



Mapping heterotopias

Colombian Documentary Films of the Armed Conflict

Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

Documentary films of an armed conflict take us to *other spaces*. Places of reality that for a regular citizen, are counter sites, unknown territories. Documentary filmmakers physically experiment with *other spaces*. They build trust bonds with their subjects, follow their pathways or re-enact memories of tragic experiences. Nevertheless they feel like witnesses or tourists. This shows a great distance between the realities of isolated rural zones and urban life in inter-connected megacities. This is the reason that led me to question the production of heterotopias between urban documentary filmmakers and communities filmed in remote rural zones of the armed conflict in Colombia.

Mapping Heterotopias is a physical and conceptual cartography of rural documentaries recorded in Colombia during the the democratic security policy (2002-2010), a policy that restricted the circulation of people in the armed conflict zones. The first stage of this research identified a database of 110 documentaries recorded in rural zones. The spatial analysis explores in detail the production of heterotopias based on the selection of ten representative films. It is presented on three levels: First level, locating the visited zones and through semi-structured interviews with the filmmakers, describe the spatial media practice: the routines of production and the relationships with the communities in concrete rural zones. Second level interprets the production of heterotopias as poetic spaces that structure the documentary discourse. Third level observes the representational spaces of the film's circulation.

The results point out to the production of *rural transnationalities* in documentary films as a new contradictory space of national legitimisation that emerges when rural heterotopias are screened in international film festivals or on television channels. The *documentary gaze*, inspired in the representation of isolated rural zones of the armed conflict has been determinant in current co-productions of fictional films. Finally, it stresses the importance of social networking between the documentary filmmakers and the rural communities, not only to access to the distant territories, but to unveil the invisible heterotopias of the armed conflict.

Mapa de las heterotopías. Documentales colombianos del conflicto armado.

Resumen

Los documentales del conflicto armado nos llevan hacia espacios otros. Lugares qde la realidad que para un ciudadano promedio son contra-espacios, territorios desconocidos. Los documentalistas experimentan físicamente con estos otros espacios. Construyen lazos de confianza con sus sujetos, siguen sus huellas o actualizan sus memorias. Sin embargo, siempre se sienten como testigos o turistas. Esto muestra una gran distancia entre las realidades de las zonas rurales aisladas y la vida urbana en mega-ciudades interconectadas. Esta distancia es la razón que me llevó a preguntarme por la producción de heterotopías entre los documentalistas urbanos y las comunidades filmadas en zonas rurales remotas del conflicto armado colombiano.

Mapa de las heterotopías es una cartografía física y conceptual de documentales rurales grabados en Colombia durante la política de seguridad democrática (2002-2010), una política que restringió la circulación de la gente en las zonas de conflicto armado. La primera etapa de esta investigación identificó una base de datos de 110 documentales grabados en zonas rurales. El análisis espacial explora en detalle la producción de heterotopías basada en la selección de diez películas representativas. El modelo de análisis comprende tres niveles: El primero localiza las zonas visitadas y a través de entrevistas semi-estructuradas con los documentalistas, explora las prácticas mediáticas espaciales en los documentales del conflicto armado. El segundo nivel, interpreta la producción de heterotopías, a través del cronotopo, como espacios poéticos que estructuran el discurso documental. En el tercer nivel se describen los espacios representacionales de la circulación y distribución de las películas.

Los resultados apuntan hacia la producción de ruralidades transnacionales en los documentales como un nuevo y contradictorio espacio de legitimación nacional que emerge cuando las heterotopías rurales son exhibidas en festivales de cine internacionales o canales de televisión transnacionales. La mirada documental, inspirada en la representación de zonas rurales aisladas del conflicto armado ha sido determinante en la actual co-producción de películas de ficción. Finalmente, subraya la importancia de construir redes sociales de confianza entre los documentalistas urbanos y las comunidades rurales, no únicamente para acceder a las zonas del conflicto, sino también para revelar las heterotopías invisibles del conflicto armado.

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“Imagine for a moment that you are on a satellite (...) Look in closer and there are lorries and cars and buses and on down further, somewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, there’s a woman –amongst many women- on foot, who still spends hours a day collecting water”

Doreen Massey, *A Global Sense of Place*, 1991

“El sujeto de la modernidad primera estaba hecho de tiempo, el de hoy está hecho también, y tanto más, de espacio”.

Jesús Martín Barbero, *Pensar Juntos Espacios y Territorios*, 2006

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

0. INTRODUCTION	13
0.1 Background	13
0.2 Object/Process of study	15
0.3 Aim and Research Questions	18
0.3.1 Research Question 1	19
0.3.2 Research Question 2	20
0.3.3 Research Question 3	20
0.4 Structure of the work	21
0.5 Set of basic definitions	23
0.6 Unsubstantial territories?	25
0.7 Mixed Methods	28
0.8 Main contributions of this study	28
0.9 Thinking “Espacio”, translating “Espace” and writing “Space”	30
0.10 Peripheries of knowledge(s)	31
CHAPTER 1	33
1. HETEROTOPIA. LITERATURE REVIEW	33
1.1 Heterotopia as counter-emplacment	33
1.2 Foucault’s Legacy on Spatial Studies	37
1.2.1 Iberoamerican Readings	39
1.2.2 From “badlands of modernity” to “post-civil society”	41
1.3 Chronotope Non Place. Relationships with heterotopia	43
1.3.1 Chronotope	43
1.3.2 Non Place	45
1.3.3 Heterotopia: A compass to interpret overlapped presents	48
1.4 The production of “other spaces”	51
1.4.1 Lefebvre’s heterotopias?	55
1.4.2 Searching for a concrete model	57

1.5	Geographies of terror as counter-space and heterotopia	59
1.5.1	The seven categories of the analytical framework	60
1.5.2	Geographies of terror as chronotope	63
1.5.3	Non-place and the rational strategies and methods of violence	65
CHAPTER 2		67
2	SPATIAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE DEMOCRATIC SECURITY POLICY	67
2.1	The armed conflict: a brief introduction	67
2.2	Broken Modernity: from a fast modernization dream to the explosion of violence(s)	69
2.3	Democratic security policy	71
2.4	Forced Displacement in Colombia from a global overview.	73
2.5	“Non integrated” regions	76
2.6	National territorial ordering?	78
2.7	National Consolidation Zones	81
CHAPTER 3		86
3.	MAPPING DOCUMENTARY FILMS	86
3.1	Initial reflection. In search of common frames of discussion	86
3.2	Interdisciplinary potential of film cartographies	87
3.3	Documentary cartographies	88
3.4	Heterotopia in films	88
3.5	The production of other spaces in documentary	90
3.5.1	Media practices: entering perceived spaces	94
3.5.2	Representation of heterotopias	95
3.5.2.1	Occupy other space	95
3.5.2.2	Distant Gaze	96
3.5.2.3	Chronotopes	98
3.5.3	Expectations of circulation – Lived spaces	99

CHAPTER 4	103
4. METHODOLOGY	103
4.1 Mapping heterotopias	103
4.2 Topic Selection	106
4.3 Documentary film identification	107
4.4 Criteria of selection of ten key documentaries	110
4.4.1 The portrait of rural territories within the film	110
4.4.2 Different periods within the democratic security policy	111
4.4.3 Reflect the coverage in different regions of the country	111
4.4.4 Feasibility in contacting the filmmakers and arranging interviews	111
4.4.5 Feasibility in accessing to a copy of the full documentary	112
4.4.6 Different types of documentaries	113
4.4.7 National and transnational circulation of the film	114
4.5 Database with spatial criteria (recording, funding, circulation)	115
4.6 Map design of armed conflict places recorded in the documentary films present on the database	116
4.7 Archive Documentary Research in Colombia. Limits of the experience	117
4.8 Interviews	120
4.8.1 Semi-structured interviews to documentary directors	120
4.8.2 Unstructured Interviews	123
4.9 Method of analysis	124
CHAPTER 5	126
5. CASE ANALYSIS	126
5.1 <i>La Sirga</i> (The towrope), 2012: The possibility of non-belonging	127
Pictures: Contravía films	iError! Marcador no definido.
5.1.1 Justification	127
5.1.2 Director's Bio	127
5.1.3 Spatial Media Practice	128
5.1.4 Representation of other-space	131
5.1.5 Representational Space	134

5.2	Meandros (Meanders), 2010. Beyond the media war	137
5.2.1	Justification	137
5.2.2	Director's Bio	137
5.2.3	Spatial Media Practice	138
5.2.4	Representation of Other Space	143
5.2.5	Representational Spaces	146
5.3	<i>Robatierra (Stolen Land), 2010 "Take this land over!"</i>	148
Pictures: Stolen land, Documentary.		¡Error! Marcador no definido.
5.3.1	Justification	148
5.3.2	Director's Bio	148
5.3.3	Spatial Media practice	149
5.3.4	Representation of Other Space	152
5.3.5	Representational Space	155
5.4	<i>El Rescate Perfecto (The perfect rescue), 2009 Civilization vs. Jungle</i>	158
5.4.1	Justification	158
5.4.2	Director's Bio	158
5.4.3	Spatial Media Practice	159
5.4.4	Representation of Other Space	161
5.4.5	Representational space	164
5.5	<i>En lo Escondido (Those Waiting in the Dark)- 2007. "One thing is telling, other is living"</i>	167
5.5.1	Justification	167
5.5.2	Director's Bio	167
5.5.3	Spatial Media Practice	168
5.5.4	Representation of Other Space	171
5.5.5	Representational space	174
5.6	<i>La Casa Nueva de Hilda (Hilda's New Home)- 2006 New nomadisms</i>	176
Pictures: La Casa Nueva de Hilda / RCN Radio		176
5.6.1	Justification	176
5.6.2	Director's Bio	176
5.6.3	Spatial Media Practice	177
5.6.4	Representation of Other Space	179
5.6.5	Representational space	181
5.7	<i>El Corazón (The Heart)- 2006.</i>	183
5.7.1	Justification	183
5.7.2	Director's Bio	184
5.7.3	Spatial Media Practice	184
5.7.4	Representation of Other Space	185
5.7.5	Representational Spaces	188

	11
5.8 Pequeñas Voces (Little Voices) 2003-2010 “Realandimagined” worlds	190
5.8.1. Justification	190
5.8.2 Director’s Bio	190
5.8.3 Spatial Media Practice	191
5.8.4 Representation of Other Space	194
5.8.5 Representational space	198
5.9 Cómo Voy a Olvidarte (How Am I Going to Forget You) 2002 Video-letters to the jungle	201
5.9.1 Justification	201
5.9.2 Director’s Bio	201
5.9.3 Spatial Media Practice	202
5.9.4 Representation of Other Space	204
5.9.5 Representational Spaces	207
5.10 Comunidades de Paz (Peace Communities) 2003. Tragic returns	211
5.10.1 Justification	211
5.10.2 Director’s Bio	211
5.10.3 Spatial Media Practice	212
5.10.4 Representation of Other Space	217
5.10.5 Representational space	220
CHAPTER 6	223
6 CONCLUSIONS	223
6.1 Summary of findings	223
6.1.1 Research Question 1	226
6.1.2 Research Question 2	227
6.1.3 Research Question 3	230
6.1.4 Documentary Film Cartography	231
6.2 Limitations of findings	236
6.2.1 Documentary as experience and socio-cultura/media practice	236
6.2.2 Other limitations of the study	238
6.3 Concluding Remarks	239
6.4 Suggestion for further research	242
BIBLIOGRAPHY	244

Illustration Table

1. MAP OF LATIN AMERICA	42
2. HETEROTOPIA, RELATED CONCEPTS	49
3. SPATIAL MOVEMENTS	51
4. LEFEBVRE'S TRIAD OF SPACE, ANDERSON	58
5. GEOGRAPHIES OF TERROR, OSLENDER	62
6. MAP OF DISPLACED POPULATION WORLDWIDE IN 2010, INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT MONITORING CENTRE	74
7. MAP- MAIN ZONES OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT IN COLOMBIA, ACNUR	76
8. FORCED DISPLACEMENT FIGURES IN COLOMBIA, COOHES, 2011	80
9. GEOGRAPHY OF WAR, VÁSQUEZ, 2010, p. 9	84
10. MAP CONSOLIDATION ZONES, ACCIÓN SOCIAL	85
11. DOCUMENTARY, SOCIO-CULTURAL PRACTICE	94
12. AVAILABILITY OF DOCUMENTARY FILMS	114
13. LA SIRGA, PICTURES: CONTRAVÍA FILMS	128
14. LA SIRGA, LOCATION MAP	129
15. LA SIRGA, HETEROTOPÍAS	133
16. MEANDROS, MEDIO DE CONTENCIÓN PRODUCCIONES	138
17. MEANDROS, LOCATION MAP	139
18. MEANDROS, HETEROTOPÍAS	144
19. ROSATIENKA, PICTURES	149
20. ROSATIENKA, LOCATION MAP	151
21. ROSATIENKA, HETEROTOPÍAS	155
22. EL RESCATE PERFECTO, LOCATION MAP	161
23. EL RESCATE PERFECTO, HETEROTOPÍAS	164
24. EN LO ESCONDIDO, PICTURES: CAMPO HABLADO	169
25. EN LO ESCONDIDO, LOCATION MAP	170
26. EN LO ESCONDIDO, HETEROTOPÍAS	174
27. LA CASA NUEVA DE HILDA, PICTURES: SILVIA HOYOS	178
28. LA CASA NUEVA DE HILDA, LOCATION MAP	179
29. LA CASA NUEVA DE HILDA, HETEROTOPÍAS	182
30. EL COMAZÓN, PICTURES: LA MANACA PRODUCCIONES	185
31. EL COMAZÓN, LOCATION MAP	187
32. EL COMAZÓN, HETEROTOPÍAS	189
33. PEQUEÑAS VOCES, PICTURES: BLACK VELVET	198
34. PEQUEÑAS VOCES, LOCATION MAP	194
35. PEQUEÑAS VOCES, HETEROTOPÍAS	198
36. CÓMO VAY A OLVIDARTE, PICTURES: RCN	204
37. CÓMO VAY A OLVIDARTE, LOCATION MAP	205
38. CÓMO VAY A OLVIDARTE, HETEROTOPÍAS	208
39. COMUNIDADES DE PAZ, PICTURES: COMMINT TV	214
40. COMUNIDADES DE PAZ, LOCATION MAP	215
41. COMUNIDADES DE PAZ, HETEROTOPÍAS	221
42. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	227
43. INTEGRATED MAP, MAPDOCS.ORG	234
44. SAMPLE: MAP BY YEAR, MAPDOCS.ORG	236
45. SAMPLE: INDIVIDUAL MAP, MAPDOCS.ORG	237

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 Background

Documentary as a tool of denunciation has the possibility to access other spaces and ideally makes them visible to citizens. It can promote a social conscience upon concrete situations of war that are producing rural “heterotopias” (Foucault, 1986). On the other hand the potential of documentary as a tool of criticism can also be regularised in wider media structures (Corner, 1995, p. 101), (Zimmermann, 2000), (Hoghart, 2006). The question of how spatial restrictions/isolation produces rural heterotopias of war; and above all, how are they being mediated as a representation of audiovisual heterotopias in documentary films, is crucial for this research. This study of rural heterotopias focuses on documentary films recorded during the period of the the democratic security policy (2002-2010) within zones affected by the dynamics of internal armed conflict.

Colombian territories, inheritors of an unequal, *broken modernity* (Pecaut, 1990) (Martín-Barbero, 2004b), configure an imaginary line that radically separates urban and rural spaces. The countryside can be conceived as a romantic, idyllic place or as a lost paradise; as well as a place of horror, threat and isolation. The isolation brings consequences that affect the civil population, particularly Indigenous groups, farmers and Afro-Colombian communities that inhabit the rural zones under territorial fights. Due to the armed conflict, Colombia has been currently marked as the country with highest displacement population figures (Lennard, 2013) and is affected by violence in the form of forced disappearances and massacres that frequently occur with impunity.

The armed conflict in Colombia is a very complex and changeable situation, derived from a historic class division (Pecaut, 2001). To give an overview of the almost fifty-year-old Colombian Armed conflict in a few lines is a challenging task. The unstable situation is due to the convergence of the different interests of economic and political groups (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003) that dispute the territorial control of rural zones. A schematic view of the armed conflict would describe a

polarised division between left-wing guerrilla and right-wing paramilitary groups. However, it has to be taken into account that their relationships with groups of private enterprises, drug traffickers, the state army and the government are ambiguous. Besides, the internal armed conflict is not isolated from the influence of global war logics (Cubides, 2005, p. 50). Thus, the multiple transformations of the armed conflict exceed much of the political right/left wing confrontation and undoubtedly points out to an economic internal conflict based on the territorial control of remote rural areas.

During the period of the the democratic security policy, the mobility of the people living in rural zones affected by the armed conflict was considerably restricted, as well as the access of the urban citizenships to these zones. The the democratic security policy was implemented and developed during the two presidential periods of Alvaro Uribe Vélez (2002-2006) (2006-2010) (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2003). Nevertheless, beyond the policy's official design, during the government's first years, there were several documents that anticipated the policy's intentions. A close reading of these documents unveils the polemics bases of war strategy that, from the start, tried to implement the figure of the state of exception, particularly in rural territories (Decreto 2002 de 2002, 2002) (Sentencia C-1024/02, 2002). The wealthier areas of big cities such as Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, and Cartagena, were relatively protected in what can be denominated *democratic security 'bubbles'*. Meanwhile, rural zones and even marginal areas of the big cities were conceived as exotic, dangerous, and isolated places, mostly inhabited by the people who were hit harder by the consequences of violence.

The spatial restrictions affected the media representation of rural zones. The conflict, officially unrecognised by the government of Álvaro Uribe Vélez (Restrepo-Ramírez, 2007) was hidden under the claim of a terrorist threat. It was also silenced under the spectacular logic of dominant private television news (Ramonet, 1998) and the *neutralization* of public media (Luna, 2014a). Paradoxically, the invisibility of the armed conflict fostered the curiosity and influenced the documentary gaze upon the armed conflict zones in Colombia. It created the necessity of filming to denounce the hidden realities that were affecting the civil population. Many filmmakers then

developed poetic proposals to enter and communicate the reality of the ‘mysterious zones’ produced by the armed conflict. Therefore, in this research I focus my interest in how *heterotopias* of the armed conflict were represented by urban filmmakers.

At the beginning of this research, I suspected that certain censorship or security issues would affect the access of documentary filmmakers to rural/armed-conflict zones. However, in the course of the study I realised that a growing number of documentary films of these zones were recorded in the period of the the democratic security policy. Moreover, they seemed to increase every year, due to factors such as the democratization of audiovisual technology, the increasing availability of public funding and the new technologies of distribution. In this sense, the suspect of an invisibility of the armed conflict that was due to being unrepresented in audiovisual images, more than to the lack of films that documented the situation, responded to a limited film’s circulation.

For instance, in the first period of the the democratic security policy, independent documentaries about the armed conflict have lost space in public media (Campo, 2012). Yet, it is difficult to point out to an explicit censorship, because many of them obtained public funds granted by the state. In this period, the key to the invisibility of the rural zones seems not to be a consequence of the lack of recording; instead the attention should be paid to the distribution that kept documentaries in marginal spaces. On the contrary, during the second period of the the democratic security policy, the documentary gaze was sublimated in fictional film co-productions that fostered transnational circulation, a situation that showed a changing mediation on the representation of rural spaces of the armed conflict. Thus, based on the exploration of *rural transnationalities*, the work opens up the reflection on how media heterotopias represent spaces of resistance or how are they *neutralized*.

0.2 Object/Process of study

This research is a study of the rural zones affected by the armed conflict portrayed in documentary films during the period of the the democratic security policy (2002 -

2010). As it has been pointed out, during this time, the circulation of the civil population was restricted, particularly in remote zones most affected by the armed conflict. As a counter-site, the isolation and invisibility of the rural zones have attracted the attention of many documentary filmmakers that target them as their privileged spaces of filming. This combination of factors is the main reason to limit the study of heterotopias of the armed conflict to these years.

The title of this research, *Mapping heterotopias. Colombian Documentary Films of the Armed Conflict*, points out to a physical and conceptual cartography. The idea of mapping in this dissertation is twofold: On one side, it refers to a cartography of *spatial media practices*, understood as the access to rural territories (heterotopias on the first level) where documentary filmmakers were recording. On the other side, on a more metaphorical level, the heterotopias indicate, the aesthetic selections that shape the poetics of other spaces made by the filmmakers (heterotopias on a second level) influenced by the place in which they have decided to film as well as by the kind of documentary that they produce. Finally, the physical/conceptual cartography is redirected upon social spaces of transnational circulation/national legitimisation, present in the idea of documentaries as “glocal” products (Sinclair, *Televisión, comunicación global y regionalización*, 2000).

Other space is another term for “heterotopia” (Foucault, 1986). When I work with the concept I understand it as “concrete technology” (Faubion, 2008, p. 33), “space of play” (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008) and a concept to explain “segregated places” (Burdett, 2000, p. 8). Heterotopias, as a tool-guide in this analysis, ultimately reveal communicative spaces of “mediation(s)” (Martín-Barbero, 1993). Heterotopias have been interpreted as paradoxical spaces (Rose, *Feminism and Geography. The limits of geographical knowledge*, 1993) (Hetherington, 1997) (Sohn, 2008, p. 47) (Heynen, 2008, p. 317) or expressions of “contradictory spatial order” (Jansson, 2009, p. 306). In documentary films of the armed conflict, the ambivalent character of heterotopia is very present, particularly when observing how they function at the intersection of different levels.

Based on ideas explored in the field of *Geography of Communication* (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006) the study retakes the questions of “how (other) space produces

communication and how communication produces (other) space” (Jansson, 2009, p. 308). Thus, the analysis focuses on the production of other spaces or heterotopias in documentary films of the armed conflict at the three levels proposed in “The production of space”: “spatial practice” (*perceived*), “representations of space” (*conceived*), and “representational spaces” (*lived*). (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38-39).

The interpretation of the group of documentary films proposed here explores these three levels. The analysis has taken into account that it is an integrative model, but to understand the relationships, it has to observe how every level works in each case. First as spatial *media* practice (*perceived*) heterotopias are sustained in the idea of access to other spaces (rural zones) of reality that are not usually visited by urban citizens. Second, as spaces of *audiovisual* representation (*conceived*), they portray aesthetics where nostalgia for an idyllic place, an imaginary space that existed before the violence, is expressed. For instance, in some cases, the rural idyll can be conceived from the urban point of view of filmmakers who appeal to sophisticated poetics to represent isolated rural zones. Third, as representational *social* spaces (*lived*), heterotopias reveal their contradictory character, because they can be other spaces of resistance where the visibility of the marginal rural places could work as a factor of social debate/ mentality changes, or they can be *neutralized*, reabsorbed within wider logics of transnational media circulation. One way to neutralise *heterotopias* in transnational spheres is to highlight the perspective of *exoticism*, as seen from outside, and this, of course, approaches them to *non-place* (Auge, 1995).

Heterotopias of the armed conflict are usually physically far away from urban (regular) citizens, but they become visible through documentary discourse. The discourse proposes alternative narratives that unveil the ambivalent social order in Colombian society, as a fragmented nation with a centralised state and a hierarchical society (Pecaut, 2001) (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003). At the same time, the visibility of *other spaces* legitimates the image of Colombia as a diverse country by means of their landscape (Comisión Fílmica Colombiana, 2014). The landscape in fact, can contribute to their cultural industry success in transnational spheres (Proimágenes, 2014). In this dynamic, the situation of heterotopia as a “paradoxical space” (Rose, 1993), as an in-between (Hetherington, 1997) is clear. On one side,

documentary is an answer to the dominant storytelling of media television news in the Colombian context. On the other side, the logic of *neutralization* tries to subordinate the Representation of Other Spaces to more hegemonic structures of media circulation.

0.3 Aim and Research Questions

The general purpose of this work is to understand how *spatial media practices* in *other spaces* (rural spaces of the armed conflict) determine the representations of heterotopias of the armed conflict in documentary films. On the second level, the research explores if rural heterotopias still have the potential to become a representational *social* space, particularly in new context, when they are completely immersed in the dynamics of transnational circulation/ national legitimisation.

The aim of *Mapping heterotopias. Colombian Documentary Films of the Armed Conflict*, thus, refers to connections between the three levels of analysis. “Spatial (media) practice” or *perceived*: particular-material places attached to competence and performance of the documentary filmmakers. “Representations of space” or *conceived*: codified representations used in films and “Representational spaces” or *lived*: such as the case of transnational circulation of films that “covers the physical space using symbolically their objects” (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 33-38).

A specific objective of this work is to understand documentary as a privileged space to comprehend the relationship with the communities in movement. They are analysed as “socio-cultural (media) practices” (Lagny, 1997) or as “documentary experiences” (Sobchack V. , 1999). Documentaries show neglected spaces of society, margins outside the regular order that help to visualise heterotopias. At the same time, documentaries are a laboratory of “constitutive mediations” that operate between “cultural and politics” (Martín-Barbero, 1993, p. 207)The exploration that goes from documentary media practices to their logics of visual representation and circulation can give insights about the production of other spaces in communication as a relational space.

Specific objectives will be reached in each one of the three levels:

On the first level, this study will explore through interviews with a group of ten filmmakers, the performativity of the production of heterotopias within *spatial media practices* of recording in rural zones.

The second level, will interpret the discursive formations, from the narrative dispositive of the chronotope. It intends to understand the ways in which the documentary storytelling and the spatial poetics *conceive* the armed conflict.

Finally, the third level will describe transnational media circulation, understood as a “coherent system” (Lefebvre, 1991) that fosters the idea of an imagined community. On this level I understand the category of *lived space*, not as an individual or imaginary realm of poetics of space, but as a representational-social space.

From the urban imagination, the collective visibility of the hidden rural zones of the armed conflict are an aspiration and an invitation to access the unknown *other spaces* of reality through representation, the analysis on documentary films intends to inform how (rural) spaces produces audiovisual communication and how audiovisual communication produces social/representational spaces.

In the same line of the specific objectives, three research questions will guide the general aim to understand the function of heterotopia in relation to the three levels of analysis:

0.3.1 Research Question 1

How do “spatial media practices” of recording documentaries in rural spaces determine the production of heterotopias?

The study formulates the research question in the context of restricted mobility in rural zones as a consequence of the the democratic security policy. It interrogates the fascination with the other space of war, from an urban point of view, and the construction of community trust networks that allow recording in remote zones and finally grant access to the heterotopias of the armed conflict.

0.3.2 Research Question 2

At the level of representations of heterotopias how is the relationship between “chronotopes” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84) that structure the story telling of the armed conflict with the real space in which the film took place?

These representations are usually showing “a break with the traditional sense of time” (Foucault, 1986). Here, the curiosity and fascination from the urban gaze of the documentary filmmakers upon rural spaces of an *unknown country*, is a determining element in the Representation of Other Spaces. But this curiosity is not exclusive of audiovisual representation of rural zones, as a “real-and-imaginary” space (Soja, 1996). This element has also taken into account that the audiovisual representation of the rural spaces of violence have traditionally been shaped by a long literary tradition connected to “European travel writing on the tropics” (Lesley, 2009, p. 25) of representation of Colombian rural territories

0.3.3 Research Question 3

At the representational level, how has the circulation of documentaries of the armed conflict recorded in rural zones of Colombia became a heterotopic form (a counter-space of resistance and contention) or how was it neutralised?

This question was formulated in a transitional period, from the production of national documentaries, mainly journalism reports or commissioned works aimed towards co-production and transnational media circulation of independent full length films (Suarez, 2012). It points out to the idea of a “documentary gaze” (Luna, 2012b, p. 1) (Luna, 2013a, p. 77) (Luna, 2014b, p. 220) as a creative impulse that even influences the creation of fictional films of *real-place* based representations.

Documentary film representations of rural spaces depict “rural heterotopias” (Philo, 1997) (Andersson & Jansson, Rural media spaces. Communication geography on new terrain, 2010). In Colombia, during the period of the the democratic security policy, rural heterotopias were not only the result of power, explicitly expressed in governmental planning, but also “an effect” (Murdoch & Andy, 1993, p. 425) of

power relationships between legal and illegal armed groups and the communities that affect the *representations of space*. When rural spaces of the armed conflict are analysed from the idea of heterotopias of communication, there is a critical perspective on the urban/rural distance, but, at the same time, the conscience of the documentary gaze also evidences new “ways/modes of being together” (Martín-Barbero, 1996, p. 46) (Martín-Barbero, 1999, p. 51) (Martín-Barbero, 2002). In this case they are produced not only in the relationship between rural inhabitants in the zones of the armed conflict, but also in their ephemeral encounters with urban documentary filmmakers that gain access to the territories of an ‘unknown country’. From this relationship, documentary is considered as an experience, which not only portrays, but also generates heterotopias. This work posts the questions by focusing on the idea of “heterotopia as mediation” (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008, p. 94) or “the *othering* of space” (Jansson, 2009, p. 306). Within this study, the mediation is interpreted as a relationship established between the documentary filmmaker as an urban cosmopolitan inhabitant (Luna, 2013a) of contradictory increasing interconnected “mega cities” (Gilbert, 1996) or even big cities with “similar urban process” and problems (Kantaros, *Social issues in Latin American Cinema*, 11) and the rural communities as heterogeneous groups (David, 2001). How relationships and distances between them express “new ruralities” (Pérez, 2004) is a central issue to this research.

0.4 Structure of the work

The first chapter is a theoretical review that explores the main references of heterotopia (Foucault, 1986) in Europe and Ibero-America. It looks for a delimitation of the concept in the relationship and distances with concepts such as chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981) and non-place (Auge, 2001). From here, I propose a schema of the concepts to integrate them to the model of the production of space (Lefebvre, 1991). The final part describes the analytical framework of the “geographies of terror” (*Oslender, 2008*), as a useful approach to understand the relationships between

violence, particularly the forced displacement in Colombia, and the generation of rural heterotopias.

The second chapter is focused on the spatial restrictions that affected the civilian populations in rural zones. It describes the political context of the armed conflict in Colombia, during Alvaro Uribe Vélez's presidential period (2002-2006) (2006-2010). The contextual overview is based on the information provided in official documents that defined the the democratic security policy. This chapter's aim is to show how the the democratic security policy reconfigured the rural spaces of the armed conflict in Colombia.

The third chapter *mapping documentaries* proposes a reflection on heterotopia and chronotope framed by documentary representation from an ethical-aesthetical perspective. The access to the perceived space of the armed conflict, the distant gaze, the occupation of other spaces the generation of chronotopes and finally the expectation of circulation are expressing the transitions and relationships between the different components of the spatial model of analysis.

The fourth chapter describes the methodological approach to the idea of mapping heterotopias both as physical and conceptual cartographies. The physical mapping, describes the identification of a database of 110 documentaries recorded in rural zones during the period analyzed and proposes a basic use of the ArcGIS software to locate the rural zones in which documentaries films were recorded during the eight years of the the democratic security policy in Colombia. It discusses the possibilities and limitations of mapping the physical zones in which filming were done. On a more metaphorical level, the conceptual cartography is a method of documentary discourse interpretation to analyse how heterotopias are depicted in the audiovisual representations of other spaces of violence, through the description of chronotopes. In the end, the chapter addresses questions for further studies on the possibilities of mapping contradictory spaces depicted in documentary films.

The fifth chapter shows the interpretation of the case analysis based on ten documentary films. The analysis covers different rural zones of the armed conflict,

recorded along different years of the the democratic security policy period. The analysis is structured on the three levels: spatial media practice, that explores through interviews, the accessing and networking with communities in rural zones, representations of (other space), which is the discourse analysis of chronotopes and heterotopias expressed in documentary films and representational space, which describes the transnational/national spaces of the circulation of documentaries.

Finally the sixth chapter presents the main findings, recommendations and suggestion for further research. This chapter supports the schema of ten documentaries analysed with a basic integrative map of the online ArcGIS locations of the territories documented in the films. The online platform contains also information of their transnational circulation. In addition, the study presents the location of the first part of the complete database of rural documentaries concerning the armed conflict. From the 110 films forty-nine films provided completed data. Therefore, the chapter also addresses the limitation of the available information. The results suggest possibilities for a further development of a design model in ArcGIS.

0.5 Set of basic definitions

This section aims to offer a basic understanding of terms that will reappear in this dissertation.

Heterotopia: In this study, this term is understood on two levels: the *other space* of the rural zones, a segregated place (Burdett, 2000), produced by spatial restrictions, in zones that open and close, depending on the current situation of the armed conflict. The restriction also produces spaces of resistance -new “ways of being together” (Martín-Barbero, 1999)- that people develop in the most adverse conditions. On the second level, there is the Representation of Other Spaces, in which heterotopia is a contradictory space of play, the *other space* of cultural mediation.

The democratic security policy: A policy implemented in 2002 during Álvaro Uribe Velez’s government in Colombia. It was focused on the fight against armed groups (particularly FARC’s guerrillas).

Armed conflict in Colombia: It is the armed confrontation between The state and guerrilla. Experts marked the beginning of the armed conflict with the creation of FARC's guerrillas in 1962-64. In the context of the the democratic security policy, the armed conflict is permeated by complex relationships between the state, paramilitary groups, drug dealers and guerrillas. To a great extent, the armed conflict affects the population of remote rural zones.

Chronotope: A concept proposed by Bakhtin to refers to the concretion of time/space in a narrative figure. It is a concept that comes from literary analysis. In this study it is related to the spatial metaphors used for the representation of heterotopias in documentary films.

Non place: Spaces of loneliness and anonymity (Auge, 1991). It opposes individualism in favour of collectivity. Non-place describes spaces of what the author refers to as *supermodernity*, which is defined as the reaching of the ideals of progress of modernity in an 'artificial way' in which the individual is predominantly a consumer.

Geographies of terror: It is the proposal of an analytical tool (Oslender, 2008) to interpret the movements of populations in the context of the armed conflict in Colombia.

Geography of Communication: An emergent field media and communication studies (Falkheimer and Jansson, 2006) (Adams and Jansson, 2012) that stresses the importance of the production of space in communication and communication in the production of space.

Production of other spaces: It is the model of spatial analysis (Lefebvre, 1974) applied to the study of heterotopias. For the purposes of this analysis in audiovisual communication studies, the model is reinterpreted on the level of spatial media practice, representations of other space and representational space of circulation.

Neutralization: When the representation of heterotopias of resistance are absorbed, or *neutralized*, in hegemonic media structures.

Resistance: The opening of other spaces that can foster social debate. Also refers to the way in which communities construct social networks in order to inhabit the spaces of the armed conflict.

Mapping: The physical cartography of the rural zones recorded/portrayed in films. This study also includes the interpretation of the main chronotopes of the armed conflict, and the identification of transnational spaces of circulation in documentary films.

Nocturnal map: The metaphor for the diverse routes of the production of knowledge within the study of communication as a culturally situated practice and a field in transformation in Latin America.

Mediation(s): Communication as the study of a cultural process. Here I draw on the ideas of logics of the logics of production, but mainly on the idea of one of the senses of *mediaciones* (in plural) that refers to forms of popular hope and resistance that configure the everyday life of the people.

Ways of being together: It is a concept used by Martín Barbero in relation to the production of a cultural space in communication. In this study it refers to communication as cultural mediations produced within the everyday life of the communities. It points out to the ways of survival as a collectivity, even in the most adverse conditions.

Spatial media practice: The logics of production in documentary films. It comprises the relationships between the communities and documentary filmmakers, and the routines to access to the physical places and stories of the armed conflict.

0.6 Unsubstantial territories?

Heterotopia is, thus, an ‘operative’ concept in the sense that it may work as a wild card that can be interpreted from different disciplines and perspectives. It belongs to the family of ideas in constant movement, perhaps such as identity, complexity, transnationality, and even democracy. These concepts are common to different

disciplines, from the political studies to the arts, including social sciences. Audiovisual communication, as a contemporary discipline, is perhaps interdisciplinary by nature, and for that reason, this study considers the importance of the interpretation of heterotopia inside it as a process of “mediation” or “space in between” (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008). The theory in this field claims the urgent need to be conscious of ‘dialectic’ concepts (Catalá, 2011) that allow the comprehension of the social and political phenomena that occur in changeable and complex spaces of representation.

However, if heterotopia is this kind of wild card, how can a study avoid getting lost in a wide theoretical approach? The answer is that heterotopias “are meant to detonate, to deconstruct” (Soja, 1996, p. 48) and this deconstruction, in terms of spatial thinking, is useful for researching processes in communication studies. In this sense, Foucault’s affirmation, in terms of a connected network, is still relevant to study the complex process of media studies:

The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein. (Foucault, 1986, p. 22)

Perhaps it is a bad idea to use a concept as heterotopia to avoid getting lost; my proposal is that one could deal with diverse routes not with a rationality in need of confirmation of pre-determined methods, but by using what has been denominated from an earlier spatial approach to the process of communication “nocturnal maps” (Martín-Barbero, 1993), this means, maps able to deal with uncertainties and gaps.

Exploring in tentative almost groping fashion without a guiding map or with only an obscure, night-time map. This is a map which enables us to study domination, production and labour from the other side of the picture, the side of

the cracks in domination, the consumption dimensions of economy and the pleasure of life. It is not a map for escape but, rather, to help us recognize our situation from the perspective of mediation and the subjects of action (Martín-Barbero, 1993, p. 212).

Nocturnal maps is a powerful idea that seems to be very connected with the impossibility that Lefebvre recognised in his criticism of descriptive maps (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 85). In this study, it implies as well that the awakened curiosity by heterotopia, and its multiple interpretations in communication and cultural studies, should not be read as a problem of using an slippery, or a messy concept (Harvey, 2000) but as a symptom and perhaps as a horizon of interpretation; useful for a field that is situated in an ongoing and fast transformation, a field in need of integrative approaches.

The problem of analyzing objects of study in continuous transformation posts to challenges that must be taken into account if one wants to understand the process of the production of space in communication beyond the object (the product) as an abstract entity. The flexibility of what has been understood as the possibility of building a theory “working with (travelling) concepts” (Bal, 2009).

I would conclude this part explaining the use of heterotopias in communication studies, through the metaphor of the lighthouse that illuminates spaces that are neglected when the theory of media tends to focus on the apparent rationalities of massive products, technological tool development or established media structures; more than on the uncertain, unstable, and complex processes of human communication. The imbrications between media practices in rural documentary films and their aspiration to transnationality is just one example. In this kind of study, the light needs to be moved to reveal the trajectories of a ship that is never fixed. If the light remains static, then it surely will lose the particular process of transformation. Thus, the only guide into what can be described as the study of “unsubstantial territories” (Woolf, 2005, 1931) needs to trust in a “nocturnal map” (Martín-Barbero, 1993).

0.7 Mixed Methods

Retaking the former ideas, the methodological question is how to build a method to analyse the connections between differentiated spaces that overlaps. This of course, cannot ignore the discussion between paradoxical spaces that emerges in dialectical interpretations (Merrifield, 1999, p. 347) or the adoption of the idea of trialectics of spatiality (Soja, 1996, p. 53). This work found the connection between the three levels, that for analytical purposes are presented separately, in the presence of heterotopias, that works as a link that problematises and illuminates the overlapping dialectical displacements that occur between the three spaces.

In practical terms of analysis, the method is differentiated between the three parts of the analysis. The first level comprises the identification of the archive, the selection of key documentaries and semi-structured interviews with ten documentary filmmakers and the location of the place of recording in every film. The second level is a spatial discourse analysis focused on the ideas of chronotope and the production of heterotopias from the documentary representation. Finally, the third level explores the transnationality and the space of national legitimization based on the data collection of film festivals, press reviews and publication of official institutions about the circulation of the films.

0.8 Main contributions of this study

Heterotopia, as (other) space of mediation, is a productive tool guide to interpret socio-cultural-spatial practices, within documentary films analysis. In this sense, the methodological contribution when applying the concept to analyse real-place based representation, and the decision of privileging small samples to general analysis should be discussed in the light of recent methodological experiences and development of theories of space in cinema (Chanan, *The documentary chronotope*, 2000), (Català, 2001), (Bruno, 2002), (Castro, 2009), (Hallam, 2010), (Caquard, 2013).

The empirical cases of analysis, by using mixed methods such as ethnographic approaches to media practices, cartographies of documentaries and literary analyses, allow me to re-situate the model of media *production of spaces* that, from the origin of the concept, has been usually applied to urban perspectives. Following recent studies (Andersson & Jansson, Rural media spaces. Communication geography on new terrain, 2010) it tests the application of the model based on Lefebvre's categories to the production of (other) spaces. In particular, the analyses of documentary films allow me to visualise relationships, clashes and distances between the urban and the rural.

On a theoretical level, I will point out two contributions or elements for further discussion:

I think that the main contribution shows that the studies of rural mediations in 'developed' countries are beyond 'local' analysis, because they are related to the emergence of new media spaces in transnational perspectives. In other words, this is not only a cartography of national representation, but of mediation of heterotopias, as emergent spaces of rural-transnationalities. What is moving between the apparently opposed extremes of rural/urban local/transnational is an example of communication analysis where the spaces, all over the world, beyond technological networks, are interconnected by human aspirations and complex processes of communication that can be characterised by situated multiplicities.

The second theoretical contribution is in the effort to schematise relationships between abstract concepts, related to space analysis, not in order to prescribe a unique interpretation, but as a provocation, to encourage the dialog through the visualisation of perspectives of knowledge that come back to the original sources. Precisely, my interpretation of heterotopia as *a compass to interpret overlapped presents* proposed in the next chapter, intends to organize the main ideas first expressed by the original texts. I am aware that this is not far from the Foucault's laugh regarding the Borges Encyclopaedia. However the schemas proposed here, enters in the line of the idea of

“nocturnal maps” (Martín-Barbero, 1993) as compass to understand mobile processes/ theories. After all, what rule are we following when we think that a cartography, or a compass “can only represent frontiers and not to build images of relationships and crossings from escape pathways and labyrinths?” (Martín-Barbero, 2004)

0.9 Thinking “Espacio”, translating “Espace” and writing “Space”

Besides, the consciousness of reading heterotopia from a Latin American perspective in social communication studies, allows me a situated reading from the field of communication and culture(s). In particular, when I use the word *mapping*, my proposal was initially derived from theories of communication as cultural practices and mediation(s) (Martín-Barbero, 1993) and it is in search of alternative cartographies (Martín-Barbero, 2004, p. 11). This has established dialogues with the emergence of a “spatial turn” (Ek, 2005) (Adams, 2009) (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006) (Couldry & McCarthy, 2004) in communications studies, as well as with diverse interpretations of heterotopia (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008) (Hetherington, 1997) (Philo, 1997) . I believe that this sort of South-North theoretical frame points out to the importance of theories useful to discuss the new realities of situated transnational perspectives in communication studies.

