identifications like conservatives vs. liberals; the rich vs. the poor; Spanish descendants vs. Indigenous people; The Colonisers (from Spain and then from the Department of Antioquia, Colombia) vs. the Local inhabitants. Connected to this, Zapata Mejía (pp. 8-12, 2014) with her personal testimony explains how the divisions still remain in Riosucio today. As she narrates, her mother was from the town hall of the upper part and her father from the lower part. The family of her mother “Los Mejía” was related with Spanish descendants, with people with money and in terms of the Carnival, the family (as it is portrayed in the role of the people from the upper part) was more an observer of the Carnival from their balconies or from the “Club Colombia”, a space for gatherings located in that part of the municipality. On the other side, the family of her father “Los Zapata”, was related with the indigenous people and with the poorest people of the municipality, in that manner the role of the family during Carnivals was active, as it is the role recognized by the people of this part of the municipality, participating in parades and opening the house of her relatives that was transformed in that time with the objective of hosting other participants of the carnival.

This duality, and the narrative of the construction of Riosucio that was previously mentioned, as can be observed, has not recognized the role of African descendants. As Zapata Mejía (2014) highlights, their role has been ignored over the years, not only from the construction of the historical narratives of Riosucio, where the part of enslaved people is never mentioned, but also in the construction of identities, where the divisions emerged mainly from colonisers and indigenous people when the role of Afro descendants is, according to the author, just an enhancement when it is worthwhile to recognize the diversity of the municipality. Furthermore, the common narrative, seems to lack those actors that have arrived in Riosucio and that do not necessarily live in the location of the two town halls, for instance, peasants or actors related to economic guilds, as in the 19th

century, the economy of Riosucio, and the Department of Caldas, was based not only on mineral exploitation but also in agriculture, especially coffee (Jaramillo Gómez, 2009).

In that sense, I consider that the narratives of Riosucio can be complemented with other perspectives such as the one of Jaramillo Gómez (2009) who explains that Caldas is located in the main Coffee Growing Area of the country and that activity has provided a special dependence and development of the region, that is visible for example in the road infrastructure built at the beginning of the 20th century, the concentration of economic activities in the rural areas, or the density growth of the region during that period. According to this author, the Coffee Growers Committee played an important role in developing different infrastructures in Caldas, providing services that were not supplied by the State; in that sense the author explained how for example 95% of Caldas territory was electrified thanks to this Committee around the 90's, where the average in the national territory was 50% (Jaramillo Gómez, p. 248, 2009.). In 1995, when the Coffee Crisis started and the price of coffee decreased by about half compared with previous years, it was almost impossible to continuously invest in the area, resulting in the impoverishment of people that were living from this resource (Jaramillo Gómez, 2009). After it, not only the economical dynamics changed, but also other actors arrived and a different, violent dynamic, that had not been seen in the region before emerged (Jaramillo Gómez, 2009; Palacio and Cifuentes, 2005).

An example of the reconfiguration of the municipality is provided by Jaramillo Gómez (2009) when in the newspaper *El Tiempo* (2002) a Police Colonel commented that before the beginning of 2000, the Department of Caldas was a place where armed groups rested, or hid before continuing on other routes; but later, Caldas became a territory where armed groups started to control and consolidate crops of coca, marihuana and poppy, as well as settle fix routes of transit to other departments (Restrepo, 2002). In Riosucio, according to Restrepo (2002) the crops of coffee were mainly replaced with poppy, and the territory witnessed an increment of armed groups in the area of 70%. The territory was dominated at the beginning of the century by the ex-guerrilla FARC and the confrontations and different tensions increased when paramilitary groups such as "Frente Omar Isaza" and the guerrilla group ELN arrived in the area. Causing, as one of the most notorious consequences of these tensions, the growth of internal forced displacement in the area, which particularly in Riosucio was notorious as indigenous communities were threatened, and expelled from their territories (Palacio & Cifuentes, 2005). The Victims Attention and Reparation Unit of the Government of Colombia (Unidad para la Atención y

Reparación Integral de Víctimas, 2021), has registered a total of 12,914 victims from the armed conflict in Riosucio from 1985 until the present day, where 4,966 victims are still living in the municipality.

The Register of Victims (Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral de Víctimas, 2021), divides the victims by the actions that affect them, and thus the majority of the victims registered in Riosucio are considered as such because of forced displacement with the number of 10,807 of which 4,191 still live in the municipality. The second action is murder with 2,106 victims. Furthermore, according with the NGO “Movimiento Nacional de Víctimas de Crímenes de Estado: MOVICE” (2018), based on the Victims Attention and Reparation Unit, Riosucio is considered one of the five municipalities of Caldas that have suffered the most from the consequences of the armed conflict.

Riosucio is then a municipality that emerged from a collective imagery of reconciliation of two villages, but that have suffered as well from the armed conflict in Colombia that has permeated every sphere in society, an armed conflict that is still present² and whose existence tends to be blurred when the everyday activities of the people are permeated by it. The current control of some of the main economic activities of Riosucio such as agriculture and mining exploitation by armed groups (or possible associations of private companies with them)³, in a municipality where 70% of people live in rural areas and

² In 2019, CRIDEC (2019), that is the organization that grouped all the indigenous communities in the Department of Caldas, expressed their concern about the presence of armed groups in the area and how, on one side, they were intimidating the community with different actions, and on the other, after denouncing the facts to the authorities they were not reacting and were ignoring the presence of the armed groups alleging that the crimes were not committed by organized armed structures and were isolated cases.

In May 2020 the National Prosecutor confirmed the presence of members of guerrilla group ELN in Riosucio (Resguardo Colonial Cañamomo Lomprieta, 2020), something that indigenous people had been complaining about for years before but that was denied by the authorities, as the Secretary of the Government of Caldas, that according to the statement of Cañamomo y Lomprieta (2020) mentioned that indigenous territories that are in Caldas have no presence of illegal armed groups.

³ Indigenous people have linked mining companies as another actor that threatens them besides armed groups, because companies aim to intervene in these places that have been known for their mineral resources since colonial times. The Interdisciplinary Research Group Kavilando (2013) interviewed indigenous leaders from the reserve Cañamomo y Lomprieta (Riosucio) where Conrado de Jesus Reyes explained that in the territory of the reserve there exists gold, *black* gold and uranium; and that is why he thinks transnational enterprises with the help of the Colombian State and paramilitary groups threatens them (Kavilando, 2013). The intervention of these private companies in recent years was specially rejected in 2011 when the indigenous people from Cañamomo y Lomprieta denounced the presence of the transnational mining company Antioquia Gold that communicated the intention of doing mining exploitation in their territory without previously consulting them (Colectivo de Abogados José Alvear Restrepo, 2011).

mainly depend on the exploitation of natural resources, creates a complex scenario where it can possibly be said that the daily life of civil society is affected by these dynamics.

Finally, the historical narratives of Riosucio seem to be constructed from the division that emerged from the urban area, and even though authors such as Medina Ramírez (2011), and Zapata Mejía (2014) explain some of the struggles that indigenous people have had since the colonial times until the 19th century, the relations between the urban and the rural part of Riosucio seems to be scarce in the reflections of the scholars. The identification of the different actors that now interact in Riosucio, and how they have constructed their relations and identities is something that will require deeper research, and that could be done in the future in order to have a clearer map of the social relations woven together in the place. However, with this section, and based on the authors who I am founding my research, it is possible to observe that despite the efforts of a narrative of reconciliation there is division and a diversity of actors that interact in the everyday life in Riosucio. Furthermore, as Zapata Mejía (2014) clearly explains, there are struggles to be heard from groups such as indigenous people, or afro-descendants, a group that have been practically ignored.

At the end, as González Pérez (2014) states, armed conflict has touched the cultural dynamics of festivities, as is also highlighted by Montoya Bonilla (2000), or Vignolo (2006) who connect, in their own way, how carnivals feed themselves, transform or resist the political dynamics presented in the place where they are performed as part of the social order, and not as events that separate themselves of their context. In that sense, to mention a concise disclosure of Riosucio as a municipality, acknowledging that there is more in-depth research needed about the topic, is relevant as the Carnival is not an alien of this context.

1.2.3. Carnival of Riosucio “the infernal capital of joy”⁴:

This section intends to stress some aspects about the Carnival of Riouscio that will give the reader some context about the event, however the goal is not to settle some frame or fix definitions since, as I have previously mentioned, carnivals are in constant transformation and it is from the constant participation that the carnival is alive. Additionally, as authors such as Vignolo (2006), and Mejia Zapata (2014) explain, carnivals have a strong relation with myths, in that sense they are also created from

⁴ My own translation from Friedman (1995) expression of the Carnival of Riosucio.

beliefs, and ideas about the creation of its performance, and by taking this into consideration I will just mention some of the issues that authors have stressed about the historical context, and descriptions of some of the rituals and roles that might appear during the Carnival in order to provide some tools for understanding the next chapters of the thesis, acknowledging that regarding the Carnival of Riosucio there is much more to mention, and a diversity of authors and perspectives that I am not completely taking into account for this matter.

To start, the question about the date when the Carnival of Riosucio started is not clear; Friedman (1995) explains that around 1603, it was already known that indigenous people from La Montaña danced in a ritualized manner with masks, but that the festivity as Carnival itself, was seen just in the 19th century. In the same way, Sánchez Taborda, Arango & Alzate Osorio (2011), relate the emergence of the Carnival with 1846, linking the date with the lifting of the fence between the two parts of Riosucio. The common narrative about the emergence of the Carnival of Riosucio as Medina Ramirez (2011) explains, is then related with the union of the two places as one, and the Carnival is the celebration of it.

In the 19th century a festivity called *Los Matachines* was performed that, according to Friedman (1995), was enacted in Quiebralomo and that this festivity started to bond with other ways to celebrate by indigenous and African descendants where, as Zapata Mejía (2014) explains, it is possible to observe some of the rituals and symbols that are now part of the Carnival of Riosucio, for example, the enactment of decrees in prose or the performance of *Cuadrillas*, a group that still participate in the Carnival and that will be described later. This festivity was performed during the celebrations of the *Innocent's Day* (similar to April Fool's Day, but held on the 28th of December) and the *Three Kings Day*, and in the ideas of the emergence of the Carnivals an imagery of union is present, since during those dates there were also celebrations related to the Sun and the Earth for the indigenous peoples that shows a convergence of different beliefs (Zapata Mejía, 2014).

At the present time the Carnival is enacted every odd year, for six days at the beginning of January from Wednesday to Friday and includes the Three Kings Weekend (Sánchez Taborda, et al., 2011). The Carnival was cancelled this year 2021 because of the COVID-19 pandemic, as mentioned by Cataño in the newspaper La Patria (Sánchez, 2021) it is the third time that the Carnival has been cancelled. The first time was the occurrence of

the Influenza Pandemic in 1920, and the second due to the period of violence between the conservative and liberal parties during 1948-1958 when the Carnival was suspended for 10 years.

Scholars and participants of it, agree that even though the Carnival is enacted over six days, it is present every month of the year since people who are willing to take a part in the event are in a creative process within their groups, from the end of the Carnival, until the beginning of the next. Additionally, there are some rituals that are established even before the days of the Carnival, what for Sánchez Taborda et al. (2011, p.20) supposes a division of the Carnival between phases that are extended for much more than the six days of its enactment. For them, the Carnival has then a *Formulation* phase (from July until December), where some of the established rituals are the Installation of the Republic of the Carnival, a public act that inaugurates the fictional Republic that will govern during the Carnival, and a voicing of *Decrees* is performed, that are explained by the authors as the manifestation of the Carnival literature that is expressed by a character called *Matachín* or *Matachines* in plural (Sánchez Taborda et al., 2011). Normally the Decrees of this part of the Carnival are rhymes to the Devil where the Matachin is in public spaces expressing claims, sufferings, or anecdotes that people from the village and at the national sphere have. After this phase comes the *Sanction* where, through a theatrical performance, different characters such as the *Matachines*, and the Carnival Board announce that the village is mature enough to receive the Carnival, and that leads to the last stage that is the *Consumation* phase of the Carnival that are the six days where it is celebrated (Sánchez Taborda et al., 2011). This distribution that the authors made is worth mentioning, since the participants of the videos that are analysed relate their experiences not only with the six days of the Carnival but with other aspects that go beyond it. Despite that, the division that the authors made, is done just for the official rituals that the Carnival has, around it, it is possible to perceive other kinds of engagement and actions that could be linked, or not, to the established rituals.

What a Carnival is and what it is not is also linked with what scholars have studied about this particular performance. In that sense a structure has been settled that contains particular rituals and characters and that tends to ignore others that have been recognized later in recent times by authors such as Medina Ramírez (2011), or Mejía Zapata (2014). With that in mind, the next paragraphs will be dedicated to describing some of those rituals and characters that literature has highlighted, acknowledging that as I mentioned in the preceding sections there is a dispute of control inside a carnival that is also

manifested in the descriptions about what should be considered a part of the event or what should be ignored, organized, or discarded from it.

In that regard, I could start with one of the characters of the Carnival I have already mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, that is the *Matachin*, or *Matachines* in plural. These characters are the priests of the Carnival (Alzate Chica, 2017) and are in charge of the dialogue with the Devil in different moments of the Carnival supported by poetry or other literary elements that they create. It is through satiric decrees in every month at the Formulation phase, and also at the Sanction phase, that the Matachines express what they think about the national and local government, other private actors and interpersonal relations that are linked to the municipality. According to Sánchez Sánchez (2017) to have the title of Matachin in Riosucio is one of the main distinctions in the village, and a manifestation of it, is that one of the first acts presented at the Carnival is the day of the Disappeared Matachin, a commemoration that is connected with the Catholic Church where the Matachines that have died are remembered.

The *Cuadrillas*, *Colonias*, and *Caravanas* are different groups that participate in the Carnival depending on the day and the event being performed. The *Cuadrillas* are described as the pillars of the Carnival (Sánchez Taborda et al., 2011), they work around the creation of performances, that combined with costumes, lyrics, music, masks, dances, and parades, manifest in public scenarios and inside the *Casas Cuadrilleras*, while communicating messages that, through jokes, parodies or poetry, voice what affects them on different spheres (Alzate Chica, 2017). The Cuadrillas have a special day that normally is the Sunday of the Carnival when during the day, they perform in different places, some of these scenarios being the *Casas Cuadrilleras*, that are houses that people open in order to host these groups by offering food and beverage and decorating their places, while enjoying being with their families and other guests. It is relevant to mention that child Cuadrillas exist too, and these groups perform another day, but have a similar dynamic but in smaller proportions to the adult Cuadrillas.

The *Colonias* were originally conformed of groups of people that were born in Riosucio but for different reasons live in other parts of the country (Sánchez Taborda et al. 2011). Now as the authors explain, friends of these people participate as well and the intention is to have a day to re-encounter with their municipality and relatives. These groups have a special day too, normally the Saturday where there is a parade that contains the Colonias' groups that using costumes, songs and symbols make a tour around Riosucio.

The *Caravanas*, as explained by Mejía Zapata (2014) was the possibility for the poorest people of the place to participate in the Carnival, their performances were at night, and the participants dressed with simple costumes while playing music and singing, normally in streets, on corners, or inside clubs or bars that allowed it. They also aim to communicate messages about the social reality that affected them. As the author mentions, the Caravanas represents at the present time the possibility for the youth to participate, since it does not require as much economical effort or family support as other groups.