The Production of Space (Lefebvre, 1991) originally published in French (1974) is a theory of social space in a capitalist society. Contrary to the text of heterotopia that was first published in Spanish, and other texts of Lefebvre that have been published earlier in Iberoamerica, such as *De lo Rural a lo Urbano* (Lefebvre, 1971), it is only at the end of this research that the first translation of the book *La Producción del Espacio* has been published for the first time in Spanish “after almost 40 years” (Martínez Gutierrez, 2013), (Delgado, 2014). This publication confirms the actuality of Lefebvre’s most complete work and at the same time, the conscious ignorance of its relevance. Ironically, *The Production of Space* opens with a quotation of the poem *Envoi* from the Mexican poet Octavio Paz (Lefebvre, 1991) that situates

“to the North (...) a landscape to be invented” and “to the South the reflective memory”.

0.10 Peripheries of knowledge(s)

One never researches on a void and language is not only the vehicle, but also the integral part of the research. The recent and late publication of *La Producción del Espacio* in Spanish leads me to include a reflection about the ideas of thinking of “espacio”, from the objects and frames first learnt in the faculties of Social Communication at Universidad del Valle in Colombia, very much influenced by the ideas around spaces of communication as culture expressed by Jesús Martín Barbero. By thinking of *espacio* from a Latin American/Colombian framework, I recall the ideas of a broken modernity, as a reinterpretation of concepts previously discussed in theories of communication by Martín-Barbero and Pecauc. But above all, I am referring to my own reading of diverse texts that is constantly seeks answers to contradictory realities. By translating *espace* I mean that many of the basic theoretical referents of this dissertation (Foucault/Lefebvre) were first conceived and socialized in the intellectual environment of the French-speaking academy. The French social theory was, in fact, very influential to interpretations of communication, culture and power. These elements are key issues in the Latin American perspective on the process of mediation. Finally, by writing *space* I position my own work within academic perspectives that cross conceptual frontiers in search of common frames of discussion.

The writing of the thesis in English is an effort and surely a sacrifice of other world visions. Writing in English is something that we take for granted, but is unnatural for many researchers. Even if academia tends to naturalise the fact that in order to disseminate knowledge, we are neutralising other intellectual connections that can only be possible in one’s own language. I hope this meta-reflection will be useful to generate a dialogical imagination and a sort of “lost in translation” in a research work that has been produced in the changing environment of higher education in Europe: in this case, from a more traditional Spanish/Catalan system that

opens up to a more global aspiration of exchange and hopefully in favor of the communication and understanding of diverse knowledge(s).

However, the former affirmations are not innocent. I am conscious that beyond the internationalisation discourse of a global university, the aspiration to a transnational academic dialog is full of utopian aspects, precisely because at the same time, the main references tend to be concentrated in the knowledge produced in the global centers, and precisely as Lefebvre (1991, p. 356) and Massey (1994) have pointed out: *Globality has a center*. This meta-discussion goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, but finally, I would highlight that this research should be considered as a study that refers to the audiovisual production of one particular country (Colombia), but the theoretical approach of which, as the object of study and our own position in the world, inevitably goes beyond our national frontiers. This challenge is a part of my own reality and defines my own position as a researcher: thinking, translating and writing *from one of the multiple peripheries of knowledge(s)*.

CHAPTER 1

1. HETEROTOPIA. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Heterotopia as counter-emplacement

The concept of heterotopia first emerged in medicine, where it means something strange to the body “A phenomenon occurring in an unusual place or spatial displacement of normal tissue” (Sohn, 2008, p. 41). Foucault moved the concept from medical studies that deal with “highly complex structures” (Idem, p. 43) to the field of humanities. Heterotopias are defined in his text in contrast to the imaginary space of the utopias as places that effectively exist but outside the regular ordering.

Heterotopias are “real places, places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society, which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. (Foucault, 1986, p. 24)

Heterotopias here are relevant as representations of other localised, concrete places, counter-emplacements (*contraemplazamientos*) that aspire to reach the Lefebvrian ideal of a concrete spatial analysis, one that allows the comprehension of dynamic situations. For instance, the production of rural spaces that from an urban gaze in documentary constitutes a heterotopia (Luna, 2014b), because the filmmaker is seeing their own country from the perspective of the urban documentary *realizateur* that is always an outsider in the countryside. Sometimes this is a consequence of the physical distance of the rural zones from the city/urban environments, but frequently this big distance can also be literal, in the sense that the documentary gaze has been shaped from an education obtained in the film schools of the developed world (Luna, 2013b, p. 10).

Since the publication of the text in English, the six principles of “other spaces” have been widely studied (Philo, 1992) (Teyssot, 1998) (Hetherington, 1997) (Johnson, 2006) (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008) (Johnson, 2013), etc. But more than a straightforward definition; the concept has been dispersed along the suggestive and incomplete text (Foucault, 1986): First, they are constant in every human group (p. 24); second, society can make it function in “a very different fashion, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs” (p. 25); third, “they are able to juxtapose several spaces in a single real place, several sites that are in themselves incompatible” (p. 25); fourth, “heterotopias are linked to slices in time”, but their most complete function occurs when “there is a break with the traditional sense of time” (p. 26). The fifth principle is that “heterotopias always presupposing a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable” (p. 26). Finally, they function “in relation to all the space that remains” (p. 27). It is amazing that only five pages and six principles have been enough to generate an ongoing debate around a concept in which geographical images have confirmed their theoretical potential to foster the “dialogical imagination” to paraphrase Bakhtin. Now, the challenge seems to propose methods, perhaps following Foucault’s interpretation of “anti-methods”? “Genealogies of power knowledge” (Shiner, 1982), that allow an in-depth comprehension of the discussion around heterotopias.

The most common examples of heterotopias are cemeteries, gardens, brothels, colonies, and ships. It can be said that these places reflect a positive way of thinking about heterotopias. It is interpreted from a theory where a sense of otherness is considered as a freedom and resistance to the dominant order of discourse. But along the Foucault’s text here are also “deviant heterotopias” such as the prison and the psychiatric hospitals. Confined places where society puts aside what is not part of its ordering. Certainly, it could be argued that places ranging from prisons to ships present great differences between them and, in this sense, it could be very difficult to arrive to a concrete definition of the concept with such diverse examples. Nevertheless, this research understands that these examples are serving not as ‘essential spaces’ that explain a concept as an isolated principle, but as places in

relation to the social space that is contesting and reflecting the idea of heterotopia as a set of relations that occur in the *production of (other) spaces*.

This work understands heterotopia as a relative space, an “unstable process of mediation” (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008, p. 94) “a mental and representational category” (Jansson, 2009, p. 306). Hence, heterotopias are constantly generating movement between central and isolated spaces. In the case of the representation of forced displacement in documentaries, this movement can occur in different situations and itineraries, challenging the idea of a fixed place attached to one univocal identity. Heterotopias in relation to modernity are defined as “spaces of alternate ordering” (Hetherington, 1997, p. 9) or “in-between spaces” (idem, p. viii). But more than a chasm or a gap as Hetherington has defined them, heterotopias are in the context of this study of representation of rural spaces of the armed conflict, spaces of difference, but not where the people “could be different” (Hetherington, 1997, p. 143) but where the people must behave different in order to be able to resist in spaces of instability and uncertainty produced by situations such as forced displacement.

One can discuss the ideas of the places of armed conflict and forced displacement as heterotopia, arguing that isolated and closing spaces such as battlefields, borders, and camps have been understood as the opposite of heterotopias (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008, p. 5). This discussion is very relevant to this work, as this research is sustained in the assumption that a concept such as heterotopia can be applied to comprehend the dynamics of audiovisual representation in a context of internal armed conflict, where the main motivation is the fight for territory and places like temporal borders, battlefields, and camps do exist in the rural zones. This leads to the question of the heterotopias of the armed conflict in Colombia as a political issue, as well as a place for thinking about the encounters between spaces of resistance that are producing and opening “other spaces” in the middle of the most adverse conditions and spatial restrictions. These portraits of resistance that are usually part of documentary films go beyond the common representation of isolated spaces of war where victims and victimisers move.

Following the idea of places of resistance, a closer relationship between the concept of heterotopia and the possibility of making visible the political orders of reality has emerged. This question is fundamental for this analysis, and it is supported in political ways of thinking about heterotopias:

The concept of the heterotopia gains in explanatory power when it is used to define segregated institutions or places where social policies are articulated, where technologies of power are at their most visible and where ideals of social ordering are physically enacted. Such sites are defined by their absolute perfection, they are spaces which encourage or necessitate a definite revision of how the individual either constitutes himself/herself or is constituted by the regime of which he/she is subject. (Burdett, 2000, p. 8)

In the exploration of the rural space isolated by the armed conflict, it is understood following Burdett as a “segregated institution”. From this perspective, the aspiration to reach the illusion of security of an urban centre expresses the technologies of power dominating in a very centralised country. The definition and reproduction of dominant discourses about an isolated countryside, opposed to more secure cities, creates the sensation of the war zones as *non-places*. However, when heterotopias are re-enacted, as is in the case of some documentary films that show everyday life in zones affected by the armed conflict, the idea of a mysterious, faraway zone is unveiled as a political technology of discourse, and a spatial strategy attached to political power and above all, it reveals the will to produce fear in order to dominate the territory. What is more relevant here instead is that the threat is at the same time challenged by people’s “ways of being together”, strategies to overcome the immobility of fear. Heterotopias, as unstable and uncertain as they can be, are existing spaces and their audiovisual representations are crucial to understand the role of the civil society within an armed conflict. The rural heterotopias seem to be very distant from the so-called megacities (Kooning & Kruijt, 2009), but in many regions of the world, they are a permanent way of life that constantly produces new rural and urban spaces.

1.2 Foucault's Legacy on Spatial Studies

In addition to the central article of heterotopias, the concept was mentioned before in one of his fundamental books, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1994). First published in 1966, the first time that the concept appeared in his writings was from the perspective of critical discourse analysis, and since then it was suggested as the opposition to utopia in order to reach a definition.

Utopias afford consolation: although they have no real locality there is nevertheless a fantastic, untroubled region in which they are able to unfold; they open up cities with vast avenues, superbly planted gardens, countries where life is easy, even though the road to them is chimerical. *Heterotopias* are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy 'syntax' in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to 'hold together'. This is why utopias permit fables and discourse: they run with the very grain of language and are part of the fundamental dimension of the *fabula*; heterotopias (such as those to be found so often in Borges) desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences. (Foucault, 1994, p. xviii).

The ideas expressed below around heterotopias as a way to "dissolve myths" and "sterilise the lyricism" are very present as an aspiration, an ultimate limit to reach a representation of violence. However, in documentary films of the armed conflict, bounded to an "ethical space" (Sobschack, 1984) (Nichols, 1991, p. 76) the representation tends to maintain a romanticisation of otherness, which ultimately shows the impossibility of destroying syntax or the will of the documentary gaze to maintain myths of representation.

Even if the concept of heterotopia had originated in the sixties, it was not until the publication of *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* when the spatial dispositive became one of the main subjects of analysis by the author. A recent study about visual-spatiality in Foucault's has pointed out that "In the book of genealogy of prison the spatial question is more evident" (Amuchástegui, 2009, p. 223). This perspective was expressed in the construction of spatial figures such as the idea of the panopticum (Foucault, 1977, p. 179) and others extracted from the revision of press articles such as the "chained gang" with its "dimension of a public spectacle" (Foucault, 1977, p. 258) and the more lonely and bounded spaces of the "covered car", "a machine that had been very meticulously designed, a carriage conceived as a moving prison, a mobile equivalent of the panopticon" (Foucault, 1977, p. 263). Even if Foucault never analysed cinema in depth (Maninglier & Zabunyan, 2011), one could argue based on these figures extracted from visual media representation that in this kind of procedure, Foucault was looking at *disciplinary chronotopes*.

Coming back to heterotopia, when tracing Foucault's legacy with respect to the concept in academic articles, it can be seen that research works from different perspectives have applied the concept during the nineties. Since this spatial turn in postmodern studies (Jameson, 1991) a variety of articles have developed the idea of heterotopia in architecture (De Meulder, 1998), literature studies (Reid-Pharr, 1994), geography (Whatmore & Thorne, 1998), sociology (Norval, 1999), and anthropology (Feld, 1997) among others. The postmodern perspective expressed in most of these articles is not free of criticism but it cannot be denied that heterotopia has increasingly experienced a theoretical renaissance that took the concept beyond traditional spatial sciences such as architecture or geography.

Later, with the advocacy of interdisciplinary fields, the number of studies about heterotopias has increased in academic research in the humanities and social sciences. Some are examples of heterotopia, as an applied concept in literature such as (Bogumil, 2001) (Cross Turner, 2007) (Wei-Qiang, 2009) (Piper, 2012). The concept can also be found in other fields, such as the anthropology of immigration (Rossetto, 2006), and some approaches have been developed in the field of media studies on the

subject of digital information (Lievrouw, 1998), global communication in places of crisis (Pugliese, 2009), and *strange spaces* in communication (Jansson & Lagerkvist, 2009). In the course of this research, one of the most complete revisions as a result of a doctoral thesis on the concept (Johnson, 2010) has been published online on a site devoted to the innumerable publications around the concept (Johnson, 2012). Theoretically, the ideas around heterotopia are constantly generating new interpretations and awaken a curiosity that makes one think that the Foucault's call for a heterotopology has finally found an echo in the interdisciplinary fields in need of analysis of the complex sociological realities at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The definition of heterotopia was expressed by Foucault in search of a concrete anthropology and sociology. It emerged in response to the abstraction and dominant historicism of the late sixties, expressed in the philosophical theories of Jean Paul Sartre (Nicol, 1960). Foucault's text was initially conceived as a radio talk on the radio station *France Culture* for a series on literature and utopia (Boyer, 2008, p. 53), and afterwards, he was invited to read it in a conference in the Circle of Architects during the spring of 1967. However, the text was not published with the author's permission and translated until 1984 for an art exhibition in Germany: the *Internationale Bau-Ausstellung Berlin* (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008, p.13). As various researchers have pointed out, the concept of heterotopia is not a constant or a very well-developed concept. The theory ranges from more critics (Saldanha, 2008), (Harvey, 2000) to more enthusiastic defenders of the concept (Johnson, 2006), (Soja, 1996). After all, one consensus with respect to Foucault's legacy of heterotopia seems to be in its characteristic as a *travelling concept* (Bal, 2009) of an imaginary *geography* (Frank, 2009), flexible and open to multiple interpretations.

1.2.1 Iberoamerican Readings

In this part, I would highlight that heterotopia has also received attention from the Ibero-American academia, even if this fact has almost been lost or has remained

unnoticed on the main theoretical studies around this subject recently published in the Anglo-Saxon environment.

A translation of the original conference was published earlier in Spanish, in the architecture magazine *Carrer de la Ciutat* from Barcelona (Foucault, 1974), perhaps for the first time after Foucault's talk in 1967. In addition, the first quotation of heterotopia, is perhaps in the essay about Borges' shocking encyclopaedia that inspires the famous laugh of Foucault (Rodríguez-Monegal & González-Echavarría, 1972).

Another relevant texts in Spanish is within the field of cultural studies, feeding the ideas of narrative and alterity from a Latin American periphery (Jáuregui & Dabove, 2003) and last, a complete study about heterotopia and identity (Martín-Barbero, *Narraciones sociales y mediación intercultural. El trabajo intermediador de Herman Herlinghaus*) that highlights the concept of *intermediality*, proposed from Eastern Germany to analyse modernity in Latin America (Herlinghaus, Riese, & Zimmermann, 1999). Martín-Barbero's texts point out to the production of knowledge in the bridges built "from periphery to periphery", a reflection that can be extended to several Latin American readings on heterotopia.

In addition, heterotopia in recent Spanish publications has been helpful in the understanding of documentary films (Luna, 2009), (Luna, 2014b), virtual spaces of audiovisual image (Català, 2005), (Català, 2009) and communication interpreted from peripheral modernitie(s) (Martín-Barbero, 2004b) (Martín-Barbero, 2010). What is remarkable in all these examples is that heterotopia is a dialogical concept that has the capacity to connect very different schools, objects of analysis and traditions of thinking, in visual communication while maintaining the idea of the periphery.

I am aware that this integration can be polemic from the point of view of a more radical opposition to the more Eurocentric or structural readings of Foucault, as recent perspectives have suggested against the dominance of a theoretical "western territory" criticizing the "structuralist provenance" of heterotopia (Saldanha, 2008, p. 2093), (Gregory, 1994, 29). The discussion exceeds in much the scope of this

literature review, but for now I would close it with the image of the alter-map of Torres-García (Dabove & Jaúregui, 2003, p. 9), that illustrates the idea of “heterotropias”.



1. Heterotropic map of Latin America. (Joaquín Torres García)

The figure of the “heterotropic map” is useful as a metaphor for thinking of otherness, and points out to the “epistemologies of the South” (Souza-De Santos, 2012). I am interested in these perspectives not as an essential definition of a radical difference, but in a search for a dialogical concept that reflects systems of knowledge built, not from the avoidance of Western perspectives, but from the productiveness of unexpected influences and crosses that could foster new interpretations.

1.2.2 From “badlands of modernity” to “post-civil society”

This literary review concerning the concept of heterotopia would not be complete without mentioning two books that deeply explore this subject. The first one, from the field of sociology, *Badlands of Modernity* (Hetherington, 1997), raises the question of heterotopia in the context of modernity and social ordering in the eighteenth-century European society. The second work, *Heterotopia and the City* (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008), is a collective work that discusses diverse interpretations of the concept from the perspectives of architecture and urbanism.

Badlands of Modernity points out that the character of a modern society can be better understood through an analysis of the ambiguous spaces in which modernity emerges. Its argument completed Foucault's work on heterotopia with other approaches to utopia from the work of Louis Marin:

That is what modernity has been all about, trying to create the perfect society, by turning the nowhere into the good place, more specifically trying to create a society that is ordered and stable and governed properly as well as one in which the principle of freedom is upheld. Marin's aim is, however, to pull apart the nowhere from the good place, to return utopia to eu-topia and ou-topia and to look at the space, one might say chasm, that opens up between them. That space, which Marin calls the neutral, is where I would locate Foucault's heterotopia. (Hetherington, 1997, p. viii)

What is relevant here is the idea of the horizon as an aspiration that would never be reached, which connects with the idea of *broken modernity* and also differentiates modernities as processes that occurs in different layers of space and time.

The second key book for this study, *Heterotopia and the City*, is focused on the question of post-civil urban society, and it shows how heterotopia can connect architecture with political conceptions of space: "We see heterotopia as being at a crossroads of the conceptual fight lines that shape public space today" (Dehanene & De Caeter, 2008, p. 4). The editors highlighted four of these lines: "The reinvention of the everyday: the ordinary and extraordinary", "the privatization of public space: 'oikos' vs. 'agora'", "the rise of the network society: place and non-place", and "the post-civil society: heterotopia vs. camp". The main contributions of this book for the present research are on the political perspective of place, the acknowledgement of heterotopia as a dynamic concept, and especially the discussion about the differences between camp and heterotopia, a very relevant topic in terms of communication and armed conflict studies.

1.3 Chronotope Non Place. Relationships with heterotopia

From Foucault's first definition of heterotopia to the acknowledgement of it as a travelling concept, the next part of this chapter will continue by exploring the relationship and differences of heterotopia with related concepts such as chronotope and non-places (Luna, 2014b). These have been key concepts in narrative and film studies. In this research, they help to situate heterotopia and its connections with social orderings within the real and imaginary geography of audiovisual representation in documentary films.

Despite the denial of a spatial perspective discussed in Foucault's texts on heterotopias, spatial studies have been very influential in some disciplines, generally qualified as more marginal than, for instance, history or philosophy, which have supported the main definitions and dominant approaches in academic discourse. Still, the anthropological analysis of Auge (1995) has contributed to the comprehension of spaces of globalisation with the concept of *non-place* and, since the beginning of twentieth century, the *chronotope* (Bakhtin, 1981) has been an influential concept in literary theory.

1.3.1 Chronotope

Chronotope is a concept that analyses the aesthetic value of literary artwork. This concept has established a relationship between space and time, and suggests that a single unity of analysis is productive in understanding narrative movements. The word *chronotope* (literary time-space), as Bakhtin wrote in the beginning of the essay, comes from the theory of relativity in physics but according to the author in literary criticism is borrowed "almost as a metaphor" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 85). As the idea of heterotopia has been transported from medicine in the Foucault's essay, Bakhtin reported as well a relationship with biology, when he attended to a lecture by the physiologist Alexei Uxtomskij "in the lecture questions of aesthetics were also touched upon" (Holquist in Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). The concept expresses the indivisibility between space and time, such that time is seen as the fourth dimension

of space: “We cannot help but be strongly impressed by the representational importance of the chronotope. Time becomes, in effect palpable and visible, the chronotope makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250). In this sense, the chronotope, such as heterotopia, is a *travelling* concept that has the potentiality to connect imaginary and social space through a concrete narrative of images.

Chronotope is not a strange concept to the interpretation of documentary and film analysis (Chanan, *The documentary chronotope*, 2000) (Català, 2001), but what has called my attention in relation to this research is that the definition of space/time in Bakhtin, first published in 1937 (Steinby & Tiinti, 2013, p. 139), corresponds with theories developed almost forty years later in human geography. Space was in fact an important tool in literature analysis, but there is no reason to not extend it to other fields (Rowe, 1999, p. 887).

Bakhtin’s definition of chronotope, like that of heterotopia, recalls the Benjamin’s concept of dialectic image: “(A) Unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ratio and nature of the temporal and spatial categories represented(...) The chronotope is an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring” (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 425-426). The chronotope, as a unity of analysis, in some sense expresses what Foucault would affirm later with the theory of heterotopias. It is not that there is a precise opposition between time and space, but that time without the dimension of space is empty. This “condensation of time”, a specific duration of time defined by an enclosed space, has a strong relationship with the bounded space of heterotopia. Chronotope is a way of “concretizing representation” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 141):

An event can be communicated, it becomes information, one can give precise data on the place and time of its occurrence. But the event does not become a figure. It is precisely the chronotope that provides the ground essential for the showing-forth, the representability of events” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250).

Bakhtin does not present an absolute classification but their figures present all over the text describe chronotopes such as the road, the encounter, places from the past, the castle, the gothic house, the rural idyll, and the bourgeois salon, among others. They show a narrative geography in which the key is not the space, but the narrative movement that occurs within those places and that produces the evolution of a story.

Certainly, the analogy between heterotopia and chronotope is incomplete because the chronotope is finally understood as a center of narrative unity, a representational space and the mediated place that connects the whole narrative. Chronotope differs from heterotopia as a concept, but as a narrative tool of analysis it is useful to understand how the narration of heterotopic spaces is configured. In documentary films, for instance, the idea of the unity of time-space can be explained by the frequent use of spatial metaphors that works as “powerful poetic condensators of moving images” (Luna, 2014, p. 213, own translation). Thus, the poetic of the moving image in documentary film used to be translated in the portrayal of liminal and unstable zones that visually represent the dynamics of the internal armed conflict.

1.3.2 Non Place

A second concept to examine in this literary review, usually related to heterotopia is **non-place** (Auge, 1995). The concept, proposed from an anthropological perspective, became popular as one of the fundamental theories to interpret the changes proposed by new spaces of globalisation.

The installations needed for the accelerated circulation of passengers and goods (high-speed roads and railways interchanges, airports) are just as much non-places as the means of transport themselves, or the great commercial centers, or the extended transit camps where the planet’s refugees are parked (Auge, 1995, p. 34)

The ideas of non-place have emerged from a reaction to classical conceptions in structural anthropology, especially to fixed approaches toward the ideas of a culture localized in time and space from the ethnological tradition (Auge, 1995, p. 49)

According to Auge's proposal places are linked with language and identity, while non-places are used to lack the human characteristics of attachment. "The space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude and similitude. (Auge, 1995, p. 103)

Non place is then defined as an artificial space in opposition to the public and more socially human space that characterises what the anthropologist has denominated "supermodernity": "Supermodernity (which stems simultaneously from the three figures of excess: overabundance of events, spatial overabundance and the individualisation of references) naturally finds its full expression in non-places. Words and images in transit through non-places can take root in the –still diverse- places where people still try to construct part of their daily life" (Auge, 1995, p. 109)

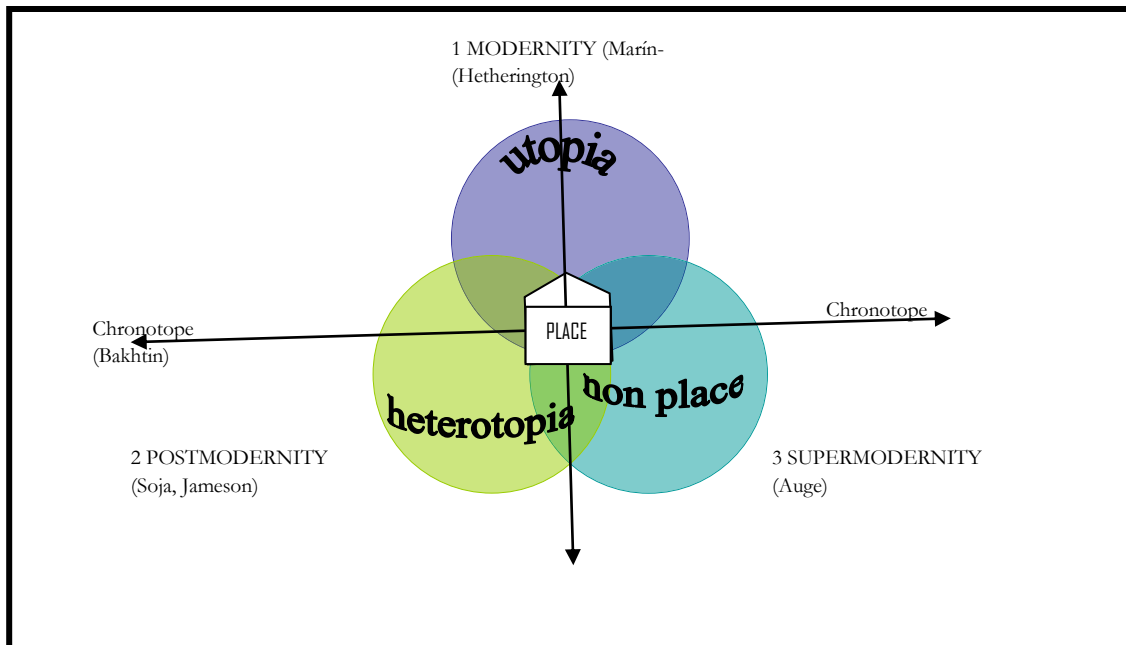
What is most remarkable for present reflection is the situation of non-places in an age where (the) image dominates (the) mediation between public and private: "In the situation of supermodernity, part of this exterior is made of non-places and parts of the non-places are made of images. Frequentation of non-places today provides an experience –without real historical precedent- of solitary individuality combined with non-human mediation (Auge, 1995, p. 118). It is like the virtual world becomes concrete, and the confirmation of this concretion was the materiality of the non-places, formed in a contradictory real world, in an age of overlapped presents denominated as "supermodernity" in which "everything proceeds as if space had been trapped by time, as if there were no history other than the last forty-eight hours of news" (Auge, 1995, pp. 104-105).

Heterotopia and non-place have in common that they are very useful concepts for thinking about political relations within the organisation of space in contemporary society: "There are other, different research objects, which do require attention to be given to procedures of transformation or change, to gaps, initiatives, transgressions and so forth". (Auge, 1995, p. 23). In an analogy with the concept of heterotopia, non- place is explained as well as "the opposite of utopia: it exists, and does not contain any organic society" (Auge, 1995, pp. 111-112).

Even though both the concepts of heterotopia and non-place are closely related, they have also big distances. One key difference between the two concepts lies precisely in the existence of a society increasingly devoted to a global spectacle: “Supermodernity though, makes the old (history) into a specific spectacle, as it does with all exoticism and all local particularity” (Auge, 1995, p. 110). The relationship of non-places with ‘super-modernity’ is a relevant point that can help to clarify the fundamental difference between heterotopia as a reaction to modernity’s social ordering (Hetherington, 1997) and ‘non-places’, which do not challenge any regular order but create their own order; not against or after modernity but as a hyper-development of it. In the first place, Foucault is dealing with how other spaces are places of resistance, a reaction to the promise of the order of a modernity that hardly took place. In turn, Auge highlights the consequences of the hyper-development of modernity that have resulted in an uprootedness of human identities, which is understood as ‘super-modernity’. Thus, in terms of interpreting social structures or social organisms, they have radically different objects of study.

In the end “The possibility of non-place is never absent from any place” (Auge, 1995, p. 107), and is in this transit when heterotopias became more visible/tangible. It can be possible that the place keeps the traditional sense of belonging or that the logic of excess transforms the place into non-place. In the meantime, heterotopias are questioning the sense of a homogeneous reality or univocal process. They generate tensions that “destroy syntax and dissolve myths” (Foucault, 1994) to finally open up “other spaces” that are as concrete as they are transitory.

1.3.3 Heterotopia: A compass to interpret overlapped presents

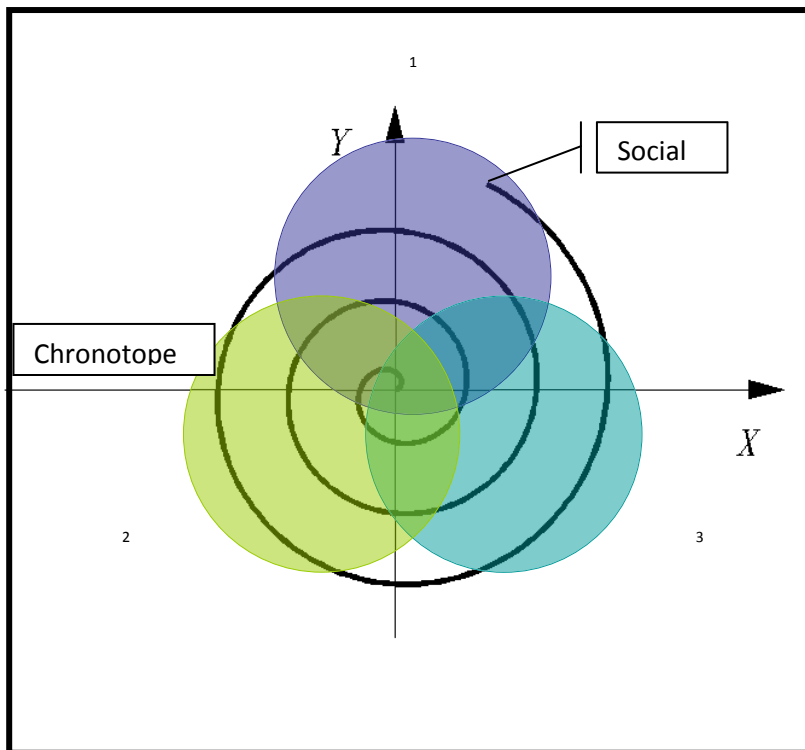


2. Heterotopia. Related Concepts

Schema 2 is a necessary reduction in a static model that allows me a basic orientation to show the most remarkable relationships and distances between the three concepts. In this schema, place is understood as the centre of security and belonging (Tuan, 2003), from which it would be possible to aspire to the “horizon of modernity”, a utopia in the sense of Marín (Hetherington, 1997). In my interpretation built around the concept of place, heterotopia appears as the *other space*, connected to the discussion of postmodernity, thus, heterotopia opens from the leaks in the small spaces where the ideals of modernity are fragmented or definitely broken. In contrast, the space of *supermodernity* is connected with the non-place, where modernity had finally reached their ideals, but, according to Auge, in an artificial, dehumanized fashion. Finally, chronotope is schematised as the axis that having the place as the centre, allows situating through concrete images, portions of time that become space. In other words, the schema situates the house as the place *par excellence* as the centre of the family and a place of belonging; on the other extreme, the commercial centre as nobody’s home, will be a paradigmatic non-place with the characteristic of lack of

attachment and artificial happiness that Auge has attributed to *supermodernity*. In this schema heterotopia is located in a marginal position in relation to the social order, it is worth to highlight that in the analysis the “other space” usually appears in the constant movement, the heterotopia that emerges as a response or reaction to the established ordering. To sum up, the schema shows the position of the three concepts heterotopia, non-place and chronotope as part of a spatial analysis, in which recent layers of space form a compass that is useful to interpret “archaeologies of (different) presents” (Catalá, 2005, p. 144).

Despite the crossroads between the three concepts, the schema also shows that there are wider zones in which these concepts fall apart. For instance, non-place and heterotopia point out to different social configurations originated from diverse theoretical approaches. Heterotopia develops ideas around the contradictory ordering of the modern world; meanwhile, non place points out to the economic and individual scope usually related to a *supermodernity*. If heterotopia points out to ideas around resistance to the order of modernity and collectivity, non place points out to the materialization of loneliness and anonymity. Between chronotope and heterotopia, the distance is much more visible. The first is the result of a reflection upon the literary romance as a verbal form of expression; the concept is the development of a tool for literary criticism. On the other hand, heterotopia as a concept emerges as a reaction to the dominant historicism in the academia of the late sixties and calls for an opening to other ideas and the return to humanism.



3. Spatial Movements.

Schema 3 was inspired by the ideas of a trialectic of space (Soja, 1996, p. 74), which shows a more dynamic way to understand the movements of a social space in which different presents overlap, as different layers of space-time. Heterotopia, utopia and non-place would be thus different perspectives, not so much attached to physical locations but to a relative concrete space manifested in the form of sites, situations, routes, ways, distributions, regions, territories, domains, and worlds (Counclelis, 1992, p. 231)

To conclude this part, the ideas of non-place, chronotope and heterotopia were originated in text that reflects on the pertinence of the space as an analytical and discursive tool, and that situates in the first term their relations with time, understood in terms of duration and with their own time, so to say, the age in which every discussion have taken place. Heterotopias thus unveil certain types of places in conflict with modernity; non places, on the contrary, would be beyond these conflicts because they are artificial spaces that emerge in the context of *supermodernity*. Heterotopias and non-places can have points in common but, having into account

their different contexts, I will not use the term as synonyms in this study. On the other side, the idea of chronotope challenges synchronic studies and understands the relationship between space-time as an element that widens the scope of the formalist analysis of literary artworks but that can be extended to other arts. To sum up, in this interpretation heterotopias are *other spaces* of resistance, contradictory space of play and cultural mediations, *non-places*, are spaces of consumption and anonymity and finally chronotopes are powerful aggregators of moving images.

1.4 The production of “other spaces”

Rural heterotopias in this study are not *natural*, but rather *social spaces* and thus, their relationships with urban and transnational spaces are the result of complex hierarchies. In this part I will interpret some of Lefebvre’s ideas that can help to understand how a *social space*, as a space of power produces heterotopias.

Lefebvre’s reflection on the relationship between space, politics and the modern state are central in order to comprehend the interpretation of a space other than the natural “produced” by human relations. The systematisation of the Hegelian/Marxist perspectives (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 71) that shape the main ideas of the production of space evolves around the notion of a *social space*

(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather it subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity –their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or ‘ideal’ about it as compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams. (Lefebvre, 2000, p. 73)

Thus, space is understood in terms of connections with productive forces, and the analysis pointed out to complex hierarchies that comprehends “various movements, rhythms and frequencies” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 87). Here the ideas of

national and regional spaces were expressed early on terms of fragments and fluxes. This theory provides a conceptual framework that is very useful to interpret complex relations such as the one that goes from local recording to transnational distribution of documentary films.

(...) the places of social space are very different from those of natural space in that they are not simply juxtaposed: they may be intercalated, combined, superimposed –they may even sometimes collide. Consequently the local (or ‘punctual’, in the sense of ‘determined’ by a particular “point”) does not disappear, for it is never be absorbed by the regional, national or even worldwide level. The national and regional levels take innumerable ‘places’; national space embraces the regions; and world space does not merely subsume national spaces, but even (for the time being at least) precipitates the formation of new national spaces through a remarkable process of fission. All these spaces, meanwhile, are traversed by myriad currents. The hypercomplexity of social space should by now be apparent, embracing as it does individual entities and peculiarities, relatively fixed points, movements, and flow, and waves –some interpenetrating, others in conflict, and so on” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 88)

If “space is nothing but the inscription of time in the world” (Lefebvre, Balladur, & Ecohart, 1967) it is worth asking: What space remains, for the inhabitants of the countryside, when they are losing a time that has been brought under the logic of urban acceleration? The author answers in the context of an *urban revolution* that everything is subordinated to the rhythm of the industrial age (Lefebvre, 1971). In the current Colombian context in the middle of the now, so-called post-conflict, everything is much more hybrid, and seems subordinated to the rhythm of the transnational production of capital flows, scapes in terms of Appadurai, of people, media, technology, capital, ideas (Appadurai, 1996; Sinclair, 2004). Even fluxes of global policies, such as global security, that allows the national government to reframe the internal armed conflict as terrorism. In this network of flows the

inhabitants of the countryside, the “displaced”, are constantly moving from their own centres of life, from their social production of space/time to precarious spaces on the margins of small and large cities. These spaces are constantly re-appropriated and transformed beyond urban aspirations of progress.

The internal refugees (that in the democratic security period were euphemistically denominated by the Colombian Government as “internal migrants”) seem to be part of a global and devastating movement that is organised under a production of *other spaces*, precarious settlements that are continuously reconfigured as a consequence of a rational violence (Springer, 2011). But behind the media figures of a massive movement there is not only tragedy but also the emergence of “ways of being together” (Martín-Barbero, 1999) where new relationships, bridges and conflicts between rural and urban perspective points out to the centrality of communication as a process that subsists, as a heterotopic *space of play* (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008). A space *in-between* (Hetherington, 1997) that is constantly challenging the silence and invisibility of a hidden war, a war that continues in the backstage of our dreams of modernisation.

Lefebvre’s theories in the attempt to embrace the complexity of superposing spaces, such as *rural transnationalities*, are useful to this research because they question the absolute distance/separation between urban and rural territories. The logic of production determines a complete subordination of rural to urban spaces as the idea of ‘marginalism’ can explain it:

Contemporary economists left aside the theory of landed property. Even though, it has played an important role in shaping “marginalism”. In turn, marginalists conform to indicate the role of marginal enterprises (small farmers) in the formation of agrarian price, leaving aside the essential: the income’s source and its distribution. (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 79) Own translation

Some examples in Latin America (Cimadevilla, 2010) discuss the ideas of a total subordination of the urban to the rural expressed by Lefebvre. These cases are asking

for a concrete understanding of space/times of post-development (Escobar, 2001), the formation of heterogeneous relations (Pérez, 2004) and the perspective of the countryside as a rural idyll (Philo, 1997). Colombia is a clear case where the times and mentalities of pre-modernity, modernity and industrialisation overlap. In this particular context, spatial theories of communication as culture are fundamental to comprehend the dynamics of practical restrictions, representation and circulation of *other spaces* generated by the armed conflict in a *glocal* context (Sinclair, Televisión, comunicación global y regionalización, 2000). This context is marked by contemporary global logics in which spatial restrictions of the the democratic security policy in Colombia enter in conjunction with the global fights against terrorism producing “geographies of terror”(Oslender, 2008). Finally the transnational circulation of the representation of rural spaces of violence are key elements of a spatial analysis that, through concrete manifestation, draw a complex production of heterotopias.

The theory of the production of space is open to different interpretations, and is far from the scope of this literature review to provide a complete overview of the diversities in terms of multiple connections and levels of analysis proposed by the author. In media studies, the spatial triad model has been discussed and applied in other contexts (Jansson, 2005) (Pamment, 2012) (Andersson, 2010) (Andersson & Jansson, Rural media spaces. Communication geography on new terrain, 2010) my interpretation follows some of these proposals in order to build an interpretation of documentary as a socio-cultural object of study, as lived experience or as s process of mediation.

At this point I will focus on two things: first, answering the theoretical question of what is heterotopia in the light of the production of space. Second, I will present my interpretation of the model of the production of (other) spaces to interpret heterotopias in rural documentaries.

1.4.1 Lefebvre's heterotopias?

Focusing on the possible relationships between the ideas of the production of space and the concept of heterotopia, I believe that beyond the opposition of Lefebvre to some of Foucault's theories about "mental space", (Lefebvre, 1991, p.3), they are not so far from each other, theoretically speaking. It is initially difficult to integrate in the same model of analysis Foucault's and Lefebvre's ideas around heterotopias, because it seems to be an immanent contradiction between Foucault's "anti-method" and Lefebvre's Marxist/Hegelian dialectic (Merrifield, *The Extraordinary Voyages of Ed Soja: Inside the "Trialectics of Spatiality"*, 1999). For some researchers, Foucault's and Lefebvre's heterotopias are radically different (Harvey, 2000) (Johnson, 2012). My reading, however goes in another direction because it try to identify some clues in order to demonstrate the relationships and convergences between heterotopia and the production of space.

First, heterotopias emerge in the defense for a model that allows the examination of the transitions more than the delimitations of an object. The idea of a "fresh space" in Lefebvre's text is recalling the definition of a "space in between" (Hetherington, 1997) (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008).

Some people claim a special status for the model of production, which they conceive as a finished whole or a closed system; this type of thinking which is forever searching for transparency or substantiality, or both, has a natural predilection for an "object" of this kind. Contrary to this view of matters, however, examination of the transitions between modes of production will reveal that *a fresh space* is indeed generated during such changes, a space which is planned and organized subsequently (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 46-47).

In countries such as Colombia, the constant transition between different modes of production of space overlaps. The logics of a pre-modern countryside share the national territory with the urban acceleration of densely populated and inter-connected megacities (Kooning & Kruijt, 2009). The transition between modes of production in these cases does not need to be observed from a historical perspective, because they can be appreciated in very present differential spaces. The constant

arrivals of Indigenous groups who were forcibly displaced, struggling to find ways to survive in the new space of the city, is just one example of one space that was not previously planned or organised.

Second, the difference that forms *resistances* and *externalities* is connected to the idea of heterotopias as counter-spaces.

Differences endure on arise on the margins of the homogenized realm, either in the form of resistances or in the form of externalities (lateral, heterotopical, heterological). What is different is to begin with what is *excluded*: the edges of the city, shanty towns, the spaces of forbidden games, of guerrilla war, of war. Sooner or later, however the existing centre and the forces of homogenization must seek to absorb all such differences, and they will succeed if these retain a defensive posture and no counterattack is mounted from, their side. In the latter event, centrality and normality will be tested as to the limits of their power to integrate, to recuperate or to destroy whatever has transgressed” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 373)

Here, the rural camps of the FARC’s guerrilla are an example of an obstinate difference. Fifty years with the oldest guerrilla movement of the continent (Pecaut, 2001), shows that the fight to integrate, recuperate or destroy whatever has transgressed, can constantly challenge the limits of centrality and ‘normality’.

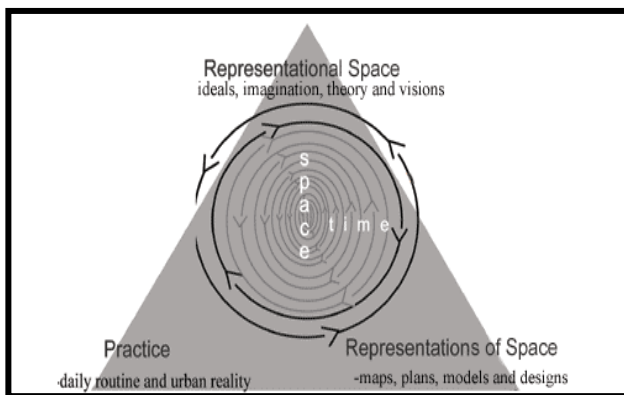
Finally, the “spatial analysis”, even if the author was reticent to use the term, was described as an aspiration to “a system of knowledge, a science of the use of space” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356). The analogy with the call for a “heterotopology” in Foucault’s essay is remarkable, explained as the “description” or “reading” of “other places/different spaces”: “As a sort of simultaneous mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live” (Foucault, 1986, p. 24).

Retaking the three points of *fresh space*, *resistance* or *externalities* and the will to develop a *system of knowledge based on the spatial perspective* are common issues. In my view, what is the final destiny of heterotopia is what ultimately separates both perspectives. In Foucault’s perspective, heterotopias seem to privilege the potential of resistance and liberation while in Lefebvre’s different spaces they

tend towards centrality and organisation. In the end, my reading arrived to the ambivalent character of heterotopia, an element that will be interrogated in the cases of analysis.

1.4.2 Searching for a concrete model

This study intends to implement the model to analyse, not the production of space, but the production of heterotopias understood as ruralities represented in documentary films of the armed conflict. Lefebvre's triad connotes a relational space that works at the three levels: Spatial practice (perceived), representations of space (conceived), and representational space (lived).



4. Lefebvre's triad of space. Anderson, 2007, p. 3

In my interpretation, to analyse documentary films, the other space of the spatial media practice is configured within the heterotopia on the first level, this mean the rural zone and the relationships produced within what is defined in Lefebvre's model as the "perceived space" (Lefebvre, 1991). In this space is where the documentary filmmaker enters in relation with the participants and direct the recording.

The second level, representations of (other) space comes from the "conceived space" (Lefebvre, 1991). The documentary filmmaker when recording a documentary in armed conflict zones is an artist/producer that applies strategies of filming and montage. He/she is one of the casual temporary inhabitants, *voyageurs* or tourists, depending on the documentary; consciously or not, inscribed in models of production

sustained by regular practices and institutions. In this sense, the documentary filmmaker with its aesthetic/ethical selections is conducting and participating in the process of the production of the representation of “other spaces”.

The third level, the representational space would explain how circulation and distribution moves in an abstract transnational space, interpreted as a social space. In this case, the representational space would be what the documentary of the armed conflict means for the Colombian society and what Colombian localities mean beyond their national frontiers.

I have applied the separation for analytical and methodological purposes, however, the study understands documentary as a process of *production of space* that moves in between the three levels. The spatial model, following Lefebvre, points out to relational spaces and should not be understood as a closed system. The “production of space” is anticipating an interdisciplinary that “reproduces the generative process by means of a concatenation of concepts” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37). One has always to remember that the spatial triad is “interconnected” and even if ultimately points out to an abstract space, this is formed on a set of relations that are taking place in concrete places:

The perceived- conceived- lived triad (in spatial terms: spatial practice, representations of space, representational spaces) loses all force if it is treated as an abstract ‘model’. If it cannot grasp the concrete (as distinct from the ‘immediate’), then its import is severely limited, amounting to no more than that of one ideological mediation among others. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 40)

My analytical proposal of documentaries based on the production of “other spaces” then integrates to this model the idea of heterotopia as a “concrete technology” (Faubion, 2008, p. 33) and as a concept to explain “segregated places” (Burdett, 2000, p. 8). This study intends to apply the spatial analysis using documentary film as a passage to observe complex and mediated political realities. The visibilisation of *other spaces* in the armed conflict in documentary films is one of many possible examples of analysis of real-place based audiovisual representation. In other words it try to demonstrate in the analysis that the production of heterotopia

understood as a “travelling concept” (Bal, 2008) or as a sort of “imaginative geography” (Frank, 2009, p. 63) can establish connections between real and imaginary spaces.

1.5 Geographies of terror as counter-space and heterotopia

The analytical framework of geographies of terror (Oslender, 2004; 2008) is closely related to the production of heterotopias as the opening of an alternative space. Oslender’s proposal is sustained in a spatial understanding of the armed conflict in Colombia, it is focused on how the conflict scenario transforms social and body practices of everyday life in what he has defined as “an analytical and methodological tool for examining the working of terror and political violence on the ground” (Oslender, 2008, p. 80). In this part I will present the seven categories derived from the fieldwork with black communities on the Pacific Coast of Colombia. Afterwards I will read it in relation to the ideas of chronotope and non-place. This final section of the literature review aims to explain how theoretical concepts related to the production of (other) space are useful to interpret the particular situation of forced displacement.

In this proposal Oslender’s aim is to deconstruct what he has denominated “the innocent semantics of the forced displacement” and instead develop the original framework of geographies of terror –not only applicable to the Colombian case (Paraphrasing, p. 80). Besides the search of what can be considered “a concrete model” or an analytical tool to understand terror, the author is interested in the “often creative ways in which local population resist the imposition of terror regimes” (p. 80).

In a previous text, about this ethnographic study in the black communities affected by forced displacement on the Pacific Coast of Colombia, Oslender pointed out the function of “spatial practices” and “representational spaces”

as catalysts in an alternative production of space or in the search for a “counter-space” “In fact, the “defense of constructions of place” (Escobar, 2001) by social movements represents this concrete search for a “counter – space”. It is this “concreteness of space” that enables us to contest its meaning, to imagine alternatives and to change its form through social action (Oslender, 2002, p. 89),

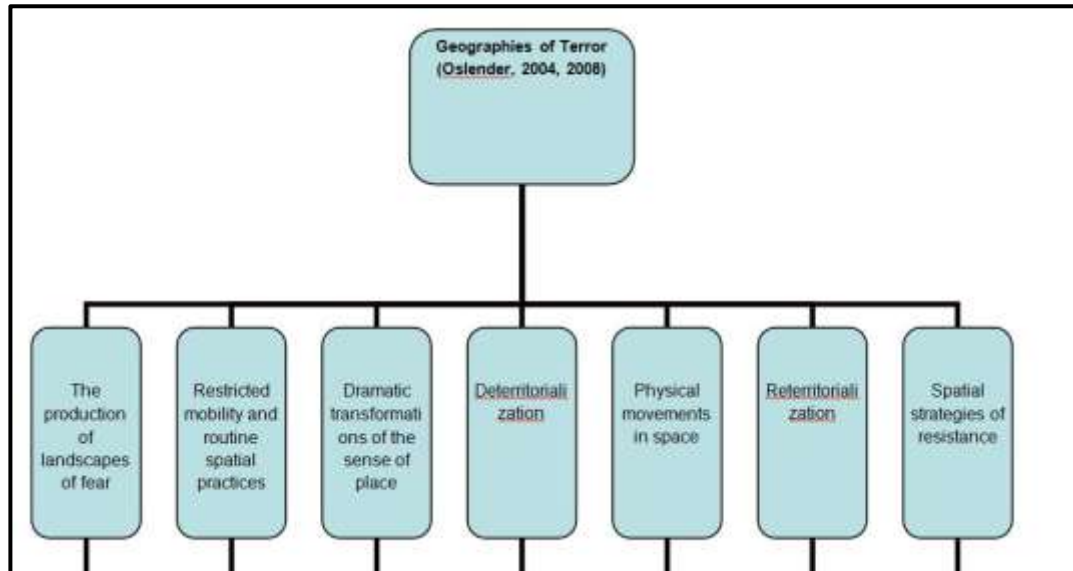
This notion of an alternative *counter-space* is close related to the idea of heterotopia as *counter-emplacement*. For the purposes of this research I will highlight the association of the framework proposed by Oslender as a concrete geography with research procedures in documentary films on the rural zones (Luna, 2013b). Both observe the ways in which people inhabit the places of violence. The focus on the generation of heterotopias or the production of “other spaces of violence” is therefore very clear “This analytical approach pays particular attention to the conflict’s spatial characteristics and to the experience of rural communities that live in the crossfire along the numerous rivers of the Pacific Coast” (Oslender, 2008, p. 80).

1.5.1 The seven categories of the analytical framework

The seven categories retaken here have been developed along different publications (Oslender, 2004) (Oslender, 2007) (Oslender, 2008). Particularly, the elements presented in the *Schema 3* are the result of an ethnographic spatial analysis based on experiences with the black communities in the Pacific Coast of Colombia. However, the documentary films observed in this study show that these logics have been represented in the movements of people in different zones all over the country.

The seven-point framework of “geographies of terror” elaborated here should not be understood as a rigid one. Rather, it intends to set an agenda for approaching terror as a complicated set of spaces, emotions, practices, movements, and materialities that work at a range of scales from the body to micro-geographies of the (lost) home, street, river, forest and region. It pays

particular attention to the ways in which people deal with terror, or, we may say, how they confront terror in its place. (Oslender, 2008, p. 84)



5. Geographies of Terror. Based on Oslender (2008)

1. *The production of landscape of fear*: The continued use of terror in a region produces landscapes of fear. These are frequently visible in the traces that armed groups leave in their wake after attacks on the civilian population. The ways in which terror produces the materialities of fear can effectively be read off a changing landscape (pp. 81-82).
2. *Restricted mobility and routine spatial practices* “Regimes of terror impose restrictions on the everyday movements of local population” “The context of terror thus triggers a fragmentation of space and dramatically alters everyday spatial mobility. Local populations are often effectively confined to certain areas, either not allowed or unable to leave” (p. 82)
3. *Dramatic transformation of the sense of place*. “More than the homely place they would remember (...) it is now the physical (and mentally registered and stored) site of the massacre, killing torture or face-to-face encounter with the agents of terror(...) Instead individual and collective

imaginations of the place of origin give way to what may be termed a “terrorized sense of place” (p. 82-83)

4. *Deterritorialization.* Terror breaks apart existing forms of territorialization. “The threats and massacres committed by the armed groups bring about the loss of territorial control for local populations”. Oslender talks about “Forceful displacement” as “the most visible expression of this aspect” but also about “mental deterritorialization” as “the result of violence and enacted in practice by the avoidance of places where danger may lurk”. (p. 83)
5. *Physical movements in space* “The context of terror triggers physical movements that profoundly reorganize social space” (Oslender, 2008, p. 83) The author here makes reference to forced displacement in small and big scale “In most cases displacement happens in a context of great uncertainty, disorganization, and chaos” (Oslender, 2008, p. 83) This movements can also be the return of the communities. One interesting point for my research is when the author talks about “migration or refugee flows (that are) cartographically represented” by insitutions and says that they “must be accompanied by the personal stories that refugees and the displaced tell about their experiences in the process of being displaced”. (p. 83)
6. *Reterritorialization* “Reterritorialization in the place of origin is a long process that implies a redefinition of previous social relations imbued with the experience and collective memories of terror and reconstruction of landscapes of fear as spaces of solidarity and peace. Yet the displaced population that does not return (be it by choice or for lack of safety guarantees) also embarks on processes of reterritorialization (p. 83-84)
7. *Spatial strategies of resistance* Collective and individual ways in which the people “resist the imposition of terror regimes” “At the local level, for example, strategies to confront terror in its place may include hiding in

certain places in the event of an imminent attack but also the organization of local populations as an acting whole if confronted by armed actors”

‘*Geographies of terror*’ (Oslender, 2004) (Oslender, 2008) as an analytical framework results from the study of the relationship between social movements and the forms of dealing with terror and inhabiting territories affected by the armed conflict. The categories help to clarify the understanding of a very complex armed conflict because they propose a concrete and situated understanding of categories derived from spatial practices and point out to representational *other spaces* beyond the violence. Above all the relationship of the categories of “geography of terror” with the documentary film representation of heterotopia is pertinent at two levels: First, the social fact that the visibilisation/expression of the other spaces shows different ways in which communities create counter-spaces in order to resist violence. And second, the universal chronotopes as dispositive poetics, narrative strategies to communicate the fear and make tangible the representation of heterotopias.

I will close the literature review with a reflection that connects the ideas of geographies of terror with concepts previously presented here such as *chronotope* and *non-place*. Heterotopia then moves between narratives strategies that finally produce the representation of “another history of violence” (Oslender, 2008).

1.5.2 Geographies of terror as chronotope

The chronotope, as a narrative strategy on the representations of heterotopias, appears in the dynamics around belonging/ displacement from the hometown, or the “logic of the river” (Oslender, 2002) conceived as a long road full of obstacles. In this part I will show the presence of the chronotope in the framework of geographies of terror, as a concept that allows the communication through a narrative understanding of everyday reality in zones of the armed conflict.

Documentary films of the armed conflict appeals to mutual conventions of understanding place. In the dynamic between the lost of a sense of place, and the need to rebuild it in precarious conditions, the narrative of the chronotope plays a relevant

role in the representation of space. Through the expression of universal narratives of belonging, the communication between the filmmaker and the community is finally transformed into an audiovisual product. Thus, the framework of *geographies of terror* is here interpreted as chronotopes that express in poetic images the production of *other spaces* of fear.

Popular chronotopes such as the road, the encounter, the castle, the rural idyll, and the bourgeois salon (Bakhtin, 1981) were very useful to the interpretation of classical narratives in spatio-temporal terms. In the same vein, traditional ideas of belonging to a place and the subsequent breaking of this narrative by the irruption of violence are expressed in visual ways in which people lose their home, their river, their animals, and ultimately, their own sense of belonging and identity attached to their families and communities. Still, resistance in terms of reconfiguration of spatial forms appears in several documentaries. It is expressed through significant figures of reconstruction that emerge from new solidarities and social networking. They express strong links to new forms of organisations that allow the individuals to survive, creating a sense of community in the most difficult situations.

Nevertheless, a critic that is usually extended to representation and studies on regions affected by long term armed conflicts is well expressed in the idea that “Violence sits in place”. “While violence sits in places in terms of the way in which we perceive its manifestation as a localized and embodied experience, this very idea is challenged when place is reconsidered as a relational assemblage” “mediated through and integrated within the wider experience of space” (Springer, 2011, p. 91). Oslender’s text, however seems to be aware of the possibility that a theory about the communities in Colombia could be read in this way:

(...) violence runs like a red thread, not only to the Country’s official history, but also through the personal, intimate life stories of most Colombians (...) This is not to essentialize Colombians as a violent people (far from it) but the effects of a four decades long- civil- war, dirty counter insurgency wars, and terror campaigns that expel peasants from their lands in their thousands, have created a context in which violence has become and everyday cultural fact.

Violence has become deeply engrained in the collective psyche and helps to define the “being Colombian” (Oslender, 2008, p. 79)

Most documentaries and fictional films start with a location plane that is used to find traces that the conflict has left in place and which become powerful metaphors of the fear of war. Here is, in fact, a very visual narrative in the way that spaces are produced and physically inscribed in the memories of the people and places. The poetic of “the empty spaces that are created when inhabitants flee and abandon their villages and towns in fear of persecution and massacres (...) the “experience of terror remains stamped not only on people’s imagination but also quite physically on the landscapes” (Oslender, 2008, p.82).

On the other side, documentaries more than rebuild rational cartographies of fear, tend to the narration of personal storytelling through testimonies or the re-enactments. When documentaries are presented in a group, located on a map that shows territories affected by violence, as the case of the cartographic sample built by this study of visual representation, the general idea of the physical movements on space can also be connected to personal stories and finally the group of personal stories reveal general strategies to produce “geographies of terror”.

1.5.3 Non-place and the rational strategies and methods of violence

The violence associated with a place is not “irrational” or “senseless” (Springer, 2011, p. 93). In fact, in the case of the Colombian countryside, it constitutes a reorganization of the space. The rural forced displacement radically changes the life conditions of groups of people who, after being displaced from the country side usually inhabit the margins of the cities. But the categories of displacement itself leave them unprotected, in limbs of precarious lives, most of the time classified as groups that are waiting to return. What is curious is that after years of living in cities, they are not sure if the return possible or even desirable (Aparicio, 2005, p. 147)

Romantic visions of an abandoned countryside that are portrayed in many documentary films about the armed conflict work as the poetic understanding of the

rationality of an empty space, ready to be repurposed in favour of economic interests that are more directed to the post-industrial age of late capitalism. The non-place is here an abandoned countryside (Bonilla, 2010) ready to be repurposed by ways of the agrarian contra-reform (Kalmanovitz, 2009). Non-places in the form of eco-tourist projects, exploitation of gold mines, bio-diesel fuel, vegetable oil, sugar cane and corridors of the transportation of goods are, between others, new uses of the territory.

Non-place from a political perspective would be then the result of forced displacement as a strategy of the armed groups (Pecaut, 2001, pp. 239-240) (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003, p. 214). The creation of the *Non place* appears as the ultimate reason where a global strategy of violence is implemented. In fact, there is nothing mysterious about the methods to expel and kill populations in rural zones, even if they produce an apparently irrational fear. Terror is a tool that permits the armed groups to control strategic territories. These strategies are a rational answer to the question of the time that the communities cannot find in their own land. When they are displaced to the cities, they stay on a limb, not able to be completely urban, neither peasant. But, as documentary films show, they are fighting and resisting against this fabrication of the non-places by opening *other spaces*.

In the end the question here is how these processes of struggle and resistance are represented because images could have a very important role in the creation of a “violent geography” (Springer, 2011, p. 97). They could become representational spaces “deeply engraved” (Oslender, 2008) in Colombian society. The fear of “Other spaces” is not an abstraction (p. 94). The rural area is depopulated to allow for ‘progresses. “Hypermodernity” tends to transform the countryside into “non-places” (Auge, 1995). The discourse of fear can, in fact, contribute to the myth of a natural isolation of the rural, but perhaps a closer gaze upon documentaries can help to find alternative representations within the “logic of the river” (Oslender, 2002), the road and the abandoned house, that beyond the metaphor contain figments of every day life.

CHAPTER 2

2 SPATIAL RESTRICTIONS ON THE DEMOCRATIC SECURITY POLICY

This contextual chapter will be divided in two main parts. The first two sections points out to a brief description of the armed conflict and to the historical reasons of a broken modernity in Colombia. In sections three to seven I will define democratic security policies and present the consequences such as the increased on the rate of forced displacement in rural population and the presence of less integrated regions in the countryside.

2.1 The armed conflict: a brief introduction

The armed conflict was not officially recognised during the years of the the democratic security policy, but their consequences were evident. In the scenario of the fight against the guerrilla the most vulnerable civilian population, particularly the inhabitants of the rural zones, were inadequately protected by State forces. The most visible manifestation of this failure was the increase of forced displacement from rural zones to the cities, precisely one of the main subjects of the documentary film testimonies recorded during the 2000 decade. This research shows that there were also other problems present in documentary films during this period such as kidnapping, massacres, and forced disappearances, but as the exploration of the film/television program archives shows, the magnitude and almost omnipresence of forced displacement in rural zones was widely represented, particularly in independent documentary films. Documentary films, in search of other realities hidden behind the official denial of the armed conflict thus, represent the heterotopias that the armed conflict has produced in several rural zones of Colombia.

This chapter starts with a brief description or schema of the situation of the armed conflict in Colombia during the years of the the democratic security policy (2002-

2010) under the government of Alvaro Uribe Vélez. On one side, there is the guerrilla army (mostly FARC), opposed to the army state and the right wing paramilitary organisations. Uribe's government arrived after the failure of dialogues with FARC from the former presidential period of Andrés Pastrana. The determination of the new government to the military's fight against the guerrillas and to control national territories gave him the sympathy of five million citizens (Medellín, 2010, p. 120) but at the same time, aligned the interests of the government with those of paramilitary organizations (Uprimmy & Safon, 2009, p. 175) (Otero, 2008, p. 20). During the first presidential period of Uribe (2002-2006), there was a pact to demobilize paramilitary groups (Porch & Rasmussen, 2008). After the official demobilization they continued to act, now officially renamed as *Bacrim* (Criminal Bands) (Castillo, 2014). This schema drew the situation in very wide lines, without having into account other factors that have also permeated the armed conflict dynamics in rural zones such as the presence of illicit crops, drug dealers, and political corruption of the regional institutions. The democratic security had created 'bubbles' of security that protected the citizens of some privileged (mostly urban) territories, while they left several isolated rural zones, and marginal territories of the cities unprotected.

Even if this research work was limited to the contemporary period of the democratic security policy in Colombia, the manifestation of violence in the form of an internal armed conflict is rooted in the formation of the Colombian state. It has become common knowledge repeated by worldwide media and official organisations that Colombia has suffered from a long-term armed conflict lasting fifty years (BBC, 2012), (El Espectador, 2014), (CMH, 2013). This view over a half century of "low intensity armed conflict" situates it since the origins of FARC in 1964/1966 (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003, p. 53) Nevertheless, the armed conflict has shown in different forms and has changed actors and places, drawing a dynamic geography of war throughout its history (p. 115) (Salazar & Castillo, 2006). Along with this history, the production of the rural as the other space of war has been a long term process and a constant in the representation of the violence in Colombia since its origins.

2.2 Broken Modernity: from a fast modernization dream to the explosion of violence(s)

A conception of national territory that separates drastically rural and urban spaces should be understood as a consequence of a *broken modernity* that never took place. According to one of the most recognized researchers about the armed conflict in Colombia the entrance of modernity in a “negative way” (Pecaut, 1990) is a determinant part of the formation of the Colombian State.

Colombia is considered an “exceptional case” in Latin America (Pecaut, 1990, p. 49) because it is the most uninterrupted democracy of the continent and, at the same time, it is the country with the oldest guerrilla movement. The period previous to the armed conflict between 1930 and 1953 is considered by the author as the roots of the formation of the Colombian State, a period that includes the explosion of The Violence (between liberals and conservatives) which started with the murder of the popular candidate Gaitán in 1948:

(...) This 23 years which began with the dream of a fast modernization and ended in the Violence, are the fundamentals of the individual memory of the Colombians as well as the basis of the political formulas that have been lately implemented (p. 40)

The armed conflict in Colombia is mainly a product of the internal logic of a society in constant tension rather than one subjected to direct external intervention. The Country shows how the inequalities of a failed modernity have affected the social, political, and economic organization of a territory (Pecaut, 2001, p. 47). “Violence is consubstantial to the exercise of a democracy not referred to the homogeneity of citizens but supported on the conservation of their “natural” differences and on collectives and private networks of social domination” (p. 29). To sum up Colombia, a centralized State, has set aside rural territories and, in the best case, organized their activity under an external logic of development, based on ideals of progress and modernity in which the pre-modern logics of rurality did not find a legitimate place.

Thus, Colombian territories, inheritors of a failed, unequal and lastly broken modernity, were configured under an imaginary line that separates radically urban and rural spaces. Today this line is still very present. While wealthier sectors of the big cities such as Bogotá, Cali, and Medellín are relatively protected in what can be represented as a sort of bubble of democratic security, rural zones, and some marginal places of the cities, are conceived as exotic, dangerous, and isolated places mostly inhabited by Indigenous groups, farmers, and black communities, precisely the populations that have been hit harder by the consequences of violence (Díaz, 2009, p. 40). If these differences of a modernity historically maintained (Melo, 1990) are examined in terms of what has been referred to as our more contemporary “global sense of place” (Massey, 1994) it can be understood how in Colombian, as in many places in which contemporary wars are taking place, different layers of space and time are distantly superposing between each other. From the urban/cosmopolitan distance, the countryside can be conceived as a romantic, idyllic place or as a lost paradise as well as a place of horror, threat, and isolation.

In the next five parts of this chapter, I will present ideas around the spatial restriction of democratic security policy based. First, I will define what was the democratic security policy focusing on how it is a policy of territorial control and will examine the recent figures that situate Colombia as one of the countries with the highest rates of forced displacement, partly as a consequence of this policy. In the next point, I will refer to two concepts that are the roots of the Colombian conflict. First, the production of fragmented territories as a consequence of a *broken modernity* or of a “modernity without modernization” (Pecaut, 1990). Secondly, non-integrated regions (Vásquez, 2010). Finally, I will close this chapter with a discussion around the meaning of National territorial ordering which is a geographical vision of the war that is a good understanding of the critic of the program of National consolidation zones, the previous antecedent of DSP that was not authorized by the constitutional court.

2.3 Democratic security policy

This part constitutes a necessary context for this study in terms of understanding the basis of “the democratic security policy” (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2003) in one of its main aspects: as a policy designed by the Colombian government to reinforce control over national territories. Following the main ideas expressed in this work, this presentation will focus on exploring how this policy has contributed to maintaining the representation/imaginary of an isolated rural zones while maintain relatively protected main cities. This part, however, does not intend to be an exhaustive explanation of the political complexities and multiple discussions that have been produced in Colombia around the application of the democratic security policy. To this respect, in Colombia, there is a large bibliography regarding the study of the implications of this policy. Texts such as (Rangel & Medellín, 2010) (Vásquez, 2010) (Sánchez & Rodríguez, 2007) (Herrera-Zgaib, 2005) (Pecaut, 2003) are good examples of the prolific analyses that shows different perspectives on the subject. In this chapter, the presentation of the democratic security policy’s general characteristics, follows the questions of this research and therefore emphasize the spatial restrictions which are objects of representation of the rural places in the armed conflict.

The democratic security policy was designed as one of the main political programs to be implemented during the government of Alvaro Uribe Vélez. It was based on territorial control “national consolidation” and the fight against terrorist groups, mainly guerrilla/FARC. (Medellín, 2010, p. 120). Its main lines of action were: “control of national territories, to take action of national institutions to the most remotes places of the Country and to achieve the protection of the civil population” (Santos, 2010, p. xv). According to the policy’s first design, “The general aim of the democratic security defense policy is to reinforce and guarantee the rule of law all over the national territory by means of the strength of democratic authority”. (p.12). In addition, the text clarifies the meaning of *security*: “It is not mainly coercion: it is the effective and permanent presence of the democratic authority in the territory as a result of the collective effort of the whole society” (p. 14). It calls

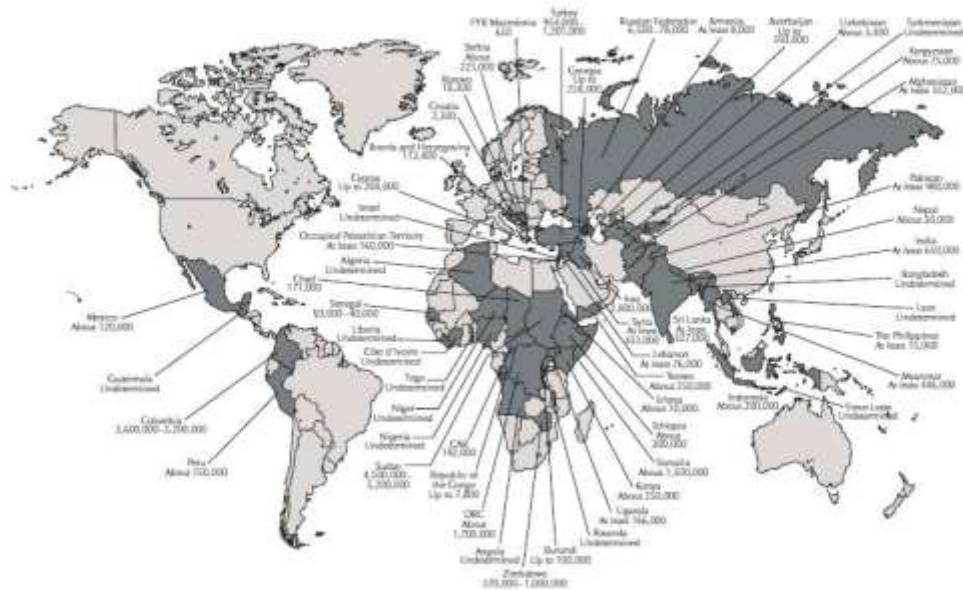
attention to the use of the term *democratic authority* which seems to legitimate the use of force as a legitimate representation to reach the main objective: the security of the Country's population.

The democratic security policy was officially presented by the Presidency of Colombia as a framed document on the 16th June, 2003. The document was designed to develop until 2012 (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2003, p. 10). It is remarkable that in the text that defines a democratic policy, the lack of security is presented as a sign of poverty; the text maintains that "The biggest inequality in Colombia is the access to security: the poorest are the less protected, they are displaced from their lands and suffer in their own flesh the terror of the illegal armed organizations" (p. 22). From the beginning, the policy was not exempt of criticism as it can be reflected in the Internal Displacement Report of the international community, where it was interpreted as "a policy of intensified civil counter-insurgency activities (that) has blurred the distinction between combatants and civilians, and in doing so, undermines international humanitarian law principles". (IDMC, 2004, p. 17).

In the context of an increasing forced displacement big cities are conceived as refugee places where millions of displaced people are arrive from the rural margins, pushing the fragile bubble of democratic security. A forced displacement of almost 300,000 people every year since 2003, according to the Internal Displaced Monitoring Center reports, is transforming the cities from the margins and is becoming the mobile testimony of the 10% of the country that is increasingly more abandoned and unrepresented in the centre of power of the State. The urban perspective is sustained in the official/governmental point of view (Aparicio, 2005) and is amplified by informative media (Luna, 2014a) Meanwhile Colombia continues to grow as a national space made of fragmented heterotopias built through layers of forgetfulness of its historical violences. The contemporary armed conflict is producing separated spaces of security and violence that far from a national unity are creating an unequal and fragmented Country in constant tension.

2.4 Forced Displacement in Colombia from a global overview.

Internally displaced people worldwide December 2010



6. Map of displaced population worldwide in 2010. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

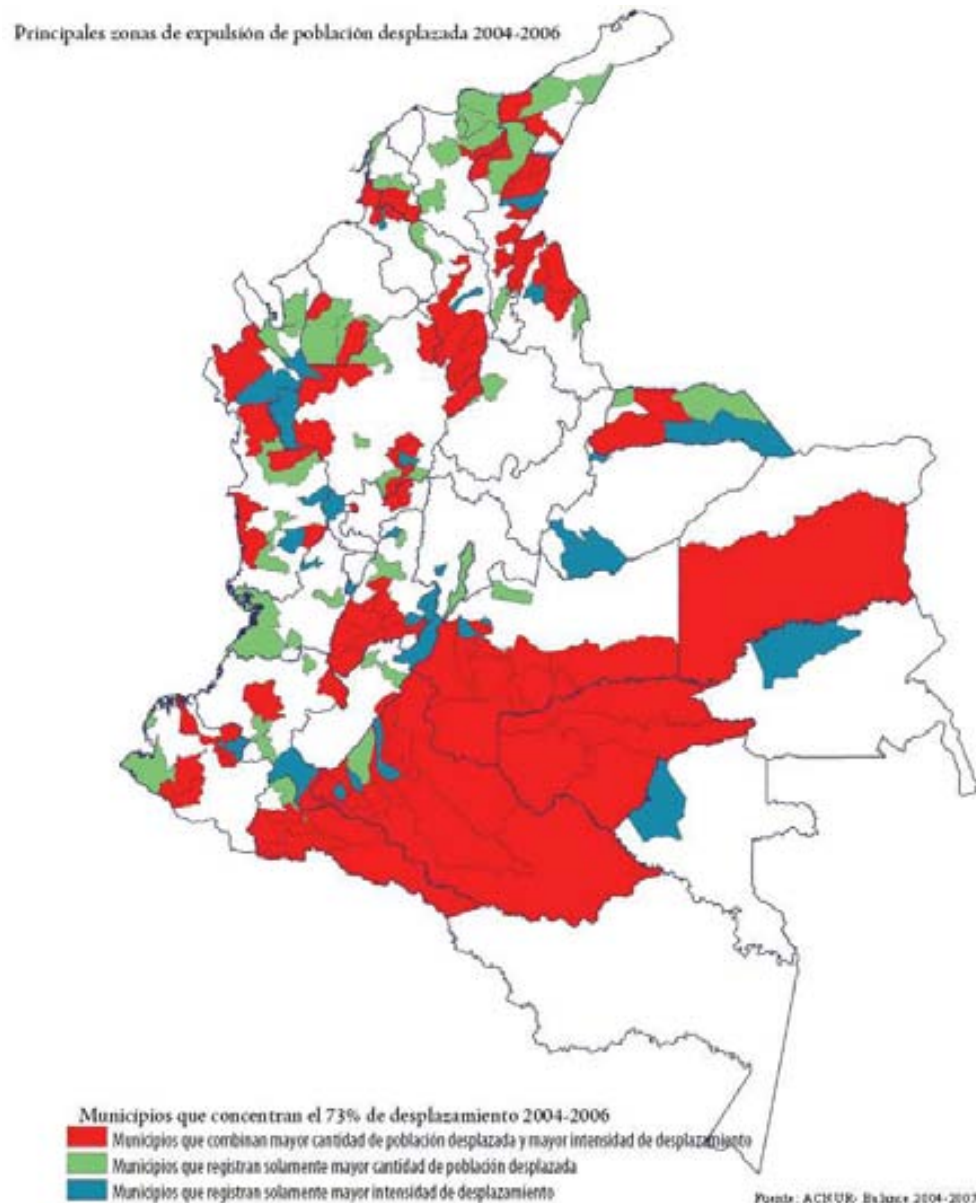
Even if the official document that defined the democratic security policy does not contemplate the fight against forced displacement as one of the main lines of action; it mentions the problem, but compares it to the killings of soldiers and policies. In some sense, this can be read as confirmation of the will to blur the frontier between actors and victims of the war which seems to be present in the presentation of the facts:

In the last year circa 300,000 Colombians were displaced from their lands, terrorized by the threats and murders of illegal armed organizations. Just as the civilians, soldiers and policies (en estado de indefesión)- fuera de servicio y vestidos de civil- son continuamente asesinados por estas organizaciones en especial por las FARC. En el año 2002, 66 policías y 27 soldados fueron ejecutados de esta manera” (p. 25)

The figures are according to the IDCP’s reports of the international community, but it has no variations from 2010 when “threats from armed groups

caused over half of the approximately 280,000 new displacements in Colombia, while assassinations, massacres and confrontations between combatants were other significant causes” (p.14)

The global overview of 2003 reported 2,900,000 internally displaced people (2004, p. 0). The map of IDCP worldwide trends shows that Colombia can have from 3,600.000 to 5,200.000 (2004, p.2) internally displaced people showing the same dramatic situation as Sudan and is in the group of one of the five countries where half of the internal displace total population of 9,000,000 people is accumulated. In 2010, at the end of the period of the democratic security policy, the number of displaced people was (3,600,000-5,200,000), and in 2012 the last report shows that the figures of forced displacement were increasing (4,900,000 – 5,500,000). During this year Colombia was the country with the highest number of Internal Displaced Population in the world. As it can be seen from the figures variation, the increase in the number of the displaced has been constant and the dramatic average is showing a big failure of the democratic security policy that is unable to protect the most vulnerable people in the rural zones.



7 Map- Main Zones of Forced Displacement in Colombia. ACNUR

Whereas the maps gave us a general landscape, the call for an understanding of a “geography of terror” (Oslender, 2008) that is part of the theoretical framework of this research, aware us of the cartographical representations of the refugee’s flows usually depicted by NGO’s: “This can give us a first indication of the size of the movement and help us to visualize short-term or longer-term trends of displacement. However, these graphic representations must be accompanied by personal stories that refugees and the displaced tell about their experiences in the process of being

displaced” (Oslender, 2008, p.. 84). In fact, the failure to protect the most vulnerable people of the armed conflict is reaffirmed by the stories of forced displacement that are part of the testimonies of the documentary films made during the years of the democratic security policy. Consequently, it is easy to understand why the micro-stories of forced displacement has become one of the dominant subjects for documentary filmmakers that criticize the presentation of displaced population as mere figures, but at the same time, the testimonies complete or give meaning to a macro-situation and reaffirms the failure of the government to protect the civil population specially in the most isolated rural zones.

2.5 “Non integrated” regions

When the Colombian media refers to the places in which the armed conflict takes place, the citizens of more “integrated regions” (Vásquez, 2010, p. 9) receive the information that a tragic situation has occurred in a faraway small village or town. Terms such as *veredas*, *corregimientos*, or *caseríos* mean small places, generally lacking of State control and isolated from the main cities, due to its geographical location. In regional distribution, the governmental centres are close to supply centres, but several rural roads are in very bad condition, in places where there are unequal water and electricity supplies. This means that in a contemporary State ruled by the longest democracy of the continent (Pecaut, 2001), many inhabitants, who are citizens of faraway rural locations, must still walk long distances to satisfy the basic necessities of health, employment, education, and security. There are also some privileged citizens in these zones, usually full of natural resources, and they not only have the money but also depend on the power of transportation to arrive to the main centres.

Under the Constitution of 1991, the territorial distribution in Colombia included special districts, departments, municipalities, and Indigenous reservations. In theory, this is an acknowledgment of diverse national territories; but in practice, the regional division has been subordinated to a political organisation, mainly with election campaign objectives. (Ramírez, 2005, p. 35). Despite the constitutional

acknowledgment of the places, many geographers have criticised that this division was designed under the political strategy of ‘who’ controls the territories.

The armed conflict zones are generally borderland economies of drug-trafficking and this fact led to the emergence of relationships between different elements that must be taken into account to understand the dynamics that have involved the civilian population in the armed conflict. For instance, Gonzalez’s study of the geographies of war during the nineties decade acknowledges that the agrarian problem and the marginal colonisation coincided with the expansion of illegal crops and the guerrilla presence. The guerrilla is present in zones where there is a lack of basic public services (health and education), the institution of justice is ineffective and the army does not have which he denominates “the monopoly of the coercion” (González, Bolivar, & Vásquez, 2003, p. 33). This refuses the idea that poverty and violence are naturally connected, but they are instead the result of political power struggles that produce a concrete other space of violence within a national territory.

The explanation of why the armed conflict presence is stronger in determined zones of Colombia, cannot be reduced to the so-called “objective causes of violence”. (González, Bolivar, & Vásquez, 2003, p. 32). What the “geography of the war” shows is that “violence has not been an omnipresent phenomenon in Colombian history; instead, it always has been restricted to some regions and periods (p. 31). “The right direction would be to associate violence with the increasing unequal wealth in determined areas where the contrast between poor people and *nouveau riche* is visible and there is few state control” (p. 31). Thus, the question should not be focused on why violence occurs in the poorest zones, whereas why zones with many resources are constantly isolated from places under the territorial control of the state.

The concept of heterotopia defining the perspective exposed in the literature review as “segregated institutions or places where social policies are articulated” (Burdett, 2000, p. 8) is central to this research because it precisely refers to places outside the regular system. Heterotopias in the first level would be the opposite of “integrated regions” (Vásquez, La seguridad democrática de Uribe, 2010). Thus, this research work suggests that democratic Security period in Colombia reinforces the production of heterotopias of *social ordering*, where fragmentation and

differentiation of rural/urban territories is articulated with state power. What is even more significant in this study is that the acknowledgment of the heterotopic spaces has been filtered to a large extent by media representation and fundamentally, these rural, “non integrated regions”, that are almost invisible spaces from the cities, have been visible through documentaries of the armed conflict.

2.6 National territorial ordering?

In some rural isolated zones of little state presence, illegal groups of the conflict today act with impunity, without state control, and sometimes even with tacit permission. The national government reports, as the next on the armed conflict do not ignore the relationship of the violation of human rights with the geographical situation:

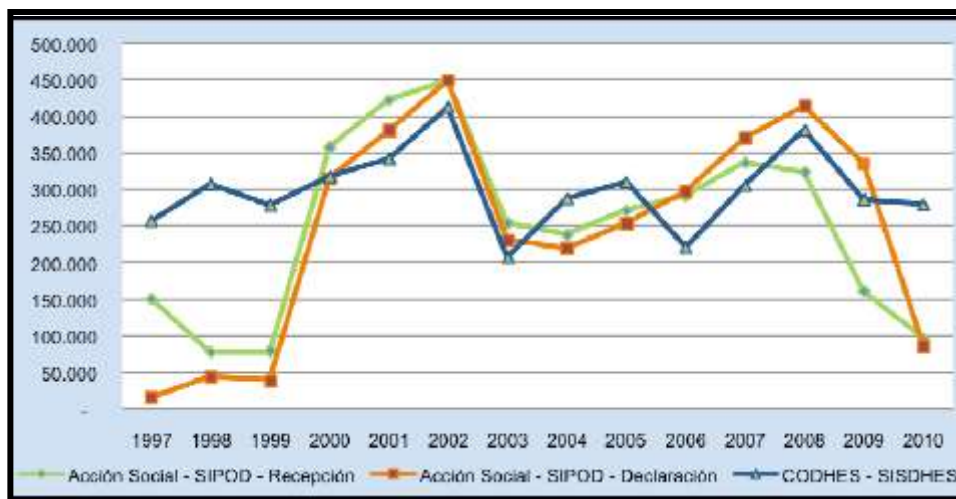
In many regions of our country, geographical location is used by criminal groups to commit series of violations of human rights (...) Although the state has made efforts to control or reduce illegal armed groups, through the various demobilization processes, these criminals have become the drug trafficking gangs, generating an increase in other crimes such as threats, forced disappearance and massive displacement. (FGN, 2011, p. 158)

According to the report based on the confessions of de-mobilised groups, from paramilitary and guerrilla members who have operated in rural zones, there were 1,652 massacres and 78,801 cases of forced displacement (a figure counted by communities, not by individual members). Even though the data available does not clarify specific zones, the analysis refers to a “geographical situation” and affirms that the number of mass displacements and forced disappearances (the official figure is only 35,108 inhabitants) has increased this year. In addition until this year 175,514 persons were killed by armed groups all over the country. It is very important to keep in mind that these figures are based on the confessions of paramilitary and guerrilla members before 2005 and, thus, refer to previous years (including the first part of the democratic security period). Finally, it is worth saying that the document (widely

distributed among private media) does not clarify the time period and does not differentiate murders perpetrated by one armed group or another.

On the other hand, the Informe Codhes (Non-governmental organisation for the defending of human rights and displaced populations) has revealed different figures of forced displacement and connects the most affected places of displacement with the so-called special zones of consolidation (*zonas especiales de consolidación*) defined by the government during the implementation of the ‘laboratories’ of the the democratic security policy:

An approximate number of 280,041 persons (about 56,000 homes) were displaced in 2010 in Colombia due to the armed conflict and other manifestations of social and political violence. The most remarkable fact is that 32.7% of this population, at least 91,499 persons (18,300 homes), came from the zone where the *National Consolidation Plan* was implemented, a program of the Government, created in 2007 with the aim to consolidate the democratic security policy, to maintain the investment levels and to advance an effective social policy (Codhes, 2011).



8 Forced Displacement Figures in Colombia. Codhes, 2011.

As it can be observed from this figure, the numbers regarding the consequences of the conflict present important variations depending on the source. (*Acción Social* –green line- from the national government or a non-governmental

human rights defenders organisations such as *Codhes-blue line*-). Thus, the massive number of deaths reported during the armed conflict, shows variations according to the source. But what seems to be clear is that the civilian population is not the victim of crossfire but of selective murders, expropriation, disappearances, and forced displacements, all of them classified as violations of human rights that are clearly affecting the Colombian rural population in the current decade.