A relevant symbol of the Carnival is *The Devil*, as a character, this figure communicates through the Matachines to the carnival participants, and the Matachines are the only ones officially entitled to talk with it. Additionally, the Devil participates in performances when it plays the major role, its entry is for example one of the biggest parades where the statue that will represent it on the Carnival days is discovered, and its revealing is one of the most intriguing performances of the Carnival since it represents the emergence of the figure that will take care of the Carnival and that will spread its festive spirit to the participants (Medina Ramirez, 2011). The devil is, as Sánchez Sánchez (2017) mentions, the mediator of the people from Riosucio, but also is its guardian. The Devil has features from the different ethnicities of people that have lived in Riosucio (Sánchez Taborda, et al., 2011) and it arrives on the Saturday night after different rituals that have been enacted during previous days and even months. Followed by a night parade, it is placed on one of the squares of Riosucio (as it is mentioned by Cárdenas Flores (2013) normally in the square of San Sebastian), where it starts a dialogue with a designated Matachin.

As Medina Ramírez (2011) explains, the Devil of the Carnival does not control, on the contrary it releases, and even though it is linked with values of peace or harmony, as the author mentions those are not imposed, but represent the aspirations of the people of Riosucio. In other words, the Devil is the portrayal of what participants of the Carnival would like to embody regarding its tradition, in that sense their values are not only connected with mediation or harmony, but also joy, and freedom; as well as the representation of the merging of ethnicities, without forgetting the role of a vigorous and powerful male figure, that keeps representing the masculinity that is admired by the people, and that in fact, as Medina Ramírez (2011) states, is related with the dominance of male participants over the years of the Carnival, where only since 1940 were girls allowed to participate in the child Cuadrillas, if they dressed as boys, 1951 being the date when the presence of women with costumes was finally allowed during the Carnival events. The Devil also closes the Carnival with a farewell, where a replica of it is burned.

The Devil, in an atmosphere of joy and sadness, between jokes and crying, inherits its belongings and the Matachines read its testament (Medina Ramirez, 2011). After the burning of the Devil, the Carnival is officially over.

These characters, and some others⁵, are embodied by different participants that can change roles during the festivity. In that sense, there is not only one way to enact these characters or an exclusive manner to participate in the Carnival, however to mention some of these frames enables the understanding of some roles acknowledging that they are not fixed.

Regarding other groups that emerge from the Carnival, a *Corporation of the Carnival of Riosucio* exists, and it is a legally constituted institution that from 1984 was created in order to preserve, promote, and organize the Carnival, looking for the independence from public institutionalism or other private actors, in this context, it seeks the sustainability of the Carnival without the dependence on external monetary resources (Sanchez Taborda et al., 2011). This Corporation is governed by a General Assembly which is an organization where the participants of the Carnival vote in order to organize their aims for the next Carnival and to elect the board that will be entitled to implement the objectives of the Corporation and the aims of its Assembly (Sánchez Taborda et al., 2011; Statutes, 2016).

Medina Ramírez (2011, p. 36.) questioned who are the ones who have a vote in the Assembly, because it has been established that it is those that actively participate during the Carnival according to 17 categories on the Statutes of the Corporation (2016). In that sense she asks why those are the ones actively participating, and who are the ones that decide it, because there are other participants in the Carnival as this author has highlighted, that feel that an engagement with the Corporation is restricted just for some, presenting a serious manifestation of exclusion as at the end it is the Corporation that decides according to its Statues and processes who are those active participants and consequently those are the ones that decide via the Corporation, which are the rituals or events officially accepted on the Carnival days.

⁵ There are other characters that are inside the performances of the Carnival that I have not mentioned, for example the *Abanderado* that is a person entitled to hold the flag of the Republic of the Carnival at every parade, also the *Pólvorero* who is the one that sets the fireworks, and special features used during that time. Additionally, I have not talked about the *Corralejas* and the people that participate in it.

Medina Ramírez (2011), or Mejía Zapata (2014) have recognized the involvement of other actors that do not always coincide with the structure that the Corporation provides, but that not because of that, are not active participants of it. For instance, *Las Barras*, as Medina Ramírez (2011) describes them, are groups created by families, neighbours and friends that decide to associate, not only around the Carnival, but also in order to participate in other events of Riosucio, or other festivities. The author (Medina Ramírez, 2011) identifies mainly three Barras that have been commonly recognized in the municipality, *Curramba*, *Los 30* and *La Barra del Parque*. Each of these groups have a different role during the Carnival days, and have a different relation with the Corporation of the Carnival, for example *Curramba* and *La Barra del Parque*, participate more inside the organizational matters of the institution, and recognize its role; on the other side, *Los 30* considers that the Corporation do not represent it and prefers not to participate in its processes since they consider that the organization does not support them. The Barras have been stigmatized by the Corporation, according to Medina Ramirez (2011) the Barras have considered that the institution has accused them of chaos or drug-addiction, but the participation of these groups cannot be ignored and their role is strong during the festivity. As the author exposes in her research, *Las Barras* when organized, between them elected the board of 2011 and 2013, additionally *La Barra de Los 30*, have created a symbol-character, that despite the efforts to eliminate it from the Corporation is now part of the Carnival, that is the *She Devil*.

Furthermore, Mejía Zapata (2014) in her research, has questioned the participation in these organizations, an in general in the established roles of the Carnivals, of Indigenous people and Afro-descendants, in her paper, she asks about how the three-ethnicities that the Carnival appeals to in their narratives is actually implemented. With the Indigenous people she highlights that they participate in Cuadrillas for example, and that there is a day for the Indigenous people to establish the Carnival structure, normally on Monday, the *Día de la Cofraternidad*. But that their participation is minimal compared to the amount of people that live in the indigenous reserves. Additionally, as the author explains, when indigenous communities participate, they face several challenges, for example their participation in the Cuadrillas' event, is overshadowed by the luxury of material and costumes from other Cuadrillas which, according to the author, tends to make other participants appreciate more a manner of doing and performing, and underestimates those that, despite their lack of opulence, are willing to represent and have a position in the Carnival and this leads to a decreasing of motivation of these groups in the events.

Another challenge that Indigenous people face according to author (Mejía Zapata, 2011) is that the day that is dedicated for them with the intention to express their culture, is almost the last day of the Carnival and there are not that many people in the town. As the author explains, even though it was arranged with the communities to choose Monday as the Día de la Cofraternidad, the lack of spectators shows that this day is not that relevant compared to the others for some of the people that attend the Carnival, which also sends a message to these communities about their position and role within the Carnival.

With reference to the role of the afro-descendant, Mejía Zapata (2014) explains that it is not even possible to perceive it in any sense during the Carnival. She recognized that there are symbols that scholars have associated with the Africans that arrived to the area, for example the term *Matachin* is explained by Sánchez Taborda et al. (2011) as a word and character coming from Senegal, or *The Devil* has been described as someone that also has African features, however during the day of the Carnival this African heritage is invisible and according to the author just exists in the imagery of the people from Riosucio.

Finally, there is another actor that I can tell has not been studied in a deeper manner, and that is *the tourist*. This actor is recognized by the previously mentioned scholars as one that is mainly problematic, but apart from that, it has not been studied. For instance, as it is mentioned by Zapata Mejía (2014) the participation of tourism in the Carnival has increased in a way that the municipality is unable to host the amount of people that arrive, additionally their behaviour clashes with the rituals and the ways they have traditionally been performed. The dynamics of the Carnival have changed and are affected also by this nomadic actor (Echavarría Carvajal, 1998) that inhabits places in a transitory manner, in that sense it is at least worth mentioning it in this background since it also impacts and participates in certain manners during the Carnival.

In the end, what this section shows is that despite there being a structure, and there is a possibility to previously have at least a blurred map about what this Carnival is about, it is not possible to frame it in just one direction. As it could be interpreted from the authors previously mentioned, despite there being rules, and even an institution that aims to centralize the Carnival, there are different actors who are the ones that constantly shape it, defeat it and transform it. Carnivals in that sense, even inside the social order, are free, there are not standards as in other festivities or religious celebrations; it is not mandatory to participate in them, but without participation they lose their meaning (Echeverri

Gonzalez & Noguera Escamilla, 2001), and from that participation emerge challenges, clashes, conflicts, that are at the same time what fuels the Carnival.

2 RECOGNITION OF PEACE THROUGH THE ORDINARY IN AN AGONISTIC SETTING

To talk about peace when it was previously described a haphazard scenario, that is a platform for “open social conflict” (Scott, 1990, p. 181), might sound contradictory or absurd. As Väyrynen (2019) stresses, peace has been theorised in different fields as something extraordinary or as an accessory concept of the theorization of war or conflict, which restrains the possibility to recognize peace in relations that cannot be framed in that unique direction. With that in mind, my theoretical framework is constructed by the combination of two approaches that I consider enable me to study the experiences in the Carnival of Riosucio with a peace perspective that goes beyond the understanding of peace as a fixed and exceptional concept, and to highlight a possibility to describe this scenario as one where the enactment of peace is feasible, where it is recognized pluralism, and the agency of people in its building; where there is not an aim for a harmony or consensus, on the contrary it is acknowledged that the aim of consensus as a way to transcend conflicts sometimes leads to exclusion, discrimination, or could be a tool to censure the ones who cannot reach the aimed agreement (Wenman, 2013). This theoretical framework is then composed by an agonistic and a corporeal perspective of peace, where through agonism I will base the understanding of the political and politics, something that is relevant in order to consolidate the context of my research; and then a perspective from the corporeal peace concept will provide me with an understanding of embodied experiences and vulnerability, which enables me to recognize the relevance of the personal sphere shown by the material in terms of peace.

In that sense, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will delineate the concept of *Agonism* in politics as this will lead me to the understanding of the perspective of the scene where the Carnival is enacted, additionally it aims to describe, from the theory of Corporeal Peacebuilding, (Väyrynen 2018; 2019) the concept of the mundane and vulnerability, as concepts relevant for the comprehension of my data. Finally, the second section seeks to link these perspectives in terms of peace and consolidate the perspective of peace where I am basing my analysis.

2.1. Politics with a Perspective from Agonism and the Ordinary

As Shinko (2008) explains, agonism is related with the Greek term *agon*, that made a reference to a contest, or a struggle. In that sense, the origin of this word is related to a confrontation, but the concept as this same author states, goes beyond that (p. 478). If linked with politics, the introduction that Chantal Mouffe (2013) made about *the political* and *politics*, is worth mentioning, before the connection of these two words (agonistic + politics). As the author explains, the political is the antagonist dimension which can take different forms in social relations and that is not possible to eliminate; in this dimension there exists conflicting alternatives that cannot be solved by any rational solution (p. 2). The political is constructed of specific patterns of power that are the ones that provisionally constitute the identities that in the social order involves some forms of exclusion where antagonisms could emerge (Mouffe, 2009). In that sense every social order is constituted by temporary and unsteady hegemonies, understood as a “series of practices whose aim is to establish order in a context of contingency” (Mouffe, 2013, p. 2.). On the other hand, politics are those “practices, discourses, and institutions that seeks to establish a certain order to organize human coexistence in conditions which are always potentially conflicting, since they are affected by the dimension of ‘the political’” (p. 3.).

Politics, in an agonistic perspective, does not ignore the political, in that sense it recognized the conflictual dimension of social relations, it accepts its plurality, and acknowledges the ineluctability of power relations (Mouffe, 2013). Considering that, Wenman (2013) relates the agonistic perspective of politics, with a “tragic view of the world” (p. 33) where there is not, as in other perspectives such as the liberal one, a goal for a final redemption or a transformation that seeks to overcome the dimensions of the political. That is because, as Mouffe (2013) expressed, the main purpose is not to reach a rational solution that leads to a consensus, because that would require ignoring the different identities that are built in the political sphere, driving to a censure of pluralism, which will tend to solidify the hegemonies of the time and its consequences in terms of discrimination, that could even lead to violence (Mouffe, 2013).

Likewise, Goi (2015) states that a perspective of politics that privileges “strategic rationality” (p. 59) over a plural participation as aimed by agonism, has had three main consequences for people:

they have abandoned politics almost completely and concentrated on accumulating private benefits; they have retreated into homogeneous communities that reject the radically pluralist ethos of the public arena; or they have resorted to violent means of expressing opinions that, they feel, are otherwise marginalized and ignored by those who wield political power. (p. 59)

In that sense the “tragic view of the world” (Wenman, 2013), is related to the acknowledgment of the permanence of the power structures and conflict in human relations; understanding in the same way that there exists a real difficulty in agreeing on goods or systems of beliefs (Goi, 2015) which conduce to the recognition of the existence of antagonistic relations that simply cannot be overcome, not even by consensus, as it is the aim of liberal politics because there are positions that are bound for some, and the recognition of that as an act of respect (Shinko, 2008), is also a manner to enact politics, in this case with the agonist perspective.

By taking this into account, I am interested about two main aspects that are the ones I want to relate with my research, the first one is that Agonism in politics includes those behaviours that do not always have a rational or ethical pretension of harmony, into the sphere of political actions, acknowledging the limitations on intervention that human capacity has (Wenman, 2013). This enables a transformation from an inclusion in politics that goes beyond the recognition of just those relations where there is a need to beat the one who is different, to one where also included are those actions where the contrary is recognized while a coexistence is accepted with them without the expectation of change (Shinko, 2008). As Mouffe (2013) mentions it is a recognition of those who are identified as different:

as adversaries whose ideas might be fought, even fiercely, but whose right to defend those ideas is not to be questioned. To put it in another way, what is important is that conflict does not take the form of ‘antagonism’ (struggle between enemies) but the form of an agonism (struggle between adversaries). (p. 6-7).

In that sense, people feel entitled to defend their ideas, acknowledging that there are others who will do the same in a different sense (Shinko, 2008). Therefore, Agonism in politics appeals for places or platforms where confrontations are possible, this as a sign of a lively democracy and not as something to be hidden or avoided as if it were a manifestation of an imperfect democracy (Mouffe, 2009). Therefore, as Chantal Mouffe (2009) states, the Agonistic model requires the provision of

channels through which collective passions will be given ways to express themselves over issues which, while allowing enough possibility for identification, will not construct the opponent as an enemy but as an adversary. An important difference with the model of ‘deliberative democracy’ is that for ‘agonistic pluralism’, the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions from the sphere of the public, in order to render a rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards democratic designs [...] Breaking with the symbolic representation of society as an organic body –which was characteristic of the holist mode of social organization- a democratic society acknowledges the pluralism of values, the ‘disenchantment of the world’ diagnosed by Max Weber and the unavoidable conflict that it entails (p.103)

The acknowledgment of the pluralism of values in the way that is previously described also involves the recognition of society as something that is not reducible, fixed and self-defined, as it is explained by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). This is relevant because it allows us to understand that when referring to *practices* it is recognized that they are not the result of something already settled and determined but that practices are the construction itself of new concepts and articulations that are able to be disrupted, contradicted and changed. Therefore, to question some articulations built through hegemonies is an issue to consider and to challenge through different practices and platforms that provide the “agonistic production of new subjectivities” (Mouffe, 2013, p. 90) that allow other forms of identification.