This data shows how the dynamics of the consequences of violence that affected the civilian population in rural zones during the nineties decade are still operating despite the democratic security policy aims.

The war that is being waged, is not so much developed through direct actions, or confrontations between the groups involved. The war is developed through actions where armed actors have decided to turn civilians populations into military targets (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003, p. 126).

This is the reason for which the expression “victims of crossfire,” used very often in the mass media, is not a sufficient explanation for the question of why so many civilians fall victim to this internal and territorial armed conflict.

Furthermore, geographical perspectives on the recent violence in Colombia indicate that the armed groups of the conflict “are inserted in spatial conditions that generate conditions of violence” (Vásquez, 2005, p. 44):

It is evident that the territorial fight between the armed actors is not only reduced to the stages of the paramilitary project or to the relationships with guerrillas’ local economies, it also has a topographical character which is a key aspect on an irregular war. Thus, guerrillas settled and operated from the ladders of the mountains in high zones; from there, they enter to urban centres and plain zones. Whereas, paramilitaries are settled in plain zones and urban centres from which they incur to police stations and to small villages in the mountainous zones where the guerrilla is present, have supplies and a social basis (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003, p. 124)

To summarise, the territorial aspects of the Colombian internal armed conflict in terms of symmetrical behaviour of its forces (Vásquez, 2005) are factors that reach a better comprehension from a geographical perspective of the conflict. This symmetrical behaviour is manifested in massacres, and the different forms of making contact with civilian populations, their presence in the zones, and the control over municipalities and regions. It is possible that, during the last part of 2000, with the implementation of the particular logics of democratic security, this situation has undergone remarkable changes; but in this context, panoramic studies that allow the construction of a complete version of how the spaces of conflict have been transformed in the last part of this decade are expected.

2.7 National Consolidation Zones

The document that has defined ‘zonas de consolidación’ and that declares the state of exception can be considered as a previous experiment of the official proposal of The democratic security policy. It can help in visualising some aspects of this issue regarding to how the spatial restriction to population works in the formulation of this policy:

The process of territorial unity (consolidation) started with two zones of consolidation and rehabilitation in the municipalities of Arauca and Bolívar. Nevertheless, a sentence from the Constitutional Court did not accept the project of *State of Interior Commotion*; the plans for recovering the two zones will continue (Ministerio de Defensa Nacional, 2003, p. 44)

The project of *Zonas de Consolidación* was one of the first governmental proposals that shows how the production of other spaces was not only a consequence of the armed conflict, but also of a political design to intervene in territories (Decreto 2002 de 2002, 2002). The article 11, 12 and 13 of the zone’s of consolidation and rehabilitation law proposal worked respectively with the definition, delimitation and control of the rural territories. In the definition of Article 1, zones of rehabilitation and consolidation are geographical areas affected by the action of criminal groups. The aim of guaranteeing institutional stability, re-establishing constitutional order, the integrity of the national territory and protecting civilian populations makes

necessary the application of exceptional measures in these zones. These zones, according to Article 2, will be delimited by the president of the republic to maintain and restore public order all over the national territory. Finally, Article 3 points out that one military commander-in-chief will be assigned to the zone by the president and all the elements of the public force in this zone will be under the operational control of this commander.

A very polemic paragraph shows how with the argument of protecting fundamental human rights, the presence of private armed forces is going to be justified.

Given the extent of the country and, in some places, the lack of official goods or services to enable the protection of fundamental rights, the guarantee of the right to life and health of the people, it is necessary to provide, secondarily, technicians and professionals for particular services as well as the use of property belonging to them. (Decreto 2002 de 2002, 2002)

The first presidential project of *national consolidation zones* was finally rejected by the Constitutional Court (Sentencia C-1024/02, 2002). Despite the rejection, the text project proposed by the government shows how the mechanism of democratic security worked with the clear will of producing direct intervention in rural territories. In this sense, the circulation restrictions, displacement, and the expropriation of land are revealed not only as a consequence of the illegal armed actors, but also as a consequence of a spatial regime of state control that ultimately affected rural zones and their civilian population.

As a balance of this territorial consolidation Vásquez has affirmed that it has created different spaces:

The result is that the recovery of the territory has had heterogeneous effects in diverse regions of the country: what is celebration and security for the integrated regions and their respective elites is fear and insecurity for the peasants and colonisers of the regions of historical guerrilla presence. (Vásquez, 2010, p. 9)

Map 9 corresponds to the critical analysis of *geographies of war* (Vásquez, 2010, p. 9) and differentiates historical battlefields (grey) and new battlefields (blue). Map 10, from Presidencia de la República (CCAI, 2010, p. 9) shows the zones targeted for the consolidation plan (stronger governmental territorial control).





10 Map Consolidation Zones. Acción Social.

Three of the blue zones in the left map, at the eastern of the country that are strategic new fronts of paramilitary groups and guerrillas are not contemplated in the *national consolidation map* (on the right). Even though they are region in

which the civilian population has suffered from massacres and forced displacements.

The maps allow understand the relationships between policy design and territory, but is in the testimonies of documentary films in which these relationships became a *lived space*, in the sense that they activate a zone of connection between citizens (rural and urban) as part of the entire society. As the claim for the conception of “another history of violence” sustains, (Oslender, 2008), the combination between macro-stories and figures of the armed conflict and micro-stories in the form of testimonies, gave particular density to the problems that are occurring in concrete spaces. It eventually allows the urban spectator to ‘put oneself in another’s place’. This re-location is only possible through the documentary filmmaker’s gaze. In this sense the armed conflict cannot be neglected, because it would be even more present in the midst of the official invisibilities.

In conclusion, the elements of spatial control during the democratic security policy in Colombia have not been sufficiently studied, and this work maintains that the film documentary representation of the conflict’s consequences in these zones can be a useful tool to comprehend particularities of the internal war dynamic during this period. Generally, as we will see in the next chapter, these representations of rural spaces as zones of calmness, as idyllic territories, tend to disappear and, due to armed conflict, they are being abandoned, becoming ghost towns, mysterious and isolated places. It is a topic that seems to be related only to representation of heterotopias of the armed conflict, but what seems to be true is that this representation influences the communication about the armed conflict and these ideas are connected with the fabrication of ‘geographies of terror’ (Oslender, 2008). Heterotopias of the armed conflict, as this work hope to show, work inside a net of technologies of war.

CHAPTER 3

I believe that real human happiness will be possible only after future man will be able to foster in himself the capability to switch to the life experience of another person, when the dominant in the face of the other is fostered in each of us" A.A. Ukhtomsky

3. MAPPING DOCUMENTARY FILMS

3.1 Initial reflection. In search of common frames of discussion

Heterotopia, as a travelling concept (Bal, 2009), has the possibility to connect interdisciplinary research within media and social communication studies. Focusing on documentary and political representations of *heterotopias*, this study is situated in an intersection of three directions: The proposal for an spatial analysis applied to audiovisual communication was first influenced by the approach to communication as culture, a process that creates diverse spaces of *mediation* sustained in particular “ways of being together” (Martín-Barbero, 1993) (Martín-Barbero, 2006). Second, the studies of complex images from the idea of a *metaphoric scene* (Català, 2005, p. 407) and the appealing to the spatial dispositive of the chronotope (Català, 2005, p. 301) were explored as a spatial focus to explore less canonical possibilities in film analysis. Finally the question of *how other spaces produces documentary and how documentary produces a representational space* echoes the question of *how space produces communication and how communication produces space* (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006) that has been formulated in the proposal for a geography of communication. All this elements are situated in the midst of a spatial turn in the humanities in which “mapping is a term that has gathered significance” (Hallam, 2012).

In the search for a perspective of analysis in film studies that allow the analysis of spatial practices in documentary, lies the implication that historically, in theoretical and practical approaches to cinema there has been a lack of studies dealing with space representation problems. However, some exceptions of pioneering studies,

in which space is a fundamental element in film narrative, such as (Gardiés, 1993) and (Rohmer, 1977) support perspectives of spatial studies in film analysis (Català, 2001, p. 141). Moreover, the spatial perspectives in film studies have been present from the very early stages of the discipline. In fact, the analysis of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (Krakauer, p. 1985) identified elements of a particular vision of space that expressed a determined ideological order. Finally, the popularity of the *spatial turn in cultural studies* (Jameson, 1991) especially on a political reading of geo-spatial analysis in cinema (Jameson, 1995) and symbolic ideological spaces (Zizek, 2004) has drawn the attention of audiovisual scholars during the last decade. This shows that spatial analysis, even if it has never been canonical, neither been totally absent from the field of film and cultural studies. An interpretative cartography of documentary films would be then situated in this interdisciplinary tradition.

3.2 Interdisciplinary potential of film cartographies

Currently, new methods and visions of *cartography* are being experimented with film studies. (Bruno, 2002) (Conley, 2007) (Castro, 2009) (Castro, 2010) (Hallam, 2012) (Hallam, 2010) (Robers, 2012) (Caquard, Naud, & Gonzalés, 2012) for instance, are some of the exponents of a certain renascent spatial approach to cartography in moving images. A long term research published around cartographies of moving images suggests that due to the diversity of disciplinary approaches: “the study of the relations between films, space, and place” is “an apparently disparate field” (Hallam, 2012). Nevertheless, the research highlights the “interdisciplinary” potential. What precisely interests me here is the potential that the idea of mapping has. Beyond their metaphorical dimension, I believe that a *dynamic cartography* of moving images of reality can help to understand process that involves media practices produced in relational spaces.

On the other hand, from the point of view of geographers, some approaches to film were made “a new subfield of film geographies” is emerging with the will “to push theoretical boundaries” (Aitken & Dixon, 2006) and to approach geography and film narratives (Caquard, 2013). Certainly in new and complex context a study of a

recent, interdisciplinary and mobile objects, such as space/place in film is always under the suspected of entering into “unsubstantial territories”. Here, my quote to *Woolf* is not innocent, precisely because the visual metaphor of being “edged with midst” asks for the courage of getting lost in order to be able to draw new maps. This is of course an exigent task that is still in need of common frames of discussion.

3.3 Documentary cartographies

I suggest here that one common frame could be the interdisciplinary study of documentary films. As a media product that *represents reality* (Nichols, 1991), documentary is situated at the crossroads of several disciplines, from ethnography (Rouch, 2003) to visual arts (Rusell, 1999). What these disciplines have in common is a potential to explore the importance of space, not as a static container but as a set of relationships in movement. Thus, the interdisciplinary character of a cartography of moving images can be an appropriate method to understand the relations of space that are re-produced in documentary films.

In this work, I intend a method of cartography of heteropias of war, as represented in documentary films. This cartography is informed by an ethnographical approach to media practices. Through the exploration of the *spatial media practices* of entering into armed conflict zones, I hope to demonstrate how the access to *other spaces* determine the way in which they are lately producing representation of visual spaces. Finally, the cartography arrives to the space of transnational circulation, which points out to the social fascination with heterotopias. This triad of the production of (other) spaces, between access to the rural zones of war, media representation of *heterotopias* and circulation of political realities, in the end points out to documentary not as a film product, but as an experience (Sobchack V. , 1999) and a socio-cultural relational space.

3.4 Heterotopia in films

Most of the film analysis surrounding heterotopia is focused on *other space* as a virtual, illusory reality portrayed in fictional films. The research shows that some of them are working with topics related to author’s theory. This is the case of papers

such as the crisis cinema of John Woo (Williams, 1997); readings of fantastic cinema that situates the figures of vampires in Guillermo del Toro's films as bodies that represent, themselves an 'other-space' (Davies, 2008) or the biographical film portraits analysed as the heterotopic life in Derek Jarman's garden (Steyaert, 2010). From a genre film studies perspective, there is also a description of the western genre in *Dead Man* that is proposing an innovative way to show heterotopia as a hybridisation of places, a characteristic frequently associated with postmodern aesthetics (Blum, 2010). Different methods on visual studies are also encountered in a paper that applies ethnographic studies of reception in Britain (Kuhn, 2004) dealing with ideas around cinema and memory from the concept of heterochronia. Phenomenological perspectives search for the relation between the unconscious and the figure of home, following the ideas of Bachelard and Zizek (Lewis & Cho, 2006). Finally, more recent discussions around the heterotopic character start to provide a more comprehensive vision on heterotopia theory in relation to visual studies, redirecting the analysis to the relations with the 'real' world (Ivakhiv, 2011) and the problematics of transnationality in digital film media practice (Chung, 2012) or women's representation in Africa (Dima, 2013). In spite of the increasing popularity of heterotopia as a concept that has raised the interest of film/media scholars in understanding the complexities of audiovisual representation, these articles have not really established a clear connection between them that can be used to identify a consistent theme on this matter.

In contrast to the recent popularity of the concept in fictional films, few studies on heterotopia and documentary films have been conducted. It is surprising that being a concept that claims to refer to spaces that effectively exist, in film theories its interpretation tend to be more related to fictional/illusory spaces. For instance, in the academic databases examined for this study few references could be found. One paper describes the city of Tel-Aviv as a contradictory space of trauma for its population (Munk, 2004) while the other mixes the analysis of fictional and documentary films (Powrie, *Unfamiliar places. Heterospection and recent French films on children*, 2005). More recent publications have also pay attention to the

dispositive in relation to a documentary imaginary (Luna, 2009) (Powrie, 2011) (Gandini & Jansson, 2011) (Luna, 2012c), (Català, 2013; Heron, 2012). A final reference, supporting my connection of politics to the *production of (other) space*, is the article about heterotopias on the island of Lampedusa (Pugliese, 2009). Even if it is focused on a still photographic image, the text is relevant because it reflects on the problem of immigrants who arrive by the Sea from Africa to Europe. The ‘illegal immigration’ is understood here as a layer of reality that shares the same space but, at the same time, remains isolated from the point of view of the tourists that no matter what happens, are still immersed in the “chrotonotope” of the paradisiacal landscape. All these examples sustained in the analysis of the representation of reality, search for a potential of heterotopia as a space that effectively exists in connection with an imaginary space. Heterotopias *desiccate lyrisms* (Foucault, 1994) and more than illusory spaces are working as *strange mirrors* (Souza-De Santos, 2012).

In general my research has been a reading of Colombian documentary films through the lens of heterotopia (Luna, 2009) (Luna, 2013a) (Luna, 2014a) (Luna, 2014b). This work hopes to contribute to the audiovisual analysis on heterotopia, proposing an aesthetical- ethical, situated perspective on the spatial reflection around politics in documentary films. Currently, from the analysis of transnational imaginations of documentary cinema in Colombia, the research proposes a political reading of rural-other spaces of representation. To summarise, the work maintains that documentaries that represent “other-space” show their potentialities and contradictions when are examined in relationships that take place at different levels of *the production of space*.

3.5 The production of other spaces in documentary

In this part, my aim is to describe how the production of other spaces (heterotopias) works in documentary films. This explanation would be made through the triad of spatial practice (perceived space)/ representations of (other) space (conceived space) / representational space (lived space) interpreted from documentary field theories. It would describe: First, *how “other-spaces”* that effectively exist in reality are produced through spatial media practices. This leads to the second part: how they

become representations of (other) space in documentary through the use of chronotopes and finally, the third reflection will focus on how the representational space is situated inside a media logic that allow to understand how documentary spaces are reconfigured in a particular society. This is a dynamic filtered through aesthetical-ethical tensions and selections present at all the stages of the documentary process.

In my case of study, the rural space is a social heterotopia produced by the social imaginary around the armed conflict, as has been described in chapter three, as rural zones isolated from relatively protected urban centres. Thus, the production of heterotopia in documentary film, as the audiovisual representation of rural zones could be understood as a heterotopia within a heterotopia. Rural spaces are socially and politically conceived as has been shown in the restrictions of the democratic security policy. In this chapter I am more interested in the theoretical approaches of how the other spaces, rural zones, are observed and socially produced from the gaze of the documentary filmmakers.

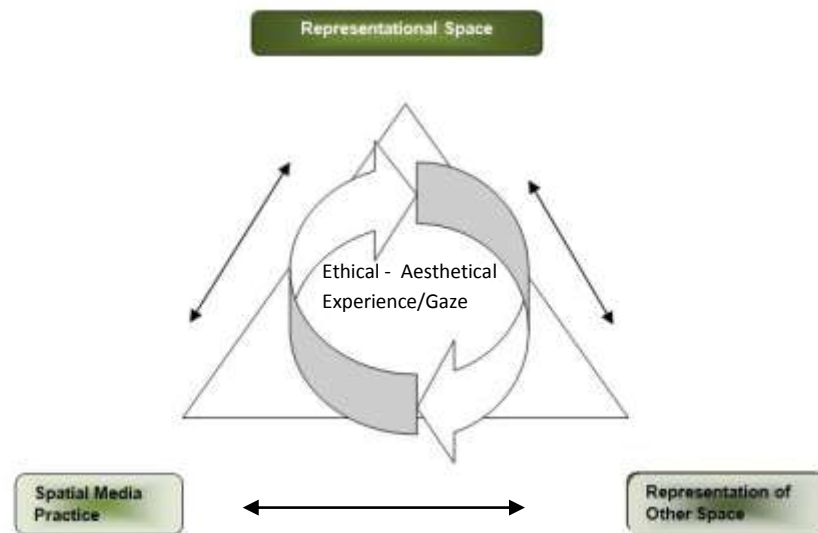
The idea of the *production of (other) spaces* when applied to the field of documentary film analysis, allows an integrative/critical perspective that goes beyond textual analysis. If documentary representation is part of the historical world (Nichols, 1991) that we watch and that effectively exists, then the concept of heterotopia could be interpreted as a nexus that problematises the relationship between the world (taken as the primary source for documentaries), the world of documentary representation (situated on a tension between aesthetical-ethical decisions) and the world of media institutions (funding/circulation).

At this point, the concept of chronotope presented in the literature review works as a formal axis of analysis to understand the production of other spaces as a constant “process of exchange” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 254). The chronotope is echoes the ideas of Lefebvre about a dynamic model where the parts cannot be fully separated. In terms of Bakhtin, the work and the world are not the same, as an individual and its environment are different; however, they are mutually influenced:

The work and the world represented in it enter the real world and enrich it, and the real world enters the work and its world as part of the process of its creation, as well as part of its subsequent life (...) We might even speak of a special *creative* chronotope inside in which this exchange between work and life occurs, and which constitutes the distinctive life of the work. (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 254)

In this relationship between the “real world” and the “represented world” I am interested in what has been called the ethical dimension or ethical space of the documentary gaze in terms of a relational space produced between the participants and the filmmaker. The essay “Inscribing Ethical Space” (Sobchack V. , 1984) is a key reference here as a text that has remained relatively forgotten, but that inspired the ideas of Bill Nichols on “Representing reality” that are now canonical in the theory of documentary: “I retain the basic notion that space in documentary bears an ethical dimension distinct from that of fiction”. (Nichols, 1991, p. 277). The ethical aspect that I want to retake here, seems to lose importance to the light of a subjective theory of documentary or in front of formal discussions around the hybridization of the genre. However, I maintain that the action of *inscribing an ethical space* is an unavoidable aspect when talking about documentaries of the armed conflict. This filming usually involves inequalities and power relations (Nash, 2010) in the space produced between filmmaker and the people that are participating in them.

In **Schema 6**, the arrows indicate fluxes between the three kinds of space in an uninterrupted process. The dynamic goes from ethical selections to aesthetical decisions that are finally communicated to exterior instances (outside the documentary text), or it can move from the aesthetical terrain of artistic decisions to the conventionalised space of the media which are inserted in a social ordering.



11 Documentary. Socio-Cultural Practice.

Thus, these fluxes or constant transactions between the three vortices of the triangle are where the main questions of documentary make complete sense as processes in movement, more than fixed categories. First, from *spatial practice* to *representations of space* in documentary, a first filter emerges. This filter is a process between the perceived space of everyday life and the pre-established ideas of the documentary filmmaker about how to transform reality into a film. Secondly, from the *representations of space* to *representational space*, it can be observed another filter, which emerges as a result of a process of professional practice of recording of documentary films and, finally, in the *representational space*, documentary enters in a process of social negotiation to build a bridge between the everyday life of the usually urban public and the represented *other* spaces.

In what follows, I will expand each component of the analysis: access to the territories (spatial practice/ perceived space) the gaze of the documentary filmmaker (representations of space/ conceived space) and the expectations of circulation/exhibition/funding of documentary as media products (representational space/ lived space).

3.5.1 Media practices: entering perceived spaces

In the first part of the process, *the access to the territories*, the documentary filmmaker must first have contact with the zone of recording, *perceived space*. Here the strategies of research and the production of social networks with the collaboration of the communities and participants in the documentary, are key elements. They allow, not only to the access to the physical territories, but even more important, to the spatial relations and stories that are going to be revealed. Here, the fact of being able to reflect the heterotopia is brought into play.

For instance, one ethnographic strategy used in the movie *El vuelco del Cangrejo (The Crab's trap)*, filmed on the Pacific Coast of Colombia with natural actors, members of the community of La Barra that were recorded in their own places, was to use photographs to gain the trust of the community (Taberero, 2011). The director took a picture outside one house and the next visit he brought the picture printed as a gift to the family. This gesture allowed him the access to hidden places such as the kitchen or the rooms usually reserved for the family members.

On the documentary film *En lo Escondido (Those waiting in the dark)*, recorded on an isolated house in the Andean mountains, Rincón Guillé was part of the of the protagonist's everyday life. The filmmaker moved into her house for some weeks, before he decided to turn on the camera. Together with Mrs. Carmen, they built a strategy of how to perform her oral narrations around the peasant's legends. In this strategy, she became not only the participant, but also the director of the *mise-en-scene* of their own stories.

All these ways of accessing the place and being, for a moment, part of the community, generates the access to the stories of the other spaces. They help to produce real poetics of encounter. If the strategies of access to the perceived space are inadequate the documentary filmmaker can physically be in place, but the heterotopia could not be revealed.

3.5.2 Representation of heterotopias

In this part, I will explore the double character of the representation of heterotopia as a space produced from a documentary gaze upon other spaces (rural zones) of the armed conflict. The gaze (Sobschack, 1984) locates the documentary filmmaker in a tension between ethics and aesthetic selections. This tension is present because the documentary filmmaker occupies a “historial world” (Nichols, 1991). In this occupation, the gaze upon other spaces produce particular *chronotopes* (Bakhtin, 1981). The chronotopes, as poetic condensators of time/space, allow the communication between the historical (the real world) of the participants and the viewers world. In what follows I will try to answer the questions of how the chronotopes are produced based on the ideas of a distant gaze and the occupation of an historical world by the documentary filmmaker.

3.5.2.1 Occupy other space

‘Ethical space in documentary’ is not only a space in the metaphoric sense but is the result of the ‘occupation’ of the world by real bodies: “We expect the filmmaker to operate from the inside, as part of the historical world rather than the creator or author of an imaginary one. Documentary directors do not create an imaginary realm so much as a representation of the very same historical world as the one they themselves occupy (Nichols, 1991, p. 79). Following the ideas of *representation of reality*, I maintain that even though documentaries produce *other space*, it does not mean that they are ‘creating’ a total new (imaginary) world.

The occupation of the world by its creator/participants is very particular to documentary film representation, where the prominence of a historical world establishes a certain “disposition to belief” (Chanan, 1998) (Chanan, *The documentary chronotope*, 2000). The presence of the chronotope in documentary film then is a localised chronotope in the sense that we are part of it; not only as an illusory space, but also as a *lived space* which connects the experience of the participants represented in the documentary with the experience of the audiences. This connection is only possible through the gaze of the documentary filmmaker, precisely because she/he was in place. Documentary films belong to the realm of

representation, but it must not be forgotten that the occupation of the real world establishes a tacit pact of truth.

The conscience of how the place is occupied at the same time by the documentary filmmaker and by its participants is especially relevant in documentaries on the armed conflict, where there is a great distance between the filmmaker and the usually dramatic conditions of those who are the subjects of documentary recording. When an instant of truth happens, for instance, when the documentary filmmaker of *Peace Communities* returns, after the assassination of a communal leader, he had to deal with the silence of the community (García, 2003) and therefore, he knew that he did not face the same risk that usually occurs when the camera is absent.

Nichols refers to perspective, place, and distance as decisions made by the documentary filmmaker in relation to film discourse. These choices are also the position of the documentary in relation with its subject and in relation to its participants. It can be said that the discussion in the terrain of documentary links ethical and aesthetical analysis because the decisions of distance, frame, gestures, voice, narration, and camera movement have more relevance here than in any fictional film in the sense that they affect a space occupied by real human beings, where a pact of honesty has been made with them.

3.5.2.2 Distant Gaze

In documentaries of the armed conflict, there is a key importance of the gaze that produces a relational ethical/aesthetical space. The ethical/aesthetical tension has been developed as an approach to the problem of the representation of death “the last taboo in audiovisual culture” (Sobchack, 2004, p. 233). Documentaries that represent spaces of violence have to deal with this tension of showing hidden realities. Usually they deal with this representation through the narrative strategies of the chronotopes that allow showing and hiding. They resolve invisibilities communicating violence through particular poetics of space.

According to Sobchack, the solution to the ethical problem of the distance between the filmmaker and his or her subjects in the extreme situation of death is “an inscription of the filmmaker’s visual activity that visibly indicates that the filmmaker is in no way party to – and thus not responsible for – the death at which s/he gazes” (Sobchack, 2004, p. 249). In the end, this points out what always has been an ethical question for those who have made films in conflict environments: who has the right to show death? The question could here be reinterpreted as a question for a distant gaze upon other spaces of violence. The one who shows death is a visitor, moved by the other space of violence.

Any choice that the documentary filmmaker makes in a zone of armed conflict can potentially modify the reality of the person that is participating in the documentary film. Many documentary filmmakers interviewed for this study are conscious of this and write reflections on the experience once they go out of the zone (Rincón-Gille, 2010), they feel like “tourists doing ethnography” (Ulloque, personal communication, Paris) or they have the conscious of always being visitors (Vega, personal communication, San Sebastián).

The other spaces represented in the documentary are conceived both as a discourse and as an action that is produced in a dynamic relation. Sobchack maintains that “documentary space is indexically constituted as the perceived conjunction of the viewer’s life world and the visible space represented in the text, and it is activated by the viewer’s gaze at the filmmaker’s gaze, both subjectively judged as ethical action” (2004, p. 247-248). Documentary representation is a gaze over the world, and what is particular to the documentary gaze is that it establishes a relationship in which the viewer is watching the world through the filmmaker’s gaze.

At first the tension between two spaces, *documentary space of representation* (predominantly a world of aesthetic selections) and *ethical space* (understood as the world of human relations, the space of practice) may seem unsolved. However “documentary space is constituted and inscribed as ethical space: it stands as the objectively visible evidence of subjective visual responsiveness and responsibility

toward a world shared with other human subjects” (Sobchack, 2004, p. 248). The connection between ethical and aesthetical space in documentary films indicates that the production of *other spaces* remains as a constant movement between the “historical world” and the selections that the filmmaker makes to represent concrete places. What is more significant is that it is precisely in the tension between documentary space and ethic selections that emerges the chronotopes, that here can be identified as a ‘dialectical image’ in the sense of Benjamin’s idea, not a representation of reality, but (...) a standard to comprehend the significance of historical reality (Friedlander, 2008). Thus, the tension between ethics and aesthetics is what is sustaining the Representation of Other Space in documentary.

3.5.2.3 Chronotopes

The documentary filmmakers follow the routes proposed by their participants, physically walking with them or metaphorically travelling by their memories. Especially in documentaries about conflict, this following of personal spaces generally becomes a metaphor for a social world. A narrative documentary chronotope. The road, one of the classical chronotopes defined by Bakhtin is a space very present as a representation of space in the documentary of the armed conflict in Colombia and appears as a “thirdspace” that has the possibility of connecting documentary and society (*Meanders, Peace Communities*). Others are the abandoned house, a remembrance of the gothic castle, (*Those who waits in the dark*), the encounter (*Meanders*), the rural idyll (*Little Voices*), and the threshold (*La Casa Nueva de Hilda*) as narrative figures that are very present in this documentaries.

To sum up, when answering the question of *how other-spaces that effectively exist in reality are reconfigured and become representation of space in documentary*, it is important to take into account that both dynamics merge in the practice of documentary filmmaking: the real place and the relationships that occur in it influence the gaze of the documentary filmmaker, but at the same time, the gaze and the act of recording itself, also modifies the spatial relations of the practical space. First, the ethical movement stresses that the represented space is continuously occurring ‘outside the world of the image’ or, in other words, that the documentary is

about reality, appealing to the historical world. The second movement is aesthetical and looks for a way to represent an image of truth. Both sustain the pact between the documentary film and the viewer. Thus, when talking about documentary as heterotopias, it is in the sense of a ‘mirroring’ image of reality: a place that does not exist anymore but that helps to comprehend what it is. The documentaries of armed conflict in Colombia work with the rural zone as a chronotope based on reality and produce an audiovisual space, a real-imagined space derived from a struggle between aesthetic selections and ethical approaches to the spaces of real life.

3.5.3 Expectations of circulation – Lived spaces

On the representational level, could documentary of the armed conflict in the rural zones of Colombia be considered a heterotopic form (of resistance and contention) in times of transnational media circulation?

Particularly in talking about the representation of reality in a conflict context, it is relevant to observe how documentaries open heterotopic spaces. Places that can be, in the first instance, enclosed and confined can become spaces of resistance and possibilities to construct social networks. This representation recalls the idea of “ways of being together” (Martín Barbero, 2002) as a result of the communication of people, even in the most adverse conditions. Heterotopia is then interpreted here as the capacity to making non-place (Auge, 1991) a new place. Even if ephemeral, these social networks express a possibility of resistance.

At the same time, to interpret the production of a heterotopic space is to understand the production of other space from the documentary gaze, because the documentary alludes to the discovery of a usually non-accessible space or that is inhabited in different forms. The chronotope as an artistic synthesis of space and time comes from an imaginary travelling that occurs in an existent space where there is the possibility to elaborate figures that symbolises resistances to the non-place and that finally allow the representation of ephemeral heterotopias as a possibility of challenging everyday reality.

In the transition of practical to representational space what is significant is how war reconfigures the sense of people and generates heterotopias of displacement and new nomadisms that open and close, according to the transformation of the armed conflict. This produces heterotopic spaces formed through new logics of relations between people. Documentary can be also a tool of communication and memory in spaces of violence traditionally abandoned by the image. Paradoxically, the strategies of invisibilization of the armed conflict have left an opaque zone that is particularly attractive for audiovisual representation. Documentary is then a privileged space to comprehend reality in movement because it gains the power of accessing and represent margins outside society.

On the contrary, there is an opposite force, which regulates or neutralizes the production of other spaces, and appears at the level of circulation. The places have been filmed, imagined and produced but when the spaces of war are becoming social spaces through their screening, there seems to be a barrier that can reabsorb them in the same order that they are trying to unveil. “Sooner or later, however the existing centre and the forces of homogenization must seek to absorb all such differences, and they will succeed if these retain a defensive posture and no counterattack is mounted from, their side” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 373). This argument is clear, for instance, when documentaries became spectacular or exotic forms.

Now, heterotopia in the representational space of documentary can express as well, a mediation of the invisibilities of war. Heterotopia as mediation is an unstable process (De Cauter and Dehaene, 2008, p. 94) and it is precisely due to this instability why the *other spaces* became tangible when everyday life is suspended “where appearance is hidden but where the hidden appears” (Idem). Documentaries of the armed conflict then show a capability of mediating between the opacity of the war zones and the big cities’ sensation of security. At the same time, when documentary filmmakers record in zones of remote access, they tend to move in “liminal” zones and frequently “temporary” spaces (De Cauter and Dehaene, 2008, p. 96). The visibilities of the initially invisible war zones open doors to particular moments, one could even argue that they capture the resistance of the community as an “instant of

failure” Lefebvre in (Merrifield, 2006, p. 29). What is particular to the Colombian internal armed conflict is that the “space of play” occurs in places that are usually considered the antithesis of heterotopia. In a mobile armed conflict, for example, where the community, as a group, refuses to take one side or the other, but where many individuals can be involved at some point; with the actors of the armed conflict, the opposition, that De Caeter and Dehaene have traced between camp and heterotopia disappears. The *other spaces* of war are then continually repurposed and in the rural zones, what one day is a temporary isolated camp the other can express temporary strategies of resistances formed through new alliances.

Documentary can reach a “third space” (Soja, 1996) where ideas and social movements happen, not as a utopia but as a possibility that literally can take place when ‘other spaces’ of reality emerge. The representational space of circulation is thus understood as the filter that allows the encounter between the Representation of Other Space and the social space of a particular society. Obviously, this social space is not a complete utopia of integration, because as has been pointed out, documentary films can also be *neutralized* and reinforce media structures that are reproducing society orderings.

Heterotopias as mediation of invisibilities are at the same time invisible in other levels. Some analyses tend to highlight “the normative status of heterotopia” (Jansson, 2009, p. 306). In documentary this is evident, when they are examined as part of media logics. They could be inserted in a strategy of invisibility of independent documentary, marginalized through broadcasting in late hours of less audience, or media can involve them in the discourse of spectacle and highlight the exoticism of the tourist gaze upon other spaces, in the latter case, part of their possibilities of opening another space are *neutralized* or remain dominated by a hegemonic media logic.

Why is this important for a study that relates heterotopia with the production of (other) space in documentary films? In a broad idea, documentary frequently constructs a narrative sustained in the access to *other spaces*, spaces that are

uncommon or not usually adverted in everyday life. The documentary as a *civic genre* (Corner, Television and public address, 1995) usually promotes the visibility of hidden realities. The democratic myth of documentary presupposes a certain right to the access of citizens to places where no one has arrived before with the exception of the documentary film camera that become a privileged gaze. When studying the concrete case of the access to the visibilisation of the rural spaces of an armed conflict, it is easy to recognize the discourse that the documentary dispositive is sustained in ‘the discovery’ or ‘the other gaze’ upon hidden spaces of reality. This is related to the concept of heterotopia as another, usually hidden space; distanced, but not totally separated from ‘normal’ spaces of life.

The presence of the real world produces the space, we could say the *other space* of “the documentary chronotope” in terms of Chanan, in which documentaries are not necessarily build on a classical narrative by also by “implication”.

In the space of documentary the represented world is not separated from the viewer by reason of narrative principle. On the contrary, the social reality portrayed here is one in which a viewer could in principle find themselves present, putatively, or as a potential historical subject, and sometimes palpably (Chanan, 2000).

This continued transit between spaces of recording, creation and viewer, identifies the analysis of documentary with the spatial model of Lefebvre. Documentary relationships produce an imaginary space in the sense that counts with our presuppositions that are symbolically constructed. The case of the rural space of the Colombian armed conflict is a good example. Most of the urban citizens have never visited the armed conflict zones, but they lived an imaginary space built about this zones..Perhaps every Colombian has inside the imaginary map of “a geography of terror” (Oslender, 2008), an idyllic countryside broken down by the violence. But, when a documentary portrays unsuspected “ways of being together” (Martín-Barbero, 1999), the collective urban imaginary of spaces of violence is challenged with concrete representations of heterotopias.

CHAPTER 4

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Mapping heterotopias

In this chapter, I will present a reflection about the use of mixed methods in this study and the description of how the research procedures have worked in the context of this study. Interrogating the relationship between rural heterotopias and media practices of documentary, this chapter addresses some methodological possibilities, as well as limitations that finally lead to the decision of focusing on a small sample of ten documentaries. Even if the small sample sacrifices more general conclusions, it allows me to describe in detail the physical/conceptual cartography of films, which was necessary to explain a complex phenomenon such as the production of heterotopia.

A good way to understand the project is to explain what it is not: It does not contemplate audience studies or focus groups and limits to documentary as a media practice, defined in relation to the production and recording of other spaces. Of course, it does not mean that understands documentary only from a textual perspective, however, it assumes the social world of circulation as an aspiration that finally influences the outcome of the film. This work is neither a historical research of the development of Colombian documentaries, because it does not aspire to be an aesthetical theory of the cinema form evolution, but neither is it content analysis, because it has into account routines of production and narrative structures. In broad terms, the study is a socio-cultural exploration of audiovisual communication guided by the concept of heterotopia. In other words, my work from the field of geography of communication, explores the application of a spatial analysis to the interpretation of the audiovisual production of other space in documentary films.

The title of this dissertation *Mapping Heterotopias. Colombian Documentary Films of the Armed Conflict* is pointing out to a physical and conceptual cartography.

It is a study of the rural zones affected by the armed conflict portrayed in documentary films during the period of the democratic security policy from 2002 to 2010. During this period, the circulation of the civilian population was restricted, particularly in the isolated zones most affected by the armed conflict. The isolation and invisibility of the rural zones, expressed in the documentary production of the last years has attracted the attention of many documentary filmmakers that target them as their privileged object of recording.

The use of the term mapping in this thesis is twofold: on one side, it refers to cartography of the space of media practices, understood as the physical rural territories, where documentary filmmakers were able to enter. On the other hand, on a more metaphorical level, the use of the term mapping indicates two issues: first, the aesthetic selections that shape the poetics of heterotopia made by the filmmakers, influenced by the place in which they have decided to record; and, second, the spaces of distribution of documentary films, that beyond the aesthetical proposal are retaken and amplified as representational spaces that aspire to transnational spheres of media circulation (television channels or world film festivals).

This work begins with the question for developing an initial intuition, more than a formal hypothesis. How the *other space* -the heterotopia in the first level- understood as the isolated rural zones where the armed conflict took place, constitutes an important dispositive in the creation of Colombian documentaries during the democratic security policy. From an urban gaze, the importance of the rural heterotopia was evident in the title and narrative structures of many Colombian documentaries and fictional films of *real-place based* representation (Luna, 2013b). For instance, titles such as *Una casa sola se vence* (*A house alone breaks down*), *La Casa Nueva de Hilda* (*Hilda's New Home*), *Los abrazos del río* (*The embrace of the river*), *Meandros* (*Meanders*), *La Sirga* (*The Towrope*), *Los colores de la montaña* (*The colour's of the mountain*), *La playa* (*The beach*) reveal a common trend, a return to the rural space in documentary and fictional films of the last years. This accumulation of films of the rural zone on a relatively short period of time is a symptom that generated my initial interest in the spatial analysis and subsequently, in the geographies of visual communication as a discipline that can help to understand

why the production was shifting from the attention of a urban cinema that use to depict the margins of the city (Kantaris, 2008) (Correa, 2008) to the ‘unknown’ rural country focused from a urban perspective.

From the methodological point of view, if the study begins with the application of a Foucault’s idea of heterotopia, I could not possibly start from a scientific, apolitical method; instead it is better to focus on an exploratory proceeding that allows the inclusion of diverse ways of documenting the reality, and have to be conscious that the selection itself is the result of a determined gaze over the object of study:

“Foucault is not looking for a method which will be superior to other methods in objectivity and comprehensiveness but is forging tools of analysis which take their starting point in the political-intellectual conflicts of the present. His method is an anti-method in the sense that it seeks to free us from the illusion that an apolitical method is possible. (Shiner, 1982, p. 386).

To map uncertain cartographies, the theoretical notion of *nocturnal maps* retaken from Jesús Martín Barbero was very useful in the sense that I did realise that more than a rational map, I was trying to draw a cartography of an ‘unsubstantial’, still changing territory. In fact, my own methodological route has changed because I started by analyzing the representation of rural territories from a more formal/discursive perspective. However, along the course of the research, the productive question was beyond the contents and forms of documentary analysed as an audiovisual text. The most interesting results appears, not in the aesthetical analysis, but in mapping the connection/distances between urban and rural; between ultra-local subjects and cosmopolitan producers; between the access to the local places and the aspiration to transnationality of the current audiovisual production in Colombia. Thus, the question evolved to the dynamics and contractions of the exoticisation/cosmopolitanism very present in documenting the armed conflict (Luna, 2012a) (Luna, 2013a). With this contradiction in mind is how I am studying documentary as a visual and mediated form of communication located between urban producers/ rural participants. Thus, the importance of the study was not so much in

which rural spaces of the armed conflict have been represented but on the relation of how this apparently ultra-local other spaces were accessed/portrayed/circulated in its aspiration to transnational media spheres.

The methodological situation of the study by its interdisciplinary and synchronic approach is non canonical. This also means that my work is in the middle between geographical perspectives and communication studies; the methodological exploration here, points out to the use of mixed methods that allow the integration of both perspectives.

Geographers often try to keep their feet firmly on the ground, ontologically speaking, by asserting the primacy of the material world. Communication theorists often take for granted that “the world” consists of symbols and signs while leaving the material spaces and places of symbolic communication somewhat underproblematized” (Adams and Jansson, 2012).

To summarise, this work could be understood as a study situated “between theory and production as another ambit of mediation” (Martín-Barbero, 1993, p. 232). It involves a methodology derived from the ideas of working with travelling concepts (Bal, 2009) and discusses the use of traditional methods in media and communication (Catalá, 2010). This analysis is thus focused on how the real place of the armed conflict and the diverse dynamics of everyday life in these territories can affect or transform the documentary gaze and sustain or not sustain the myths about a particular rural place that derivate from an urban gaze focused on rural territories.

4.2 Topic Selection

The interest in the topic is influenced by my own position as a researcher coming from the practitioner’s world of television/documentary production/journalism. On one side, the self awareness of the limitations for doing documentary work in the zones of armed conflict (Luna, 2011) lies at the core of the topic selection. On the other side the paradoxical experience of the easy access when reporting for public television channels, having physical access to the zones of the armed conflict, but usually following professional dynamics that ask to ignore the topics related to it in

search of a more cultural and neutral approach (Luna, 2014a). This mediated (in)visibility of the armed conflict that was taking place, relatively far away from the urban centres was one of the main motivations to research around the dynamics between access/visibilities in the rural zones of Colombia.

I continued the work with the topic of heterotopia from a theoretical exploration of the concept, looking for the possibilities to apply it to the audiovisual representation of documentary spaces (Luna, 2012a). In this part of the research, I focused on highlighting the potential of heterotopia within the interdisciplinary work in audiovisual communication studies. When I studied representations of reality, heterotopia became a key concept to propose an aesthetical-social approach to documentary film studies.

During the doctoral stage of the research the topic has progressed to focus on mapping as a physical and narrative cartography of film spaces (Hallam, 2012) (Caquard, Naud, & Gonzalés, 2012) (Castro, 2010). This cartography is focused on mapping rural territories in documentary films in connection to their aspiration for a transnational circulation. Thus, the final stage of this work started with the systematisation of a collected database of 110 documentaries. From this initial data a sample of ten works were selected which includes films that were meaningful examples of the access/representation of rural territories during different years of the period of the democratic security policy as well as films where rural spaces had reached transnational circulation in television channels or film festivals, especially in Europe.

4.3 Documentary film identification

The identification of documentaries about the armed conflict available in Colombia was the first step to start a method design. In the archival research I look for the documentary films recorded in rural zones that were recorded in the eight years period corresponding to the democratic security policy (2002-2006) (2006-2010). The focus of this first search was mainly in the national documentary film festival (Cendoc-MID), one of the few organizations in Colombia that with the collaboration

of Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, systematically has collected during fifteen years a complete national sample and catalogues of full and medium length independent documentary films in Colombia. In addition, when the research advanced it was necessary to include some key television documentaries produced for transnational media channels that were not present in the MID catalogue, but had an important access to sources and places of the rural zones of the armed conflict during this period.

In this sense, the restriction to the sources of information, were not imposed from an external criteria, for instant aesthetical or disciplinary. I mean that was very usual in the European tradition of Visual Communication / Film studies that many researchers separate television products (media studies) from cinema products (film studies) in an effort to differentiate media and art. This distinction has been replicated by some film schools traditions in Colombia. However, this work, is more inscribed in the tradition of social communication studies (Aguilera & Gutierrez, 2002) (Luna, 2012d), that as some cultural/television studies on documentary films (Corner, 1996) (Bruzzi, 2000), recognises audiovisual as a wider social form of expression. This perspective justifies that the aesthetic/formal characteristics of the documentary were not the main reasons of its selection. The sample therefore comprises documentaries of different quality levels, because the main criteria of selection was their capability to access to different places of the armed conflict and show what was already happening in the armed conflict territories.

It is worth to address that the cases identified do not necessarily belong to the canon of Colombian documentary history. For instance, the documentaries of Marta Rodríguez and Luis Ospina that have been widely studied (Chanan, 1997) (Burton, 1990) (Kantaris, 2008) (Suarez, 2012) are outside of the selected sample of ten documentaries. The reason for this exclusion is that this selection prioritized the importance of the relation between documentary and different forms of creation/distribution more than the study of the dominant aesthetics or main authors/directors understood from an author's perspective. Besides, the study refers to the production of documentaries during the years of democratic security and the main

political works of the now considered canonical documentary makers in Colombia, was produced during former decades.

In order to have some basic orientation when researching in very eclectic and atomized archives of different types of documentaries, such as was the case in Colombia, some practical decisions were necessary. To solve this problem, I decided to build the sample follow the thread of one documentary archive (MID). But as has been pointed out in the previous section, it was not restrictive. In order to avoid institutional biases, the qualitative design was open, which mean that it allowed me to build an approach to different sources were the topic of rural representation of the armed conflict can be detected.

A qualitative researcher might look to different sources for information, such as archival records, emails, open-ended surveys, videos, physical artifacts, direct observation, transcripts, participant observation and interviews, and focus groups. And it is not so much the sources of the information that are important, but how they are used to answer the research question”. (Salkind, 2012, p. 11)

Here the ten cases selected for the detailed analysis are part of a larger database of 110 works. After the archive research the results pointed out to a context in which documentary production of the armed conflict in Colombia is a diverse form that goes from the author’s works to commissioned works from private and public television networks or NGOs. This variety shows the hybridisation in documentary film (Bruzzi, 2000) which has finally influenced the fictional film production of the armed conflict in Colombia.

Even though many of the films present on the sample are co-productions with other European and Latin American Countries, the study does not analyse foreign film productions on the armed conflict. The sample neither includes the productions of community or participatory documentary. This is because the analysis pays attention to the gaze upon an unknown rural place that is the bridge to transnational

distribution. The cases of documentary films selected here are conceived as global products telling local stories.

Following with the methodological delimitations, for practical reasons, I decided not to include in the general database (110 documentaries) the complete television series dedicated to political issues such as *Contravía* or *El Mundo Según Pirry*, with the exception of the program *Caballito Blanco (White horse)* (Morris, 2008) one program of the television series *Contravía*, that was awarded by its particular qualities and that in this database was identified as a unitary work.

Finally, regarding the film selection in the sample of analysis, the decision of including a fiction film is justified because it helps to understand the turn from documentary to fiction of real-place based representation and the importance of the documentary gaze (Luna, 2014b). This film is in this sample representative of a wider phenomena in which other fictional films, particularly after the period of the democratic security policy were made focusing on the everyday life in rural zones of Colombia.

4.4 Criteria of selection of ten key documentaries

After the initial localisation of a representative corpus of 110 documentary films produced during the years of the democratic security policy that included an average of ten works by year, there was a subsequent analysis of ten documentaries. The documentaries were selected based on seven criteria: The portrait of rural territories within the film, different periods within the democratic security policy, reflect the coverage in different regions of the country, feasibility in contacting the filmmakers and arrange interviews, feasibility in accessing to a copy of the full documentary, different types of documentaries and national and transnational circulation of the film.

4.4.1 The portrait of rural territories within the film

This was the main criteria defined from the theoretical approach of rural zones as heterotopias of the armed conflict. In the necessity of delimiting the study based on the spatial dispositive within the documentaries of the armed conflict, appears also their relationship with the spatial metaphors. Thus, the selection was focused on the

works that presented a geographical overview, as well as a poetic of space based on the rural zones of the armed conflict.

4.4.2 Different periods within the democratic security policy

The documentary production changed along the different years due to the transformation in the restriction of accessing the territory, as well as technological changes that allow a more easily high quality recording with small and light video-cameras. All this movement was also reflected in the eclectic sample of documentary films and television programs of different formats that portray rural zones of the armed conflict.

4.4.3 Reflect the coverage in different regions of the country

The armed conflict is not uniform in all the national territories and the presence of the armed actors, as well as the methods of violence and intensity of the conflict, varies depending on the region and the period. In the general sample of 110 documentaries, there are films of all the regions of the country. However, focused on the rural-transnationalisation of the films, the regions present in the ten cases of analysis covers three of the five regions of the country, with the exception of the Atlantic in the north of the country and Amazonia in the south. Four films are from the Pacific region (two in the North Pacific and two of the South Pacific), two were recorded on the Andean (central) region and fourth portraits the Eastern region, which was one of the most documented areas during the democratic security policy.

4.4.4 Feasibility in contacting the filmmakers and arranging interviews

The first approach to documentary filmmakers was made usually through email or in some cases, through their personal Facebook sites when no other information was available. There were in total, ten interviews. Two of the interviews planned on this research were finally cancelled due to the filmmaker did not answering the call or in the case of one independent production house, asked a fee for the interview, a condition that did not meet the criteria of this research. This information about the procedure is included to say that in this experience, collecting information about media practices in documentaries of the armed conflict in Colombia, show that this is a relatively closed professional environment and to arrange many of the interviews it

was usually necessary to arrive to the directors through people who have previously worked with them. From this experience it is important to take into account that the time to contact and finally to obtain an interview with directors working in political documentary fields in Colombia is a factor that should be considered for the generation of relevant data for future academic research on the matter.

4.4.5 Feasibility in accessing to a copy of the full documentary

To access to a copy of the full documentary was not always an easy task. In some cases, they were available online or in public repositories, but when this was not the case, it was necessary to contact the distribution house when the DVD was available or to ask for the collaboration of people who own personal archives of documentaries in Colombia. In the case of recent screenings, the affiliation to Video on Demand systems such as Festival Scope was necessary in order to access to the visualization of a full copy of the full length films.

Despite the discourse of the importance of making visible the armed conflict in Colombia present in many documentary film projects of this type, several armed conflict independent documentaries were not visual products that can be easily reached by audiences and contrary to many commercial movies, it was rare to watch them online or to find the DVD. However, few of the films in this sample have an organized DVD commercial distribution in Europe, beyond their first presentation in Film Festivals. The reasons why they were not available online can range from distribution rights, passing from caution to informal distribution (piracy) to a lack of digitalised material that is still in old video formats; nevertheless, the landscape of digital access to the video material was changing along the research and many of the films that were not available online in 2010 are now available through platforms such as Youtube or Vimeo channels.

The next table shows a list of access to the different documentaries selected and the way of accessing a DVD copy or to the visualisation of the full length movie. In the case of closed access, it means that it was necessary to contact a relevant institution or directly contact the filmmakers to be able to watch a copy of the

documentary; in the case of open access it means that they can be visualized through open platforms or were available in public repositories.

Table 1	Open Visualization	Closed Visualization	Online	DVD Copy
<i>Comunidades de Paz</i>		x		x Production House
<i>Cómo Voy a Olvidarte</i>	x Youtube FNPI		x	
<i>La Casa Nueva de Hilda</i>	x Cendoc, Bogotá	x	x TV Channel Caracol(2008)	x MID
<i>El Corazón</i>		x		x Informal distribution, Bogotá
<i>En lo Escondido</i>	x Cendoc, Bogotá	x		x DVD Commercial Distribution in Europe by VOA Films
<i>El Rescate Perfecto</i>	x Youtube User (2009)		x	
<i>Robatierra</i>	x Youtube User (2012)		x TV Channel (2010)	
<i>La Sirga</i>		x		x Festival Scope/ Production house
<i>Pequeñas Voces</i>	x Youtube User (2011)	x	x	
<i>Meanders</i>		x	x web documentary (fragments)	x El Perro que Ladra, Association

12 Availability of Documentary Films

4.4.6 Different types of documentaries

In the beginning of the research the focus was on independent documentary production through the Cendoc-MID archive, however in the exploratory interviews, television commissioned documentaries were revealed as a representative access to rural regions and even one television report (Botero, 2003) was selected by the International Documentary Festival (MID). Thus, I understood that the aesthetical filter of author documentary had to be less relevant in the selected sample in order to prioritize the portrait and access to rural territories.

This decision of including unitary commissioned works made by NGO's or television channels such as RCN or Discovery, also reflects the hybrid production of the documentary field in Colombia where the professionals are freelance producers

that belong to different fields. This variety of approaches also gives an idea of the eclectic formation of documentary makers that were trained as freelance professionals who usually have experience in the production of public and private television, or in the fields of anthropology and journalism. Therefore, this is also a justification why this research cannot belong exclusively to the field of film studies as was understood from the classic academic division between media or communication studies on one side and film studies on the other.

The study understands documentary films less as an art or author product and is inclined to analyse it as an experience and a socio-cultural object of study as has been suggested on the theoretical chapter. My position here clearly differs from the documentary filmmakers' point of view, that in some of the interviews declared that they do not consider themselves authors, particularly if they work on television, or on the other side, especially when they were studying in European cinema schools, they tend to refer to documentary as author's cinema. However, this disciplinary division that is very present in the practical and theoretical field was consciously ignored in the selection of different types of documentaries.

4.4.7 National and transnational circulation of the film

The transnational circulation of the film was not a main criteria from the beginning because when the research about documentaries of the armed conflict in Colombia started, few of the productions made during the period of democratic security seem to have a relevant transnational circulation, but when the research advances and more data about the films became available, and the transnational circulation was revealed as a very important aspiration and finally an outcome of Colombian documentary production.

The transnationalisation that has roots in the Cinema Law from 2003 (Suarez, 2012) started to become stronger since 2009 with fictional films production such as *El vuelco del Cangrejo*, *Los colores de la montaña* or *Los Viajes del Viento* (Luna, 2013a). The transnationalisation has influenced the documentary field, basically as an aspiration of the full length films, and that leads to include works such as *Pequeñas*

Voces (Little Voices) or finally to analyse one fiction film such as *La Sirga (The towrope)* that portray the rural zone based on true stories of forced displacement.

To collect the films' circulation information, I mainly relied on the information provided by sources such as films festival web-sites, interviews with the filmmakers and the documentaries' production house/press kits. In the cases when it was necessary to extract the information of secondary sources such as press reviews, cinema critic web sites, blogs or facebook sites, it was confronted with other sources.

4.5 Database with spatial criteria (recording, funding, circulation)

Once the documentary films that represented rural zones of the armed conflict were collected (approximately 10 documentaries for every year during democratic security policy eight year period) the database was built. The design of the database incorporates spatial categories that allow me to observe the recording, funding and circulation places of the films and television programs.

The initial data-base of 110 documentaries provides basic information available for the documentaries. The first group includes the basic information of the documentary divided into five criteria: *Original title* as provided by the distribution house in Spanish, usually English and when relevant, in other languages. *Recording format, duration of the documentary, year of screening* and *director*. The second group is focused on the geographical areas and it is divided into three parts: *Production place* (where the project started), *Recording place* (the department or municipality) and the main *Location* in the recording. The third group of the database contains information divided in five main parts: *national first screening place/date, international first screening place/date, awards/date* and, when available, the *web site of the production house* and the link to the *documentary online*. This database is the main tool used to build the maps and due to data limitation in documentaries before 2006, is a work in progress that will be published in the future on the web-site *mapdocs.org*

The information necessary to complete this database was dispersed and due to this fact, it was necessary to find all the possible online information in order to fulfil

the criteria. One of the main sources of information about documentary film in the first stage was the public database of Dirección de Comunicaciones from Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, connected to the MID database. In the second stage the documentarie's web pages, the Proimagenes database, the information of film festivals, professional critics websites, amateur blogs and press articles were also consulted. Also some offline information was provided by the catalogues of the MID that were collected in Bogotá and the documentary catalogues of Proimagenes, first available on CD Rom and also available online from 2012.

It is important to highlight that the procedures necessary to gather a sufficient and reliable amount of data for this study had to change in the process of the research due to technological and institutional transformation. In the beginning of the research, few documentaries were available online, but when the research advanced the technology of online video progressed; many documentaries were available online through Vimeo and You Tube channels. This changing web ecology not only pertains to the video available online, but to a less extent, also affected the availability of information online about documentary films in Colombia. Many filmmakers' web pages and blogs, also started to be more systematic in collecting the information of their own materials. Other secondary sources such as pajareradelmedio.com, geografiavirtual.com, cinefagos.org and laboratoriosblackvelvet.blogspot.com, elaborated by experts in the field of Colombian Cinema also contains very relevant information that can be reliable for researchers and institutions.

4.6 Map design of armed conflict places recorded in the documentary films present on the database

Finally, the location of the places of documentaries in an Arc-Gis database allows the visualisation of the production year by year. The maps have been designed with the advice of LIGIT (Laboratorio de teledetección geográfica) at UAB, and the location shows the possibility to an alternative organisation of the archive as well as the visibility of micro-stories (recorded in documentaries) that go beyond the macro-stories of the armed conflict (usually those present in media television news).

At the moment the Arc-Gis platform contains 4 maps from the second period of democratic security (2007-2010), 1 pilot map of the second year of the first period (2004). In total forty-two documentaries are located in five maps. The information of the total sample initially gathered of 110 documentaries, needs to complete information on the distribution of documentaries that is not still available in the official institutions that provided information for this analysis Pro-imágenes/ CenDoc- MID. Besides there is one integrated map with the location of the ten documentaries analysed.

As this first experiment in mapping film cartographies has shown, in the case of working with documentaries recorded in real places, one would have to privilege between working with a reduced sample of two or three variables or include several variables with small samples. Besides, as recent studies focused on narrative cartographies of films has shown (Caquard, Naud, & Gonzalés, 2012). The idea of mapping spaces of representation, requires a deeper reflection in accurate methods to work with multi-layered and narrative spaces and the possibilities of the use of new locative technologies. To sum up the technical considerations derived from this first try of mapping heterotopias in different levels of documentary films points out to a necessary delimitation and discussion about how to visualize relational spaces in communication/film studies beyond theoretical interpretations.

4.7 Archive Documentary Research in Colombia. Limits of the experience

The documentary database created for this research is a result of an initial exploration made in 2011 in the catalogues of the twelve years of the MID (International Documentary Film Festival in Bogotá) based on the online open database elaborated by Dirección de Comunicaciones at Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia. The visualisation of the videos was made in the Cendoc, the video documentary repository available at the Library of the Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, a private initiative of documentary films indexed from the MID, initially supported with public funds of the Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia.

However, at the moment of this archival research in Colombia there was not a complete panorama of the Colombian documentary film production in the years of this study. For this reason, an exploratory approach for the purpose of collecting information dispersed in diverse institutions was necessary. The archival exploration in this research received the support of Cenprod and the documentary repository at Universidad del Valle in Cali. Through the data-base of Dirección de Comunicaciones – Ministerio de Cultura, it also collected information of the television archive of documentaries broadcasted at Señal Colombia: the Public National Television Channel and Patrimonio Fílmico Nacional, the official national audiovisual repository, but it is worth taking into account that this exploration is far from being an exhaustive archival research, which certainly exceeds much the limit of this work.

There are other regional institutions of film archives which are not present in this sample due to time constraints; some of them are officially recognized such as the Library of Instituto Colombo – Americano in Medellín and others regional repositories of television production where there is a documentary archive that has not been nationally indexed. Here I refer to the regional television channels, such as Teleantioquia, Telepacífico, Telemedellín or Telecaribe and the audiovisual production centers of private and public universities all over the country. In regard to the particular topic of national documentary production as a register of the armed conflict, there are specialized institutions such as Cinep or more recently Centro de Memoria Histórica, which are repositories that should be considered for future studies on political documentary. However, any of them are specialized in video production archive.

During this research, the online information published by Proimagenes were also helpful. Nevertheless, most of this information was not available at the beginning of the research. It shows that the present work started on a transitional period from an atomised documentary archive split into different private and public institutions, to a first attempt to centralize national film production in Colombia in which documentary still occupies a marginal place in opposition to fictional films.

In many cases, the documentaries are identified but cannot always be visualised. At the beginning of this research in 2011, many of these archives were not available to the public or to researchers, and many of the public databases only offered expensive paid systems such as the copies from analogical to digital systems that are required to visualise the material in Patrimonio Filmico Nacional, the national archival repository, in which only one Betacam machine was available for this purpose. At the moment, the effort to systematize a documentary film database is progressing, especially in the web page of Proimagenes. For the case of this study there is still a lack of information noticeable on documentaries produced before 2006. The only place that currently has a panorama of independent documentary production is Cendoc's catalogue of International Documentary Film Festival (MID), but outside of this selection, that only can be visualized in Bogota, many documentary films recorded in rural zones are not indexed.

In a context of certain "anarchy" of video documentary archives, as the result of a fragmented production of independents documentaries, it is worth to highlight the key role that has played in this research the possibility to access personal archives, particularly from video-editors, film critics, university professors and even informal distribution systems. Many of the directors contacted for the interviews, have also facilitated access to their work in cases when it was unavailable in public or in online open repositories.

Many documentary filmmakers have recently decided to offer their products for free streaming through open channels online and there are other emergent projects of online distribution such as Docsfera or Indyon, but they still have few Colombian Documentaries in their catalogues. For this particular research about documentaries of the armed conflict, one additional way of accessing documentaries online was through subscription to professional film sites, in this case the main platform was Festival Scope because it offered the access to the movies of the Cartagena Film Festival and to several international film festivals all over Europe such as Cannes, San Sebastián, Berlinale or IDFA which are important distribution windows for the Colombian cinema. The second site considered was Cinendo, but this was currently

restricted to film industry enterprises and at the moment is not available for universities.

To sum up, this part points out to the need of an indexed documentary archive for Colombian documentaries. This diversity of sources points out to the difficulty to find a reliable database for research about documentary films, partly due to a fragmented independent production, but also due to the lack of audiovisual archive policies able to guarantee the circulation of documentary films. The database constructed for this specific research is a small step in this systematisation. I believe that is a work that could be continued in the future and could coordinate the efforts of different researchers and festival curators that are working on the same line.

Finally, the archival research approach answer the question of what kinds of documentaries were produced during the democratic security policy, showing that in the initial stage, there were more commissioned, television and amateur works, a landscape that started to change around 2008. The most important finding here is that the initial suspect of the difficult access to war zones produced less documentary films was denied by the evidence that many documentaries filmed in rural zones were recorded. On the other hand, as I have pointed out in the introduction of this research, the real limitation to the visibility of spaces of the armed conflict was not so much in the spaces of recording, but is in the spaces of circulation.

4.8 Interviews

4.8.1 Semi-structured interviews to documentary directors

The method of data collection used especially for the analysis of spatial media practices relied on semi-structured interviews of ten documentary directors who were the main informants of this research. I used the term *informants* (Given, 2008, p. 430) instead of respondents or participants due to the characteristics of an expert's and limited interaction that is in the middle of a participative ethnography and the application of more structured questionnaires to obtain relevant information (Given, 2008, p. 791). Precisely, semi-structured interviews have been defined as “verbal approximations of a questionnaire with explicit

research goals;” in this case, the method allows the gathering of information of common points with the necessary flexibility (Mason J. , 2004, pp. 1021-1022) to know the director’s details of the practice of accessing, recording and imagining rural places.

Semistructured interviews are a common method in qualitative research. In this case, they can be described as “standardised open-ended interviews” in which “Interviewers may ask the same open-ended questions in the same sequence but with varied follow-up questions and probes” (Salmons, 2010, p. 51). From the ethnographical approach, they are characterized as semi-structured “retrospective interviews” (Given, 2008, p. 291) because I asked for past experiences of recording that have happened from two to ten years ago, depending on each case. According to this approach: “a structured or semi-structured interview is the more valid when the fieldworker comprehends the fundamentals of a community from the insider’s perspective” and this is the case here, because the documentary filmmakers were approached by me as a visual researcher as well as a former member of the documentary maker’s community.

This is a *small sample* selection (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006) and to this regard, there are different perspectives and discussions, particularly regarding sampling in PhD studies (Mason M. , 2010) or in phenomenology (Given, 2008, p. 791). Of course, a small number of interviews in qualitative research does not intend to be a representative sample of the total population of documentaries of the armed conflict, nevertheless it provides an in-depth understanding of how the access and the relationship between documentary filmmakers, their subjects, and place of recording worked in each case. Similarities and differences expressed in these interviews tend to be more meaningful than a generalization in the state of the art of contemporary Colombian documentary.

The interviews were previously arranged by email and they were conducted in two phases. In the first phase in Bogotá eight documentary filmmakers were contacted by the closeness of the topic to rural based place representation of the armed conflict. Six of them answered to call and personal interviews were made. The second phase of the interviews were conducted from Barcelona and involved

films launched during and after 2010 to four documentary filmmakers who were living outside the country; this set of interviews were conducted through video-call (Salmons, 2010, p. 26) by Skype connecting to the residencies of the directors in Paris, Belgium and New York; additionally one personal interview to the fictional film director based in Cali, Colombia was made during San Sebastián Film Festival in Spain. The interviews were conducted in different locations: residencies, which are usually also their workplace in the case of freelance producers, their own independent production houses and coffee shops in Bogotá. Only in one case did the interviewee prefer not to use the video-camera, but in all cases it was possible to record the interview in MP3 audio using a mobile dispositive.

In both cases- offline and online interviews- it was synchronous communication (Salmons, 2010, p. 3) and including the “audio-only” interview, there were not meaningful differences between the online and offline interviews. Nevertheless, in the case of interviews conducted in public spaces (coffee shops) the filmmakers tended to take more distance from the central topic and they seemed to be more conscious of their own discourse.

The decision to conduct the online interviews was mainly practical, but they were previously arranged by email and they were conducted in the same manner as the physical conversations in Bogotá.

The interviews were conducted following a guide of 10 questions. The duration of the conversations ranged from 40 minutes to 1 hour with an average of 120 pages transcriptions of the audio recordings.

I used and reported to the interviewees my own experience as a former documentary television filmmaker in rural zones of Colombia in order to share experiences that help to produce a closer dialogue about the practices of documenting rural regions in the country. Even though I made part of the documentary field in Colombia; in previous years, I try to work with interviewees that I have not met personally nor have I worked with them. William Vega had attended a different class at the same university where I was trained as a journalist and documentary director, but we had never spoken before the interview. This

decision to take some distance and not interview close friends was due to my intention not to confirm or reproduce previous dialogues around documentary films, but to approach diverse experiences of recording documentaries in rural zones.

Regarding the ethical considerations, all the subjects were informed about the purpose of the research work and of the recording of the interview with academic purposes, and all of them agreed to participate in the interview. There is a certain consensus in that there is a lack of systematic academic studies in contemporary documentary films about the armed conflict in Colombia, and as many of the respondents were also postgraduate students abroad, university lecturers or documentary filmmakers that consciously reflect on their own practices, they were happy to take part in the interviewees and contribute to the data generation around the state of the art of contemporary Colombian documentary.

4.8.2 Unstructured Interviews

Colombia cinema field experiments a technological and global transformation that has been particularly noticeable in the last five years. The research on contemporary Colombian documentary as a “new domain” (Given, 2008, p. 907) needed a context to design the structured interviews with documentary directors. The field has to address the power relationships (Nash, 2010) that determine its current configuration as an emergent transnational product. To construct this context on a changing media environment, a set of exploratory unstructured interviews (Given, p. 907) were conducted in Bogotá and Cali. Agents besides the documentary directors, such as cinema critics (Pedro Adrián Zuluaga- Señal Colombia/ Pajarera del Medio), Documentary film curators (Ricardo Restrepo and Patricia Ayala - MID) or Luis Ospina (Cali Film Festival). Members of documentary associations (Gustavo Fernández) and Press agency distributor owners (Jaime Manrique-Black Velvet and Cartagena Film Festival) have collaborated in providing useful information for this research. Even if the result of the exploratory interviews was not explicitly included in this study, the expertise of agents that belong to different fields beyond the documentary film, helped me

to define the selection of documentaries for the analysis and also have oriented me in the changing environment of the national production of contemporary documentaries in Colombia.

4.9 Method of analysis

After the description of the data collection of archival images, the interviews and the organisation of a database I will finally focus on particular aspects of the films related to the production of heterotopias.

On the first level, spatial media practice, I explore how the access to the territories has been, how was the relationship between the filmmakers, the communities and the main sources of their documentaries. This level is mainly based on the information obtained from the physical cartography and the interview with the filmmaker. On a second level, representation of (other) space, the method is mainly discourse analysis of the production of a poetic of space in the documentary through the figure of the chronotope. It is a textual interpretation but goes beyond relating the film with some information about the practices. Finally, in the representational space, to describe the circulation of the film I rely on the public information about film festivals and national promotion of the films.

The discourse analysis was first inspired by the categories of modalities, sites and technologies proposed by the visual methodologies (Rose, 2001, p. 164) which is indeed a geographical approach. The categories have been transformed in the course of the research, with the decision to design a spatial analysis such as the one sustained on the proposal of the production of space and to finally visualise a cartography of films. The ideas around heterotopia and chronotopes are not only theoretical approaches, but also provide a guide for a flexible methodological interpretation (Catalá, 2011), in the line of the travelling concepts in humanities (Bal, 2009).

Colombia me ofrece lo que me
ofrecerían cinco países, porque tiene mar,
selva, nevados, desierto...

Werner Herzog Abril 9 de 1987, Focine.

We are edged with mist. We make an unsubstantial territory.

Virginia *Woolf*, *The Waves*, 1931

El país que se pudiera hacer con todos los exiliados y emigrados forzosos de América Latina, tendría una población más grande que la de Noruega. (...)Una realidad que no es la del papel, sino que vive con nosotros y determina cada instante de nuestras incontables muertes cotidianas y que sustenta un manantial de creación insaciable pleno de desdicha y de tristeza del cual este colombiano errante y nostálgico, no es más que una cifra más señalada por la suerte.

García Márquez. *La soledad de América Latina*.1982.

CHAPTER 5

5. CASE ANALYSIS

The cases of analysis focus on ten documentaries extracted from the initial database as representative products.

In every analysis there is a *justification* that explains why the film is part of the analysis was selected for the ten representative cases of the production of other space. Then, the director's biography provides basic information to identify the places where the usually international education in cinema studies took place, and also their characteristics of their professional work experience as urban inhabitants.

After the analysis present the three categories of the model: *spatial media practice, representation of (other) spaces and representational spaces*.

Spatial media practices answers the question of how the documentary filmmakers accessed to rural territories of the armed conflict and how they constructed a relationship, a trust network within the communities and participants in the film.

Representation of (other) spaces analyzes the production of visual/scenic metaphors based on the figure of the chronotope and its connection with the framework of geography of terror.

Representational space, as the place of transnational circulation and funding questions if the heterotopia works as an alternative space of resistance, as is the intention of many independent documentaries analysed here, of if they are neutralized in wider media structures. Here, the relationship between transnational circulation/national legitimization is explored.

5.1 *La Sirga* (The towrope), 2012: The possibility of non-belonging



13 *La Sirga*, Pictures: Contravía Films

5.1.1 Justification

La Sirga expresses the great importance of the documentary gaze as the hidden face of the evolving process of *rural transnationalities* (Luna, 2012) in Colombian cinema. Even if *The Towrope* is a fictional film, it is included as a point of arrival to this research as an example of the documentary impulse that took fictional films to record in heterotopic rural zones. The “documentary gaze” (Sobschack, 1984) in this study is understood as the impulse that brings the filmmakers to record in real, unknown places of their own country. In this gaze built from the rural fiction “aesthetical and ethnographic practices derived from documentary treatment are re-appropriated in fiction films” (Luna, 2013b). This gaze is hybrid in two ways: Documentary is closer to poetics of fictional spaces and fictional films are increasingly interested in real-placed- based representation of rural heterotopias of the armed conflict.

5.1.2 Director’s Bio

William Vega, the director of *La Sirga*, studied social communication and journalism at the Universidad del Valle; he worked as a correspondent for the national public television channel Señal-Colombia and was film director for the advertisement industry in Colombia. Before his full length film *La Sirga* he directed and produced the short-film *Simiente* (The Seed) as a previous essay of a similar story filmed in the same location, Nariño, at the South of Colombia. With the support of the Spanish grant of Fundación Carolina, Vega temporarily moved to Europe to

complete a specialisation in scriptwriting in Madrid and afterwards, he came back to his hometown, Cali, where he is currently one of the three co-founders of the independent production house Contravía Films. Together with his partner Oscar Ruiz Navia, he is one of the youngest recognized film directors with an internationally awarded opera prima in Colombia. (Contravía Films)

5.1.3 Spatial Media Practice



14 La Sirga, Location Map

Source: Own elaboration. Arcgis.com

La Sirga was recorded in the middle of the cold lagoon La Cocha, located in the Andean mountains at almost 2,800 metres above the sea level in the South Eastern region of Colombia. The big lake is one of the natural treasures of this region, 20 kilometers away from Pasto the capital of the department of Nariño. Precisely, the director of *The Towrope* always recalls that his first access to the territory was when producing a cultural report for an environmental television program. The television crew went to La Cocha Lake to record a series of short programs, but once they

arrived at the location, they discovered an astonishing place full of interesting visual elements that “deserved to be documented” (W. Vega, September, 25, 2012, personal communication, San Sebastian).

(In Nariño) there are visually irregular territories, abrupt terrains. When you have been during fifteen days in the middle of the mountains, and suddenly you arrive at La Cocha, all that you can see is a terrain so flat and horizontal that is like the rest, is like if the gaze could travel upon the lake. (W. Vega, September, 25, 2012, personal communication, San Sebastian).

Despite the initial amusement, in the rush of the weekly television program, there was not enough time to tell a more reflexive story, however the project remained in the back of the director’s mind. Two years after this first entry to the territory, he was still impressed by the remembrance of the place and the way the people lived. Thus, a couple of years later, he wrote his first full-length film inspired in La Cocha.

The encounter with territories and inhabitants was determinant in my life experience because even if one can think that Colombia is an agrarian country, the idea of the countryside itself is very mediatized. As a city inhabitant, for me the countryside is full of memories of the grandparents or the mother’s country house. But there is not a personal experience of a city inhabitant with the countryside and the peasants. I think that it affected me a lot. My life experience revealed many things. I am speaking especially about direct contact, the travel throughout these municipalities for more than eight months, going through the places and encountering certain parameters related to social conflicts lived by the peasants. Above all I finally understand one subject that for me was very complicated: the topic of forced displacement. Because in the media discourse around this subject, the displacement is a problem for the city, and that explains why the discourse is always about “massive exodus”, something usually perceived as a threat. (W. Vega, September, 25, 2012, personal communication, San Sebastian).

The physical traces of war in the terrain were a great influence for the aesthetic decisions that shape the visual proposal of *La Sirga*. In the middle of a natural environment, a strange construction awoke the curiosity of the director. It was an element that he describes as “the horizontality that divides the gaze”:

There were two towers, two vertical figures which literally went through the lake. They looked like two constructions out of nothing. In the visual line, you have two towers and their long reflect that was cutting the water like a knife. It was very strange. When I ask about them, the guides told me that they were built by one of the armed groups that established there to have visual control. The towers were war constructions. At this moment, I did not know what the towers were, and the people did not clearly told me... afterwards I discovered that there were not paramilitaries but guerrilla watch towers. Precisely the mystery that nobody wanted to reveal was for me a germinal idea, that there was something that needs to be told in this place. (W. Vega, September, 25, 2012, personal communication, San Sebastian).

The traces of war, like the abandoned towers, even in times when the armed conflict was not active in the region were still surrounded by mystery. It shows the invisibilities of the heterotopias of the armed conflict. In this case, the invisibilities and traces awoke the curiosity of the director and worked as a dispositive of visual representation.

Capturing the traces of time on the places was a motivation of this movie. In particular, the construction of the hostel reveals one strategy that shows the close relationship between the recording of *La Sirga* and the community of La Cocha. The film location (the ruined hostel) did not exist in the exact place, next to the lake, where they decided to film. The film crew’s aim was to build a house that looked authentic, like the original houses of the zone, even though they could not film in the small houses, because they needed enough space for the film shots. Then, they bought new materials (clapboards) and proposed an exchange with the facades of the

neighbor's older houses. In that way, the people of the community got involved in the movie process.

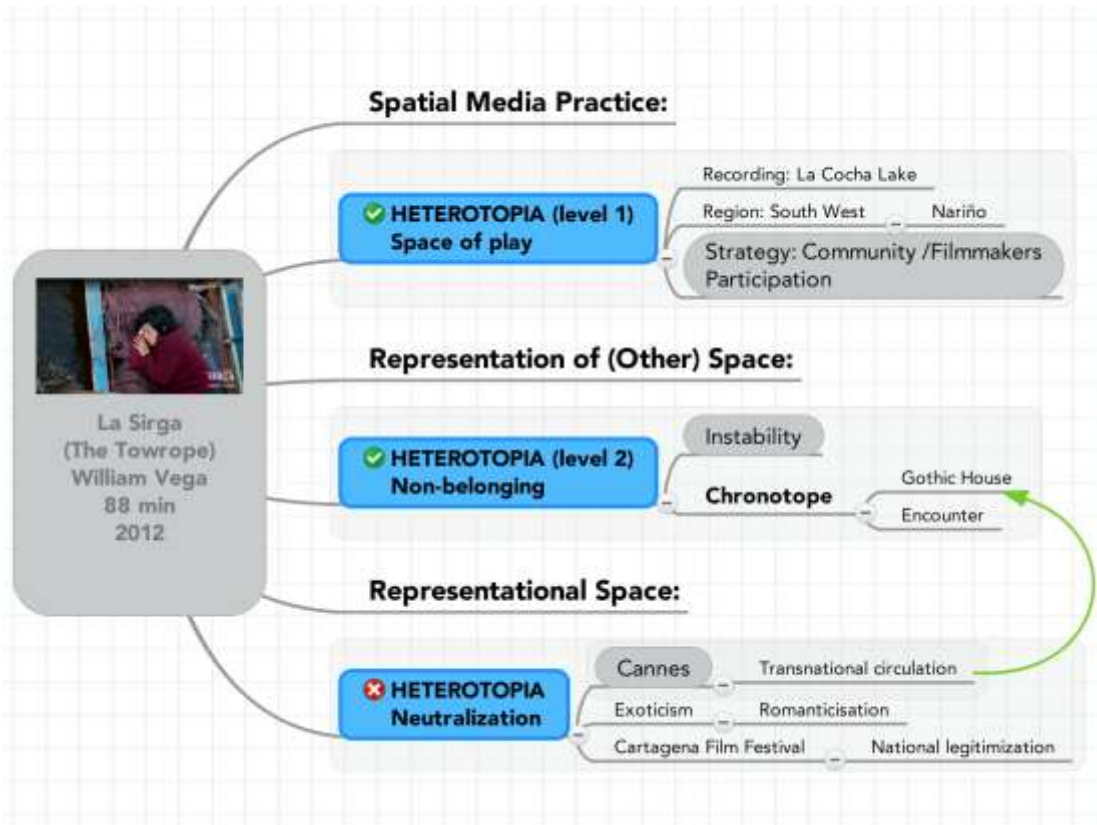
To summarise, *La Sirga* is a remarkable example of *geographies of terror*, because it proposes an alternative story to the univocal conception of forced displacement: “The displacement has been focused on those who arrived the city and does not concentrate on those who have decided to stay” (Oslender, 2008, p. 80). In the same vein; the filming, guided by the aim of reaching a detailed portrayal of the vision of the countryside as a heterotopia. It opens *another space* where forced displacement, besides fear, also generates strengths and community resistance. Thus, the spatial media practice of *La Sirga* questions the myths of a radical separation between rural and urban spaces, which is at the root of the vision of forced displacement perceived as a threat. If the human dynamics are understood and the stories are closer, perhaps it would be more difficult, from an urban perspective, to understand the displacement as mere figures of millions of anonymous people arriving to the cities. In conclusion, the heterotopia in *La Sirga* is built from a particular spatial media practice an illusory and ephemeral as a “space of play” (Dehaene & De Cauter, 2008), a heterotopia that emerges between the filmmakers and the community.

5.1.4 Representation of other-space

Synopsis. Alicia is helpless. War memories invade her mind like threatening thunder. Uprooted by the armed conflict, she tries to reshape her life in *La Sirga*, a decadent hostel on the shores of a great lake in the highlands of the Andes. The house belongs to Oscar, her only family member alive, and an old solitary hermit. There, on a swampy and murky beach, she will try to settle down until her fears and the threat of war resurface again. (Unifrance, 2013).

In the structure of the film, the heterotopia of *La Sirga* is situated in the middle of a double breaking point. The movie starts after one siege has displaced Alicia from their original town and ends when a new siege is about to happen in her new refugee/home (Caldera, 2013). The other space of the relationship between the newcomer

Alicia and the inhabitants of La Cocha appears as a consequence of the *encounter*, one chronotope that is very present in the documentary representation of the armed conflict. The encounter is very common in films that deal with the representation of forced displacement.



15 La Sirga, Heterotopias

La Sirga is full of spatial metaphors and its poetic approach to forced displacement proposes “another history of violence” (Oslender, 2008). In this analysis, I will underline two main chronotopes: The dramatic space of the ruined hostel, where the action is concentrated in the film and the isolated landscape of the lake surrounded by fog. In general, the hostel and the lake, both parallel a sense of security against the uncertainty and the fear.

In contrast with the openness of an immense lake, the windows and doors of the shaky hostel are used to limit the scene. We see Alicia’s world, as a refugee from the armed conflict, framed in them. Alicia is apparently safe, but when she became

the centre of the men's gazes, visitants or inhabitants of the hostel, the interior space also becomes a threat and in the other space of real and symbolic violence, the house as refugee, the place, remains as utopia and the heterotopia appears as a paradoxical space (Rose, *Feminism and Geography. The limits of geographical knowledge*, 1993)

The rural space as heterotopia in this movie is not only the landscape, but the receptor of contradictory emotions, such as the desire to stay to rebuild a life, in opposition to the permanent fear of the possible new disruption of a never-ending violence. Thus, in this film, the heterotopia of the armed conflict, as in many documentaries, is present in traces but the real confrontations of the armed conflict remain invisible. The invisibility is expressed through silence, and the subtle sound is the tool privileged to communicate the mystery.

La Sirga (The towrope) is a strong rope “Juggling action to throw fishing nets, to tug boats from land, principally in river navigation” (Unifrance, 2013, p. 1). It is a symbol of resistance and effort, and the guiding thread of this story. Here, the camera movements, keep the calm pace of the water and take the characters outside the fear of death and the constant threat of violence, to the possibility of the life that starts again with every new story; magical and quotidian at the same time. The movie ends when Alicia finally decides to runaway from *La Sirga* in search of another destiny. However, the new beginning is only likely because the character is living in what can be interpreted as a concrete manifestation, the chronotope of an unsubstantial territory. As a result, the chronotope of the lake as isolation is transformed, from the invisibility of the armed conflict that in the beginning only contained traces of tension, to the idea that the only resistance is a constant movement. The heterotopia thus, appears from the forced to the voluntary displacement of someone that is always in search of new promises.

The foggy lake and the muddy land of La Cocha are the geographical metaphors, the chronotopes of the instability. In this environment, the characters reaffirm their situation of displacement, but unlike other stories of the armed conflict, the situation does not victimise them or let them permanently terrorised. On the

contrary, the displacement, once the fear is overcome, is portrayed as a constant movement; almost an everyday condition of the armed conflict, in which the people are struggling and open to trying new routes at the same time. The movement from non-place to heterotopia marks the instability, a “paradoxical space” (Rose, 1993) (Hetherington, 1997, p. 27) that in the end offers to the characters, what can be interpreted as the possibility of *non-belonging*.

5.1.5 Representational Space

The real-place based representation in recent fictional films of Colombia is strongly influenced by documentary practices, in part due to the fact that many filmmakers in Colombia have been trained as television producers and documentary filmmakers. It is the case of several directors of recent full length movies recorded in zones affected by the armed conflict (Luna, 2012b). For instance, *Los colores de la montaña*, 2010 (*The colors of the mountain*) by Carlos César Arbeláez; *Todos tus muertos*, 2011 (*All your dead ones*) by Carlos Moreno; *El vuelco del cangrejo*, 2009 (*The Crab's trap*); 2009 by Oscar Ruiz Navia and *La Playa DC*, 2012 by Juan Andrés Arango, are clear examples of crosses between fiction and *real-place based* representation.

Besides, the *documentary gaze* upon ultra-local territories nurtures the contemporary need for a cinema from “the rest of the world” (Luna, 2012) sustained in the idea of the travel to remote places. This is a very important element in terms of transnational distribution of the national cinema production. Trough sophisticated audio-visual treatment full of international influences, this gaze is “sublimated” in a real-place based representation that expresses the armed conflict through poetics of fiction and reaches transnational circulation in a movie that was in more than sixty film festivals around the world including Cannes, La Habana, Toronto and San Sebastian. *La Sirga* is one key example of the development of the *documentary gaze* over rural territories transformed into a fiction narrative of wider circulation that through universal poetics, finally gave more visibility to the rural zones of the armed conflict.

The representational space of *La Sirga* shows a worldwide circulation that was an objective since the early stages of the project. As it has been said in the presentation of this case, *La Sirga* is, in some sense, the culmination of the documentary gaze that started to call the attention of the world cinema at the end of the 2000 decade. The opera prima of William Vega was part of the section *Quinzaine de Realizateurs* (Cannes Film Festival, 2012) obtaining a space in the ambitious Class A Film Festival, one of the most important places of transnational circulation as well of the national legitimisation for the Colombian Cinema (El Espectador, 2012)

Spaces of transnational circulation are closely related to the funding. *La Sirga*, for instance, started with the national support of FDC, the National Cinema Fund, and Ibermedia. As part of the project of the politics for the internationalisation of Colombian Cinema is a coproduction between Colombia, México (Film tank) and France (Cine Sud Promotion) (Proimagenes, 2012). The project shares the know-how of another film of the same production house *El Vuelco del Cangrejo* (Crab's Trap) selected for the Toronto Film Festival and its circulation parallels *La Playa DC* (DC Beach), also a co-production of Cine Sud, which was part of the official selection in Cannes. This presence in the main film festival has been rare in Colombian cinema since Víctor Gaviria with *Rodrigo D* (1990) and *La Vendedora de Rosas* (1995) (Correa, 2008).