As Goi (2015), explains a feature of participation in an agonal space is

the active preservation of dissent, the cultivation of contestation as a means to preserve the liveliness and vibrancy of democracy. The agonal space reminds the political community at large that there is always an opportunity to reconsider even a matter that has been decided. (p. 61).

For that reason, there is an acceptance of the right of persons to ask questions, point out contradictions, to stress other points of view, while at the same time there is a right to not be convinced about other positions (Shinko, 2008). As Shinko (2008) emphasizes when explaining “Foucault’s model”, the manifestation of *respect* towards the other, emerges when it is possible to recognize that the other is resistant to the governance of their conduct, and in that context, it is not possible to reduce it into a personal strategy (p. 489). In those terms, through agonism the interaction will require basic rules of speaking and listening without a focus in a “strategic manipulation” that aims to persuade the other (Goi, 2015, p. 60), but to express freely, with the frame of respect (Shinko, 2008), their opinions.

The second aspect I am interested in, is that considering the relations of power through agonism permits the recognition of the possibility of freedom, thus that these structures are precarious, and possible to be “resisted and altered” (Shinko, 2008, p. 485). In this manner, to recognize that power structure is not a synonym to subjugation, but on the contrary, that from the possibility to include it into the political emerges the possibility to decipher it and understand its consequences, that could lead to ways to study, challenge, or question those hegemonies, and that those actions even though could not necessarily lead to a subversion, or transformations of the structure, cannot be erased in politics. Furthermore, Lehti & Romashov (2021) states, that through agonism there exists a possibility to transform the everyday experiences of antagonism and understand its emergence from the hegemonic control that creates its narratives, which conduce to a possibility that goes beyond answering questions about how to breakout from the structure of power, but, as it was focused on their case of study, to “look for marginal spaces of social interaction beyond the hegemonic control of antagonizing narratives, for spaces which enable agonistic interaction” (p. 6).

In that regard, it is through the understanding about the dynamics of power that people can think about a diversity of actions to approach hegemony (Shinko, 2008), without ignoring those acts that cannot be subsumed on bureaucratic actions as the only ones allowed in politics (Goi, 2015). Therefore, through a perspective of agonism it is possible to include, even to enhance the “performative or theatrical element of political participation” where each person in their own terms decides to express their own position, without thinking of limits of reason, or certain rules or frames of efficiency that will censure their manifestation, if they are not complied (Goi, p. 61, 2015). In that respect agonism allows different ways to participate, which increases the engagement of individuals in politics as the mere act of expressing an opinion is itself motivating, the act of pointing out some structure that does not coincide with their own point of view, or the act to complaining against something or someone even though it will not necessarily lead to influencing a policy decision or a concrete disruption in the hegemonies in charge (Goi, 2015).

In the same perspective Mouffe (2013) connects some cultural and artistic practices with a possibility to work as counter-hegemonic practices that challenge the unquestionable social order that frames the political. For her, cultural and artistic practices are in a broad sense in the political sphere, and they “play a role in the constitution and maintenance of a given symbolic order, or in its challenging” (p. 91.). But particularly, there are some

actions that through artistic and cultural manifestation contribute to “unsettling the dominant hegemony” (p. 91.). Thus, they do not aspire to convince or reveal a truth over other perspectives, but

rather from the inscription of the social agent in a set of practices that will mobilize its affects in a way that disarticulates the framework in which the dominant process of identification takes place. (p. 93.)

Then a possibility is implied to think in politics about those public manifestations that through different tools, whether it be art or other cultural practices, question the consequences of certain established hegemony in a context, such as the establishment of antagonized identities.

In that manner the public space, as a place that fosters these practices, is a platform for those agonistic confrontations. That means a place where “conflicting points of view are confronted without any possibility of a final reconciliation” (Mouffe, 2013, p. 92). Thus, a comprehension of politics is required, not only as those actions previously mentioned, but also in its faculty to create spaces for encounters that do not go in just one direction, and that are linked with the acknowledgment of the temporariness and not fixity of these encounters (Lehti & Romashov, 2021). In view of this, a transformation from antagonist to adversarial relations is “a constitutive, continuous and contingent form of politics” where interactions are between those who even if they disagree respect its existence as it is (Lehti & Romashov, 2021, p. 6).

With an acknowledgment of the impossibility to avoid the political as described by Agonism, a narrower focus on the ordinary, as presented by Väyrynen (2019) enables me to approach the dynamics of the Carnival of Riosucio that I interpreted from my data, with a possibility to include in my study those corporeal experiences that emerge from its execution. Väyrynen (2019) proposes a recognition of the *ordinary* from the mundane, meaning the possibility to study lively experiences that are related with the everyday as an opportunity to recognize peace as the embodied enactment of it. In that sense, there is a focus of the acts, not because of the place in which they are situated, but because of their lively construction as they are, and on this enhancement of the ordinary, it is possible to include within the study of peace, the different spheres of human existence such as relationality and affection that are manifested by their corporeality (Väyrynen, 2019). Therefore, this perspective enables the inclusion of the study of the body as an opportunity that emerges to depict its fragility and agency, its relation with others, and how “the body

is never a passive target of practices of governance: it also has a capacity to escape these practices.” (p. 20.).

In that regard, there is a recognition on the reliance of the other, and that in the human condition there is something feeble that incorporates an openness to be affected by the other. This affection is described by Väyrynen (2019), aligned with Butler (2009), as *vulnerability*, which means that there exists in the human condition something that goes beyond a “weakness or inferiority” (Väyrynen, 2019, p. 26) and it is the acknowledgment of dependency of the others, being persons, circumstances, or institutions, therefore it reaches a recognition. With the identification of vulnerability not only in a private sphere, but with its relational dimension emerges the possibility for humans to distinguish the affection of structures and hierarchies, in their personal sphere for example with acts of exclusion or discrimination, but also with the recognition of the potential of their own accountability and agency in the political sphere, which in the end includes a possibility to act amidst an existence that could lead to different consequences, and one could be the building of peace (Väyrynen, 2019).

To summarize, an agonistic perspective in politics allows, me in terms of this research, to recognize the permanence of antagonism and power as something that should not be ignored or hidden, but something to be transformed or challenged. In that sense, it provides me with a possibility to study the enactment of public manifestations such as those that could be enacted in the carnival for the construction of the contextual politics, even though they are temporal, are under certain hegemonies that are still present, are not unidirectional but rather chaotic, and do not aim for a consensus, or to impose an opinion over another appealing to reason. Moreover, the connection of this perspective with the ordinary and the concept of vulnerability, enables me to study concrete expressions of the participants of the Carnival in a manner that is possible to recognize their own positionality and how personally they experience this practice in relation with the others, it is through this perspective that for me it is possible to listen to their manifestations about what they feel, how they personify their characters in Carnival, how they transform from their own individuality to another and why they consider the Carnival as part of their life and not just an ephemeral event.

To conclude, a combination of perspectives allows me the recognition of the enactment of the Carnival of Riosucio as an embodied manifestation of peace. With that in mind, now that the part of the theoretical framework that seeks to describe the futures of the

political and politics dimension on which I base my study is settled, in the next section I will briefly describe how this is linked with the concept of *peace* that I am aiming to use in order to interpret my data.

2.2. Peace through Agonism and the Corporeal Turn

Aggestam, Cristiano & Strömbom (2015) state that an agonistic perspective of peace will aim to recognize the role of dissensus in its own construction. Therefore, the goal for peacebuilding is not the eradication of antagonisms and the difference as if they were a synonym of enmity; but its acceptance as something unfixed but included in the social dynamics, “since identity can be reconstituted and transformed when channelled into open and plural agonistic encounters based on respect.” (p. 1738). Peace from an agonistic perspective, recognizes the plurality of its agents and the possibility of their participation in the same spaces, even if their identities oppose, since it is not the goal of this view point to safeguard one standpoint over another. But the acknowledgment of the otherness, accepting that it is included in confrontation, is as well, a manifestation of peace since the encounters are not with the intention to destroy the other, but with basic rules of an adversarial opposition (Aggestam et al., 2015).

Therefore, there is in this perspective of peace a possibility “for intrinsic conflicts to exist non-violently” (p. 1739) which includes a latent challenge of impermanence of what is constructed, a feature itself of this perspective of peace that is subject to be always questioned and transformed as the articulations are re-created. In that regard:

provocation is constant, it occurs again and again, over and over until out of this struggle emerges a begrudging recognition, a begrudging acceptance, the begrudging admission of a nod towards recognition and the acknowledgement of a respect earned in a struggle borne out of the refusal to submit. If we are to look for the trace of peace perhaps this moment, this flash of recognition indicates the opening where peace is practice. (Shinko, 2008, p. 489)

Peace from agonism, differs for instance from a liberal perspective as from the agonistic perspective there is not a promise of a society that will be liberated from conflict through politics; additionally, the plural agents of peace practices are not aimed to weave relations with the pre-requisite of harmony as dissent and confrontation are also possible (Aggestam et al., 2015).

In this respect, as Aggestam et al. (2015) explain, peacebuilding from agonism will aim for the construction of spaces where it is possible to express a diversity of viewpoints, through institutions and practices that prevent violence to emerge. In that sense there is an agreement from adversaries to respect the other, and their confrontations are allowed, accepting that there is not a goal for a consensus or one of the visions to prevail, which at the end encompasses an invitation to empty the concept of peace from its negative notion of absence of war, where the term is “reduced to a positive view of peace, in which peace is seen as the ‘natural’ condition and war the aberration.” (p. 1740). Furthermore, an approach to peace from this perspective appeals to the envision of the term “as a cacophonous and cluttered terrain of political struggle, denoted by multi-layered and discontinuous sites of emergence.” (Shinko, p. 490, 2008).

With this perspective of *peace* there is the possibility for pluralism and a convergence of different identities in the same place, it is acknowledging as well, the possibility of interaction with the ones that are different without the intention to change them as the main goal. From it, acts of society that do not necessarily lead to harmony or consensus, but that aim for expression, or question the established hegemonies could also be included as of peace since there is a possibility to act that goes beyond an established objective of transformation of structures that when it is not accomplished the actions are ignored. Finally, it is recognized that acts of peace can be temporal, ephemeris, and that their transformations are not permanent, but that not because of that are they meaningless (Lehti & Romashov, 2021).

In that regard, a manner to depict peace with an agonistic perspective is by the “corporeal turn” (p. 30) proposed by Väyrynen (2019), where futures such as vulnerability, and the recognition of the ordinary enables the acceptance about the non-fixity of positions, and it allows the opportunity

of vitalizing the study of peacebuilding and peace, instead of conceiving them merely as an abstraction [...] In other words, conflict and peacebuilding are not only about soldiers, statesmen, international institutions, victims and heroes. It is equally important to shed light on phenomena that are seldom examined in Peace and Conflict Studies, which include trans-generational memory, resistances, silences, post-conflict governance of subaltern bodies, the affective dimensions of war and conflict and senses. (Väyrynen, p. 122-123, 2018).

The corporeal turn enables me to understand actions without the prerequisite of settling identities for its justification, also to grasp from the habitual, those acts that are connected

with peace. Therefore, it allows me to enhance the meaning of the Carnival of Riosucio, not as an extraordinary event, but as something that is felt and experienced by its participants beyond the six days of the celebration, it is then a manner for me to understand peace without the need to justify something out of the ordinary, but the possibility to listen to the expression of the participants as they communicate, as something intrinsic in their life.

To conclude this chapter, the theoretical framework presented aimed to state that the perspectives on which I based my analysis acknowledges the possibility to study peace from the everyday experiences that are felt in the corporeal but at the same time intrinsically presents a relational dimension. Additionally, from the perspective presented in this chapter peace is understood as something that is not out of the ordinary and that acknowledges its coexistence with plurality, conflict and the influence of power structures, where peace could be recognized in those possibilities to channel encounters that reframe barriers of enmity or that challenge settled structures even if they do not end up in harmony or with a clear result of a transformation, in that perspective, that peace does not require to be an extraordinary surprise out of reach specially in contexts as the one presented in my research.

This theoretical framework will have more sense once I present the chapter of my analysis, because it will be possible to see how I linked my interpretation of the data with my understanding of these theories explained by different scholars. But before arriving there, I will describe in the next chapter how I conducted my research, which methods helped me for the analysis of my data, and what are the limitations of my study.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN: DATA AND METHODS

This research was based on audio-visual material from different years, where people communicated through their experiences during carnival times. With that in mind, this chapter has two main objectives, the first is to introduce this audio-visual material, to explain why I chose it and to acknowledge the limitations that it has. The second objective is to define the methodology used to approach the data and how through it I answered the research question and tried to overcome some of the limitations that the data has.

3.1. Audio-Visual Material as Historical Documents

The research was based on six documentary films that the Carnival of Riosucio recorded in 1983, 1989, 1999, 2007 and 2010. Additionally, it was based on a special program of interviews that was presented in January 2021 as a way to reflect on the Carnival from the different perspectives of the participants in a year where it was not possible to perform because of the COVID-19 pandemic. From the data collected I decided to exclude the film “La Palabra del Diablo” by Carlos Mayolo (1989) because it was a fictional love story between a man who represents the devil and a woman, and despite it being filmed during carnival times I considered that this perspective did not allow me to engage with the Carnival itself since the characters and the love story were what the film was mainly showing.

Table 1 that is located at the Appendix of this thesis contains an identification of each of the audio-visual materials I took into account, with the location, title, director, and the year. The videos analysed in this research are public and are placed in national archives or can be found online. The accessibility of the documents in official and public places was also a determinant in order to choose these films, because it was possible to track the authors and context of the film in order to contextualize and study the relevance of the source.

I choose audio-visual material as historical documents to analyse, and no other type, because I consider that through these documents it is possible not only to interpret a multiple content of images, sounds, location or symbols but it is also possible to study how the Carnival of Riosucio has been represented through different lenses. Additionally, to base my research on documentary analysis, especially on videos, benefited me in the sense that it is one of the most accurate possibilities for me to immerse myself in an event

that is constantly changing and that is alive just for a short length of time, and that is reborn every two years. In that sense the material allows me to grasp content that is not just about what is said but also how it is communicated.

With films, it is possible to live embodied experiences as stressed by Ferencz-Flatz & Hanich (2016). According to the author when explaining the fields of interest of Film Phenomenology on 21st century, the act of viewing a film involves more than seeing as other senses, such as touching, can emerge on the body of the spectator:

[Jennifer Barker (2009) shares] the conviction that viewers and films are much more closely intertwined than previous models of spectatorship have made us believe: *“Watching a film, we are certainly not in the film, but we are not entirely outside it, either. We exist and move and feel in that space of contact where our surfaces mingle and our musculatures entangle.”* (p.12) (p. 46)

Under this perspective, films are considered experiences that go beyond sitting and watching something, it allows an interaction with a non-present object, that in my case is the Carnival of Riosucio, and in that sense, despite not having been present in the carnival of those years, it is through the audio-visual material that I can perceive some of the representations of it.