The heterotopia of the forced displacement represented in *La Sirga*, beyond the poetics of forced displacement is *neutralized* as a space of national pride that highlights the positive image of a “new Colombian Cinema” (Zuluaga, 2007) (Ospina, 2009) that according to some critics is ‘emerging’ (El Espectador, 2012) (Alzabert, 2011) to use a word that is becoming frequent in the vocabulary of the international critics about recent Colombian films. *La Sirga*, was also the first Colombian film that had a premiere on the web through Black Velvet's web page (Velvet Voice, 2012) the press office that manages the information of several Colombian films, connected to the main national institutions that officially promote Colombian Cinema, such as Proimagenes and Festival de Cine de Cartagena. The streaming reached around 150,000 spectators in one day (Vergara, 2012). However,

despite the intentions of the movie itself to represent a subtle visibility of the armed conflict consequences, the mechanism of exhibition tends to regularize any line for debate or political resistance, in favour of a more exotic and spectacular vision of a cinema that highlights the good results of the national cinema. Thus, the individual counter-space of resistance that is shown as part of the mediations in the two previous level analysed here, finally shows another face, which is the indifference of the state, in a policy that has renamed the forced displacement people as “internal migrants”.

In conclusion, the transnational circulation of *La Sirga* constitutes an example of the European film festival’s fascination with non-familiar localities, which foster new representations of heterotopias. Nevertheless, beyond the aesthetical qualities of spatial poetic language film, it is convenient to be aware of the trend through exoticism on the promotion of the access to “other spaces”, particularly in films about the armed conflict. This trend, very present in transnational circulation of the rural fictional films, is a subtle way of neutralising the possibilities of the Representation of Other Spaces, maintaining the urban/rural distance. Herzog’s fascination with the Colombian landscape was part of the Focine promotion of Colombia during the eightie’s decade (Leon & Rojas, 1987, p. 5), and this type promotion of the landscape is still defining the new cinema law (Comisión Fílmica Colombiana, 2014). The success of transnational films such as *La Sirga*, more than generate a national debate around political topics, are officially being shown as successful examples that help to promote foreign investments in the Colombian cinema industry of the country.

5.2 *Meandros (Meanders)*, 2010. Beyond the media war



16. Meandros, Medio de Contención Producciones

5.2.1 Justification

Meanders is one of the most complex and ambitious documentaries produced in the late period of the democratic security policy. The full length film follows the everyday life of communities in rural regions of very difficult access. It was recorded between the end of 2008 and 2009, at the shores of the Guaviare River, in the Eastern region of Colombia. The screening at Cartagena Film Festival and the lately the presentation as one of the first Colombian web-documentaries in Bogotá constitutes an interesting experiment of the opening of a new space for independent documentary circulation.

5.2.2 Director's Bio

Héctor Ulloque and Manuel Ruiz own the independent production house Medio de Contención Producciones. They have directed documentaries such as *Nukak* (2011), about nomadic Indigenous tribes in Colombia. Some of their works are winners of several prizes with the full length documentary *Hartos Evos Aquí Hay* (2006), about the coca production in Bolivia, awarded best documentary in the Biarritz Film Festival in France. Héctor Ulloque studied Chemistry Engineering at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, he earned a master's degree in filmmaking at the Sorbonne University in France and works as a free-lance video editor and cameraman between Paris and Bogotá. Manuel Ruíz studied history at Universidad Nacional de Colombia, and he is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at EEHS- Paris. The directors are

currently recording *Puerto Alvira*, their third documentary in the Guaviare Region. (Medio de Contención Producciones, 2012).

5.2.3 Spatial Media Practice



17 Meandros, Location map

In the Guaviare region of Colombia years of drug trade, forced displacements and massacres have marked the lives of several people. *Meanders* was recorded in the South Eastern region of Colombia following the long course of the Guaviare River in rural zones in which the access were difficult due to the topographic conditions and to the permanent presence of guerrilla and paramilitary groups.

For recording *Meanders*, the directors entered into the zone three times, staying approximately one month per visit. They accessed the zone by air, land and river, using different transportation systems available to the region.

The aircraft DC3, the only that goes to Miraflores. In the river, we took *la voladora* (the flyer) a familiar name for the chartered boat, canoes and all the

imaginable ways of four wheel transportation (motored and non-motored) to transit through small tracks (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

In these incursions, they recorded into multiple locations along the Guaviare River. The aim, more than portrait the situation of the armed conflict, was to rebuild a “cultural mosaic” (Medios de Contención Producciones., 2012) of the everyday life of the people that inhabit the rural zone of Eastern Colombia.

The exercise of making observational documentaries in a region affected by an uncertain presence of the armed actors points out to the difficulty of staying for a long time in the armed conflict zones. The intention of defying the news media logic, of working fast by definition, were challenged by the real possibilities of staying in some places and the limitations for recording in others, depending on how the situation of the presence of the armed actors evolved.

The armed conflict zones are changing very fast due to its internal dynamics. In a relatively short period, in few months, we wanted to know if we could perceive these changes. So we do. For instance, in a period of one month there was one attack to the major, one of our guides was kidnapped, and other went to prison. This is the armed conflict zone. Thus, how long we stayed in each place? It depends on every case. There were some places in which we could not stay more than two or three days for logistic reasons, as well as to the armed conflict situation. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

One of the zones where the filmmakers had a very limited time to remain was Puerto Alvira, a region that has historically been affected by massacres and forced displacements, but that at the same time, has continually received new populations. Puerto Alvira constitutes an example of how the dynamics of the armed conflict are constantly producing new heterotopias.

Puerto Alvira is on the municipality of Meta on the shore of the Guaviare River. Immediately after the massacre of 1998 it became a ghost town, however many people have returned. Later on there were two more forced displacement to prevent new massacres. Then other Indigenous communities that were displaced from their own territory came to live in Puerto Alvira. In the town there is a military base and the guerrilla, on the other side of the river has continuously harassed them in order to get the Military Base removed. They want to erase the town. It is a place where we could not stay more than two days. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

In contrast with places with clear presence of the armed actors, such as Puerto Alvira, in which the recording had to be fast, the approaching to Nukak Makuk the nomadic Indigenous tribe of the zone, required a slower pace, proposing another rhythm.

It was only until the last time we arrived that in three days we started to record with them. Soon we realised that it was not the best strategy, I should say, the adequate dynamic. First we should create a relationship with them because we did not have the possibility to build a fast bridge. With them it was very different, intuitive, and the recording was of course also in function of the places within the Guaviare. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

One of the most revealing aspects of the relation of the documentary filmmakers to the spaces of practice is that before entering the zone, the documentary filmmakers needed to build appropriate relationships and networks that allow them to enter into the territories, to listen and to collect the stories of the people ‘in situ’.

In *Meanders*, we traveled to several places in order to represent a cultural mosaic. We needed, let’s say ‘take samples’ but samples that could be considered authentic. We had to do, not so much, a long time ethnography, but a work of intensity and selection. Here the guides and the people that allow us to create fast bridges with the communities of every place were key elements.

In other words, one realises very soon in an armed conflict zone, that if one is a stranger, one cannot just enter where everybody is familiar to each other. If one goes there, it has to be with someone that really knows well the region. One has to introduce yourself or ask authorization, you know to them... the armed actors present in the zone, and as this can change from one day to the other... you just have to keep calm. But precisely, the fact that allows us to record *Meanders* was the possibility to build a *trust network* within the zone. We had wonderful guides, persons that accompany us in the whole process. It is a step by step process (...) but we create and strengthen this bridge fast to walking by. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

Moving to another topic, it is impossible for an external viewer to trace the zones visited in the documentary because, even if the geographical changes are marked, the precise locations are not explicit. To this respect, the website *meanders.doc* is a good tool to find “more factual appropriation of the territory” (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris.) The website displays cartography with a detailed list of all the visited territories. It shows that the documentary recorded in several towns, stopping along the *meanders* of the Guaviare River, but not all the locations that are part of the web page cartography appear in the documentary. Despite the web resource to cartography and geographical appealing, *Meanders* does not constitute an explanation of geographical zones affected by the armed conflict. In fact, most of the time the documentary communicates small fragments of life, micro-stories that happen in an undetermined town. “We had few interest in that the people knew exactly where we were, but we wanted them to know that they were embarked on a trip. Near or far, it does not matter...” (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

According to Ulloque, this is not a documentary that wanted to portray the armed conflict, but to represent how people living in zones affected by it are able to continue their normal life and has a deep sense of attachment to their territories. What is important here is that through the micro-stories, *Meanders* unveils heterotopias of everyday resistances.

There is an imaginary that one has before the recording. One realises that there is a difference before and after the incursion. Our first gaze is the media gaze (television news) that is in a first instance what allows the citizens a first approach. One cannot really affirm that one has lived this reality. I think that one is always a tourist doing ethnography, because one thing is living there, and other is going two, three, six months to do research, to record a documentary. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

The directors conceived an “external” “mediatized” gaze, recognising that is the first approach to the realities, but gave more value to the reality of being in the zone. From the need to make explicit the distant, mediatized gaze, emerges the visual treatment that opposes the relation between the everyday lives of the people to the media ‘discontinuities’.

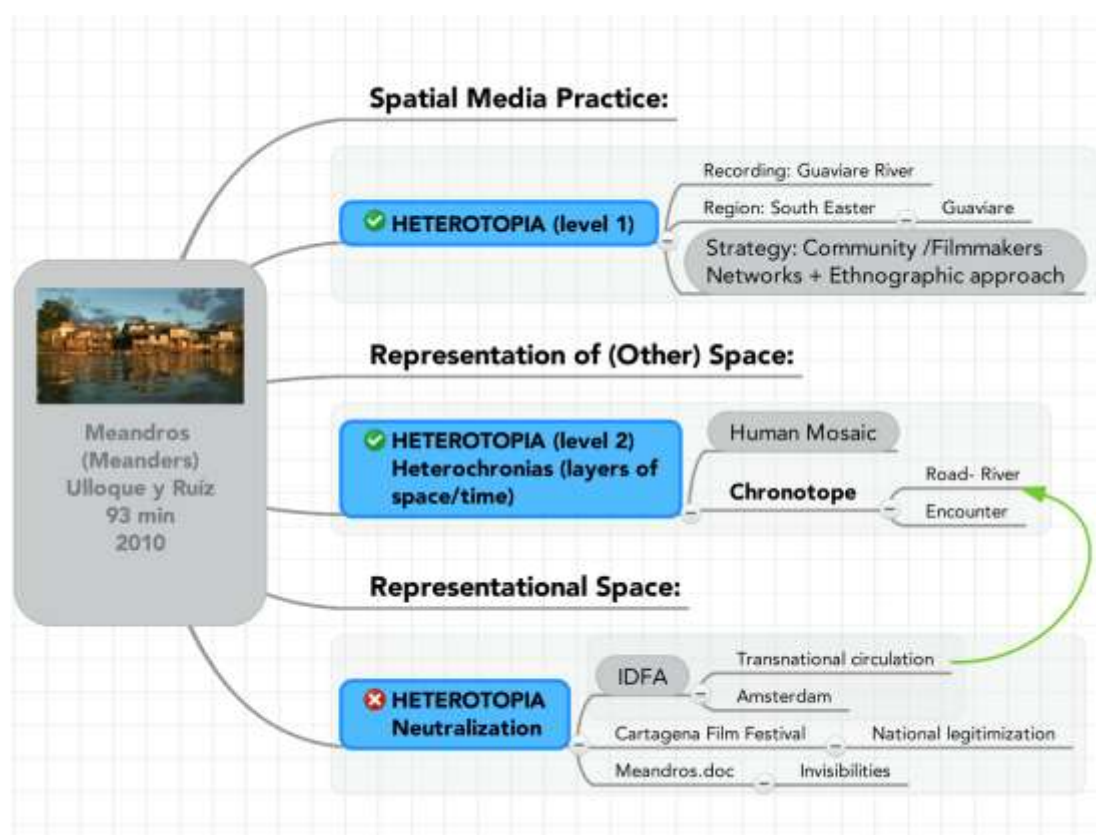
There are some fade outs in reference to the media discourse. One realises that despite being in an armed conflict zone, the people lives normal, everyday life in the middle of the war. From outside one imagine that is impossible to enter, that if one set a foot on there, a land mine will explode, however, the life of the people there goes on, because they want to go on, they love their small lands, they have built relationships in the zone, no matter what reasons take them there. Despite everything the people still have hopes to raise their children. They work, cultivate the land, milk the cows, the children play on the river. Of course, there are differences between the communities, but peasant and Indigenous tribes are still greeting to each other. The point was not to show that is difficult to live, but to show that life goes on and that’s all. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

To sum up, beyond the physical travel to a region of very difficult access, *Meanders* show that the most important element to build a *documentary gaze* is the construction of a relationship with the community. The “fast bridge” that materializes in a trust network, allows the entrance and the mobility of the documentary filmmakers through the region. The work that the filmmaker has precisely described

as the feeling of being “a tourist doing ethnography” shows the travel, the distance gaze and the spatial practice to enter in a rural heterotopia from the urban perspective.

5. 2.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. *Meanders* is an undulating road that leads to different places on the same path. As a result, the river emerges as a symbol and literary metaphor that links the land with the communities. The river *meanders* define the sinuous trail that pushes the communities in the region closer and further apart. (Medios de Contención Producciones., 2012)



18 Meandros, heterotopias

This documentary is an observational film that unifies the story-telling of the communities through the chronotope of the river. It is a landscape that reflects the unpredictable dynamics of the presence of the armed conflict in the Colombian territory. The fragmented narrative structure is unified by the music and the montage, producing micro-universes that opens and closes throughout the film, to show the

daily life of Indigenous communities and colonists that inhabit the riverside. Resisting the very adverse conditions their testimonies tell us how they have found strategies to build their everyday life in the middle of a zone affected by violence. The *meanders*, the river as the structural chronotope of the film is a form that gives continuity to the collective mosaic and permit to insert certain montage rationality to open the story telling of different other spaces and resist against the fast pace of television media news about the armed conflict.

The heterotopia is portrayed through the initial camera over flight, showing the Guaviare River, as one of the most amazing natural regions of the world. This perspective connotes that the chronotope is built from the gaze of the traveler. The distance gaze is highlighted by the tone of expectation of the non-diegetic music that announce something dramatic.

In the narrative structure of *Meanders* there is ambivalence, because the documentary does not define one character and in this sense, avoids the identification with the viewer. On one side, we have the continuity of travelling which is given by the chronotope of embarking through the meander, a certain idea of stopping in different heterotopias. On the other, the mosaic of different everyday lives is sustained in a strong sense of belonging to a place. In addition, there is the meta-discourse of the discontinuity of media that constitutes a critic about the fast pace of the storytelling in the news which is also the only and first access that urban inhabitants used to have to the war zone. The structure of *Meanders* works in opposition to the structure of media television news and in this sense, except for the extra-diegetic music, its complexity is opposed to a spectacular narrative sustained in the generation of emotions.

One revealing detail around the idea of who is represented as inhabitant of the rural heterotopia, is that when asking why there is no visible presence of the armed actors in the documentary, the filmmaker refers to the armed actors as foreigners. Thus, the criteria of settled down in the rural territory in this case, have determined who is visually represented and who is excluded of the documentary screen.

However, there is one single scene where one military officer is visible: A soldier in the school yard, between the children is sweeping the garden floor. In this case, they are included in the story, because they are making part of the community and therefore their action is not considered external. This point of view upon those who do not belong to the territories, expresses that the armed conflict is being produced from outside. A version that is very common in many testimonies, in which the conflict arrived from 'elsewhere', altering the traditional ordering and time of the community that belongs to the zone.

Nevertheless, *Meanders* shows that many characters of the documentary comes from outside, they are Indigenous nomads, colonist and that is what makes *Meanders* a complex cresol of human groups encountering in the same territory, just as the chronotope of the road is described by Bakhtin in its potentiality to bring together different routes and people.

Beyond the narrative chronotope the ethnographic-observational focus, as the strategy used to record in every region, shows relationships and tensions between different groups that inhabit the territory. For instance, the difference between Indigenous tribes, colons and peasants shows the variety of life styles and traditions of the people that inhabit the zone in different *layers of time*. In one scene included in the website *Meandros.doc*, the colons are pouring water to the Indigenous women that used to come to the town for a bath, expresses the distances between them. In other, the slow rhythm of the nomadic tribe Nukak Makuk refugee in the middle of a municipality centre, also shows how different times overlaps in the same space, within the rural territory.

In *Meanders*, the final scene, open another space and literally take us to understand the heterotopia of the nomadic tribe of Nukak Maku that lives in transition between their traditions and the complex environment of Guaviare as a cross road region affected by violence. When the heterotopia becomes the mobile place, the travel and the camera stops, and the documentary experience ends to

communicate the sensation that the life of the communities goes on in the middle of the invisible armed conflict.

In conclusion, the representation of heterotopias through the chronotope of the undulating river approaches to the communities from the gaze of the traveler. The multiple micro-stories and the meta-discourse against television media news, do not allow identification, but in some punctual moments, beyond the emotion, there are authentic openings of other spaces. In *Meanders*, the chronotopes of the road and the encounter also function within the micro-stories, providing a sensation of the Eastern zone of Guaviare as a melting point of different cultures and traditions. The common element, the heterotopia of resistance is the construction of an everyday life in the middle of the armed conflict zones.

5.2.5 Representational Spaces

The project was entirely funded by the FDC (Colombia's National Cinema Fund). Perhaps because it is an independent documentary, *Meanders* did not reach international co-production funds. However, the project was prepared with the aim to be internationally screened at the prestigious IDFA Film Festival in Amsterdam, and in November 2010, it was selected for the non-competitive screening (IDFA, 2010). In Europe, *Meanders* only circulated for a short period of time in the web site of Video on Demand Reaelyz.tv (GMBH, 2012), the documentary was included in the IDFA's distribution catalogue of Docs for Sale. The national screening in Colombia was later on, during the Cartagena Film Festival, which in 2010, started to open a space for full length documentary films. The documentary did not reach television screening, perhaps due to the long duration of ninety minutes which does not correspond with the sixty or thirty minute common format of the national television channels.

The way in which the project started, shows how the exhibition of former projects can be connected with the production of new documentaries. In fact, *Meanders* began as a proposal from a political leader, the mayor of San José del Guaviare; who in a meeting on Latin America perspectives watched *Hartos Evos*

Aquí Hay, the directors' awarded documentary about coca growers in a region of Bolivia. The mayor of San José then thought that a similar documentary method could be useful to reflect the problem in the Guaviare zone of Colombia and invited the filmmakers to record in the region.

After the documentary was completed, some projections in the zone were programmed. This allows the control of documentary visibilities of the armed conflict in order to not harm the people that collaborated in the film. Additionally, every community received a DVD copy with the images of the interviews and the recordings, pertaining to their territory. The projection with the Nukak Maku tribe is the only one that had not been possible, because, as the director reports, the Indigenous nomadic group have a different relationships with the image.

Even though the documentary does not deal with polemic topics, maybe a person that appears on a second term could put the community in risk, thus we needed to be sure that they agree with the recording. We did a screening in San José, where we invited several people from their small towns. Perhaps, at the moment, the only people that have not seen it are the three Nukak families that appear in the documentary. Recently we wanted to screen it again, but we decided not to do so, because they still have a particular relationship with their own image. For instance, when they watch the video image of a family member that has died, this produces an enormous shock. And eight months ago, one of the women participants on the documentary died. As his partner and two children were there, then we decide not to screen it. (H. Ulloque, July, 8, 2013, personal communication, Paris).

Answering if *Meanders* can constitute a heterotopia of resistance in the representational level, it is worth to keep in mind the tensions between invisibility and visibility of the armed conflict. *Meanders* is not a documentary that denounce facts of war in a 'red zone'; on the contrary, it intent to be a witness of the diverse *ways of being together* in a lived space. One interesting aspect of *Meanders* is that the conflict seems to be always present, even if the intention was not to portray it. From

the distribution point of view there seems to be more tension in what *Meanders* does not show and in which the people are unable to tell. The conflict somehow lies beneath the normal life of the people and their option for staying in their own place is always one of the main subjects of their stories of resistance. From another overview, the normal life goes on, despite the conflict and the fear. In other words, the everyday life opens heterotopias that are able to challenge the isolated logic of a state of exception.

5.3 *Robatierra (Stolen Land), 2010 “Take this land over!”*



19. *Robatierra, Pictures: Documentary Robatierra*

5.3.1 Justification

The documentary shows how different conceptions of time overlap in the same space. The time of the industrial revolution and capitalist progress is opposed to the time of the traditional right of the Indigenous communities to their ancestral lands. *La Emperatriz*, the house taken over by a group of the Nasa Indigenous community, received national media attention and became the centre of political discussion in the main spheres of power. It is a “heterochronia” (Foucault, 1986) in a democratic system in which collective property is an anachronism from the urban perspective. On one side, the Indigenous take the land to grow corn, but *La Emperatriz* is waiting for the industrial production of sugar cane for bio-diesel fuel.

5.3.2 Director’s Bio

The directors of this documentary have studied Master’s degrees in United States. Margarita Martínez is a Colombian lawyer with a Master in journalism and international affairs at Columbia University and during 2009, was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. She has worked in projects such as the documentary film *La*

Sierra, co-directed with the American journalist Scott Dalton, and for seven years, she was a correspondent for the Associated Press agency, covering the Colombian Armed Conflict. Miguel Salazar, a specialist in film photography, studied for an MFA in NYU and has authored two books of *Colombian Panoramic 360 photographs*, a commissioned work for the nationally recognized publishing house Villegas *Editores*. He is also the co-producer and the cameraman of *Un tigre de Papel* (A tiger paper) directed by Luis Ospina, one of the most renowned documentary directors of the country, and was the co-director of two documentaries about Colombia: *The battle of silence* and *The Siege*. Salazar's first work was the awarded short fiction film *Martillo* (Hammer) (Robatierra.com, 2010).

5.3.3 Spatial Media practice



20. Robatierra, Location map

Robatierra (Stolen Land) was recorded in the municipality of Cauca, in the Indigenous reservoir of Caloto situated in the Southwestern part of Colombia. Cauca is a region where the Indigenous struggle to defend the rights to their land has been a

long historical process. The access to the zone and the recording of the Indigenous groups was granted by the Indigenous association ACIN (Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca) that one of the directors has contacted. It was a so-called 'red zone' and that explains why, it was necessary to keep informed the authorities of the zone to guarantee certain security.

Margarita (the co-director) had a contact because she, or someone she knew, had previously filmed with them. We met the leader (*Consejero Mayor*) and told him, that we were interested in showing the importance of the civil resistance. We introduce ourselves to them and the governors authorised it. Thus, the Indigenous guard protected us, and we record what they allow us to do. (M. Salazar, December 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

In the armed conflict zones of Cauca, access is limited and in most cases, the recording depends on the permission, not only of the Indigenous authorities, but also of the land owners and the armed actors. It is a zone where the presence of guerrilla and state army has been permanent. Moreover, the tensions with the Indigenous communities were escalating at the time of recording the documentary. Their initiative to the collective land recovery was in clear opposition with Alvaro Uribe's government support of the private property. In this situation, many people were scared and did not want to appear in the documentary.

We would love to follow some people that did not want that their houses appear in the documentary. We only filmed what was possible. Obviously the place has thousands of different stories. We focused on the land recovery that was very important at the time we arrived. In the beginning, we wanted to do something on Civil Resistance, but the dynamic changed due to the policy of Democratic Security. The FARC retreated in the mountains, and the land reclamation became the protagonist within the community. (M. Salazar, December 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

The documentary was mainly recorded in the plantation of *La Emperatriz*, a place where the process of land recovery started after the Nilo's massacre in 1991. According to the Indigenous community, it was planned in this house and it killed twenty Indigenous from the group of Paeces (El Tiempo, 2006). The recording of the documentary started in November 2006, precisely when the plantation was in the news due to the Indigenous riots protesting against the government measures that did not want to continue with the agreement of the collective land restitution. In addition to *La Emperatriz* as the centre of the documentary, a training of the Indigenous Guard was recorded in a second town: Toribío and in La Maria reservoir at La Panamericana, one of the biggest highways that connects Cauca with the center of the country, where the biggest demonstration of the Indigenous people took place.

The documentary also showed archival images from the Community Assemblies (*Consejos Comunitarios*) during Uribe's government, in order to solve the impossibility of gaining access to interview the Minister of Agriculture, the official government source that was impossible to contact for this documentary:

I was watching Canal Institucional (The governmental channel) and they were talking about *La Emperatriz*. We tried several times to interview Andrés Felipe Arias, the Agriculture Minister and he always refused. He always told us that was very busy and in the same week he appeared in the celebrity magazines. Then we understood that we were not going to have any official interview, but it was the way that I found to express the official government position, and it was good because they refer precisely to what we were recording. (M. Salazar, December 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

The relationship between Lucho, the protagonist of the documentary and the Indigenous guard leader with the filmmaker focuses on fulfilling the purposes of a classic narrative. Lucho was portrayed as a left wing revolutionary hero. However, this association with a broader vision over the symbols of the Latin American Revolution, produced disagreements with pacific methods of civil resistance of the Indigenous Nasa community. Lucho is presented at the beginning of the documentary

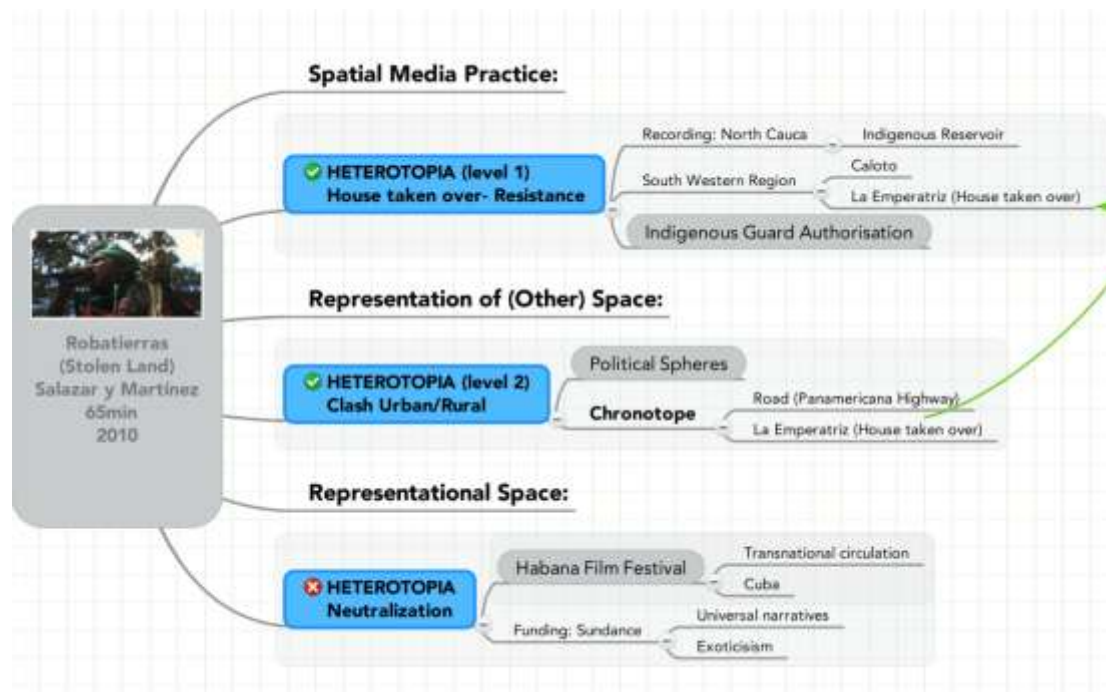
as a strong character, in many cases connected to a popular iconography of the revolution. In fact, one of the main concerns was about what it can mean to show him dressed like a leftist revolutionary in these zones:

It is true that the character can fall, by its own image, in the stereotypes of the Latin American revolutionary: Marcos, El Ché... However this is part of the iconography, is present in any oppressed town in Latin America. In Bolivia, Venezuela, Nicaragua, México or Chiapas, you can find the same symbols everywhere. I think Lucho's character is complex and that is why is beautiful. I talked to him very much to this respect, and even if he has been under threat many times, because he is very exposed, I really care about his security and the security of his family. He is someone that I really appreciate. He is my friend. But I think that show him as a human being make him stronger. (M. Salazar, December 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

La Emperatriz exemplified a very clear example of the Latin American heterotopia. It is a place that expresses from its material existence a historical confrontation. On one side, there is the historical Indigenous struggle to defend the tradition of collective rights to the land. On the other side, the government, defend the right to private property and promoting the commercial exploitation of natural resources as a symbol of progress and development. *La Emperatriz*, in this sense, is the degree zero of the heterotopia as a place where different layers of space-overlaps.

5.3.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. In a land where people have known nothing but war, a tightly knit and fiercely proud people, the Nasa, fight for the land stolen from their ancestors while fending off the violence encroaching on their nation. Their charismatic leader is Lucho Acosta, age thirty nine, an imposing tactician descended from Indian warriors. He knows from experience that violence only breeds more violence. But facing nearly insurmountable odds, Lucho's beliefs are tested to their very core. The future of the Nasa hangs in the balance. (Robatierra.com, 2010)



21 Robatierra, Heterotopias

The abandoned plantation *La Emperatriz* is the centre of the story of the attempt of the Indigenous Nasa group in the north region of El Cauca to recover their ancestral territories. The narrative structure of *Stolen Land* is classic and advances to the objective of taking over the plantation to re-vindicate the Nilo Agreement signed in 1991. The agreement guaranteed the land restitution for the Nasa community, because they were victims of a massacre in which the state had recognized its responsibilities. However, the government resolution took years. The documentary depicts the opposition between the Indigenous leaders with the government of Alvaro Uribe and its Agriculture Minister Andrés Felipe Arias, a very polemical figure of the government, currently that was accused of corruption.

The plantation *La Emperatriz* is the main heterotopia that appears in the documentary. From the Indigenous perspective, it is a place of fear, where the massacre was planned, but for the government it is the private property that is being “invaded.” From the point of view of the Indigenous Nasa community, widely developed in the documentary through the figure of Lucho, the Indigenous guard leader, it is a vindication of their ancestral right to occupy their expropriated lands. In

the end, La Emperatriz is the symbol of a process of reterritorialization (Oslender, 2008).

The government says that those who are reclaiming land are *Stolen Land* to send us to jail. (*Robatierra*, Testimony, 2010)

But the Emperatriz as a narrative knot (Bakhtin, 1981) also unfolds encountering spaces that allows the communication of social heterotopias. They are the space of the politics (The Congress) the media news space and finally the chronotope of the road that takes the struggle of the Indigenous in rural lands to the accelerated urbanity of the city.

The space of deliberation is represented in the archivañ images from the community assembly (*Consejo Comunitario*) of the Uribe government. It is a space where politics becomes theatrical because the decisions are the subject of a *mise-en-scene* broadcasted live for the governmental television channel. This hegemonic space for deliberation is represented as well in the community councils of the Indigenous, where, in contrast, real discussions and even tensions that are still unsolved between the parts can be observed. Finally, the confrontation between Indigenous leaders and the government is present in the national senate and in a meeting that takes place in Cauca, where the president does not agree with the Indigenous people regarding the lands in *La Emperatriz*. Finally, the Indigenous senator in the Colombian Congress claims: *Take this land over*. The call was a clear interpellation to the Indigenous community. This claim appears to be a response to the frustrated intent to build a dialogue with other senators surrounding the restitution of Indigenous lands. The reterritorialisation becomes a source of tension between the government and the Indigenous, who are opening ‘other-spaces’ of resistance. Thus, La Emperatriz represents the heterotopia that resonates in hegemonic spheres of power.

Not only the politics, but also the media replicates the Indigenous struggle. When a battle confrontation takes place in the Indigenous reservoir of Caloto. There is a clear opposition between the group of Indigenous guards and the anti-riot police. One of the most notable moments is when Lucho is watching how the private channel RCN showed the confrontation on the news. The voice-over describes the Indigenous

groups participating in the riot as narco-terrorists while the camera cuts to an Indigenous person furiously throwing a stone: “The news are in their favour,” says Lucho, disconcerted.

This disagreement produces a massive occupation of the Panamericana highway, in which the Indigenous arrived to the City to demand a dialogue with the president. Thousands of people fill the streets. Finally, they decide to engage in a national demonstration and go to the capital. In the end, there is no agreement and the government approves laws that restrict the Indigenous territories. As one of the Indigenous governors affirms, changing his will to negotiate after several disappointments, “The people say that they are not going to stand still.” (*Robatierra*, Testimony, 2010)

The heterotopia becomes evident when the Indigenous move to the city, the streets suspended their circulation of regular transit. In this way, the clash between progress and tradition takes place on the same road. Here is where the chronotope of the road instead of a place of encountering became a place of separation. The heterotopia, thus, shows the tension between the need of recovering the ancestral land, versus the will of the Government to protect the private property from the ‘invasion’ of what they have marked as ‘terrorist’ groups. The problem of *La Emperatriz* as a house taken over is then in the center of deliberation of the national political sphere, is amplified to the media and finally encounters the ignorance of the people that circulate in cars, far away from the Indigenous struggles, in the highways of Bogotá.

5.3.5 Representational Space

Robatierra was awarded as *Best documentary of the South* (Mejor documental del Sur). This prize was awarded by the public Channel of Venezuela (tvcubana, 2011) in La Havana Film Festival (Festival Internacional del nuevo cine latinoamericano, 2011) and it was broadcasted in the space “Entre ojos” in the private channel Caracol (Walker, 2011). *Robatierra*’s production was co-sponsored by the Sundance Film Festival and from the beginning the documentary was

conceived as a transnational product and more than the transmission of the Indigenous people's message, its aim was to tell a universal story:

I am not producing a propaganda documentary. We told that to the ACIN. They have a community radio as few in the world and produce media in their own language, but they manage their own narrative. We try to tell a story that goes out to the non-Indigenous world. That guy sitting in front of his television in Oregon or in Salamanca can watch it and understand the problematic. And I think that the documentary achieves it. Even if it was difficult, because it was dealing with very local affairs. (M. Salazar, December 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

Despite its international renown, its exhibition was polemic. There are contradictions with the points of view of the members of the Indigenous community, which is not shown in the documentary as a homogeneous group. As a result, the Nasa and the ACIN officially denied any identification with this story.

This film is essentially about a minority faction of the process in Northern Cauca, and more precisely, focus on the story of the general coordinator of the Indigenous Guard. *Stolen Land* tells the story of the guard adding some limited and non contextualized comments of other leaders and the process. The way in which "other versions" are presented helps to reinforce the basic version of the protagonist and legitimize it, but never questioning it. (Nasa-Acin, 2010)

Apart from the polemic with a part of the Indigenous community that opposed to the use of the heroic narrative for considering it an individual story, there was a discussion with the use of the archival images from a producer that has historically documented the Indigenous struggle in El Cauca. They sold the right to use the images but once the documentary was finished, she refused permission for the images to avoid being identified with the ideological position of the film.

I understand that behind their work there are commercial and political interests that I do not share. In order to avoid difficulties between the parties it is relevant that you accept my request and return the archive

material to me. I do not want my work related to the tragedy that may happen when Stolen Land will be available to the public (Rodríguez, 2010)

The archival images belong to a long term project in which Marta Rodríguez and Jorge Silva have documented along more than forty years the Indigenous struggle in the Cauca Region. The polemic enters in opposition with transnational co-production projects that offer an opportunity for a wider visualisation of the Indigenous struggle in El Cauca. *Robatierra* exemplified a controversial case involving the recording the situation of Indigenous communities. The confrontation between the opinions of one of the canonical documentary filmmakers in Colombia, defending the right of the Indigenous to be represented as a collective of civil resistance and the position of the new documentary filmmakers in favor of a more global perspective of universal stories. This polemic was unsolved and regarding the space of circulation, resonates the question between obtaining a major visibility with more technological and narrative developments , representing universal characters or on the other hand being faithful to ideological objectives of the Indigenous discourse that answer to more collective forms of communication and resistance.

To summarise, *Robatierra* is a remarkable case of analysis because it is explicitly constructed from the distance gaze upon the Indigenous communities: “We tried to tell a story for the non Indigenous world” This is exoticism (by definition: seen from outside), but at the same time, the external gaze increases the communication with urban citizens. In this case, the heterotopia, is *neutralized* for the need to produce universal narratives that circulate in transnational television spheres.

5.4 *El Rescate Perfecto* (The perfect rescue), 2009 Civilization vs. Jungle



Pictures: Discovery Channel

5.4.1 Justification

It was one of the most watched documentaries in Colombia. It used the strategies of a spectacular information-docudrama, and the performance of the military soldiers as heroes. It works with the opposition between the jungle as a barbaric space to the modern city as the space of civilization. The helicopter, as the chronotope (the narrative node of the documentary) works as the communication between two worlds.

5.4.2 Director's Bio

Jaime Escallón was born in Canadá and lives in Bogotá. He studied film and television at the National University of Colombia and earned a Master's degree in drama from the University of Toronto. He started his career as a script and assistant director in fictional films; he worked as a writer for fiction television series, and has directed reality shows. He is currently the director of the production house Lulofilms from which he has directed several television documentaries about the armed conflict in Colombia. *Tirofijo ha Muerto* (*Tirofijo is dead*), *Los Hermanos Castaño* (*Castaño Brothers*), *La fuga de las FARC* (*FARC's Scape*) and *El Rescate Perfecto* (*The perfect rescue*), are some of the titles produced for the Latin American market of private transnational channels such as Nat Geo and Discovery. His last film, *The Boss* (*El Jefe*) is a fictional film based on the book *Human Resources*. (lulofilms, 2013)

5.4.3 Spatial Media Practice



22. El Rescate Perfecto, Location map

El Rescate Perfecto (The Perfect Rescue) portrays different locations in the south-eastern jungle of Colombia where the kidnapping perpetrated by the Armed Revolutionary Forces (FARC) took place. The story starts with a precise location: “(On the) 4th June 2008, South Jungles of Colombia”. Three groups of fifteen hostages walked 50 kilometers over the Apapaporis shore, near the municipality of Vaupes. The locations mentioned in the documentary are Guaviare, Bogotá, Base Militar de Tolemaida. There is also a triangle of communication between Bogotá, San José del Guaviare and the small town Tomachipán, the final destiny of the military rescue. The hostages are finally taken to the military base in Catam, Cundinamarca near the capital, Bogotá, at the center of the country. Despite all the locations mentioned in the story, the documentary was not recorded in all the regions, because

the program was conceived, to a great extent, as a docu-drama set in different locations close to Cundinamarca that could emulate the Colombia jungle landscape

I began to build a relationship, mainly with Discovery Channel with *The perfect rescue*, my second documentary. In this documentary we interviewed ex-kidnapped officials and soldiers that had a very deep knowledge of FARC, particularly from the territorial dimension of the armed conflict. Why it occurs and why the FARC are based 200 kilometres away from the capital cities. It is a phenomenon that cannot be easily solved, because it is related to the geographical distribution of the country, with elements such as entrances, routes, the negligence of the state, etc. (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, Personal communication, Bogotá)

The documentary, mainly supported by interviews, is a portrait of the Colombian army as a heroic and professional institution. The interviews allow the documentary access, not only to the physical zones, but to an in-depth knowledge about the strategies to fight the armed conflict within the official institutions; A point of view not generally presented in independent documentaries.

If one goes to the regions: Caquetá or in the case of paramilitaries to Urabá, in the case of drug dealers to the Pacific Coast, basically if one goes to the countryside, generally one involves the public force in the stories of the armed conflict, I can say that today I know very well the army, the police, even the navy and independently of their history, or the cases of corruption at the Army or the Police, or the abuses or their nexus with paramilitaries or drug dealers they have become very professional institutions precisely due to the armed conflict. This, of course, comes from a former political situation. It is an answer of the Armed Forces when the guerrilla became a professional army. When the FARC in 1982 says we are going to systematize the kidnapping, we are going to grow drug plants and we are going to form an army that surrounds the cities (...) I think that they wanted to take the power in 1998. Then the army had to become professional, but before that, they were not

professional soldiers (...) It is a former step, important for the current development with the misnamed democratic security. This was a process that arrives to the juncture of the peace process and deepened the right wing trend of the country. (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Thus, in the *Perfect Rescue*, more important than entering into the region, was the access to the official sources, which according to the filmmaker, was a long process that has gone through different projects of documenting the armed conflict in Colombia.

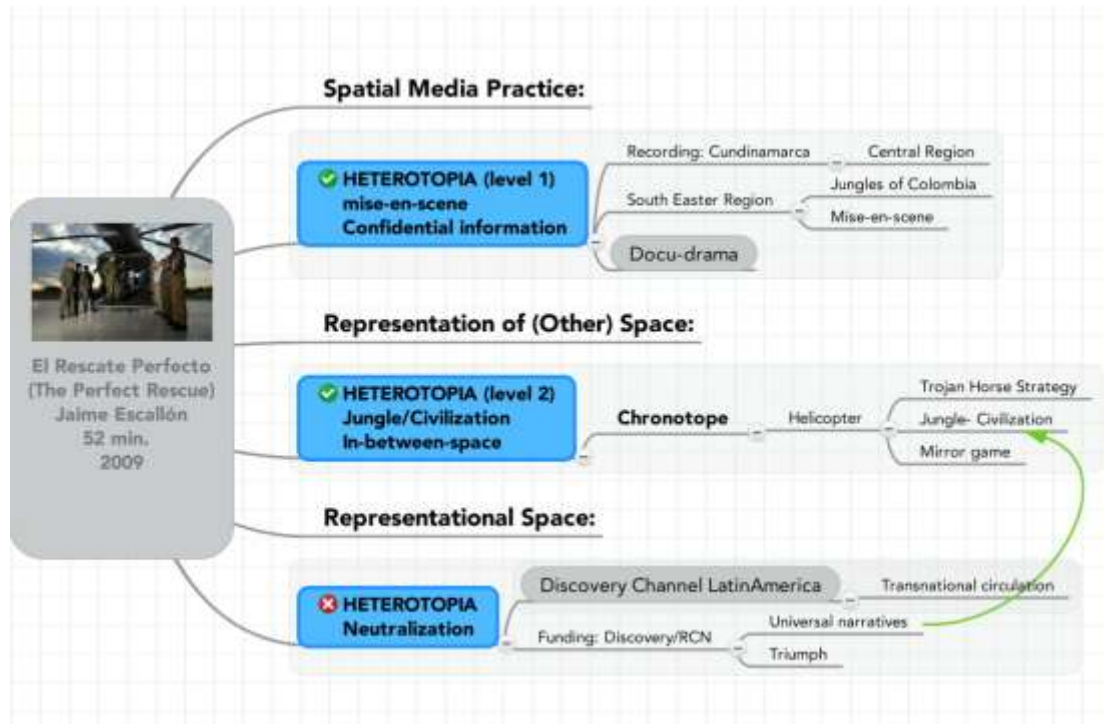
I have started to gain more access, because both sides, the bad and the good guys, have seen what I have done and said: you are doing a good job. For instance, it is rewarding to be able to interview an ex-president or an activist or a victim, someone to who you can connect and say: He is so brave! As it is horrible to chat with a person that has took part in massacres and also connect to ask: tell me how it was? Anyway, what is important is the sole existence of the testimony. (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, Personal communication, Bogotá)

Regarding the spatial media practices, what is relevant here is that television documentaries are used to promote the strategy of the mise-en-scene. They recreate the other-space of the rural. At the same time, they are appealing to classical structures of documentary, sustained in the credibility of the testimony. However in the docu-drama the selection of testimonies is reinforced with voice over and dramatic music, recreating the figure of the hero. Here the access to real place is not important and the heterotopia is built through testimonies that allow the reconstruction of the situation that took place during the rescue.