And another feature, is that films as historical sources have been recognized in different disciplines. For example, Chapman (2012) mentions that different types of films could provide different evidence of the past, depending on what the researcher is looking for, and for instance, historians could have an interest in using films

as records of the past (actuality and documentary films), films as cultural artefacts (the historical analysis of film form, style, and aesthetics), or films as social documents (the idea that films reflect the values, attitudes, and assumptions of the societies in which they were produced and consumed). In using film, the historian must ask the same questions as of any source: What was its provenance? Who made it and who saw it? Under what circumstances was it made, and with what intention? (p. 8)

For the purpose of this research, it is relevant then to highlight that I am not approaching my source in an uncritical way. I have recognized in that sense that the content to be observed in the films is constructed by the filmmakers, and is shared with the audience with a perspective, or through particular lenses (Figueroa, 2008). In that way, films, even if they show non-fictional images as for example documentaries, cannot be seen as direct windows to the past because audio-visual material is not neutral or claims to mirror reality but it is a recreation of it, furthermore it is fictional because it presents a narration that is

built (Figuerola, 2008). With that in mind, in my analysis I described what I have interpreted about the Carnival of Riosucio taking into account that the sources that I am using are not telling me what was happening during a particular period of time or just one reality, but how it was represented.

3.2. Data Analysis

The methodology of this research was based on documental analysis, mainly through the guidance of Bowen's (2009) approach to the use of documents as data source in qualitative research, Munster & Sylvest (2015) with their Arrangements of Perceptibility and Schreier (2012) as the guide for the Qualitative Content Analysis aspect. It is worth noting that even though for the purpose of this section I have divided the methodology of analysis in two parts, that does not mean that they are separated; on the contrary, they are connected, and it is not possible for my research questions to analyse just one of the sections as if it were separated from the other.

3.2.1. Analysing the Document

According to Bowen (2009), it is important not to

simply 'lift' words or passages from the available documents, to be thrown in the research report. Rather, they [the researchers] should establish the meaning of the document and its contribution to the issues being explored (p. 33).

In this regard, factors related to the origin of the document such as authorship, purpose, or context where it was published are relevant. In order to depict what the author mentions, Munster & Sylvest (2015) propose an analytical framework (see Figure 2) for the field of international relations to engage with documentary film with the aim of understanding its political and theoretical significance. In it, the authors introduce the idea of "arrangements of perceptibility", that seeks to overcome the discussion about whether documentary films are "true or false representations of reality to an analytical focus of how we perceived and how we are able, allowed or made to perceive" (p. 233). This framework was relevant for me as a first stage because it allowed me to ask about what the material wants to show me with the combination of the features of narration, images and sound. As the authors stress, there is a need

to take documentary film-making seriously as a separate and significant medium of representation that -moving smoothly between fact and fiction, education and

entertainment- directly intervenes in international politics by laying claim to (parts of) truth and reality. (p.229).

In my case even though I am not referring to international relations, I consider that this analytical framework is relevant to understand my material since I am also taking into account the significance of audio-visual material in the study of politics.

Figure 2 below presents the clues to understanding the arrangements of perceptibility:

TABLE 1. Arrangements of Perceptibility in Documentary Film

<i>Arrangements of Perceptibility</i>	<i>Arrangement I</i>	<i>Arrangement II</i>	<i>Arrangement III</i>
Operational modality	Saying over showing	Showing over saying	Showing contradicts saying (and <i>vice versa</i>)
Theoretical modality	Truth	Reality	Doubt/irony/ambiguity
Political efficacy	Exposition	Disclosure	Destabilization
Associated educational model	Instruction	Facilitation (perspectivism)	Problematization (critique)
Illustrations (see next sections)	<i>An Inconvenient Truth</i> (2006) <i>Countdown to Zero</i> (2010)	<i>Armadillo</i> (2010) <i>Restrepo</i> (2010)	<i>Standard Operating Procedures</i> (2008) <i>Collapse</i> (2009)

¹²The table is inspired by Platinga's (2005) distinction between saying and showing as well as Nichols' (2001) account of the various subgenres at work in documentary film.

Figure 2. *Arrangements of Perceptibility* by Munster & Sylvest (2015, p. 233).

In the Table 1, I placed each of the videos in these arrangements, and as it is possible to see, most of them are from Arrangement I and Arrangement II which means that most of the audio-visual material I am analysing, portrays what they are showing as if they were exhibiting a truth (Arrangement I), or as if they were revealing a reality (Arrangement II), in that sense, their films are tools for instruction about what the Carnival of Riosucio is, or they serve as a manner to facilitate for the spectator an experience about how the Carnival develops. This is relevant to mention because it shows the limitations of my data and acknowledges that the material is not neutral or a simple window to the past, each of the materials had a way to perceive the Carnival and is made with a purpose, one that despite it not being possible for me to tell which it was, the arrangements of perceptibility allowed me to depict it. Therefore, in the next paragraphs I will briefly describe each of the audio-visual-materials I analysed as a way to present my data and at the same time link it with the analytical framework of arrangement of perceptibility:

1. The oldest documentary film analysed is called *El Carnaval del Diablo* from 1984, made by Gloria Triana Varón, an anthropologist that at that time was the

- director of a series called Yuruparí where different festivities around Colombia were shown (Señal Memoria, n.d.). This first material is then a chapter of the series dedicated to presenting the Carnival of Riosucio. The video shows the images of the carnivals while a narrator is explaining each of the rituals that the camera is showing, additionally it interviews some participants and what they feel about the Carnival. I placed this documentary in Arrangement II as it is mainly the image that talks and a narrator provides some explanations about it, the interviews are in this case less present than in other materials.
2. The documentary film *Tatínez y Matachín* was directed by Carlos Mayolo. The documentary is part of the collection of documentaries *Rastros y Rostros* by Telepacífico, a collection that was created with the intention to voice those people that were considered ignored by the media at that time (Lasso Montealegre, 2015). During the documentary *Tatínez*, an important figure in the Carnival as one of the most important Matachín, talks about how he experiences the carnival, he as the main character of the film is complemented by other Matachines that also explain their experiences and different people that were interviewed by a devil puppet explain their perceptions of the Carnival. This documentary is placed in the Arrangement II.
 3. Included as well in the collection *Rastros y Rostros* is the film *Las Quejas de Satanás*. This film was made as a graduation project of bachelor students of Social Communication, and while it shows images about the enactment of the Carnival, it interviews people that are recognized figures of the municipality (such as Matachines or the priest) who explain their experiences in the carnival and also what they would like to change about it. I located this documentary in the Arrangement I.
 4. The film *¡Salve! ¡Salve! Diablo del Carnaval* is on YouTube, and was made by Beatriz Bermúdez B. and Germán Castañeda R. This documentary filmed the Carnival of 1999 and it mainly shows how the carnival develops. It shows images from the different parts of the carnival and presents the voices of unidentified participants that express their feeling while they are filmed living the carnival. This material is located in Arrangement II.
 5. *Una Cita con el Diablo* was made in 2008 by the Universidad Nacional and a research group directed by Paolo Vignolo. The documentary involves a main character who pictures the different dynamics of the participants that interact in a Carnival, it shows their disagreements and engagements as well as the plurality of

the actors that intervene. This documentary is the only one situated in Arrangement III as there is not always a clear line of what is said, with what is showed, since more than revealing something, the documentary invites the audience to reflect on the dynamics of the Carnival.

6. *Un Diablo Amistoso* by Juan Diego Mejía, is a documentary that is presented by Mario Andrés Muñoz, the singer of the musical group Dr. Krápula. He explained in the video that he wants to know about the municipality that throughout a Carnival manages to live with the ones who before were in conflict. With that intention, the musician interviews different scholars from Riosucio as well as participants of the Carnival and asks them about this feature. The documentary is placed in Arrangement II.
7. Finally, the Interviews of 2021 that are described better in Table 1, were filmed during the first six days of January where the Carnival of Riosucio was supposed to take place this year, and are saved on the Facebook page of the Corporation of Riosucio. The episodes were made by the Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio (2021) and the interviewer, who is at the same time the elected Major of the Carnival for 2021 expresses that the idea of the videos is to provide a tool that could be an aid for educational proposals and as a way to reflect on different experiences that the participants of the Carnival of Riosucio have had during the years while it has been paused. During the episodes there is a prevalence of what is said over what is shown since it is a conversation, and people are narrating their personal experiences, sometimes complemented by costumes, symbols, or music. There is an order to the episodes and participants marked by the days on which the ritual would have been performed if the Carnival had not been cancelled⁶, and the episodes developed through conversations between the participants and the interviewer. With that in mind, I consider the interviews as audio-visual documents could be framed in the Arrangement I, as it is expressed by the interviewer at different moments and by some of the participants as well, the intention of the interviews was to *explain* what the carnival is about, through their experiences.

From this introduction of my data, it is possible then to see what the focus of each of the videos is and that they have different perspectives even though sometimes they use the

⁶ For example, on Monday 4th of January 2021 they interviewed indigenous participants of the day of brotherhood (Día de la Confraternidad), in order to reflect on their experiences about that day.

same resources such as questioning about the origin or meanings of the carnival or to show the experiences of the participants.

Finally, I want to underline that what I am exploring about the carnival is limited as it is based on the people that are included in the videos, people that might not represent the plurality of the participants of the carnival or the inhabitants of Riosucio. For example, most of the participants of the videos, even though in different roles, are male figures, and the participation of other genders are not that present, in the same way the participation of perspectives from Indigenous, African descendent and rural communities is not equal, furthermore it is possible to say that it is demonstrated that the experiences that prevail in the documentaries are those from people that have a recognized role in the Carnival and that are aligned for example with the Carnival Corporation, academy, or the church. In that sense, despite it being possible to depict the behaviour or expressions of alternative figures as it will be possible to see in the next chapter, these are not the main perspectives shown by the material. In that regard, my data is limited and further research with more material or other types of data that complements and allows a comparison from these perspectives should be done in the future.

3.2.2. Analysing the Content

The audio-visual material was analysed through qualitative content analysis, following the work of Schreier (2012) in her book *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. According to the author, this method is useful for describing the meaning of the material in a systematic manner. This method was suitable for my research because it is used when a certain degree of interpretation of the material that goes beyond the analysis of a standardized meaning is required. In that sense, it is the researcher who is constructing the meaning of what is expressed from the data (Schreier, 2012).

The qualitative content analysis method was pertinent as it allowed me to situate and analyse the data from a specific angle, in this case to interpret and systematize the material from the perspective of my theoretical framework, agonistic and corporeal peace. In that way, this method is not adequate for a broader perspective of a phenomena, but to concentrate on the aspect that is related with the research question (Schreier, 2012), that in my case was: How is Peace enacted during Carnival times in Riosucio, Caldas?

Therefore, the method has, as one of its limitations, that it just supported me with the analysis of the data content that is related to my research, and in that sense other aspects

of the Carnival dynamics, or social dynamics in general are not answered by it. The second limitation is that this method is not suitable to analyse the material itself, but just the content, in that sense it should be connected with other methods if the study of the document is relevant as well (Schreier, 2012).

In the case of this study, I consider that the first limitation is not a barrier for my research itself. On the contrary, it helped me to focus on a topic and develop it, acknowledging that the diversity of aspects related to carnivals, and in particular the Carnival of Riosucio and its social dynamics are immense and not possible to cover in this Master's Thesis. Therefore, in the background there are different topics that are briefly mentioned not only as a way to give context to the reader, but also to highlight some of the issues that have been studied about this phenomenon in order to state the multiplicity of the perspective that it has. The second limitation is overcome with Munster & Sylvest (2015) arrangements of perceptibility, since with it, it is possible to study the document itself in a manner that allowed me to understand the origin of the document, its authorship, and purpose; and then to connect it with the analysis of its content through this particular method of qualitative content analysis.

Schreier (2012) suggests for those of us that are using Qualitative Content Analysis for the first time, to divide the construction of the Coding Frame in two stages. The first one is the stage to separate all the *relevant* data from the *irrelevant*, the second stage is the process to create categories and subcategories that will allow the coding of the relevant data with the interest of the researchers.

In my case, I decided to filter my data with general questions that I asked regarding the videos:

- What is the meaning of the carnival for those that are filming the material?
- How do they experience the Carnival (what are their feelings while being there)?
- What are their roles in the Carnival? How do they experience their role? How is the interaction experienced between the roles?
- What are the difficulties they are facing when participating in the Carnival?
- Do they consider there is a difference between participants and spectators of the Carnival? Where is the dividing line? How/what can they describe about what other participants are doing?
- What is communicated through the Carnival?

I placed the transcript of each of the videos as answers to these questions, in tables that were divided by each of the materials.

The second step was then to create some categories (Schreier, 2012) that allowed me to understand the data in a way that could be linked with the theory. The creation of the categories was a combination of data-driven and concept-driven processes since I created the categories from the aspects of theory that I am interested in studying from the data, but the subcategories or themes that allowed me to segment my data in a deeper way, were a data-driven construction of those elements that from the material were related to the concept-driven main categories.

In that order, the first category created was *Encounters with the Otherness*, in this category I located information that people expressed about awareness of conflicts and divisions, their perception and actions with those they perceive different or equal, and how they understand their role and that of the carnival when there exist divisions or disharmony. In that regard, the subcategories created were *Awareness conflicts/divisions*, *Connecting with the other* and *The space of encounter*. For instance, I placed the phrase:

the division transcended to the point that years later the conservatives were situated in the upper town hall, and the liberals in the lower part. The fence has a symbolic meaning that represents the conflicts that have existed.

In the subcategory *Awareness conflicts/divisions* since it shows me the acknowledgment regarding the origin of division in Riosucio and how this person considers it developed.

The second category was *Impermanence of Identities* where I placed information related to possibilities of transformation during the Carnival and expressions of the participants in the videos where they identified themselves and others in a different way that they do when they are not in carnival times; considering that, the subcategories created were *Personal transformation*, *Alteration of structures/leaders*, *Agency on creation of identities*. An example of a segment situated in this category, inside the theme *Personal transformation* is:

When I am writing to the Devil, I am the Devil myself, I write to myself because I represent the joy and suffering of the working classes, their aspiration of hope, I represent all Riosucio when I am dedicated to the Carnival.

I located it there since it is an expression of a Matachín that acknowledges how he changes during carnival times.

Finally, *Interaction observed by Social Order* was my third category, and it applied when there were expressions about the awareness of an established social order or institutions that govern from outside or inside the Carnival, and their relation with the dynamics of the Carnival and their own lives, the subcategories were *Interactions with structures that affect them* and *Role of Institutions in Carnival Times*. In this category I situated for example the phrase:

We were forced to burn the she devil because we want the people to listen to us. This is not just about five rich people, and they said unite the village... Where is the union of the village? The board is not who governs, it is the people.

I located it in the subcategory of *Interactions with structures that affect them*, because I considered it shows a perspective about the relation of this person not only with the Corporation of the Carnival, but also with structural division such as rich and poor, and those who govern and those who are ignored.

The data once it was coded according to the previous frame, was the basis of what will be presented in the next chapter, but before going there I will describe in the next section some aspects about myself, because as an interpreter of my data it is useful and transparent for the reader to know about the one who is researching. Additionally, even though I have already mentioned the limitations that my research has related to the data and methods, I will explain more about how this research is limited because of my positionality.

3.3. Interpreting the Data: Positionality, ethics and limitations

Where the researcher is situated in a social and political context affects every stage of the research process, it is then relevant to consider positionality because it influences not only the way the researcher carried out the process, but also how the results are interpreted or who the voices represented on it are (Rowe, 2014). Regarding myself, it is relevant to mention that even though I am Colombian, and my native language is Spanish, I am not familiar with the context of Riosucio and the Carnival, in that sense I needed to study about what the carnival means from scholars from different areas, as well as with different articles that talked about the carnival and their relevant figures in order to understand some symbols, rituals and interactions that are presented in the material. With that in mind my perspective is one of an outsider of this social dynamic and it certainly differs from those that have experienced the carnival or been involved in Riosucio's context.