5.4.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. Documentary of the most daring rescue mission in the jungles of Colombia. Meticulously describes the ingenious plan to rescue a former

senator, presidential candidate, and anti-corruption activist Ingrid Betancourt from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia's -aka FARC's- hands. (Imagina Us, 2012)



23. El Rescate Perfecto, Heterotopias

In this documentary, the jungle is represented as the space of uncertainty, a dangerous place in opposition to the utopic vision of a more secure city. The jungle is, as well, the tragic destiny of the group of fifteen hostages. A great part of the documentary has an aerial point of view of overflying, providing wide shots of the jungle. In opposition to the dominance of the territory of the overlooking point of view, the jungle becomes a dreadful place, staged through the use of dramatic music, environmental sounds, and close shots of the leaves that, using deep focus, are ‘covering’ the images in long shot from the actors involved in the conflict. In addition, the documentary uses sound effects from action fictional films combined with metaphoric images of a dangerous jungle (the serpent, the river). To emulate the military strategy discourse, maps are generally used to describe plans or the virtual

space of communications, but in the action films, they are dramatized with radar indicators and music.

The structure of the documentary presents two parts. First, the documentary mixes the performance of professional actors with archival images and informational graphics used to explain the historical context. This structure uses flashbacks to contextualize the situation. It is guided by an explicit chronology that starts on 4th June 2008, and then goes back to the antecedents of Plan Colombia and the flights to identify places of drug trafficking at the beginning of the decade. The second part, which is the center of the docu-drama, focuses on the three days preceding the military operation. It shows how this “perfect rescue” was planned. In this part, time slows down and the documentary is focused on the details and tensions of the rescue.

The helicopter is the chronotope, the narrative knot of the second part and the centre of the documentary structure that opens the heterotopia. From the point of view of the protagonist, it can be interpreted as a symbol of freedom, whereas from the perspective of the army it is a technology to have access. A “Trojan horse” as one of the military women has pointed out. As expressed in the testimony of one of the American hostages. Its sonorous presence was a hope for a better world separated from the barbaric jungle of the guerrilla domination.

I did not know what happened and I told myself: there is a world outside there; I have been living with these dinosaurs for five years and a half. They even could not write helicopter, and for me to see that this machine was getting close, meant contact with the world outside, with human beings, not with this beast that has kidnapped us. That gave me a great impulse. (American citizen kidnapped testimony- *El Rescate Perfecto*, 2009).

Thus, the helicopter is a heterotopia from the perspective of the kidnapped, mainly because it communicates the jungle with “the world outside”. It acts as a symbol of the rescue that connects the civilization of the city with the barbaric violence of the jungle.

The *mise-en-scène* of journalism, performed in the name of truth and public interest, shows that the intelligence of the military operation lies in the creation of an illusory ‘other-space (Luna & Plana, 2013c)’. In this theatrical space, the helicopter is

an effective representation of organizations that work with reality issues (journalism, ONG, International Red Cross). When the helicopter finally lands in the jungle, a meaningful other space opens in the documentary: it is produced by a second camera from a fake journalist who takes part in the rescue mission. Their images create a third space that allows the filmmaker to create continuity between the archival images (taken from the real situation, but recorded by the fake journalist) and the intervening images (the docu-drama of the rescue). The hegemonic point of view in the documentary emerges from the combination of both. It is interesting because, the first time that the television news of the rescue was broadcasted, most of the images came from the camera that was held and operated by the fake cameraman (pretending to work for Telesur, the public channel of Venezuela). Thus, this media representation of space acts as a multiple-mirror game, which unveils a situation, performed in the name of truth, to justify the manipulation appealing to the public interest of the rescue.

To sum up, the jungle is a barbaric place of terror which is only possible to domesticate through the use of military technology (the helicopter). This helicopter also proposes a mirror game between real and theatrical spaces of this operation. The center of the narrative, the helicopter as chronotope fosters communication between the two worlds (civilization/jungle) working as a “space in between”. The heterotopia is ultimately, a space of hope for the kidnappers who can take them out of the terror of the jungle to the peaceful utopia of the city.

5.4.5 Representational space

The rescue performed by the national army of Colombia that resulted in the liberation of Ingrid Betancourt and the group of fifteen hostages kidnapped by the revolutionary group FARC was one of the stories that have drawn the most media attention in the last decade. In Colombia alone, four versions of the same story were released by different private television channels (Luna, 2014a). Two of them, almost as immediate responses: First, the government transmitted *Soldados sin Coraza* (Soldiers without Armories), second, *Operación Jaque* by the national private

channel RCN was produced. The third documentary also entitled *Operación Jaque* was broadcasted by Nat Geo in association with RCN, just three months after the military rescue. The last broadcasted documentary was *El Rescate Perfecto* from the Discovery Chanel, which is the object of this analysis.

In the public and private channels in Colombia, the emission of documents about the armed conflict was not infrequent during the period of democratic security, but after the worldwide news of the governmental policy's triumph, these topics awoke the interest of transnational television networks that have specific channels for Latin America.

When TV channels such as Discovery, Nat Geo or History Channel enter in a specific region they detect what is interesting to the people from their own reality. The reality can be science, nature, or armed conflict. In Latin America the conflict is very common as a result of the social inequalities and class struggle. In Colombia is even more evident because we have guerrilla, paramilitaries, drug dealers, but is something that also replicates in Mexico or Brasil. It is a very organized illegality that permeates all the social structures. It has political, economical and social power and in the end generates violence. The channels detect that these are subjects interesting for the people, and there is rating. (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Broadcasted in July 2009 to commemorate the first anniversary of the military operation, *El Rescate Perfecto* was a multinational production of three production houses: Informa World, Imagina US, and the Discovery Chanel.

The *Perfect Rescue* is a commissioned work. In the commissioned documentaries, Discovery is involved in the whole process, starting from the scriptwriting. They limit the producers because as an enterprise they do not want to be controversial. Everything has to be truth or has to be supported by several sources, documented and corroborated by testimonies. Maybe reality can be uncomfortable for some people, but when you are showing

documented and justified reality, the people almost cannot say anything. This is both a limit and an interesting part of working with a television channel that has a good reputation. (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

The case of this commercial documentary shows a clear opposition with the independent/observational documentaries analysed previously, that follows the lives and struggles of the communities on rural spaces of the armed conflict. Meanwhile, this commissioned work is based on military strategies. This is also reflected in a wider circulation:

These documentaries have the vision of me and my work team but it does not mean that they must have our own voice. I simply do not believe in author's documentary. I think that they are boring and the fact that only 15 persons watch them in a film festival. I am not going to make a documentary for a small group, this does not have any relevance. Then you have to make concessions with the formulas that the television channels think that works for the rating. These channels reach from 20 to 200 million homes all over the world, with the formula of recreations and narrator. (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Two strategies such as the staging are important, as channel requirements, the narrator and the mise-en-scene:

The narrator "is used basically to contextualize and to deliver the basic information to those who know nothing (...)" "The staging exists to attract someone that usually would not watch a testimony of an ex-kidnapped because it may think that is boring feel the emotion, and connects with the story. They watched as a movie." (J. Escallón, December, 10, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

To sum up strategies such as staging (docu-drama), dramatic music, structure of action films and the use of narrator that make part of the format create a product

that circulates between wider audiences. An internal armed conflict is somehow involved in the production of a more spectacular and distant war.

5.5 *En lo Escondido (Those Waiting in the Dark)*- 2007. “One thing is telling, other is living”



24 *En lo Escondido*, Pictures: *Campo Hablado*

5.5.1 Justification

En lo Escondido (Those Waiting in the Dark) documented the everyday life in the rural zones of the armed conflict through the direct following of one character, Mrs. Carmén. It has been selected for this analysis because it is one of the first entirely independent productions recorded during the first stage of the democratic security policy. Even if, at the beginning, it was almost unknown in Colombia, *Those Waiting in the Dark* was one of the first rural documentaries that obtained international circulation during this period.

5.5.2 Director’s Bio

Nicolás Rincón Gille studied economics at Universidad Nacional de Colombia and he became a documentary filmmaker after he met by chance the renown Colombian documentary filmmaker Marta Rodríguez and helped her with the camera in an Indigenous national encounter (CRIC) in Cauca, Colombia. Rincón-Gille is of Belgian descent and he returned to Brussels 10 years ago to study film at the public school INSAS (Fisuras Filmicas, 2012) Since 2005, he develops the project *Campo Hablado* (Speaking Countryside) a trilogy of rural life of the Colombian peasants

(Rincón-Gille, Campo Hablado., 2010). His films are part of this long term independent project.

5.5.3 Spatial Media Practice



25 En lo Escondido, Location map

The director, in his presentations on the origins of the project to document rural regions, connects the interest in the countryside to their childhood memories.

As a child, my father –an anthropology professor– would take me to the countryside alongside his students. These journeys were extraordinary opportunities to listen to the peasants (usually quiet and wary of strangers) and their stories. I remember exactly every single one of these visits. The general

assignment for these visits was to find somebody willing to tell us a legend still active in the region (Rincón-Gille, 2012)

The presentation of the project appeals to a magical discovery of the expression of a region where oral traditions were a normal way of communication. A discourse between reality and fiction take them *elsewhere*.

Something uncanny would happen then, a tense feeling would pervade everyone present. They were not telling imaginary legends but concrete facts in which it was impossible to differentiate reality from fiction. (Rincón-Gille, 2012)

En lo Escondido was recorded in Carmen's farm close to San Juan de Rioseco in the municipality of Cundinamarca, in the central region of the country. It is not a remote zone because it is relatively close to the capital, but it is neither a zone usually visited by the citizens of Bogotá or other big cities. In the small town of Carmen, there was a paramilitary incursion years before the recording and she was a forcibly displaced that decided to return to her house where she owned a grocery store.

San Juan de Rioseco is the nearest small town to the place where Carmen lived. I did not know about it before. When one goes from Bogotá San Juan de Rioseco is just in the middle of the road, you have a road going down, before to arrive to the municipality Magdalena. It is almost 1,000 meters high in a zone of coffee plantations. It is a very beautiful place, but not so touristic. When the documentary was recorded Carmen lived twenty minutes from San Juan de Rioseco in a small village of peasant's farms. In a very poor zone she was the woman with most economic recourses. She had a lot of energy and owned a small store, but in the place they were families and houses in a much more difficult situation. Carmen has now moved again to San Juan because she had to sell the farm four years ago. (N. Rincón-Gille, December, 14, 2012, personal communication, Brussels).

In 2005, Rincón Guille was doing fieldwork in different places around Bogotá. He was looking for a character that helped with particular characteristics: He wanted a good story teller that could help to communicate the situation of the inhabitants of the rural zones affected by the armed conflict:

I did not want to record in an eccentric or exotic place such as El Amazonas or Chocó. I was looking for something that could be a closer referent of the regular peasant that we all have, *Cundiboyacense* or *Huilense* (inhabitants from the central region). I search in several zones. Many people introduced me peasants that match to what I had in mind:: I needed someone that would be an incredible story teller and that had an interesting social and political story. In the meantime, they introduce me to some men and finally an agronomic engineer that worked in San Juan de Rioseco, someone that knew my father, told me: I have the right person. She was Carmen. (N. Rincón-Gille, December, 14, 2012, personal communication, Brussels).

One of the most salient aspects of *En lo Escondido* is the close relationship established between the filmmaker and the protagonist. It seems to be the outcome of the ethnographic approach, the character selection and the purpose to share strategies of creation between the filmmaker and the participant.

I went to San Juan with my father's friend and he introduced her to me. Immediately she asked me to take a seat and started to tell me her history. We had two or three hours, of conversation with an incredible trust, because as you may know, it is not always easy to tell this type of stories. For me this is one of the strongest relationships in a documentary film, especially because it allowed me to work on equal basis. I mean she never called me 'doctor', sometimes she called me "the Australian" to laugh at me, but I feel that her intelligence is that we can be the same. This is not easy when working in documentary. I mean, in my second film *Los Abrazos del Río (The Embrace of the River)*, the relationships were more unbalanced, for instance some interviews needed money, and ask me for it, and this was generating a more

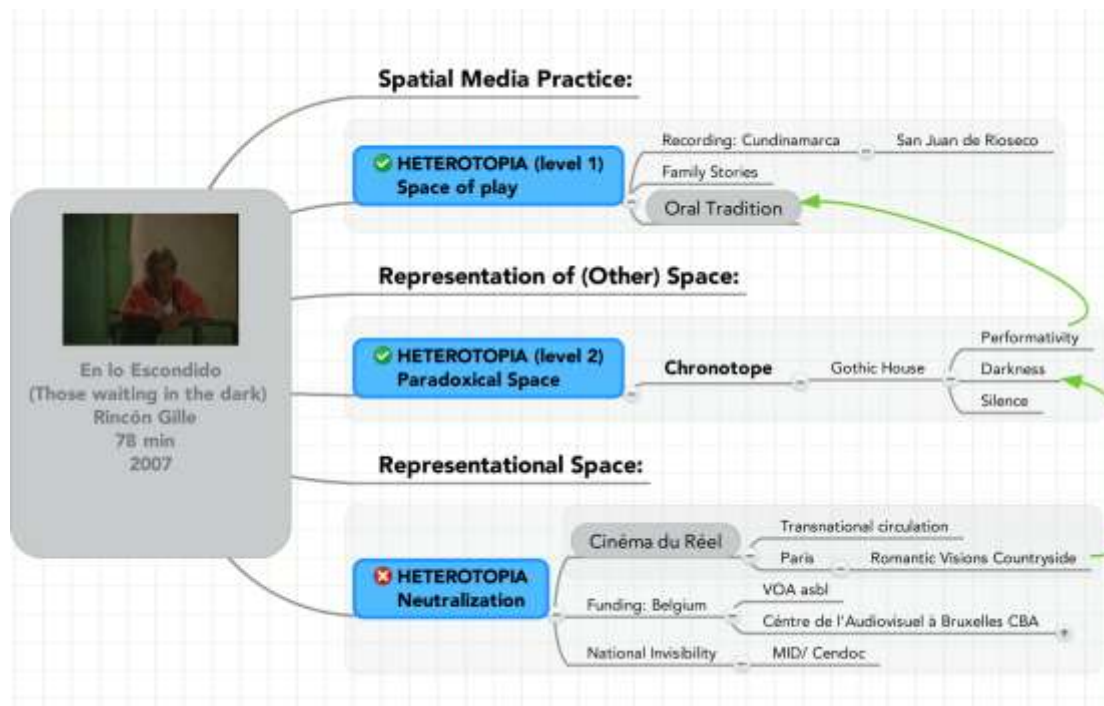
complicated situation. But with Carmen it was totally different. (N. Rincón-Gille, December, 14, 2012, personal communication, Brussels).

The blurred limits between the act of directing and acting permit the filmmaker access to personal as well as psychological spaces. This disposition that could be understood as a reverse of the documentary gaze, has created a horizontal relationship that is not very frequent within the power relations in documentary filmmaking (Nash, 2010). The relation of power in terms of inequality, usually present in the relationship of documentaries about people in difficult conditions, were overcome here, because Rincón invited Carmen to direct her own story. In some way, he became the guest of her *mise en scene* and therefore, she was empowered by the camera, creating her own other space.

Heterotopia here can be defined as a “space of play” (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008). The theatrical scene creates another space of mediation, inverting the power relationship of a distant gaze in the film. *En lo Escondido (Those waiting in the dark)* is thus a remarkable example of a heterotopia by the reduction of the distance between the documentary filmmaker and the participant. The trust bond allowed them, through the performative documentary (Bruzzi, 2000, pp. 95,155) to produce a fluid communication and to open up other imaginary spaces based on the re-enactment of memories.

5.5.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. In the darkness of a long night, the Colombian country shows another face. An invisible world takes the place of the other one. So one better stays at home and opens his ears: half-human and half-beast, something is wandering in the dark. Only some people are able to face it. During her whole life, Carmen was one of them... (Rincón-Gille, Campo Hablado., 2010)



26 En lo Escondido, Heterotopias

En lo Escondido (Those Waiting in the Dark) tells the story of Mrs. Carmen Muñoz, a woman in her fifties who lives in a remote rural town in Colombia. She says that mysterious creatures surround her house and thinks that her disgrace is due to a pact that she sealed with a witch a long time ago. In the end, she is not strong enough to pass the final test and, as a result, she has lost the gift of predicting the future. That is why she is exposed to become a victim of the evil creatures that are waiting in the dark.

In this documentary, the narrative structure is divided into three levels. The heterotopias are subtly present between the three main plotlines: First, the story of fear explicitly narrated through ghost stories, peasants' legends which, at the surface, involve the documentary; secondly, Carmen's personal life, how her relationships with her kids and husbands have been and thirdly, the story of the displacement that she tells at the end of the documentary, unveiling the hidden intention: showing a family that had to run away from their home by the harassment of the armed actors.

Those waiting in the Dark is built around the chronotope of the abandoned house surrounded by darkness. This figure of an isolated house, parallels the

chronotope of the “gothic castle” (Bakhtin, 1981), but goes beyond the romantic imagination. The hidden presences from the outside come from the imaginary space of the protagonist, but materialize the real violence that remains at a hidden level. The real is in the recall of the physical presence of the actors, who forced Carmen to move from their home. The darkness of the scene that is explicit in the title is the expression of the invisibilities of the armed conflict.

As *La Sirga* and *Meandros*, films previously analyzed in this chapter, *En lo Escondido* never shows explicit violence, but suggests its presence through the traces: the old house with the dark light of a light bulb, a date as the memory of a traumatic event inscribed on the floor, the sound of the rural landscape that composes an explicit intention to intervene with realism: “In my work, I am interested in reverting a “neutral” and objective vision of the landscape, to inhabit it with a knowledge and a narrative that give it meaning.” (Castrillón, 2007, p. 143). The subjective landscape allows the access to other spaces.

The director used twenty hours of recorded material, five months of montage, and made the decision to keep the shots in sequence to respect the natural rhythm with which Doña Carmen tells us her own stories (Castrillón, 2007, pp. 142-143). As has been previously pointed out, the heterotopia of this work is evident in the opening of a theatrical space. The characters are acting in a *mise-en-scene* of reality through imagination and superstition. The dispositive of oral tradition works on the basis of this documentary. This is closely related to the portrait of Carmen as a part of the farmer’s class. In her scenes, the camera is generally on a tripod, and the action is controlled because it happens inside the frame in a theatrical dispositive of the film testimony.

The director’s gaze appears more explicit in the unconscious space, on a metaphoric level, built as a mysterious atmosphere. Visual indications on the landscape, such as rays of light at night, lonely crops, and the light of the full moon, show a combination with classic narrative. Finally, the antagonists are always outside the frame in the imaginary other space of Carmen. Their threat became real, according to her story, because she has lost the power to anticipate the future. Beyond

that, ‘other-space’ that has been reached by the filmmaker is the hidden space of the unconsciousness of war, which is re-appropriated by Carmen in her stories of the invisible presence of the actors in the armed conflict: *Those waiting in the dark*.

A movement between the physical space (the other-space of the conflict) and Carmen’s imaginary space (the unconscious fears and the mystery of the darkness) is tangible. In the end, she is the owner of the story and it helps her to move the fear from the physical actors of the armed conflict, transforming them into the legends of the farmer’s oral traditions. As the director points out, this was part of his own interest: “I tried to describe a reality in which the magic is concrete and the reality became dream-like. The oral tradition is also a way to transcend the reality, transform it, hold it and dominate it” (Castrillón, 2007, p. 141)

The documentary works on different levels of representation: from the romanticism of rural topics reflected on the chronotope of the gothic house surrounded by the dark, to the reality of the invisible presence of the actors involved in the armed conflict mediated by the peasant’s superstition. The heterotopia appears as an overlapping of the subjective landscape and the unconscious space of the traumatic memories of displacement. In terms of Oslender this documentary is a very clear example of transformation of spaces in landscapes of fear.

In conclusion, romantic visions, understood as individual stories focused on subjectivities, are often opposed to denouncements or political debate, based on figures and facts. According to the director, these visions can also be forms of resistance (Rincón-Gille, 2013). In *Those Waiting in the Dark*, the romantic perspective, that comes from an outsider’s gaze and is very present in the aesthetic decisions of the work, and on a deeper level shows ways to survive realities such as the presence of violence through the necessary escapism of oral traditions. When the romantic tragedy is re-enacted in a documentary, even if it can fail in the connection with the commercial public, it maintains an uncomfortable, permanent poetry derived from the effort to perform memories of violence in voices that came “of other rurals” (Philo, 1997) found in the director’s gaze upon a lost countryside.

5.5.5 Representational space

This documentary is the first part of the trilogy *Campo Hablado* (*Speaking countryside*) and was fully funded by Belgian institutions. It received the Joris Ivens Award at the documentary festival Cinéma du Réel 2007 in Paris (Cinéma du Réel, 2007), and the audience prize at Reencontre International du Cinema du Montreal (RIDM, 2007). In Colombia it was launched at the International Documentary Festival: X Muestra Internacional Documental (Alados, 2008). Its circulation in Europe is on DVD through the production house VoA in Belgium. Thanks to the Joris Ivens Award is available to the European public in French libraries.

When the second documentary of the trilogy: *Los Abrazos del Río* (*The Embrace of the River*) was screened, it could be said that *En lo Escondido* started a second life in terms of circulation. The work awoke the interest of film critics and most of the time, it has been an academic product linked to film school and experimentation. As many author's documentary it did not had web or television circulation in Colombia or abroad. Despite the international prizes, *En lo Escondido* was ignored from a long time. It did not made part of the selection of the Cartagena Film Festival and the only way to watch it in Colombia was at Cendoc, the archival repository at a private university in Bogotá.

In regard to the funding, only the last part of the trilogy *Speaking Countryside* received Colombian financial support from the FDC (National Cinema Fund). In some sense, this work has anticipated the poetic of hybrid documentary that started to be popular and was nationally promoted in film festivals since 2009. Works such as *Meandros* or *La Sirga*, are some examples of this trend. But *En lo Escondido* is one example of an internationally awarded high quality documentary, that due to its early production, remained 'in the dark', especially from the point of view of its distribution/circulation. Thus, this case shows that the interest on transnational circulation of Colombian documentaries depicting rural regions is a relatively recent issue, because many works recorded in the first stage of the democratic security policy, even if they were internationally recognized, were almost invisible within the country.

5.6 *La Casa Nueva de Hilda* (Hilda's New Home)- 2006 New nomadisms



27 *La Casa Nueva de Hilda*, Pictures: Silvia Hoyos

Pictures: *La Casa Nueva de Hilda* / RCN Radio

5.6.1 Justification

La Casa Nueva de Hilda is a documentary that shows an intimate relationship between two women: the filmmaker and the Indigenous leader who guide the people of the community to the return to the ancestral territory. It is the story of road, in which an Indigenous community that was very attached to the belonging has to become nomad due to the armed conflict.

5.6.2 Director's Bio

Silvia Hoyos was trained as a journalist at Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana. She was presenter of national television news (QAP) and also was a correspondent from the national private news (TV Hoy) covering news drug trafficking in Medellín during the 80's and 90's decades. After more than ten years of working in national television news, she moved to chronicle and documentary production from a regional space in Medellín (Tele-Antioquia and Telemedellín) and afterwards she became the manager of the production house CMO in Bogotá. She used to work in partnership with the director of photography Adrián Franco. They have documented the forced displacement, particularly in the region of Bojayá (Chocó), at the north western part of Colombia, since the beginning of 2000. One of her first short

documentaries *El Retorno (The return)* was awarded best Television Report by Euro News-Radio France International. *La Casa Nueva de Hilda* (Hilda's New Home) is Hoyos' fifth documentary and her last work is *Severá*, which is the result of 10 years following the situation in Bojayá as a television reporter and documentary filmmaker. (Festicine Antioquia, 2012)

5.6.3 Spatial Media Practice



28 *La Casa Nueva de Hilda*, Location map

Hilda Chami is the daughter of an Indigenous leader of the Embera Chami group who used to live in Playita near the Atrato River in the municipality of Chocó, but due to the presence of armed groups, especially paramilitaries, she and her group had to move, again and again, in search of a new home. *La Casa Nueva de Hilda (Hilda's New Home)* was made literally on the road. It is the story of constant movement by the Atrato River, in the Pacific Region at the western part of Colombia.

Over fifty-two minutes, the viewer accompanies an experience of space. In this travel, the filmmakers had practically assumed the role of being the only external company present at the return of the Hilda's Indigenous community to their lands, from which they had been displaced by paramilitary groups three months before the filming started.

They were waiting for the presence of the state or ONGs that usually accompany these returns, but at the last minute, the state has decided to suspend the plans to accompany the refugees into the zone. (S. Hoyos, December, 13, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

However, the Indigenous community decided to take the risk of return because, in the place where they arrived after the displacement, they had no food or proper houses and they preferred to take the risk to come back to their territories that became permanent displacements in an urban centre. Thus, the men of the community made the decision to return to their lands with their families. The documentary director and her cameraman went into the jungle to record the return.

In the beginning, it was difficult because every time the children of the community watched the camera, they cried because they thought it was a firearm. We had to work to get them used to us and to the camera itself. Hilda was extremely helpful in this process. I explained to her that, as the 'machete' was her instrument, the camera was mine, and she explained the same to the children of her community. (S. Hoyos, December, 13, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

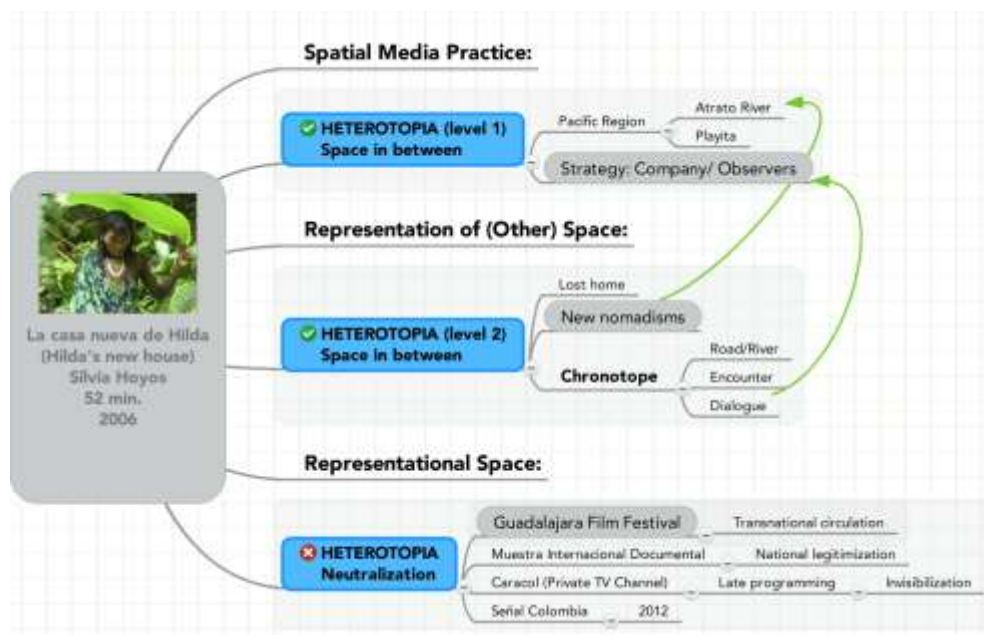
In the documentary, the distance between the camera and the Indigenous group was minimized by the trust bond built between Hilda (the protagonist) and Silvia (the documentary maker). Hilda seems to be used to the presence of the camera, and she feels confident in saying that they were afraid or talking about what had happened to their town with the arrival of the armed groups. "Hilda is an amazing woman; it was her who told me: If you want to know what happened here, I can tell you the whole story" (S. Hoyos, December, 13, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)..

The access to the heterotopia, of an Indigenous community telling and performing their story in the middle of the conflict zone is a way to keep their fear far

away from their return. In this sense the filmmakers' incursion, even if she came from the field of television journalism, that could be considered more hegemonic than authors' documentary, shows how alternative practices of independent documentary can revert the logics of the traditional fast cover of the television news. These practices in this case are not fully separated from television coverage, because they are possible when recording within zones of the armed conflict, and journalists in Colombia have privilege access to these areas.

5.6.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. Hilda's New Home is the story of an Embera Indian who lives in one of the most affected regions by the Colombian armed conflict: in the jungles surrounding the Atrato River. After three years of following Hilda and her community, the documentary tells her drama while she wanders through the jungle fleeing from armed groups. The pressure on Hilda's community forces them to build three different villages, and to relinquish their ancestral customs to a regime that imposes strict curfews and bans on fishing and hunting, almost to the point of starvation. (Proimagenes, 2012)



Hilda's voice varies throughout the documentary; sometimes it is more expositive: "We are from Playita. My name is Hilda Chamí, de Playita. We belong there." At other times, she seems to be talking directly with the documentary maker, who is always out of the frame: "My house. Here is where I used to live. This is my palm tree. This is mine. Look how they have destroyed everything. This is their road" However, she always refers to this 'other-space' that has "drastically changed" (Oslender, 2004) due to the armed conflict.

During the documentary, Hilda is the leader of the scene; she guides the camera movements and also relates the different stories throughout the constant search for a new place. The documentary is structured with respect to the dreamed space of the return, a piece of land free from the armed actors of the conflict. This is a 'promised land' that will allow Hilda and her community to live in peace.

I was born in this river; my father and my grandmother were also from here that is why we do not want to walk anywhere else but here. If we saw that everything is getting worst we have to move in to another place. (*La Casa Nueva de Hilda*, 2006)

However, land is not only a practical need in the documentary. From Hilda's stories, it can be appreciated that land is connected with the spiritual life (imaginary space) of the Embera community. In some parts of the story, Hilda tells of how the umbilical cords of her father, her seven sons and herself, are buried in the land where they were born. In some sense, it becomes a metaphor for identity and symbolically attaches them to their ancestral place: 'Egoro', the land where they belong in Embera language.

The documentary follows the Indigenous group to tell about the difficulties that they have in re-entering their own ancestral land, because of the presence of the armed conflict and their impotence as unarmed people who can do nothing but walk in search of food: "We are always talking. We only know how to 'fight' with our tongues, but they are fighting with real guns." (*La Casa Nueva de Hilda*, 2006). From the symbolic fights of the resistance of language to the reality of the occupation of the

land through military methods, the documentary shows how they had to change their traditions of belonging to a land to become a nomadic town to protect themselves.

La Casa Nueva de Hilda deals with “physical movements in space” (Oslender, 2008). The first movement appears as a consequence of de-territorialization; the Indigenous have been expelled from their original land. The second movement expresses the intention of reterritorialization; the people trying to reach Playita to settle their community there once again. During the whole film the Indigenous are passing through radical changes in the “sense of place.” (Oslender, 2008) They have never been a nomadic town; however, due to the presence of the armed conflict, the Indigenous community has been forced to live in constant movement. The river expresses its own logic (Oslender, 2002), and here the chronotope of movement and change is giving form to the heterotopia of new nomadisms.

In the reterritorialization the metaphoric space is unveiled in terms of the eternal return. The people are looking for their promised and ancestral land, where they as a group have their roots. In contrast with the desire of belonging, the heterotopia that the documentary filmmaker reveals is the route by the river, the chronotope of the road as the space of new nomadisms. In conclusion, the story shows a radical change in the “sense of place” (Oslender, 2008) of the Indigenous community that used to have a real feeling of belonging attached to their own traditions. The road by the river, which serves as narrative structure of the documentary, is then the heterotopic space where the community find particular ways to resist the domination of an armed conflict that is producing new nomadisms in its logic of constant movement. The route of the armed conflict, affects different territories leaving a permanent *trace of fear* but the recording reveals new forms of organization and resistance.

5.6.5 Representational space

La Casa Nueva de Hilda was first screened at the IX Muestra Internacional documental MID (International Documentary Film Festival) in Bogotá in 2007 (Alados, 2007). It was also part of the documentary space *Entre Ojos* in which the

private television channel Caracol broadcasted it at a late time in 2008 (elcolombiano.com, 2008) . The international screening did not have a very wide circulation, but it was presented in the International book fair in Guadalajara, México in November 2007, a year focused on Colombia (FIL, 2007, p. 41). At the end of 2012, the documentary was finally programmed on the public television channel Señal-Colombia (RTVC, 2012). Even if the product is a relevant document of the life of the Indigenous people, its emission show how the documentary products are usually screened in schedules where they cannot reach wider audiences.

La Casa Nueva de Hilda is part of a longer project in which the documentary filmmaker has been following the people of the Atrato River along ten years. She has recorded several short television reports and documentary projects in the same region. Since 2004, some of them have been internationally recognised, even before the transnational films circulation in Colombia was institutionally promoted through the Cinema Law. For instance, *El Retorno* (Hoyos and Franco), recorded in Bojayá is a report of a town where a church full of refugees was bombarded by the guerrillas. Even if the story received an important international prize, it did not have television national circulation. *El Retorno* was part of the television conference Input, 2004 and was awarded with the Euro News Prize from Radio France International, that the filmmakers donated to the participants (RFI, 2002). One of the most popular national weekly magazines published the article: *De Bojayá a Francia* (From Bojayá to France) (Semana, 2002), showing the national pride for products recorded in very local areas of the armed conflict that are internationally recognized. This pride is currently amplified in the official communication of the transnational Colombian cinema.

This work, more than an author documentary, constitutes a bridge between informative television reporting and documentary films. As other documentaries analysed in this study, it shows the invisibility of independent documentaries focused on rural regions, a trend that was very constant during the period of the democratic security policy (Luna, 2014a). This can be considered part of a wider strategy in which the armed conflict was neglected and the illegal armed actors were marked as terrorists (Nieto, 2008) (El Espectador, 2011). Despite a certain pioneer international

recognition, it shows the problems of national distribution and the national invisibilities of the documentaries recorded in rural zones affected by the armed conflict in Colombia.

5.7 El Corazón (The Heart)- 2006.

From 'Sacred Heart' to broken corpses



30. El Corazón, Pictures: La Maraca Producciones

5.7.1 Justification

El Corazón (The Heart) is part of a long work with the author's independent documentary that the filmmaker started during the 90's decade. The story of *El Corazón* shows the internal place of a soldier's wounded body and put it in relationship with the national territory, through the metaphor of Colombia as a country devoted to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. From the documentaries analysed here, *The Heart* is the one that is less related to the physical rural zones and focused on the body as heterotopia (Foucault, 2006). At the same time, it shows the trend of working with archival images instead of access to war zones. This way of documenting memories is common to other documentaries of the general sample, recorded in the city in order to document memories of those who have participated on war. For instance, *Cuerpos Frágiles* (Fragile Bodies), *Locura de Guerra* (Mad war), *Los Huéspedes de la Guerra* (War Hostages) or *No Hay País* (There's no Country), are examples that document the armed conflict with this strategy.

5.7.2 Director's Bio

Diego García was a commercial pilot and in 1977, he decided to study cinema at Ecole Nationale Supérieure in Paris. He began his career as a filmmaker in 1984 with the short movie *La Balada del Mar no Visto* (The Song of an Unseen Sea) has been living in Paris, Chicago, and Colombia for the last twenty years, he has directed several documentaries that are part of a long term project around national identity. He has also directed artist's portraits such as *Las Castañuelas de Notre Dame* (2001) and *Por Qué Lloro Si Ya Reí* (2010). He currently lives in Bogotá where he runs the independent production house La Maraca Producciones (García-Moreno, 2009)

5.7.3 Spatial Media Practice



31 *El Corazón*, Location map

El Corazón is recorded in Medellín, in the hospital San Vicente de Paul and in the houses of the doctor in a wealthy neighborhood and the soldier in the city suburbs. This is showing a trend in some documentaries filmmakers that decided to

portray the armed conflict without accessing the real zones, using archival footage or recreation of testimonies.

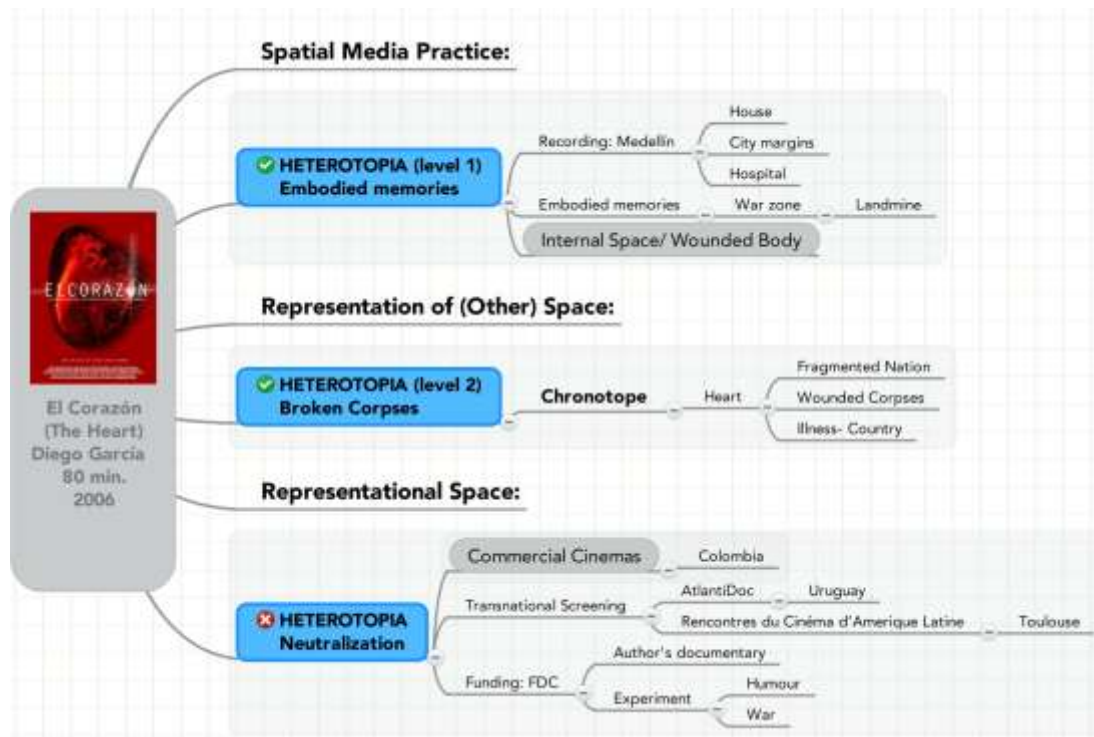
The rural space here is in the recall of the place where the landmine exploded. There is no information about precise place where it occurs in the documentary, because the film is making reference to a generic war zone. Even though, there are some recreations and other recordings in the soldier's camp near Medellín, the real location does not have a central meaning in this documentary except as a metaphor of Colombia as a national territory affected by war.

The heterotopia here is an object, a piece of shrapnel, within the heart of the soldier, which is a fragment of the war literally inserted into the human body. The real access of the documentary is to unveil the interior of the body through X-rays and images of the operation, combined with the testimony that recalls the episode and the risks of working in a war zone. Thus, the explosion of the landmine, the traumatic event, became tangible in the object, the shrapnel extracted from its heart. The heterotopia appears in the embodied memories, in the brokenness of a utopian body, the corpse of the soldier that once was fit to fight in the war and after the explosion is expelled from the army and its only option is to live in the outskirts of the city.

5.7.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. The symbol of the heart lies at the heart of the world of symbols. Based on this idea, *The Heart* follows a year in the life of two couples living in a society with a seriously wounded vital organ: a soldier's heart is torn apart by shrapnel from a land mine; his life is saved by one of the heart surgeons from the medical team that holds the world record for the most open-heart operations. The soldier is forced to retire from the army but, inspired by his love for his new wife and the child they are expecting, he battles to earn a living. Meanwhile, the surgeon's wife is diagnosed with cardiac arrhythmia. The pulse of these different characters draws an electrocardiogram of a nation, Colombia, consecrated a century ago to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in an attempt to save it from ongoing war. (García-Moreno, 2009)

The structure of the documentary is linked through the use of heart graphics, these graphics work as the connecting thread of the heart as a symbol that cuts across different conceptual levels: religious authority (The Sacred Heart of Jesus), the human soul and the centre of the biological life (the hospital). The baroque style was a deliberate intention of the director.



32 El Corazón, Heterotopias

This movie is reflecting my intention for reacting against a French and Cartesian structure. I made it from the intuition. The heart as a symbol gave me new clues and I thought, I have learned to structure as a vertebral column and this is an organism. The heart functions by systole and diastole, it has veins and arterias. Every new information is a new arteria. All them together. Some people love the film other hate it. Some French leaved the theater and other people was very moved. The idea is that the heart is an universal

symbol. (D. García-Moreno, January, 18, 2011, personal communication, Bogotá)

An ironic tone is constructed with the voice of the narrator, the documentary director. This voice proposes a bizarre vision of the world in which transcendent stories of life and death are mixed with a humorous point of view that according to the director: “help us to overcome the serious situation of conflict that Colombia is actually living” (D. García-Moreno, January, 18, 2011, personal communication, Bogotá). *The Heart* is an auteur documentary with an original search. It also has some technical problems such as poor graphics and animations; however, beyond technical issues, it constitutes an early portrait of the armed conflict, an author’s gaze expressed in the form of a radiography of a nation.

The documentary shows how the armed conflict permeates all the country’s social structures. The “other space” here shows radical changes in the sense of place (Oslender, 2008) through the symbol of the heart. The layers cut across the centre of the wounded body, internal space, to the religious center of the ‘wounded’ country, symbolic, social-space. The broken centre as the chronotope is the leit-motif of the documentary and replicates in the metaphor of a wounded society, in which the body of the soldier is used as a spatial metaphor, a heterotopia.

I tried to maintain an essential level. The violence, the conflict, this seems like a social and human illness. In some sense this is travelling, moving in the country (D. García-Moreno, January, 18, 2011, personal communication, Bogotá).