Additionally, my background is in Law, and this Master's is my first contact with Social Sciences, in that sense, I acknowledge that my perspective does not go in deep regarding some theories from social fields that could provide me with more explanations about the enactment of carnival rituals, and in general other perspectives about my study case. Finally, as my research resonates with the perspective of films as experiences (Ferencz-Flatz & Hanich, 2016), it is worth mentioning that I was not a passive spectator when I was watching the films, in that sense I laughed and even cried during some of the films, my heart beat and I personally felt more empathy with some characters, or scenes than with others, thus said the films were not passive for me, they moved me and it is from that experience that I am interpreting their content. In that regard, despite considering that my relation with the films, should be acknowledged, I also think it does not blind my analysis, or my critical reflection, on the contrary since it is a topic that touches my personal affection, I tried to establish some solid bases that I am aiming to present here in a transparent manner.

This positionality, is also connected with an ethical sphere and it is about how my research could affect others (Edwards, R. & Mauthner, M., 2012). In that sense, I have the responsibility to care about the consequences of what I am interpreting and analysing since from my research I am aiming to communicate, that means an interaction with others. As I have previously mentioned in this Chapter, I understand that my audio-visual material provides me with a limited personal experience of the Carnival and its participants, in that sense it should be clear that it is through my interpretation and personal perspective that I am creating my analysis, in that regard I acknowledge the commitment that I have to not generalize and be honest about what is represented in my material about the carnival and its participants. That imposes on me a responsibility to be clear with my research process, since I am accountable for the doubts or discussions that could emerge from it.

Connected to this, a final aspect that it is worth mentioning is that my data is not *manifested* but *latent*, that is because the videos I am analysing are not directly expressing what I am interested in. As Schreier (2012) explains, to analyse latent content was disregard at some point because it could open the door to high levels of subjectivity, but as she explains, this is not a limitation, since, firstly there is a question about when something is manifested or latent, because it is at the end an interpretation of the receiver already, additionally:

The situation when applying QCA to less standardised and indirect content is no different from understanding indirect meaning in everyday situations. You will have to engage in more interpretation, and you may have to look at the context in more detail. But usually, it is perfectly possible to arrive at a given meaning, and coders will be able to give their reasons why they favour one interpretation over another. Latent content in the sense of indirect and non-standardised meaning is therefore perfectly accessible to QCA (cf. Früh, 2007, Chapter 4; Groeben & Rustemeyer, 1994). (p. 178)

In that regard, to interpret the latent content of the audio-visual material is feasible, but I consider that one of the limitations of my work is that I am the only subject to interpret my data. In that sense, there is no other coder who I could talk with and discuss why I located a segment of my data in one category, and not in another, as I am doing the process myself. With that in mind, another limitation of this research is that it is engaged just with my own perspective, something that does not reduce its value, but that could be enriched if other researchers participated in it.

Having discussed the manner in which I conducted my research while introducing my data, the methods used to analyse the audio-visual material and its content, my positionality and the limitations that my study has, now is time to turn to the Chapter where I will present my analysis and where all the chapters above will finally be connected.

4 THE ENACTMENT OF PEACE: RIOSUCIO AND A CARNIVAL

This chapter is divided into three sections that aim to describe the analysis of each of the categories previously described. In each section it is possible to read quotations from the videos that are my personal translation from Spanish to English. The names of the people are not explicit, but sometimes as the expression could be contextualized with the role they identify with, I mention it. About the identification of the materials when a passage is presented, I decided to refer to them with numbers disposed according to the chronological order of their creation. In that sense I will referred to them in this manner⁷:

- V.1: El Carnaval del Diablo (Triana Varón & Ardila, 1984).
- V.2: Tatínez y Matachín (Mayolo, 1989).
- V.3: Las Quejas de Satanás (Muñoz, et al., 1999).
- V.4: ¡Salve! ¡Salve! Diablo del Carnaval (Bermúdez & Castañeda, 2000).
- V.5: Una Cita con el Diablo (Vignolo, 2008).
- V.6: Un Diablo Amistoso (Mejía, 2010).
- V.7: Interviews made by the Corporation of the Carnival⁸ (Coroporación Carnaval de Riosucio, 2021).

This chapter seeks to answer my research question about: How is Peace enacted during Carnival times in Riosucio, Caldas? While presenting my interpretation of the cases shown by the films, aligned with the perspective of Agonistic and Corporeal peace described in the theoretical framework Chapter.

4.1. Encounters with the Otherness

This section aims to present what I have interpreted about how interactions with the others are enacted during the Carnival of Riosucio. With that objective in mind, the section is divided into three sub-sections, the first one will refer to the recognition of dissensus, and the second one is a brief description of where these encounters could emerge, it does not have the objective to present all the possible sites where encounters are possible in the

⁷ See Table 1 in the Appendix for more information about the videos.

⁸ It is worth mentioning that despite associating all the interviews as V.7, under this category it is possible to see from Table 1 there are seven videos included and more than 10 hours of material.

Carnival, but to present one specifically as a link for the section that follows. Finally, the last sub-section will aim to link the mentioned features while connecting them with peace.

4.1.1. Recognition of Dissensus as the Heart of the Carnival of Riosucio

To start, it is relevant to mention that from the data it is also possible to see what authors, such as Medina Ramírez (2011), explained in the background regarding a common narrative in Riosucio related to the creation of the Carnival as a way to unite the two villages of Quebralomo and La Montaña. For the participants of the videos, it is not only an ancient division that is present in the municipality, but from it, and lately from other circumstances, other divisions have emerged in Riosucio, that are still present, and that are not possible to avoid:

“It emerges from a non-encounter between the two town halls. They yelled satires across the fence, *but this division is so real that it still exists and is possible to see the difference between the halls. The lower part gives you everything, the upper part not that much.* The lower part provides “carnavaleros”⁹, musicians, prostitutes, poets, writers, matachines. The upper part just provides one of those at a time [...]”. (V.6) (italics by the author)

“*My father was from Quebralomo, my mother from la Candelaria¹⁰, and they got married at 5 a.m. because they didn't want any trouble. The division has always existed, the ones from Quebralomo are richer, that is the part I identified with, and then the other is for the indigenous people, the poor, they were in La Candelaria [...]*”. (V.6) (italics by the author)

Then, some of the expressions that show the acknowledgment of present division that are not necessarily related in the videos with the narrative of the two town halls are:

“The problem is with all the people that arrive with [the colonies] and they arrive without any knowledge about what the essence of the Carnival is. So “*La Alborada*”¹¹ *is an evidence of how the outsider can transform something traditional into a crowd where they break bottles, and they push each other, because they want to liberate the violent spirit that is inherent in the cities, and that there they cannot free*”. (V.3) (italics by the author)

“I wish that the “Barras”¹² established their position as legal entities, and that they were united around the Carnival, because Sandra¹³, *this has been harsh.*

⁹ Word in Spanish that refers to people from the carnival, or carnival participants.

¹⁰ It is the reference to the church located in La Montaña. The church from Quebralomo was dedicated to Saint Sebastian, and the church of La Montaña to the Virgin of La Candelaria (Mejía Zapata, 2014)

¹¹ Another ritual presented every sunrise on the days of the carnival where with fireworks and music people welcome the new day (Sánchez Taborda et al., 2011).

¹² See the background where through it Medina (2011) explained how these actors interact in the Carnival.

¹³ The interviewer.

At the beginning people pointed as the worst, as gangs of “marihuaneros”¹⁴ that aim to destroy the Carnival.”. (V.7)

“It is just that there are parents... Well, I respect their opinions, but they still believe that we are doing a cult to the Devil, the Devil from the bible, and even though we explain to them, they say: No, my kid cannot participate. So, there are children that just stay there... with that aim to participate”. (V.7)

There is not just one dissensus among their everyday relations, and it is acknowledged that there exist different divisions that can emerge. As it is shown from the last passages, the recognized divisions are explained from the place that people are, from the knowledge about the carnival, from the role they play in the Carnival, or from religious perspectives. But these differences are not a limitation for imagining, and enacting the encounter with the otherness during the carnival times. On the contrary, from the audio-visual material can be interpreted that it is recognized that it is during the carnival where there exists a tangible possibility to meet and to interact in different manners with those that are distant, that are considered as different, sometimes as contraries:

Members of a Cuadrilla singing in a performance: “Here there is a place for all, poor and rich, reds and “godos”¹⁵, during bad times, we have fun, no matter what [...]”. (V.2) (italics by the author)

“During what is called the period of violence¹⁶ lots of people were forced to leave to other cities, during that time festivities were interrupted, but it was precisely the Carnival that finally managed to reunite them again” (V.6) (italics by the author)

“Once, I interviewed Rafael Valencia, a commander of the group M-19¹⁷ who is now dead. I asked him: Would you accept an invitation from the Devil of Riosucio for the purpose of signing a peace treaty? And he answered: Sure! I agree with that, because with a good Devil I would like to sit to talk about peace. So, this commander was already thinking about the possibility of Riosucio as a place to sit and talk [...]” (V.6) (italics by the author)

“To be in a Cuadrilla is like being at home. It is possible that we are thrown out, but then we come back, unpretentious... Is that simple, it is our home, our family, it is to know that we are all different, we have different interests, different professions, but we have the same basis of care, respect and passion for the construction of the Cuadrilla [...]” (V.7) (italics by the author)

These interactions are not simple, and a desired harmony is not included in it that would aim to erase the contested relations that are woven outside or during carnival times. In

¹⁴ People that consume Marihuana, that in the context is something with a negative significance, as it is a word that in general is related with the consumption of drugs.

¹⁵ Related to the conservative political ideology.

¹⁶ The conflicts between conservatives and liberals in the 20th century (Caballero,2016).

¹⁷ Guerrilla that was active from 1974 to 1990.

that sense, these encounters are discordant, and their existence, as it is acknowledged for some, might not be approved for those that are also present. This in the end, is not a barrier for taking action in the carnival, but rather it is one of the reasons why they want to participate in the carnival, or why they are recognized for it:

“So, you are at the proscenium and you start to throw criticisms even though it is known, there will be someone that will complain. And then, there is a guy listening in a coffee shop, or someone goes and tells him: Hey, did you know that they just spread this news, or this shit, this shit! About you? And they say that it was Gartner, or Henao¹⁸ or something like that... But then, I have my defense: Look, we are not offending or hurting anyone, we are trying to amuse the human element that is in our territory, so if you feel uncomfortable here, in this festivity, we have different exits [to other places] but we are not trying to offend not even in a minimal proportion”. (V.3) (italics by the author)

“I remember that once we wanted to sing in a bar, but then all of a sudden people start to say: No! What are you doing? Let’s play the music!... And we were there, with our heart in our hands... But well, we left, and then we went to play in another place, and there they welcomed us properly. The experience with the Caravanas is very beautiful [...]” (V.7). (italics by the author)

“There is a Cuadrilla that is very polemic, they say everything to politicians, and we are always suffering from what they say [the interviewee smiles] ... Once we were at the Club Colombia, and there where different politicians, and they [the politicians] really did not know what to do, whether to hide under the tables, or what to do! Because they were pointing at them! This Cuadrilla is Los Vargas.” (V.7) (italics by the author)

Plurality is then appreciated as it could be understood as a fuel for the Carnival, as something that vitalizes it. Furthermore, this diversity has a connection point, and that is that even though people are different, they are all feeling the Carnival:

About the image of the Devil: “We see something that emerges from our soul, for some it comes full of joy, for others it is peace, for others it is a break”. (V.1).

“Our Carnival doesn’t emerge from any foreign source, and a moment of freedom is not a duty for anyone. There is not an obligation to enjoy in a certain manner, people enjoy as they want. With words, alcohol, with the body, they dance, they feel in love [...]” (V.6). (italics by the author)

“And the magic and the essence of the Carnival is in the heart of everyone that lives in Riosucio, it is in the heart of the one who visits us, in the heart of the Colonias that always think about the Carnival, it is just an essence, I don’t know how it emerges.”. (V.7.)

¹⁸ Names of recognized Matachines at that time.

There is then from my interpretation of what the videos represent about the Carnival of Riosucio an encounter based on plurality, where there is a recognition of contraries, or others that are distant from them, but at the same time it is possible to relate with them during the enactment of the festivity in different ways. What or where is the connection point between the otherness is a question that could have different answers, since the Carnival is not perceived as something enacted just in one physical space, or something that is just clearly starting the first days of January, and is expressly finished after six days. In that regard, the next section will describe what is shown by the videos as a place for encounter in the Carnival of Riosucio.

4.1.2. Houses as Channels for Facing the Other

Some of the spaces for encounters that are recognized, are linked with the possibility for the participants to transmit a message to others, but this is not an unidirectional action since it is from the reception of their message, that means, from the participation of the listeners while they are performing, and the one who hosts them, that the encounter is settled. In that sense, from the data it is possible to interpret a major interest in the participants not only to express themselves, but to be listened:

“Normally, people embrace us properly, but I think people come here not that much because of the cultural aspect, but because of the party. So, I wish that people would receive us better, that they give us the value we deserve, because we do everything with a huge effort and love, so not everything is drinking or music, they should also pay attention to the Cuadrillas”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

About the Decrees of Matachines on the Incantation rituals¹⁹:*“It is worth saying that all people in the world are important for the ritual of the Carnival. Many times, we have been alone on the stage... Because if the entry of the Devil is in the other part, then everyone is there”. (V.7) (italics by the author)*

And that connection aimed for the acts of communication are manifested in different physical places because in the end what exists, is a need to share with the other.

In that regard, there is a common place among the expressions from the data that I found interesting to highlight, and this place is the house(s). These places that are not considered public sites in social relations, but rather are the translation of the physical dimension of privacy, open their door in order to interact with the others in different manners:

¹⁹ According to V.7 the “Conjuros” in Spanish are rituals that Matachines do at the sunrise, sunset and at night for incanting the atmosphere that is lived at that time of day.

“When I was a child, my grandfather received Cuadrillas every 15 days. At that time, it was forbidden to tell what was the name of the Cuadrillas, or what was the lyric or the message about. So, they looked for houses that were far away but where people were energetic, “carnavalera”, so my grandparents were full of joy and sociable; and they received a group every 15 days, there were shifts to go there and rehearse. And I sat there and listened, then I was going to the events in the village, and I think it was from there that my spark was ignited.” (V.7)

“Once I wasn’t allowed to rehearse at school, they have their reasons why... So, I was really worried, and I said: Well, let’s have the rehearsal in my house. And then *there were all those kids agglomerated in my place, and all my family was looking at them, and those kids... with all the energy that they do everything! And they were asking me: How are you going to give food to all these kids? But I managed, and I gave some snacks to all of them.*”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

“It was a *tradition that in my house we all [the Cuadrilla group] had lunch.* The first presentation was for my mom because always when she was alive, we invited them to have lunch, even in “Los Goliardos” when I was absent [...]”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

Houses are then spaces to rehearse, for listening, places that host those that do not have a place to meet, or are simply rooms for talking and sharing, as in the last case a traditional lunch. In that regard, it is possible to say that the Carnival of Riosucio is not synonymous of one concrete place, but a combination of different interactions at different sites, where houses are just an example of it.



Figure 3. Cuadrilla and hosts from a Casa Cuadrillera sharing some drinks after their presentation. V.4.

It is not a place that enables the encounter, but I think, it is the lively interaction between the people who are there with the excuse to live and experience the Carnival. It is worth

to mentioning that I am not assuming that the houses are open for everyone since in one way or another a decision exists regarding who is welcome, and who is not; however, this does not take away the value of the openness because in the end it is another manifestation about how it is possible to relate in an agonistic perspective, where an impossibility for complete harmony is recognized.

Furthermore, the participation of people inside houses, is related more with a feeling of inclusion than exclusion, as mentioned by one of the hosts of a Casa Cuadrillera:

“This is the place where the majority of Cuadrillas perform. Maybe you told me once [to the interviewer] that if the Casas Cuadrilleras didn’t exist, then they would just perform at two or three public scenarios, and lots of people would be excluded from the enjoyment of the Carnival. Well, it is with the Casas Cuadrilleras that we have the chance as participants of the carnival to be with them, to have them [the Cuadrillas] close to us, to see them here, and that is one of the most important things of the Carnival”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

I consider that the openness of private spaces such as houses because of the Carnival is just one of the symbolic manifestations about the ephemeral of social constructions and the intrinsic possibility that exists to change a pre-established definition. Houses are just a case, but from the data, this transformation of structures is possible to interpret from a different dimension, and this is what will be presented in section 4.2. Now, after considering this aspect of encounters from the sub-headings above, finally I will stress why these aspects can be related to the concept of peace.

4.1.3. Peace as a Celebration of Pluralism

To meet with the others having the Carnival as a pretext, is a possibility to face those that are not necessarily aligned with ideologies or living manners that coincide. Additionally, the possibility to face the different and to interact with them in different manners such as singing, listening, dancing, sharing some food, or even yelling at each other is what gives life to the Carnival itself. As stressed before, from what is presented by the audio-visual material, it is possible to interpret an awareness of conflicts and an acceptance that not all the people who experience the Carnival with, are subjects of affection; but this acceptance is at the same time what encourages the participants to enact their roles, to pursue, to feel happy or sad depending on the reaction of others. To recognize that it is from this plural participation that there is a possibility to share different ideas, to behave in diverse ways,

and the possibility in the end to live the Carnival, it is possible to think about the manifestation of peace in an agonistic perspective.

Plurality is expressed by the celebration of it, what the participants do when acknowledging that it is from the contrary, from the others, that they find a source of inspiration, but also that those are also the participants they want to communicate with. This is shown for example by one of the first quotations of V.3 when the Matachin expresses with a certain complacency, how a person that he is talking about in his decrees feels affected, and even though he suggests in the video that this person could then leave during the days of the Carnival if he does not want to listen to his name in the decrees, he is at the same time recognizing that he would not stop referring to those people because what they do, is what gives him fuel to express in his decrees. This plurality is also felt by the participants when they share in the videos the adrenaline that they feel when addressing the audience, as one character on V.5 mentions, he does not know how people could react with what he will say and express: “here people are very critical”, and that is not for him something to be afraid of or restrain him from acting, but what provides him that adrenaline, that feeling of energy before starting his act.

As this quote, and some others previously mentioned shows, is that the reaction of the audience is not something that they aim to be calm, or just full of approval and applause, but it is this intriguing uncertainty about how the interaction will develop that makes the Carnival alive. I consider that the celebration of plurality in the Carnival of Riosucio, distinguishes it from other events, for example the expression of a discourse of political leaders to their supporters, or a performance of singers to their fans, when even though there is always a possibility for hazardous manifestations, a certain ovation and approval is expected, that is not necessary in the Carnival manifestations.

Furthermore, the possibility to provide encounters with the different even in private spheres, as the one house provides, such as the Casas Cuadrilleras that open their houses to listen to what the Cuadrillas wants to communicate even though the messages could be diverse and sometimes it is not possible to know beforehand the topics of the lyrics, it is also a way to recognize the other as it is without the aim to change or censure it. In the end, it is this place that provides an alternative way for the participants to be involved in the Carnival while hosting diverse behaviours toward the others, and this, I consider is a way to celebrate plurality as an act of peace, because it is to allow the otherness to enter a private sphere, with the only pretention being to share with them.

Finally, it is relevant to mention that more should be studied about the interactions created between the different participants of the Carnival, for example, to keep exploring from other material how the different reactions that spectators have about the messages that are communicated at the Carnival are, since my experience with the performance of the Carnival is limited to what the videos are filming. Despite this, I consider that in the end, even these reactions could be interpreted in the future with other materials, as some of approval or disapproval, it is this uncertainty that merges with the possibility to move the other in an unlimited range of reactions and emotions, what makes the Carnival expressions a possibility to relate it to peace, because as Mouffe (2009) mentioned when explaining democracy in an Agonistic perspective:

“Taking pluralism seriously requires that we give up the dream of a rational consensus which entails the fantasy that we could escape from our human form of life. In our desire for a total grasp, says Wittgenstein, ‘We are on the slippery ice where there is no friction and so in a certain sense the conditions are ideal, but also, just because of that, we are unable to walk: So, we need friction. Back to the rough ground’.” (p.98)

In the end, this friction is what is needed to stimulate the Carnival, and that is one of the futures that emerges from this event in Riosucio and that is worth connecting here as an expression of peace.

4.2. Impermanence of Identities and Structures

The purpose of this section is to describe the perceptions of the people that are in the videos about their possibilities to transform identities and the structures that contribute to settle them. As with the preceding section, this one is also divided into three parts, in the first one I will refer to how from the data the negotiations or approaches that people have to settle institutions, conceptions, or symbols at the Carnival are shown, the second part will describe my interpretation from the data of how it is considered that the Carnival presents a possibility for a personal transformation. Finally, the last part will explain how from this part of the analysis it is possible to perceive peace from an awareness of instability in structures and identities.

4.2.1. An Intimate Transformation

To be in the Carnival is related to a personal experience, it is connected to moments when it is possible to feel, to be, or to act in ways that are just possible at that time:

“To wear this costume? Well, it *is one of the most wonderful experiences in every sense of the word*, because we are waiting all year, and we are seeing how the costume develops... And then, when for instance you put on your mask, *you don't want to take it off ever again*”. (V.6) (italics by the author)

“*We became the best actors, our dramatic skills emerge from our pores, and that is the most beautiful thing about the Carnival*. Those who dress up for the first time, they realize that they should continue.” (V.7) (italics by the author)

And it is a tangible alteration of who they are once they are in the Carnival. These are experiences from different people that were interviewed in V. 7:

“*A personal experience that certainly others have had is that I lost one of my sons, his name was Renato, and the Carnival saved me. I was immersed in the deepest sadness*, and soon it was to be the Carnival, so I went out with a friend, and with my other son Juan Felipe, and we listened to a decree, and we went to a parade. *There I cried during the entire parade, and I had an emotional discharge*. So, you see what the Carnival is? Because certainly for many people to be disguised and to dance is to be re-born, it *is like a spiritual shower of joy*”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

“This is a funny anecdote, I was participating in the Cuadrilla of Rodrigo Zuluaga about the Vikings, and my mother made me a costume, I was beautiful, wonderful! And then a person from Pereira appeared from the crowd and started to clap and say: *Let's welcome the Viking goddess, and he made the crowd clap*, and they all looked at the Viking goddess, who was me. *And I don't normally sing because my voice is terrible, but I was so thrilled, so happy that I took a microphone and started to sing, and my voice was on the radio! Oh my god!* That was horrible because I am a really bad singer, but *I didn't mind at the time, because that is what the Carnival does*”. (V.7). (italics by the author)

“*You become another person; a spirit is incorporated and you stop feeling fear*. Then, it is possible to be on stage, to dance, to stare at people, and more than that it is possible to express that energy, and to spread the message that the Cuadrilla has. Well, the first time is frightening, the second one also, but then it *is as if you were possessed by the devil*, and it feels as if you are representing the festivity, that you are delivering a message and that you are part of history.”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

Moreover, this experiences as some people express are felt as part of their own life:

About never stopping being a participant in the Carnival: “*That would have been a punishment, I would have never thought of myself on a balcony, just watching without participating*, without working, clapping, without my costume. And I already told my son, if I am ever in a wheel chair, I will anyways wear my costume and I will be outside, because if not that will be a punishment”.

“For me it was *to be re-born*, to dress up as the devil, to walk and to be on stage... *That is what life truly is for me, it is like having a permanent mark that will never disappear*. It is what frames a total emotion, the complete sense of life”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

And this, that I interpret as an intimate transformation, creates as well other ways to relate with the other, an opportunity to communicate differently, and to create a common complicity that emerges from the alternate possibility to perceive themselves:

About Tatinez and his last days: “And he told me: *Chory, now I am really sick, so the only thing I ask you is that you make a mask for me, and when I die, please put it in my coffin [...] So I asked for the son’s permission, and with so much pain I opened the coffin and put the mask there, and also half bottle of “aguardiente”²⁰, and since then he is always with me*, I know I can count on him”. (V.5). Then his daughter says: “*He asked me to leave the door open for the devil to enter and take him*. He didn’t want to have a confession because he told me that the priest was a sinner like him”. (V.5). (italics by the author)

“If during my youth women were allowed to be disguised, I would have dressed up completely! Because the Carnival runs through my veins, so that is why at the present, my biggest desire is always to host them all [Cuadrillas] in my house, because that is what makes me feel the immense joy, to see them in my house” (V.4).

It is then possible to think of the creation of a community that emerges from these transformations, from this other feeling that is born because of the Carnival times. But this transformation, more than being something out of the ordinary, or something magic as it is felt, is a construction from their ordinariness, it is a progressive building until this momentum.

4.2.2. Mutation of Settings and Symbols

As it was described in the background chapter, the symbol of the Devil was brought in by the Catholicism in colonial times in order to frighten the people, it was an evil figure that aimed to control, but this has transformed according to context. In the case of Riosucio, and as the presence of Catholicism is still present, people have decided to separate the significance of this figure from the religious one, in that regard, it is for some a symbol created by the people and for the people and religion does not have a role in it:

“This is a devil that merges with the people, with the dynamics of the village, and then after four days it must disappear. And people are behind it crying, and the Devil talks and says: Now I leave you with the Catholic Devil, with

²⁰ Alcoholic beverage made from sugar cane.

the authority [laughs], now I don't have the power, my power is over". (V.6)
(italics by the author)

Then a possibility emerges to conciliate, and to pass from one symbol to another, from one reality to another, in the same physical space when it is recognized that it is from their own dynamics that a symbol emerges:

“People say that this is a Carnival of the Devil, but no, the Carnival is of the people. We use the Devil to laugh, to sing”. (V.2)

“A Devil like ours, sardonic, folkloric, witty, belligerent and that loves guarapo²¹, *would have never existed, if we had never created it like that*”. (V.3) (italics by the author)

And there is not only a recognition about their own role in giving content to the meaning of the agreed symbols, but also the possibility to create new ones that represent them if they feel so is celebrated:

“I have painted the She Devil on walls for maybe the last 30 years. *So, when we wanted to do something for us for carnival times we said, let's do the She Devil that is already painted on the walls*”. (V.6) (italics by the author)

“The one who governed was the Devil, but now the She Devil has arrived!”. (V.6).

“It was because I saw that the Colonias from Bogotá, Medellín, Manizales and Cali had a lot of people and prepared really well for the parade, that I started to be envious, but in a good sense. So I talked with my friends [leaders of the other Barras] and asked them: *What if each of us chose a symbol that represents us as Barras*, for example a trident, a mask, something related to the carnival, and they said yes [...] later, in 2005 we chose as our symbol El Calabazo²².”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

With regard to this, not only are symbols subject to being transformed or created, but also new structures or organizations that emerge from the resistance to others. An example of this are the Barras, as it was mentioned in the background, the Barras emerged as new organizations that claim their recognition as agents that intervene in the Carnival and that differ from the Corporation of the Carnival of Riosucio. In that regard, one of the claims that one of the leaders made of a Barra in V. 7 is:

“I have highlighted the need we have to stop connecting the Barras of the Carnivals with groups of addicts or misfits, we contribute to the carnival. The Barra of Curramba has 2 Cuadrillas of adults, 6 Cuadrillas of kids, it has participated for 40 years in the entry of the Devil, with the Colonias. We are

²¹ A typical alcoholic beverage.

²² The traditional recipient that contains the Guarapo.

not contributing to stampedes, nothing like that. The Barra of “Guayaboli” is really engaged with the Carnival, the Barra “Cofradía Satánica” and the one of “El Parque” the same. So, *the value that we deserve should be recognized*, we are related with hooligans, but we are not. *We know that we are not groups that everyone should like, but neither are we groups to censure*, we are now a legal entity, there are people who perform decrees, members of Cuadrilla, we have all the requirements to vote and be elected.”²³ (V.7) (italics by the author)

But the creation itself of the Corporation of the Carnival of Riocucio (see the background) emerged also from the desire to gain independence from other political structures:

“The Corporation is the one which looks for resources, *it provides an institution and restrains the Carnival from falling into the hands of politicians or the mafia*, it aims to protect the tradition so that it doesn’t get lost for political, economic or religious reasons, because of conflicts and so on. *It is then an armour [...] beyond an organization*”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

What these two passages show is how structures are not permanent, how they change according to the context and interaction with each other. For instance, the Corporation emerged as a manner to get independence from other groups of power such as politicians or drug traffickers, but for some it became a group of power itself that does not represent them, creating in that sense other organizations like the Barras.

Furthermore, the dynamics of the Carnival, creates new perspectives of physical spaces where associations with the participants of the Carnival and for example neighbourhoods, remain after the event is over. This is the case of the neighbourhood where the Barra of Curramba is located:

The interviewer mentions to the leader of the Barra that his neighbourhood is not recognized anymore with the original name, and he answers: “that’s true, for example, if you want to ask for a taxi, *you explain the address, but then the driver says: Oh! It is in Curramba, just tell me in which of Curramba’s houses*.” (V.7) (italics by the author)

Another example is how an indigenous leader perceived the transformation of the Carnival once they, as indigenous people, arrive for the Día de la Cofraternidad:

“That day all our communities pay for transportation, because it is important that we all arrive, *it is like being in a rural festivity but inside the urban area*”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

²³ Referring to their possibility to participate in the processes of the Corporation.

Finally, during Carnival times, there exists a possibility to negotiate the convergence of rituals, the acceptance of the coexistence of different articulations despite their differences. As it was presented in the background, one of those negotiations that is evident in Carnivals is between religious structures and the possibility of people to celebrate. Some of the manifestation of this coexistence during Carnival times in Riosucio are:

“If Tatinez were alive, he would be laughing with that laugh that was his own, because he was a free-thinker, he had a rebel spirit. So, he would have never imagined being there, in the church, where he is now when he is dead. He would have been outside, with the people, in a party, full of joy, throwing satires”. (V.7)

A priest interviewed in Riosucio said: “*The carnival doesn’t influence at the beliefs of Riosucio’s people at all.* Here people are pious and believe the catholic religion in a good way, in that sense *the carnival for them does absolutely nothing*”. (V.3) (italics by the author)

“The priest of Riosucio that does not get closer to the Carnival? Well, he is too far gone, because this a reality that is also intangible, spiritual, beautiful” (V.6)

In this regard, the Catholic church and the people negotiate. In the first passage the person was talking about a ritual performed inside the church, to commemorate the Matachines who are dead, and he is showing his discontent with that, but at the same time it is an expression of resignation, in the image from the film he is there, outside of the church sitting on the ground, waiting for the event to end to celebrate with the spirit of the Matachines, in this case with Tatinez in the manner he thinks he will enjoy. On the other hand, the other two quotations show how if Catholicism wanted to remain stronger in the municipality, it should accept the carnival, and one of the tactics is to avoid talking about what happens in the Carnival, and better to pretend, as the priest quoted, that the Carnival “does absolutely nothing”.

The image below (V.5) shows a funeral of a Matachin that died during the Carnival of 2007. In it, it is visible how inside a Catholic church some people decided to keep the costumes that represent them in the Carnival for the farewell, also the coffin is covered with the flag of the carnival which has a devil on it.



Figure 4. Funeral of Chory. V.5.

From what the data shows it is possible to interpret an acknowledgment about how from the action of the participants it is possible to resist, conciliate or transform settled positions, or structures, and these actions even if they are explained through the Carnival times, emerge from the construction of the people and might remain even after this period of time. Furthermore, from the experience of the Carnival, the videos disclose that there is also an acceptance of the people about their own vulnerability and the possibility that they have, to transform who they are. In that sense, the last sub-heading, continuing with the structure of the section above, will connect the experiences from an intimate transformation and the recognition of the role of participants in the construction of structures in terms of peace.

4.2.3. Peace through the Acknowledgment of the Ephemeral

To start, I consider that from this part of the chapter it is possible to grasp in a concrete manner what the concept of vulnerability is about. As Väyrynen (2018) states, vulnerability is related to the recognition of a dependency on others, being other people, structures or situations; in that regard, it is the acceptance to be affected by the otherness; and in the cases from the data, it is visible how for instance feelings of sadness or insecurity could be transformed once a relation with an event or with other people is created. Additionally, it could be interpreted that there is a recognition of their own existence as something volatile, something that is not fixed but on the contrary it changes depending of what is happening on how they decide to participate and be related in a context. These, called by me, “transformations” are from the ordinary, it is not an extreme

event, other than that it is an intimate change that for the participant is remarkable, it is from my interpretation, an acceptance of their own instability when they are relating with others.

The consequences of this awareness, I think is what leads the participants to create, resist, negotiate, or in the end interact in a diverse manner with agreed structures, acknowledging that hegemonies and identities that emerge from them even if they are present are not necessarily permanent and are subject to change. That is what the second part of this section aimed to show from the data, the possibility that participants of the videos manifest about, for instance, the creation of symbols that they feel are those that represent them such as the She Devil, or the creation of organizations through which they can be heard; in the end, it is their own manner to organize and interact with the other acknowledging their own positionality and role to create their own environment, without ignoring the relationship with the others. As it could be possible to see from this section, there is not just one way to feel the transformation, or to relate with agreed structures, as it is recognized that not everyone interacts in the same way. Therefore, it is not the result of certain resistance or challenge that makes the act of peace worth pointing out, but it is the act to acknowledge their own impermanence and the transitoriness of what surrounds them that is my aim to underline in this section.

Another example of the diversity of transformation and relation to agreed structures and identities is the image below, where it is with the costumes that the actions that the participant takes with them, that they challenge what is agreed:



Figure 5. Participant dressed with military clothes and others with robes related to religious figures. V.5.

From this image it is possible to see what it has been mentioned on the background about the possibilities of inversion that carnivals have (Bakhtin, 1984), in this case is possible to perceive how people decide to change their identities and adopt others during Carnival days while communicating different messages through it. Despite it not being possible to clearly interpret from the image what these characters were doing, the mere act of representing these figures that are aligned with different hegemonies such as the religion or the army (acknowledging that I do not know if it is a representation of a legal or illegal armed group) are worth mentioning as it is another manifestation about the participation of people in the creation and transformation of what surrounds them.

As Mouffe (2009; 2013) explains, from an Agonistic perspective it is recognized that forms of power are constitutive of the social. In the sense that hegemonies correspond to temporary results of stabilization in a social order that even though they involve certain exclusion, as temporary and part of social relations that are not essential and fixed, nor are the identities created by them. In this regard, the acceptance of vulnerability and the recognition of their own agency in the creation of their experiences, could be related to the possibility that the data shows about the positionality that the participants have in the creation of the social order, meaning that what governs them is not something that emerges from the external, but it is a construction of a plurality of interaction in which they take part.

Lastly, to think about the ephemeral opens a door to the deconstruction of identities, as Strömbom (2019) explains, identities as those categories that create differences, settle boundaries that separate the self from the other, in that sense to celebrate the possibility that the Carnival brings, not only to generate a personal transformation, but a manner to relate with each other, is a challenge for settling boundaries that might be blurred during this time. Therefore, the recognition of the ephemeral and the possibility to change in their own existence and in relation with others, translates to me as an act of peace as it acknowledges the opportunity to reshape those structures or at least point at this possibility, and to recognize that this is not just an individual action but a construction among the others.

4.3. A Carnival Built from the Ordinary

In retrospect, I think that the last two sections have also shown some aspects about this topic at some point. However, the intention of this last section, is to point out what the

videos display about the hybridization that occurs from the everyday interaction with other structures and how this combination is the one that provides the construction of the Carnival as a lively event. In that sense, the first subsection will explain how it is possible to interpret a relation between the daily life of participants and their own context with their actions in the Carnival, after that the second subsection will describe the possibility that for the actors of the Carnival, the event itself offers as a way to escape, resist, and point to those structures where their daily life is constructed, which leads to the conclusion of this part of the chapter where the possibility to think about peace when it is channelled by the Carnival and recognizing its link with routine acts is stressed.

4.3.1. Carnival Occurring on Every Day

To initiate, there is from the data an appreciation about the Carnival as something where the participants intervene in a voluntary manner. In this way it is common to hear from Video 1 made in 1984, until the Interviews in (Video 7) 2021, that the Carnival does not give a monetary retribution to the participants. This is an expression underlined mainly by those that perform in Cuadrillas or of those who open their houses for the performance of the Cuadrillas:

“If we look, none of us has excess money, so we need to do different activities, we need to save money for what we need to pay for water or light, or we need to save money from what we have for buying groceries, then to have something for the creation of the costume [...] and musicians, transportation [...] so we all assume the cost of our enjoyment”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

With that in mind, and as it is also through money that they accomplish their way to participate in the Carnival, from the videos is possible to interpret that participants have created different strategies to finance themselves:

Regarding how the Casa Cuadrillera manages to have the food and drink that it provides: *“Each relative from our family brings something, for instance alcohol, or soda. And then it is me with my mother and siblings that prepare some snacks [...] When the Cuadrilla arrives they are tired, and grateful for everything that we can offer”.* (V.7) (italics by the author)

About how to manage the resources with the Cuadrillas of kids: *“the first thing is that we share our idea with the parents and family, and each parent chooses the costume for their kid, then it is the responsibility of the family. The Barra provides resources for the musicians and the creation of lyrics, so regarding costumes, parents are happy because they assume that expense according to what they choose”.* (V.7) (italics by the author)

There is a link from the data between their activities to gain resources and how this is connected with their enjoyment of the Carnival. This is relevant for me, as it associates the experience of the Carnival with something that is assembled throughout their daily activities, in this case it is the procurement of money that provides me the link between these two perceived parallel realities.

Furthermore, from Video 4 it is possible to see how routine activities are also enacted, and enriched by the Carnival. This could be explained from the arrival of different people, and the diverse dynamic that emerged from the event that enables the public space to be inhabited differently, stimulating ordinary dynamics such as trade activities:



Figure 5 and 6. Selling of fruits, vegetables and different products during the Carnival days. V.4.



Figure 7. Man offering the services of the parrot Jupiter who is able to choose a message about the future and deliver it to the people who pass by. V.4.

In that regard, the Carnival is not just about the different performances and the intertwined relations between actors and spectators, but also the Carnival is created by those other ways to inhabit the space and relate with others that are also related to the everyday activities that are mirrored for instance by the quotidian act of offering and selling. The Carnival of Riosucio is associated in that manner with the ordinary in two aspects, firstly that it is an event built from their daily acts; secondly that it is an event where it is possible to continue the routine aspects of life while merging with the diversity of features, that are also acknowledged as just emerging during Carnival times.

As it is said by one of the participants of the videos:

“I think that this Devil is the only being in Colombia that enable us to think of joy as a possibility for humans. About this opportunity that we have to die poor but not sad”. (V.6) (italics by the author)

From this point of view, there is a connection between the ordinary and the extraordinary that is done by the Devil, a linking point between poverty and joy provided by the symbol and the event itself. That could be translated as a possibility to change their own context when they create their own experiences, in that sense the recognition of the agency that they have about the creation of their own life.

As it is mentioned in the background, Riosucio is immersed in a context of poverty where after the Coffee Crisis and the emergence of violence the economical dynamics started to be coopted by some armed groups and the job opportunities were limited. With that in mind, in the videos, a constant recognition of their own independence in the construction of the Carnival is shown, in this case with the dynamics of how to save or gather money to create their own experiences for those days, or the performance of their own actions as those that, throughout the Carnival, create a possibility for something different; and this is something to highlight, as it is their own awareness of the struggles and actions that still resist despite the environment that could entangle them.

In the videos the importance of organization is also stressed, along with cooperation in order to reach their desired goals in the Carnival, in that manner, there is an emphasis about grouping with the others, as well as a call to respect organizations despite possibly not being aligned with each other. For instance, in Video 7 people appeal to more participation of public institutions such as the local, or national government in order to support their actions with more resources, but without understanding that those institutions should control the event. Additionally, as it is visible from the last sections, it

is from the dissensus that a diversity of ways to organize emerge, as a possibility to furnish the Carnival with plurality, and as an opportunity to resist to a setting of hegemony.

Finally, the creation of groups is not just something that emerge because of the Carnival and is dissolved after the six days, on the contrary it is a social fabric that is woven during the daily life and the visibility that it has during the Carnival days is not ignored once it is over.

An example of these interactions between daily life and the event is the creation of the Barra Curramba, as explained by its leader in Video 7, the group's origin is the continuous protests made against the public utility company because of the lack of energy in the neighbourhood, and after that, they considered that it was a good idea to continue as a group and participate in the Carnival. It is then from encounters, from dissensus, that organizations emerge. Additionally, another example of this ordinariness is how for example from the encounters with others that ideas about the name that will represent the group emerge:

*“The origin of Los Calambombos is from years ago. We were young and we played soccer and once someone passed by and looked at us and said: *You look like Calambombos*²⁴. So, we took part of this comment, because we don't like to fight against anybody, on the contrary we accepted it [the name] and now we carry it with honor and dignity, it gives us status”. (V. 7). (italics by the author)*

To conclude, I think these narratives where insults become jokes, that are now part of their own identities are also worth highlighting because I interpret them as this constant nourishing from the habitual to create the exceptional. In the end, it is the possibility to take action regarding what encompasses their existence without forgetting their relational dimensions with other people and structures that affects them, in that direction, the next section will describe some of the interactions with those structures that are impossible to ignore, and are also accountable of the realities that emerge, but at the same time are not a translation of something to be subdued.

4.3.2. A Setting worth Interacting with

Between the oldest and the newest videos analysed a lapse of more than 15 years exists, however if I compare them, it seems that what the participants are pointing out in their

²⁴ As an insult, meaning that they have skinny legs like a “Calambombo” that in Colombia is a bone used in soups to give some flavour to the preparation.

public manifestations is related with similar circumstances that despite the years apparently have not changed. They complain about the abuse of power by the ones who hold it, the violence and persecution that is felt, the corruption of those who govern, or the lack of freedom or capacity to act in established circumstances that surround them.

In the case of V.1 at the beginning of the documentary Tatinez is shown, dressed as a Matachin claiming for respect for the indigenous people and their territories, he asked the powerful to stop their assassination. In V.2 a performance of a Cuadrilla is filmed that refers to the contradiction of life, pointing out for example how absurd it is to have a *system of justice*, where what is unfair prevails. In V.4, there is Cuadrilla in a Casa Cuadrillera singing:

“While the Gringos take out the coca, marihuana and other stuff, there is a despicable government that can just kneel and ask for forgiveness.” (V.4)

Later on, with the interviews in V.7 some leaders of Cuadrillas presented what their groups sing about, and for instance, one of the leaders mentions how in the year 2019 when 200 years of Colombia’s Independence was celebrated they performed an act that intended to express that humans are not free and that other aspects exist that they consider chain their existence, such as the space inhabited, the colour of the skin, the time, or even fashion; in that sense, they created a character for their performance that was called The System, and this character governed the movement of the other actors, a control that was just possible to subvert when the other actors used the mask of the devil. Another example explained by another leader of a Cuadrilla was related with the dependence that humanity has on religious symbols in order to fill some vacuum in their life and the consequence of this action, at this time their Cuadrilla was called Spirt-stupidity²⁵.

As it is possible to see, it is not that the same specific topics emerge, but that structures of powers are not something to be ignored, but those that are felt and are related with exclusion, manipulation or abuse, are worth mentioning in their performances. In that sense, the awareness of the temporariness of structures and the possibility to change as mentioned in section 4.2 coexist with the permanence of orders that lead to the already mentioned experiences of exclusion that cannot be ignored; and this connection is also worth mentioning, because it is not only the capacity to materially transform a structure what is valuable for peace with an agonistic perspective, but also the acknowledgment of

²⁵ In Spanish, Espiritupidez.

the unavoidability of this forms of power, their consequences and the need that exists to point at them, to question them, even though it may not be that feasible to transform them.

The image below is from the documentary V.5. that was filmed the first time the She Devil was burnt in one of the town halls at the same time that the farewell to the Devil was done. The intention of La Barra Los 30, according to the video, was the desire to feel heard by the people, as they are also part of the Carnival:



Figure 8. Man in front of a firefighter's hose when the She Devil was burnt for the first time. V.5.

The image shows how firefighters intervened and put the fire out, while protests and fights broke out against this act, which shows the different interactions and positionalities created around the action of the burning of the She Devil. In this case, a manifestation of a group that felt excluded by the organizers of the Carnival, decided to create a ritual of their own while burning the symbol that represented them, while the public institution that governs, for their own reasons, decided to intervene. In the end, the act was not less valuable because the She Devil was all wet, but the mere action to try to be heard and to communicate their own feeling of exclusion is worth mentioning in an agonistic perspective despite it not being possible to know if this might have led to another material transformation.

By contrast, hegemonies are not only worth being subverted or resisted during Carnival times, as those are also related with actions that give an order to the event, as for example police controlling stampedes and crowded places, or the Corporation providing support for some acts of the Carnival (V.7). Furthermore, for some participants it is relevant to be

included in those hegemonies or be recognized by them, for instance, in some of the interviews of V.7, the participants feel happier if their actions are recognized by those people distinguished as a connoisseur of the Carnival, in that sense it was for them something to be proud of when one of these people validated their performances which shows that the connection and creation of forms of power is not harmonic, established or linear, but takes action from different dimensions where on one side there are acts of subversion, resistance, or questioning:

“We were forced to burn the she devil because we wanted the people to listen to us. This is not just about five rich people, and they said unite the village... Where is union in the village? The board is not who governs, it is the people”. (V.5)

And on the other, there are acts of support, recognition and surveillance of what is settled:

“To see the critique of Julian Bueno²⁶ about two of my Cuadrillas was amazing... The manner in which he admired us, he was fascinated with the lyrics of Jorge Cataño, and well, personally I felt full of joy when I saw that Jualian was watching”. (V.7) (italics by the author)

To conclude, the existence of established hegemonies and their permanence in time is not an obstacle to interact with them during the Carnival, moreover it is during this event where it is possible to question them, or to appreciate them at the same time, thus a possibility is born to interact in a diverse manner with those structures of control that even though they persist have never ruled in a completely in the Carnival of Riosucio.

4.3.3. Peace manifested by the Channels of the Carnival

This section aims to stress that it is not the Carnival of Riosucio itself as an event, that creates the relational dimensions interpreted from what the videos showed me, but on the contrary, it is those relations, the creators of the Carnival itself. With that in mind, it is possible to see that the Carnival is the channel for the enactment of these practices of peace, while it provides the possibility for the diversity of interactions. In other words, it is from the daily routines and interactions that the Carnival emerges, and in the end this event is the biggest manifestation of peace from my perspective, as the simple practices mentioned during the section are those that constitute it. Therefore, as a channel for the interactions, the section shows that Carnival could be used in unlimited ways, and it is

²⁶ Julian Bueno is an expert about the Carnival, author of the book: *El Carnaval de Riosucio: Estructura y Raíces* (2012). He appears in the majority of the audio-visual material analysed, in them always explaining what the Carnival is about. He is a local reference of the history and the official rituals of the Carnival as mentioned by Medina Ramirez (2011), and Zapata Mejía (2014).

not a linear and harmonic channel, but one full of ramifications, disruptions, struggles; presenting at the end a multiplicity of connections among the others (people, groups, hegemonies, or symbols) that even though there could be contradictory elements between each other, all should have the possibility to inhabit the channel(s) presented by this event.

Riosucio's context, the order(s) that entangles it, the people that inhabit it are issues that are not ignored within the participation of the Carnival, in that sense there are clashes, dissensus, exclusion, but while accepting it, is also possible to think about how the people that inhabit in this context have the same agency to create their own scenarios of peace. In that regard, this section shows how peace coexists from the ordinary, meaning that it also struggles, is not fixed and could change at any time. It is then possible to interpret from the videos that there is a connection between the daily life and the Carnival, where in the end it is hard for me to define it as an event, or a temporary episode, since it is something that is built by routine acts, and has a diversity of links with the established order that therefore I find difficult just to define as something extraordinary.

To conclude, peace from this section translates as the possibility that people create in the construction of channels that before, during and after Carnival times, provide those interactions where it is possible to meet each other, to think about possibilities to change their own context, to question exclusion, or to find other ways to express with each other, that which is related with their own existence acknowledging its temporariness but at the same time its possibility for permanence considering that it entangles and that they have the opportunity or freedom to participate in it.

5 CONCLUSION: GOVERNANCE WHEN THE DEMONS ARE LOOSE

The Commission of Truth (2020) has stressed the harm that the armed conflict has had in what is named the Eje Cafetero (the Coffee Area) where the Department of Caldas (where the municipality of Riosucio is located) is included. As it is mentioned by the Commissioner Alejandro Valencia (2020) the Eje Cafetero has suffered from a double apathy from the State throughout the years of the armed conflict in Colombia. Firstly, because the consequences of the armed conflict have not been studied deeply in this area, and secondly because the magnitude of the forced displacement and land dispossession in this zone has not been recognized. To study and clearly understand what has happened in the Eje Cafetero is one of the tasks of the Truth Commission that will publish its final report at the end of 2021 (Decree 588/2017). Considering this, the Commissioner (2020) has highlighted the need to keep investigating the permanence of the armed conflict in the region, where different actors such as paramilitary groups, guerrillas, private companies, the army and functionaries of the State have created different interactions in a location that is attractive due to its natural resources specially in relation to mining exploitation and the creation of energy projects. Connecting this with the second chapter of this thesis, which addressed the challenges that Caldas and Riosucio have faced regarding diverse acts of violence that still persist such as forced displacement, threats and murder of social leaders or land dispossession, it is necessary to mention again that my research emerges from those perspectives of scholars that have decided to study peace even in those contexts that are overshadowed by violence, that is to say, that it is not that the different dimensions of violence are ignored, on the contrary, they are recognized with the possibility to resist and transform it as the value of peace. In that sense as it is acknowledged from an agonistic perspective, peace is not the equivalent of a consensus and the end of conflict, but it manifests when there exists a recognition of conflict that it is possible to channel without violence (Lehti, 2016; Strömbom, 2019).

Furthermore, the Corporeal Turn (Väyrynen 2018; 2019) enables to the departure from the extraordinariness of peace, and to study it from the relation woven in the ordinary, as Väyrynen calls it, the mundane. In that sense it is this perspective that allows me to grasp what is felt by the participants of the Carnival during its construction and enactment, the possibility that they have to transform themselves or the others toward their actions, but also how they are not just sole individuals but how they are connected with each other, and the social orders that govern. Orders that as it is mentioned by Mouffe (2013) are the

results of the politics, therefore not fixed and subject to be challenged as the practice of the Carnival shows.

Acknowledging the limits of my data and that the analysis emerges just from the perspectives represented by the videos, the study from audio-visual material of the Carnival of Riosucio from 1984 until 2021 has shown me how from the participation and creation of this event, peace is manifested, firstly throughout the celebration of pluralism in a setting where conflict is not avoided but is channelled towards a diversity of manners in order to express and communicate with the otherness, without the pretention of a consensus but with the understanding that it is the possibility of confrontation itself, what dynamizes the enactment of the event. Furthermore, this setting created for the encounters opens the door to rethink of the other in an adversarial perspective rather than in terms of enmity, as the role of the opposite is underlined as one that is worth interacting with, rather than for its destruction, as it is interpreted from the expressions in the videos that are related to the aim or desire to be listened to by those they consider contraries, or the adrenaline and joy felt from the uncertainty about how the others will react against their critiques for instance when a Matachin or a Cuadrilla is performing, because in the end, that what they will do could be disruptive and might have different reactions is celebrated and at the same time that is what encourages them to act.

Secondly, from the data I interpreted how the Carnival provides a possibility to rethink identities and structures as something unstable and possible to transform, the recognition that the participants show in the different videos about their own mutability during the Carnival, the state of excitement, linked with the revitalization of their own being but also with the feeling related with fear of the uncertainty of the event, shows how emotionally and physically the event is and how it materializes another way to relate with the opposite and is perceived by them as a set that allows the extraordinary, while being connected with their own corporeality. In that sense, even if it is not possible for me to interpret from the data how these transformations translate in the daily routines of the participants and how divided identities as the one explained in the background, and their links with violence can be clearly blurred with this corporeal metamorphosis related to the Carnival, I consider that the research could provide an invitation for future research to keep linking this possibility to think about the ephemeral transformations and how they challenge established structures and identities in Riosucio, Caldas, because what is possible to grasp from the data is that there exists a change that is supported by the Carnival, and as mentioned in the analysis, new ways to perceive the self and for communicating with the

other appears, so this is a possibility that is left open, as I cannot provide any conclusion, but that leaves an idea about how feasible it is for the Carnival to challenge what is settled or agreed, and if necessary to deconstruct it and build it again.

Thirdly, from the data it was possible to see that the Carnival of Riosucio is not a sudden event, or a spectacle brought from the outside and temporally enacted in a disruptive manner, but on the contrary, that it is a construction from the ordinary practices of the ones who inhabit it and at the same time construct it. That is to say that the Carnival is immersed in the same social dynamics that challenge it and fuel it. In that regard the Carnival itself is immersed in a social order that does therefore not ignore, the interaction between actors related to the Church, the Local or National government, the Corporation of the Carnival, the Cuadrillas, Barras, Indigenous Authorities, and the diversity of other groups and structures that interact in different manners where dynamics of power and exclusion emerge, making the interdependency of an event with plurality visible and how it is not possible to say that some are the owners or controllers of the Carnival, as are those fluctuate between different dimensions of relationality that created the event, the space, the momentum, the experience, and in the end what the Carnival is.

This is related to peace in the perspective from which I based my research as it acknowledges that peace is not an extraordinary process, but something multidimensional and that it is not the same in every context (Shinko, 2008), furthermore that it is not something that just emerges from one settled group or another, but where a plurality of actors and multilevel spheres are involved, where institutions have a part and should interact with other actors and groups as all are part of the social order. With that in mind, the Carnival case shows how this event cannot be separate from where it is performed and it is the social relations intertwined within it that at the same time gives it the content. In this context it is from the people and the different levels of interactions that the situations that emerge in the Carnival exist, that shows the interdependency among each other and the role and affection of the different actors in the construction of what surrounds them.

The research leaves open different possibilities to research more about the relation of the Carnival of Riosucio with Peace Studies in a diversity of ways, for instance it could be interesting to focus particularly on some of the perspectives of the participants of the Carnival, because as it was stressed before, this research is based just on the experiences of those who spoke in the films, but this does not correspond to the plurality of

participants of the Carnival, therefore other perspectives through other methodologies and data are necessary to contrast my results in order to have a broader spectrum of the possibility for peace supported by the Carnival of Riosucio. Furthermore, it is necessary to connect more deeply the practices of the Carnival with the consequences of the social dynamic that emerged from the armed conflict and the present interaction between legal and illegal elites that impact the region and its inhabitants, for this, the Final Report of the Truth Commission will represent a relevant asset to keep studying the coexistence of peace in spaces of violence, and this relation to, for instance, the performance of the Carnival of Riosucio, and why not, of other festivities in the country, could provide some ideas for the creation of tools for peacebuilding and its sustainability that are supported by agonistic perspectives that, as Lehti (2016) stresses enables platforms for dialogue and mediation where a transformation of identities from enmities to adversaries is possible. For that, a research that concretely focuses on particular acts of the Carnival and its different relations could provide more ideas about how practices of peace are, or can be, created supported by this particular event, or if possible, with others in the country.

This will lead to a final opportunity in the future to study the enactment of the Carnival of Riosucio on a multilevel dimension where a possibility emerges to analyse the role of different actors from elites and the grassroots level in a deeper manner. As this research aimed to stress, the social fabric woven around the dynamics of the Carnival is plural and corresponds to the creation of social orders where the roles of hegemonies is addressed and also the agency of its transformation, in that manner it is worthwhile to study the Carnival from other perspectives of peace, for example, a contribution from the theory of Popular Peace (Roberts 2010; 2011) where the need to create an engagement between the everyday manifestations and the responsibility that institutions (whether local or global) have in order to transform and create a communication with the ordinary expressions is addressed, could provide new ideas about how from different levels dynamics of peace are created and how what it is expressed through the Carnival could be heard by actors in other spheres, with the goal to provide the sustainability of peace while addressing the needs or other features communicated during the different performances around the Carnival of Riosucio.

Finally, the possibilities to rethink the aspects presented in this research are different, and from the situation that cultural rights are facing due to the COVID-19 pandemic it is unclear what the future development of cultural festivities such as the Carnival of Riosucio will be over the coming years, therefore I consider that to keep studying about

its impact on society is relevant in order to resist a new normality where possibilities of encounters like the ones provided by the Carnival of Riosucio started to become a matter of historical archives rather than a lively reality. In that regard, this research presents for me a feeling of confusion, but also excitement about the uncertainty of the development of the Carnival when it will be reborn in 2023 after its cancellation in 2021. There is then for me, a feeling of doubt about how all the diversity of relations created around the Carnival will manifest after 4 years of silence, and I want to believe, as the participants of the interviews conducted by the Carnival Corporation, that the Carnival will come again in 2023, this, by supporting new opportunities of encounters, by opening different ways to channel disagreements or agreements, by challenging what is considered unfair, protesting against the suffering and exclusion while at the same time celebrating the beauty and the lively aspects of what is around us.

In the end, my research, rather than present a settled conclusion, in a context that it is not even possible for me to categorize, aims to just leave open an idea about the possibility to study and keep studying peace as a possibility in settings that might be perceived as chaotic such as the opportunity that the Carnival in Riosucio, Caldas, Colombia provides. In that direction, regarding the question presented in my title: Who Holds the Power When the Demons Are Loose? I think that those who hold the power are the demons themselves represented by the unlimited possibilities to communicate, to relate, to manifest in the Carnival. The power is then not held just by one, despite several groups would aim for that, it is then also the struggle, the opposition, but at the same time the rhythm, the choirs, the coordination between plurality that holds the power when the demons are loose, and where possibilities of peace are worth imagining and being enacted.

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7 APPENDIX: TABLE 1: VIDEOS ANALYSED

TITLE	DIRECTOR	YEAR	LENGTH	CARNIVAL	ARRANGEMENT OF PERCEPTIBILITY (Munster & Sylevst, 2015)	LOCATION
Carnaval del Diablo (Serie Yuruparí)	Gloria Triana Varón y Jorge Luis Ardila	1984	1:03:02	1983	Arrangement II	Señal Memoria, Ministerio de Cultura (Colombia)
Tatinez y Matachín (Colección Rastros y Rostros)	Carlos Mayolo/Telepacífico	1989	0:25:00	1989	Arrangement II	Biblioteca Pública Piloto (Medellín, Colombia)
Las Quejas de Satanás (Colección Rastros y Rostros)	Claudia Muñoz, Julian Alzate Sandra Nieto, Camilo Adolfo Mayor, Claudia Escobar, Manuel Jesús Figueroa	1999	0:26:00	1999	Arrangement II	Biblioteca Pública Piloto (Medellín, Colombia)
¡Salve! ¡Salve! Diablo del Carnaval	Beatriz Bermúdez B. and Germán Castañeda R.	2000	0:29:50	1999	Arrangement II/III	YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qaFM9WDkVU8
Una Cita con El Diablo	Paolo Vignolo et al./Universidad Nacional	2008	0:40:15	2007	Arrangement III	Unitelevision: http://unitelevision.unal.edu.co/detalle/categoria/documentales/articulo/una-cita-con-el-diablo.html
Un Diablo Amistoso	Juan Diego Mejía	2010	0:40:20	2009	Arrangement I	Señal Memoria, Ministerio de Cultura (Colombia)
Interviews 2021						
El Ingenio de los Niños	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	3:14:53	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/corpcarnavalriosucio/videos/946391589229578/
Conjurar la Alegría	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	0:20:37	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/corpcarnavalriosucio/videos/190813906072776
Abrazo Ingrumeño	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	4:04:36	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/corpcarnavalriosucio/videos/1022534834914565/
El Ingenio Fecundo	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	7:37:16	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=2825098114477164&ref=watch_permalink
Carnaval de Madrugada	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	0:44:13	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=831798447641136&ref=watch_permalink
Somos Uno	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	1:02:10	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/corpcarnavalriosucio/videos/244447213698484
Ciudadano Carnavalero	Corporación Carnaval de Riosucio	2021	1:55:23	Reflection among different Carnivals	Arrangement I	Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/764648213743357/videos/177083170834682