The sacred heart in a cathedral is here analogous to the figment of a landmine that exploded penetrating the heart of the soldier, because it replicates the metaphor of violence that breaks the sacred unity of a nation. It shows how the unity of the central state is understood as the correlate of the violence that produced a “fragmented nation”. (González, Bolivar, & Vásquez, 2003).

The body of a soldier which used to be at the core of the state, when affected by the armed conflict, is pushed away to the margins of the city. It is the opposite of a

Utopian of an artificially constructed body (Foucault, 2006) if the soldier is not prepared to be in the war zone, then he must be displaced to the heterotopia. The figment of the territory inside his heart is paradoxically which stops him from continuing in the territory. This is interesting in the sense that war is not a heterotopia from the perspective of those who participate in it.

According to the director “there is a commotion and certain fragility. To me to show is a political act, because we have lost the respect for the vulnerability of the other” (D. García-Moreno, January, 18, 2011, personal communication, Bogotá). The body is then, following Foucault, depicted in this documentary as a common heterotopia:

“My body in fact is always elsewhere. It is tied to all the elsewheres of the world (...) the body is the zero point of the world” (Foucault, 2006, p. 233) In some sense is not the body, but the corpse what Foucault sign together with the mirror as a heterotopia “Thanks to the mirror and to the corpse (...) our body is not pure and simple utopia” (Foucault, 2006).

The presence of the sacred is there when there is not the body, but the soul (Foucault, Utopian Body, 2006). The soul of the nation is depicted in the symbol of the Sacred Heart. But when it is read through the wounded corpse of the soldier, it communicates the idea of the never-reached aspiration to a divine unity to the reality of the wounded corpse and the wounded nation, as a heterotopia.

5.7.5 Representational Spaces

“I was born and I have always lived in a country on war” (El Corazón)

El Corazón was first screened in Latin America in Docs Buenos Aires. It won the prize for the best documentary in Atlantidoc, Uruguay (Proimágenes, 2011). In Europe the documentary was launched in Rencontres du Cinéma d’Amérique Latine in Toulouse, France in 2007 (García-Moreno, 2009)

When I first started to work with symbols, I was trying to express that in a war age there are things that cannot be heard by the pressure of the bomb

explosion. This reflection arrived after I came back to the country with the documentary filmmaker, Catalina Villar and one French filmmaker. We were working in *El Espectador* (one of the main national daily newspapers in Colombia). We came back to Europe and we realised that there was a demand of storytelling related to a function that was given to a particular territory. What do you produce? Then documentary production was related with things that were produced. We were producing violence. We were producing drug dealers and so on. However, there were different ways of reading this reality. (D. García-Moreno, January 18, 2011, personal communication, Bogotá).

Obviously, humor is rarely associated with documentary representation of the tragedy of the armed conflict in Colombia. Nevertheless, in this documentary, the national screening of the documentary replicates the narrative space trying to connect with popular audiences. *El Corazón* was the first full length documentary film screened simultaneously at 150 theatres all over the national territory. (El Tiempo, 2007). Usually, documentaries directed by García-Moreno are selected for the national opening at the International Documentary Film Festival in Colombia. For instance, *El Corazón* (Pantalla Colombia, 2006) and *Por qué llora si ya reí* (Why Did you Dry?) (Chaparro, 2010), both had their premiere during the International Documentary Film Festival (MID, 2014). Due to the long trajectory of the director and its connection with official institutions of documentary film such as Alados and Ministerio de Cultura; in some sense, the documentaries are also at the core of national divulgation of Independent documentaries, consolidating certain canons of the author's documentary in Colombia.

El Corazón, as an author's work is an expression common to several Colombian artists, that have obsessively representing the war.

"I have been always living in the middle of the conflict, in a country 'supplied' with different types of war" (...) Even I have never had to escape at night with all my belongings packed in a small plastic bag to runaway between the crops escaping from the bullets, I had to leave the country and

live a painful exile when panic has reached my family. Despite I have never had to spend a month as a refugee in a stadium or a camp in Urabá or el Atrato, I have visited their desolated towns with my camera to tell others about their sadness. Destiny has kept me in the suburbs of noise. And even if I am part of what can be so-called the *petite-bourgeoisie* that can avoid the war, I am a peripheral victim of it; just as many Colombians that seem to get used to live with its howl. (García-Moreno, 2006).

The war then unveils its double face, as a human tragedy and as a creative dispositive communicated through a distant gaze. From this point of view, the author's documentary is a contradictory space, a heterotopia, in which the distance between those who suffer and those observing their consequences becomes evident.

5.8 Pequeñas Voces (*Little Voices*) 2003-2010 "Realandimagined" worlds



33 Pequeñas Voces. Pictures: Black Velvet

Pictures: Pequeñas Voces/ Biennale 2010

5.8.1. Justification

Little Voices is an example of the representation of a real-and-imagined place (Soja, 1996) Through children's drawings telling their experience of the armed conflict, it rebuilds the loss of an idyllic countryside. It is the first animated documentary made in 3D. Pequeñas Voces is a clear example of a type of transnational filmmaking that was looking for commercial and universal narratives to tell the stories of the armed conflict.

5.8.2 Director's Bio

Jairo Carrillo studied social communication at Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá, he earned a Master Degree in animation at London Guildhall University and is a Fulbright scholar in film production at Columbia University. He has been a lecturer in animation at universities and schools in UK. His career started in Colombia when he was an assistant director in fiction television series and he was also co-director of Harold Trompetero's two fiction comedy films. His long term project *Pequeñas Voces* (Little Voices) is a short documentary (2003) and a full length movie (2010). The second part of the project was a co-direction with Oscar Andrade, a professional animator in Colombia that owns the production house Jaguar. (Proimagenes, 2011)

5.8.3 Spatial Media Practice



34 *Pequeñas Voces*, Location map

Pequeñas Voces (Little Voices) is the first full-length animated documentary about the armed conflict in Colombia. Originally conceived as the Short Film with

the same title, it is a long project that lasted almost ten years. It was recorded at the building of the International Red Cross in the north of Bogotá, one of the wealthier sectors of the city. Almost 1,000 people took the building and after one year, 250 people were still living there (Pinilla, 2000). Some of the interviews were conducted during this siege, with the children who were playing outside the building. The first part of the project, the short film (2003), was edited in United Kingdom:

You realise when you leave the country that Colombia lives a sort of schizophrenia. One says Colombia is like a sick country. There are many problems, but when one is living there, one is so immersed on their own role that did not realise how bad we are as a society. Then one starts missing Colombia and that is why I wanted to do something. This was my idea. The film was almost completely made in UK: I recorded the audio and after I traveled back with the material. It was a coincidence because the displaced people took the Red Cross building when I was on vacation in Bogota, but I was living in London. When I heard about it, I just had the idea, then bought some pencils and that's it. (Carrillo, New York, Personal communication, December 14, 2013).

Once the short film was edited, the director returned to Colombia to develop the project as a full length film project. A team conducted the second part of the interviews in 2003. In the end, the project was based on 120 interviews from which he finally selected five stories that occur in the Southern and Eastern region of the country and ends with the encounter of the children in Bogotá.

At the beginning it was a problem for me because in the full length movie the animation shows a nice neighborhood, and the children even have their own bed. But truly, when the children arrive, they used to sleep with their parents because they only have one room. (J. Carrillo, December 14, 2013, New York, personal communication).

There is a meaningful difference between the characters that participate in the short and the full length film, because in the latest, in search of certain neutrality they decided to include, not only testimonies of the children that were victims of the

violence, but also of the children that had participated directly in the war, those who were enrolled in the illegal armed actors.

I think that to fully comprehend the armed conflict it is necessary to understand the victimizers as well, the children that have participated in the conflict. Then I think that the full length film is more complete because it understands both perspectives (...) The most relevant is that the children gave us a new vision of the war, without ideological filters, because a child of seven or eight years, when hearing about Marxism or Capitalism, does not understand anything, if he hear about this, it is just a *bla, bla, bla* for them (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

The heteropia in this documentary is illusory, is a “space of play” because every story is filtered through the drawings of the children, who witnessed a tragedy that affected their families. The stories correspond to different voices of the original children’s testimonies. In the short film there is no intervention from an external point of view and every story is conveyed by the impressions of the children. The short film tells the story of four different towns, with a precise location. On the contrary, in the full length film the story is unified to be more dramatic. In search of unity the directors used the chronotope of the encounter, an imaginary situation located in a real place: the small town of San Luis del Guaviare “Familiarly known as *Pueblo Arrecho* (Mad Town) (Pequeñas Voces, 2003). In this encounter, located in the public space of the town, all the children play together.

At the narrative level I needed a space where everything was visible to create a sensation of community, but in real life the children did not meet each other. The story was true, but everything is imaginary because in real life they were playing soccer in the school and in the film they are playing in the field of San Jose’s neighborhood, but, of course, the construction of the space is fictional. (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

In the documentary, the idea of a spatial media practice is determined by the selection of the interviews. It means that the production of heterotopias comes from

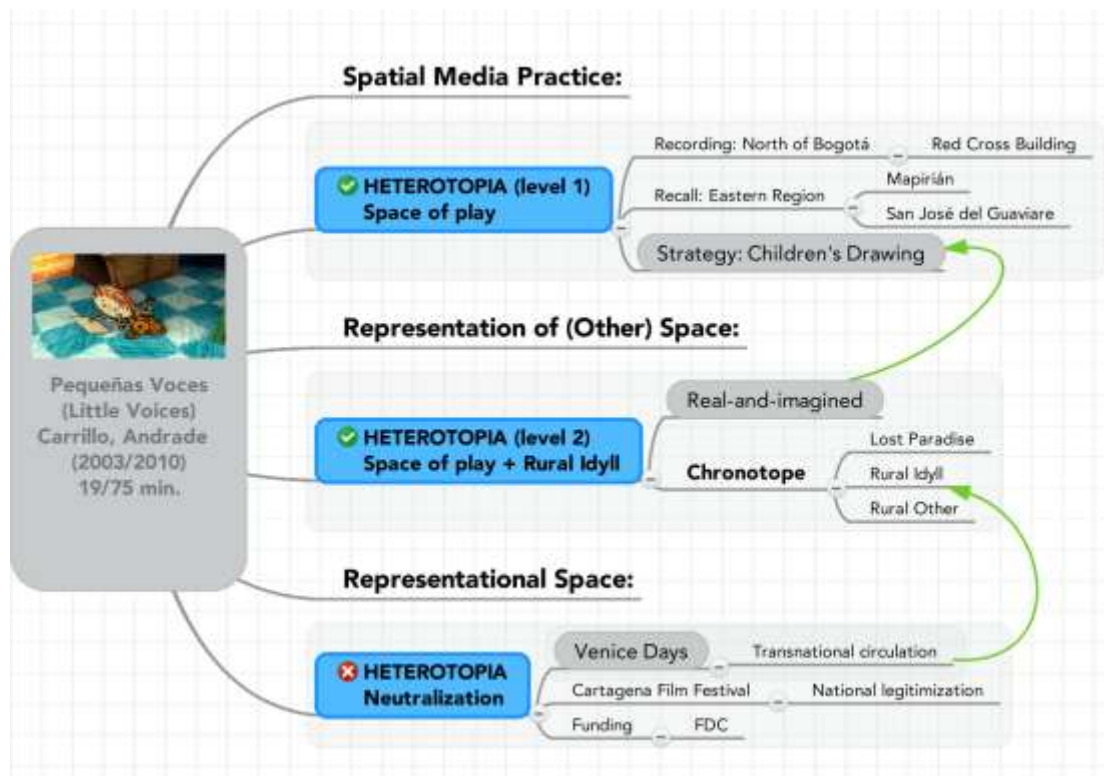
different memories attached to particular rural spaces. The narrative construction, however, remains based on classical temporal logics.

I selected five stories in the beginning, because they seem stronger and dramatically interesting. All the scriptwriting was based on how to link these stories. We did it in different stages: The time before the conflict, when there was only happiness; after the forced displacement, and finally, the arrival to Bogotá. But the full length film was not based on spatial logic (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

To summarise, in this documentary, the access to the space of memory is built upon the testimonies, using the strategy of drawing. The filmmaker enters into a real-and-imagined place with the children telling traumatic memories and recalling the images of the conflict in the rural region. Finally the space is rebuilt, transformed and reunified through the chronotope of the encounter. This is particularly visible in the difference between the short and the full length film. In the memories of children the heterotopia transforms in the utopia of an idyllic countryside that existed before the violence.

5.8.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. Little Voices is an animated documentary based on interviews and drawings of a new generation of displaced children (eight to thirteen years old) who have grown up in the middle of violence and chaos in Colombia. The interviews show how they perceive their reality. The stories have been illustrated and animated based on the original drawings of the children. “We have to hear children who have become guerrilla fighters or paramilitary fighters to understand that they choose this path because society doesn’t offer any other options”. (Venice Days, 2010)



35 Pequeñas Voces, Heterotopias

The chronotope of the encounter was decisive to build the narrative space from the different voices recording between children displaced from different regions: “The children did not know each other, it was impossible. But we wanted to build a symbolic place of meeting in the film”. (Carrillo, New York, Personal communication, 2013).

The places depicted in the film are houses (exterior and interior), a farm, a bus, and a river. It is precisely in these rural places that the transformation of spaces into “landscapes of fear” (Oslender, 2008) became explicit and the abrupt changes in daily practices are expressed. For instance, in the search of roads to escape from the threats of the armed groups, the bus takes the children far away from home, and from this other space, they can still hear the dogs barking. This sound becomes a metaphor for the faraway place that places of violence are for their former inhabitants.

There is a nostalgic portrait of this equilibrium with their old land. It is shown as a nice place that existed before the armed groups arrived to transform the zone into

a space of terror. This nostalgic feeling is reinforced by the sound effects that refer to an idyllic countryside. The animals, the river, and the soundtrack comprising songs from the region are reflecting the traditional chronotope of the idyll linked to agriculture labour (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 227):

I think that the memory idealised the past and I was very impressed by the children's remembrance of the animals and the water. They talked so much about the river. The water was something that they really enjoyed. The food as well, especially because they arrived to the city, a place where the food is not abundant and they cannot buy supplies. In the countryside the food is not a problem because you take a fruit and just eat. But here, they have to pay for the fruit. And this is truly like the lost of the paradise. It was very traumatic for them. (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

This idealisation of the inhabitants of the countryside is also a counterpoint of the "geographies of terror". In the documentary the "landscape of fear" that seems to be "engraved in the mind of many citizens" (Oslender, 2008) after years of violence is amplified as a narrative strategy.

I think that one does it dramatically. One manipulates dramatically the clash to make it stronger. It goes from the contemplation of happiness to lose it everything, because one is trying to tell a story. I know more about this now that I am studying scriptwriting. The heroes of the movie are the children. They arrive, they lose everything, they have to confront forced displacement, and that is what one is unconsciously looking for. (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

The breaking of the idyllic space is produced by all the actors of the armed conflict. On one side, a 'spectacular' war is represented with the sound and presence of helicopters and US. Airplanes, which terrorising the country side and, on the other side, it is a more proximate war of guerrillas, paramilitaries, soldiers, and weapons that are expelling real people and breaking families. The metaphor of "sowing terror" expressed by one of the children in the movie is precisely attaching the place with

memories and trauma produced by all the actors of the armed conflict and showing the development of a gradually increasing war.

The war does not happen from one moment to the other. It is constantly increasing. The children in the countryside are there, quiet, waiting that never happens. But one day... inevitably the whirl arrives to them. (J. Carrillo, personal communication, December, 14, 2013, New York.).

No matter how tragic the reality is, in both stories (the short and the full length film) the children do not present themselves as victims; they seem more interested in composing a narrative of adventures that can be meaningful for their listeners. Regardless of the tragic facts, they seem to make an effort to explain situations in detail and even to be funny.

In the short film, the decision was to alternate the original drawings with the aesthetics of a naïve video game refers to the discourse of the war game of the children and reinforces the sensation of the creation of an unreal space. What is visible here is that war is also perceived as a game with real consequences, “cool but frightening,” as affirmed by one of the voices in this documentary. In the full length film, this aesthetic is transformed in a more dramatic war with the sound of a helicopter which becomes a *leit-motif* of terror and fascination at the same time. Regardless of the real consequences of war, it still seems to be perceived as a dangerous game:

And we ran away towards the town, but it was a hill in Meta, a difficult one. And it sounded *rumm tatatatata*. And the helicopter! First the smoke, after the big sound and finally you could see the helicopter. We saw it, the helicopter turns around us and fum *tratatatata*. You could see the fire in the ground. The other day that we were sleeping the airplanes that US. sent to Colombia arrived and they started to shoot around, *tatata*. You see that is like sparks. Cool, but frightening...” (*Pequeñas Voces*, documentary, 2003)

The video, using the interface of an animated documentary, seems to generate strategies for resistance that are present in the complicity between the filmmaker and the children.

In the end there is an escape to the world of fantasy, that in certain way is avoiding the geographies of terror, by producing a sort of imaginary space. It can be better explained as a ‘real-and-imagined’ place (Soja, 1996) because still has roots in what occurred in their towns of origins. While they are drawing their stories there seems to be a cathartic effect through the performance of a tragic reality. They integrate their memories as part of their everyday live as refugees. However this points out to the construction of a romantic country side that from the children’s imagination, represents the structures of a more universal narrative.

5.8.5 Representational space

Pequeñas Voces was screened in more than thirty international film festivals around the world; in fact, their press offices presented it as “The chorus of Little Voices around the world” (Laboratorios Black Velvet, 2010, p. 22). The 5th September 2010 the full length film was launched at the 67 Venice International Film Festival in the special session Venice Days (La Biennale, 2010) and it was screened as well in the IDFA Documentary Film Festival, 2010 in Amsterdam (IDFA, 2010). For the directors, the initial international attention was considered a big success.

We are in the selection competing by the Future’s Lion with all the other film categories, but just being here made us happy. Arrive here... what I feel is like having a graduated child that went to Harvard! We expect nothing more, we are just enjoying the effort of seven years. (W Radio, 2010)

The full length movie was supported by FDC but also obtained support from two European film festivals: Göteborg (Sweden) and Jan Vrijmann (Netherlands) and the American Gucci Tribeca Film Fund (Proimagenes, 2010). Even before, the project with the working title “Born Under Fire” had obtained divulgation at international media such as NPR in the US (Stewart, 2007). Produced as the first 3D animation film of Colombia (Laboratorios Black Velvet, 2010) in terms of production it is probably the most

transnational film in terms of support and screening, paradoxically this success did not correspond with the public's support in Colombia.

The documentary had a relative success for an independent movie in film festivals but Colombia did not watch it. I really did not make the movie for the foreign public but for the Colombian people. I wanted to encourage a reflection, but Colombians seems not to be interested. I mean, perhaps they are not wrong, maybe is me, because I am trying to show some situations that the country does not want to watch. I think that it awoke the interest of the national journalist, especially in news paper and there is certain acknowledge, but not by the great public. Besides who read newspapers in Colombia?, only a small percentage of the population. (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

The case of *Pequeñas Voces*, is different from other documentaries of the armed conflict, not only because it is an animation film but due to the distance with the community from which it was made. The contact with the children that have participated in the movie was ephemeral. In part due to the long time between the first interview and the use of the material for the full length film.

You can interview one kid today, as we did in the Red Cross building, and tomorrow he could not be there anymore, because they had great mobility. In those years they did not have mobile phones, so, keep in touch with the children was almost impossible. As displaced population, they are people that is moving all the time and in their circumstances one not even know if they have the same name, because who knows, they could be escaping or in a complicated inner process.

But also to the idea of who is going to consume film products, which is finally the distance between the urban educated class and people from the countryside affected by the violence. This distance enters in contradiction with the need to produce a wider reflection on the topics of the armed conflict.

It is not a documentary for this medium (social class). A displaced person would not probably go to see it, because is people that has not studied in the university, and they are not interested. Then, it is difficult to reach them. I don't think that I have received any notification afterwards. I would be very interesting to see what happen with those children. (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

The most remarkable aspect in the interview is that the condition of displaced people shows the distance between urban citizen and those "other rurals" (Philo, 1997, p. 19) that arrived to the city expelled by the violence of the countryside, those human beings that at the moment of being interviewed did not have access to basic media:

They did not have telephone, email, or even an address. There were not place to come back to them. (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

When a documentary filmmaker 'crosses the bridge' and establishes a closer relationship with a group of displaced people, there is a certain communication, but it is ephemeral. They listen, meet each other, they feel empathy hearing other stories. They create a heterotopia where, for a moment they seem to inhabit the same space of the storytelling. However, the reality in the documentary screening shows that the participants and the documentary filmmakers are not part of the same system of 'modern' communication. The displaced people can be visible in audiovisual media; meanwhile they remain ignored in political life. In the news they are numbers, figures, video cover images, but you never listen to their stories. "Is another medium" (J. Carrillo, December, 14, 2013, personal communication, New York).

5.9 *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte (How Am I Going to Forget You) 2002 Video-letters to the jungle*



36*Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*, Pictures: RCN

5.9.1 Justification

In this documentary the journalist use the figure of the messenger that recording video letters produces a mediation between the private space of the family in his apartment in the city and the kidnapped that is in an undetermined place in the eastern jungle of Colombia.

5.9.2 Director's Bio

Jorge Enrique Botero is a journalist born in Bogotá. He was director of information at the television public channel Telesur in Venezuela (2005-2013) and director of informative programs at the private channel Caracol Televisión (2000) in Colombia. He was also a news television presenter and reporter at the daily television news AM-PM. He studied journalism at the prestigious high school Gimnasio Moderno in Bogotá. As a journalist and activist, he was one of the members of the humanitarian commission to establish a dialogue between the revolutionary group FARC and the government and has been invited to international universities. His position generated great polemics with Alvaro Uribe's Government that accused him of promoting a terrorist group (El Espectador, 2009) but at the same time, he is one of the journalists who has gained more access to the territories dominated by the guerrilla FARC. He is a frequent collaborator as a freelancer with Radio Netherland International and has covered the story of Tanja, known as 'the guerrilla girl'.

5.9.3 Spatial Media Practice



37 *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*, Location map

Cómo Voy a Olvidarte (*How Am I Going to Forget You*) started with archival video footage recorded at 5 a.m. during the siege of the police station in *Mitú*, the capital of the municipality of Vaupés, at the Eastern part of Colombia. The combat that the journalist did not directly recorded, but always wanted to record, following the argument that the war has to be shown to society, has a dramatic story behind:

I think that we have to look at it (the war). I have to confess that I always wanted to record combat images. However, there are tremendous stories, like the woman in *Mitú*'s siege, in which there are many images. Most of them were recorded by this guerrilla girl who was there with the camera. She was shot. The person who was next to her when this happened told me that the girl felt down and the camera was on, recording the grass. But well, if nothing ventured. (J. E. Botero, December, 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

This testimony shows how media practices of war journalism covering participants in the armed conflict are connected to personal risk, but also to drama and spectacle. On the other hand, the journalists have to implement strategies to be able to enter and build a trust bond with their subjects in order to tell their stories. Just like the independent documentary filmmakers that have been interviewed before. The difference, in this case, is the recording in much more remote zones of the guerrilla's camps holding's kidnapped hostages. Botero's case is very particular in Colombia because he is one of the few journalists who have obtained access to record images of the guerrilla's deep war spaces. This situation gave visibility to the armed conflict from a rare point of view. It generated a strong opposition of Álvaro Uribe's Government that disqualified the journalist as a guerrilla supporter. (El Espectador, 2009).

Cómo Voy a Olvidarte (How Am I Going to Forget You) was recorded in the house of Colonel Mendieta's family in Bogotá and in the FARC's guerrilla camp in an unknown region of the eastern Colombian jungle where the Colonel was kidnapped. The opposition between the urban/rural spaces showed in the form of video-letters is a concrete manifestation of the will to reduce the distance between the city and the jungle, between the places of peace and the heterotopias of war, distant in the same national territory. The most important point here is that through the video letters, the documentary produces another space, a representation of a heterotopia that opens and closes allowing the communication and the generation of emotion in the characters when the physical distance is bridged by the space of communication performed by the documentary filmmaker.

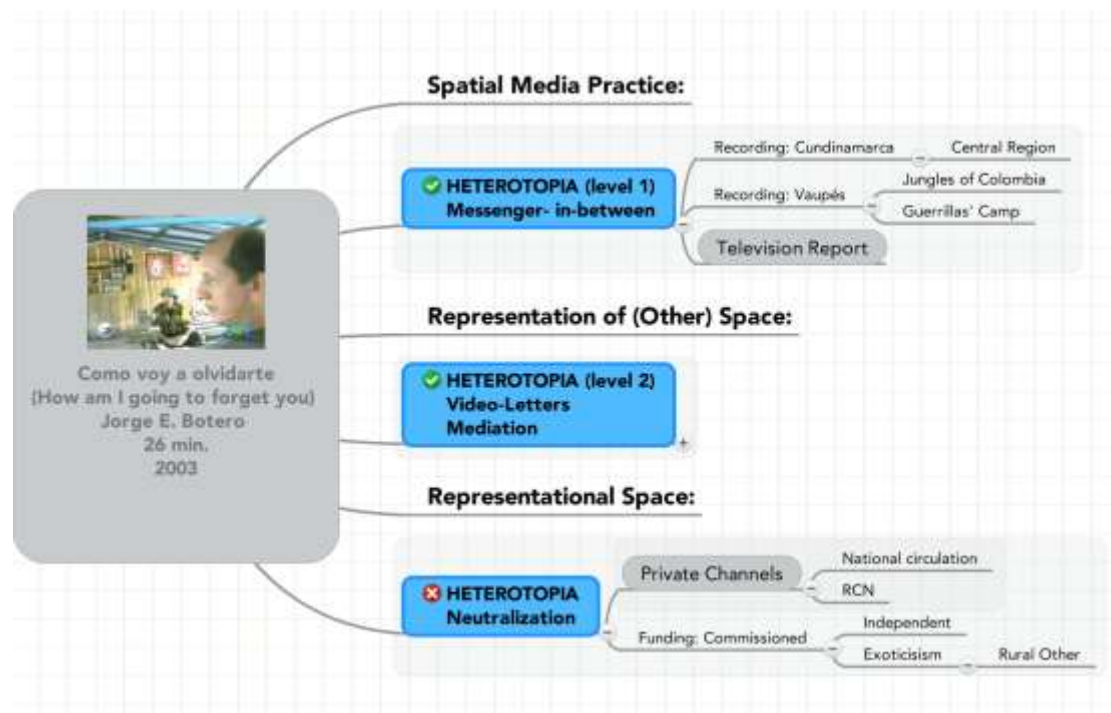
In this documentary the Spatial Media Practice is closely connected with the representation of space due to the journalist's use of the convention of a narrative strategy (video letters). One of the interventions is explicit when he talks out of shot, to the daughter of the Colonel: "It is time to send a message to your father. He is there, in front of you, what do you want to tell him?". (Botero in *How Am I Going to Forget You*, min. 13.36) When the daughter starts to talk directly to the camera, sending a message to his father, even if the record occurs distant in time and space,

the other space of mediation became real in front of the camera, not only as a narrative strategy, but as a different space of emotions, that emerges due to the uses of technology.

The kidnapping was a long and painful process that lasted twelve years from November 1998 until March 2008 when the officer was finally rescued by the Colombian army, despite to his own opposition to a military rescue. In the course of the kidnapping, other two documentaries with the participation of Colonel Mendieta were recorded, directed and co-directed by the filmmaker respectively: *Bacano Salir en Diciembre* (2004) (*It Would be Good to Go Out in December*) and *Held Hostage*, (CBS, 2003). Both documentaries also involved entering unknown spaces in the eastern region where the guerillas held their war prisoners. They also have used the dispositive of video letters. To sum up, this strategy is not only a narrative technique but in terms of the spatial media practices, interrogated in this work, it has allowed the journalist the access to the guerrilla camps, and to the build of a heterotopia through communication technology.

5.9.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. Broadcasted at RCN Television Channel the work *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte* directed by the journalist Jorge Enrique Botero tells the human and social tragedy of the war and the armed conflict in Colombia through the dramatic story of the family of Colonel Luis Mendieta, kidnapped by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) in the Mitú siege on the 1st of November 1998. (FNPI, 2010)



38 *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*, Heterotopias

Cómo Voy a Olvidarte tells the story of a long and uncertain period of waiting. Colonel Mendieta, a member of the police force, was kidnapped when guerrillas took over the police station of *Mitú* in the eastern region of Colombia in 1998. When the army officer was interviewed for the documentary, he had been held hostage for three years in the Colombian jungle and his family was asking for his liberation and fighting against oblivion.

I will focus here on the relationship between the two main spaces depicted in the documentary: the guerrillas' camp and the home of Colonel Mendieta's family in Bogotá. The camera works as a bridge that, using the narrative dispositive of the letters, builds communication between two distant places. There are complementary testimonies of the family and the Colonel, but the narrative thread is sustained in the dialogue produced between letters through a parallel montage that opens an 'other-space' as a strategy of resistance.

When the video letter is screened, it creates an "illusion of reality" (Goulemont, 2001) and this is a sort of chronotope that intervenes between time and

space. In the documentary, the chronotope of the epistolary relation is public and the emotion of an epistolary relationship is communicated to the public as a melodrama.

One of the main characteristics in this work is the use of popular music. The ‘bolero’ song “*Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*” is a *leitmotif* during the documentary. Sung by the colonel’s wife, the song works as a powerful tool of communication through the dispositive of melodrama. As the song has common referents for the couple, when the video letter of his wife singing the bolero is projected on the guerrilla camp, the colonel sings ‘at the same time’ in an improvised chorus. The video-letters, even if are not simultaneous communication, creates an ‘other-space’ within the documentary that transforms the real life that is being recorded. The video fragment stops suddenly, but the colonel, keeps singing, and it produces the sensation of an empty space that breaks the illusion and unveils the real distance between the people, one enclosed in the jungle and the other waiting for his liberation from home. The scene is closed in a montage with a shared screen between two shots of the colonel and his wife smiling.

I have tried to incorporate a drama and conflict to the story. I have been trying to use non conventional narrative techniques of documentary, because I think that one invents very little in the pictures. But in the aspect of telling life stories, the example that I mentioned from Mendieta, which is almost ‘putting the finger on the wound’. Being one month with the family and recording to the camera helps to awake feelings in the audience. The story is fluid, very close to a drama, where a conflict can be taken to its narrative climax. Let’s say that this has been the author’s touch that I wanted to print in the story. The editor’s have been of great help because I have always looking for editors very stick to this narrative style and sensibility. (J. E. Botero, December, 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

The presence of the guerrilla watcher in a very long shot is in almost every one of Colonel Mendieta’s testimonies; who, in the end, sends a message to the country in opposition to oblivion. The dialogic presence of the letters opens this ‘other-space’ that allows the communication between the city and the jungle and also becomes a strategy for resistance (Oslender, 2004).

Here, in the jungle, when one is kidnapped, is from a different world, it does not belong to the family. One suffers a complete indifference. For the family we think that we are alive, but for the rest of the society we are forgotten. (*Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*, 2003)

The two main spaces in the documentary are separated by fade-outs. The space of the house, where the last video communication is received for Christmas, shows the whole family listening to the message. A second fade-out occurs and the final scene shows Colonel Mendieta leaving the main guerrilla camp. He thanks the guard and returns to his prison in the Colombian jungle.

The figure of the messenger, through the strategy of video-letters, guarantees his own access to the zone, *la mata*, (the bush), as the guerrillas used to call the place in the rural zone where there are no other inhabitants except for them. It is an inaccessible place for any other journalist. The figure of the messenger is not only the possibility of entrance but the connection between two different worlds. He has to bring messages back and forth and in doing so the video-letters as the materialisation of the messenger produces the heterotopia.

5.9.5 Representational Spaces

An in-depth coverage of the armed conflict in Colombia has not been the rule in Colombian audiovisual commercial media. Even if the invisibility of rural zones is not a new phenomenon, the invisibilities of the zones increased during the democratic security policy, in part due to the will of the government to neglect the existence of an *internal armed conflict* and to translate the discourse to a “terrorist threat” (Restrepo-Ramírez, 2007). Editorial strategies of private television channels tended to align with the governmental vision due to common interests between private enterprise and the government, (La Silla Vacía, 2010) or misinformed (Lopez-De la Roché, 2005, p. 29) hidden other voices and reducing very much the space for critical visions.

The collective euphoria generated by the arrival to the power of Uribe and the idea that they sold us very well through the media to the whole society. That the enemy could be totally exterminated by the military way, be defeated on

the battle field. The consequence was that any voice that aware about other possibility or that transmits the opinion; the point of view of the other side of the conflict was totally silenced. It was part of the strategy. If they were selling to the Colombian society the possibility of defeating the adversary, they were not going to open the microphones to them. Besides it was editorially supported by media. I do not have any doubt, because I was myself in charge of television reports programs. (J. E. Botero, December, 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

According to Botero, two factors had influenced the invisibilization of the armed conflict during democratic security period: First, the fact that they were explicit recommendations to the media about covering of the vocabulary of the armed conflict; second, the access to armed conflict zones; military enclosed, but at the same time of exclusive access of some private television news.

The images that arrive of what was happening in the armed conflict zones, were mainly (produced by) a guy that arrived on an army helicopter at the morning, dressed in suit and tie. He got off, untied the tie, in front of the helicopter, the camera man record six or seven shots, made a cadaver's take. At night he was in the news, and that's it, we just had covered the war. Let's say that this was the constant during several years. (J. E. Botero, December, 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

Botero has reported the Colombian war zones since 1995 and many of their works have been broadcasted in national and transnational television: *En el verde mar del olvido* (1998), *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte* (broadcasted by RCN, 2002), *Bacano Salir en diciembre* (RCN, 2004), *Held Hostage* (CBS), *Antes de la tormenta*, 2010 (last interview with the Mono Jojoy that was killed one month after this recording), *Caquetá*, *Vencer o Morir* (about Tanja Nyemayer). This work shows that there has not been a direct censorship and some of these documentaries have been broadcasted by private channels; however the government's accusation against the journalist as terrorist shows that there is no possibility to listen to other voices or to open other

spaces for the debate around the rural zones where the consequences of the armed conflict were taking place.

In this context, the explicit opening of the other space (the images of the FARC camps) was risky and implies sinuous strategies of censorship:

Of course, here it came the horrible night of the stigmatization, Uribe told us to Hollman (Morris) and me that we were promoters of terrorism and that we were making an apology and FARC propaganda. The work was more difficult since then. (J. E. Botero, December, 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

Cómo Voy a Olvidarte is the first of his works that deeply covered the Colombian armed conflict in territories dominated by the FARC. It was ‘officially’ recognized as a documentary, when it was screened at the MID (International Documentary Film Festival in Bogotá). This work started when Botero finished the production of the documentary *En el Verde Mar del Olvido* (In the Green Ocean of Oblivion) interviewing the political prisoners kidnapped by the FARC. The images of prisoners detained in the military camps in the middle of the jungle, had been never shown before in Colombia. This documentary was auto-censored by its own production channel, Caracol. The disagreement ended with the resignation of the journalist who was the director of an informative space on this private channel at the moment.

The work was re-edited as a thirty minute report, an independent production that was finally broadcasted by the private television channel RCN in the late informative space *La Noche*. Internationally it was broadcasted by TV3, the public channel of Catalonia. It was one of the official selections in Biarritz and won a journalism prize from FNPI from the Gabriel Garcia Márquez Foundation.

The documentary, conceived as a tribute to victims of the war in Colombia, showed images of the guerrilla camps that were never depicted before. Colonel Mendieta was held hostage by the guerrillas for twelve years, until July 2011. In the beginning, when the filmmaker offered the documentary to the main private channels in the country, their first reaction was to say: “Mmm, very interesting, but where is the novelty?” (Semana, 2003)

There are few images of the armed conflict in those years, and they were recorded due to the liberation of the people kidnapped by the FARC. The first were captured by Venezuela's television, and there are few guerrilla combatants in there, but after Hollman and I entered the territory the guerrilla members were more visible. The power of the image, of being in situ was incredible. During seven years they invisibilized the adversary. They said that the armed conflict does not exist. And when the many guerrilla soldiers start to appear again, all of them using uniform, athletics, 1,78 meters high, and pretty girls; the people was surprised, and the editorials started to ask if it was not true that they were defeated. The strategy of invisibilization was reversed almost in three chapters. (J. E. Botero, December, 14, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá).

From the documentaries analysed here, this reflects the deepest access to the 'prohibited' zones of the guerrilla camps in the eastern part of Colombia. This work shows that there is another representation that has been ignored by the news because it does not reflect the government's official position. The project of the video letters continued with the collective portrait of the kidnapped soldiers *Bacano Salir en Diciembre* that address more directly the question to the government for the possibility of a humanitarian rescue.

In conclusion, the invisibility of the armed conflict is incomplete precisely due to unpredictable media logics. In this case, when one private channel rejected the broadcast, the competence broadcasted the report. This dynamic made it possible that the television channel that tends to support the governmental point of view, broadcasted *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*. In addition, the archival images of the guerrilla camps depicted in these works have been retaken by several documentary films to show the internal dynamics and remote zones of the armed conflict. This shows also that the in-depth access to war zones of the armed conflict depends of the power of networks initially build through informative media.

5.10 *Comunidades de Paz (Peace Communities) 2003. Tragic returns*



39 *Comunidades de Paz*, Pictures: Cominit TV

5.10.1 Justification

Peace Communities was one of the first documentaries produced during the period of the democratic security policy. The work shows how access in the first part of the period, at the beginning of the 2000 decade was very much attached to institutions such as NGOs linked to international cooperation. For security reasons, very few independent documentary filmmakers went into the armed conflict zones.

5.10.2 Director's Bio

Colbert García was born in Cali. He studied film in the Latin American School founded by García Márquez in San Antonio de los Baños, Cuba and also studied actors direction in Argentina. For the last fifteen years he has been the director and owner of the independent production house *Ocho y Medios Producciones*. He has directed projects for public television usually linked to NGO and Governmental projects. He was assistant director of the documentary *War Takes* produced for ZDF in German and his last project was the full length fictional film *Silencio en el paraíso*, (*Silence in paradise*), 2012; about the body counts as false war casualties known as “falsos positivos”. (Proimagenes, 2010)

5.10.3 Spatial Media Practice



40 Comunidades de Paz, Location map

Comunidades de Paz (Peace Communities) is centred on the Peace Community of Rio Ciego and Villa Hermosa where the return of a group of forcibly displaced people took place. The documentary was recorded in the Uraba's Gulf Region between the municipalities of Antioquia and Chocó at the border with Panamá. The recording team went four hours by boat from Apartadó and Turbo through the Atrato River. The access to the zone was possible with the company of a Spanish NGO's and the Catholic Church that with institutions such as Cinep is present in the zone, the director worked before with Cinep institution since his first documentary.

The first time I recorded an armed conflict documentary work it was an Indigenous demonstration in Cauca...The same old problem. Until this problem remains unsolved in this country we will be in an endless war. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Peace Communities was recorded from 1993-2003. It started before the democratic security policy, during Andres Pastrana's Government, and lasted until the first year of the Álvaro Uribe's Government. During the period of recording, some communal leaders were assassinated in the context of the break down of the peace dialogues between the guerrillas and the government that caused a lot of instability. But *Peace Communities* is not a short-term work, the NGO documentary is part of a longer trajectory of commissioned television works that the director has recorded around the topic of forced displacement produced by the armed conflict in Colombia.

I made around three more productions with forced displaced. It was a moment in which I was only dedicated to forced displacement because I was involved with the communities. *Peace Communities* is focus in Pavarandó, there were different zones of *Peace Communities*. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

It is precisely the access through the recognised institutions which allows the filmmaker to move in places located in Urabá, a zone that has historically been marked by the violence, a zone in which heterotopia can express the idea of a "segregated place" (Burdett, 2000).

In *Peace Communities* we were with the Catholic Church, the Cinep and International NGO's then the covering was, let's say strong and secure. Anyway, due to the terrain conditions one has to move three hours that were in really insecure terrain by the river and by difficult trails. I went to the displaced people camp and then I made all the way back to their original land. The covering was made following the route of displacement. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

The institutions provide certain security guarantees to work in rural territories, but according to the director access to armed conflict zones is not restricted for other filmmakers. He affirms that even if one does not have institutional or community support, he still could access the territory; but in these cases, the real situation could

not be revealed. The access to the heterotopia depends also of the position of the journalist within the media landscape. His testimony also points out to an unequal distribution of power in which the difference between national and regional journalists is an important factor of security and therefore determines the possibilities of storytelling on armed conflict zones. On the one hand are the national journalists, usually well known or supported by recognised institutions. On the other hand are the regional journalists, those who have to stay in the zone after the coverage. All of them have to observe basic security rules, but the regional journalist seems to be more conditioned by the territory in which they live.

One has to have basic secure conditions, for instance never record at night. It is risky but if you have adequate contacts and are familiarised with certain patterns of behaviour of the armed actors, I think that one arrives and, in general, they respect. I think that rarely has been heard in Colombia that someone that is doing a documentary has been killed. They (national journalists) have in general more guarantees than, for instance, regional journalism, because it is not the same to kill some unknown journalist of a small town that a very well known journalist. But even if you enter the terrain alone and nothing happens to you, you could go out without a story, one has to be clear how to enter the zone and who is going to facilitate things. Some people can even 'invent' the documentary, telling that nothing happened due to the fear that they have to reveal things. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogota)

A second factor, regarding the possibility of documentary filmmakers to access the rural heterotopias is the temporal distance between the documentary and the news or report which makes the portrayal of the war safer for the documentary filmmaker that in this case is distant from the more immediate figure of the war reporter. The breaking news can be more complicated, but a documentary can be usually broadcasted from one year of the recording, and perhaps what happened is not so important then.

The security of the zone determining the spaces of recording is an issue that is very present when travelling in armed conflict zones; but in this case, more than the place, the security was determined by the moment in which the recording took place.

If it is late, for example record late in the afternoon could be complicated. For instance, one day we were coming back by the Atrato River and it was twilight, and with this light, of course, one camera seems a gun. One learns. I take care of it now. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Sometimes they have to ask permission to the armed actors to enter in determined zones, but according to this director, in the case of the documentary *Peace Communities*, it was uncommon because the surveillance system of who can remain in the zone was not explicit but veiled by subtle strategies such as the infiltrates.

In this case, we did not ask permission to the armed actors, because precisely we were trying to delimit territories, to make that the people, the communities, were not involved with them. But I knew that in a camp of 4,000 people, obviously there were guerrilla and paramilitary informants. They knew what we were doing, for sure. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

A factor to highlight in this case when talking about the spatial media practice in the armed conflict documentaries is that the war is conceived as a predominantly male territory. Here resonates the idea of heterotopia as a paradoxical space (Rose, 1993). The producer's role frequently being performed by a woman in the city seems inadequate to record in rural 'red zones':

When you go to record in the zone I prefer to go there without a producer. I love to work with women, but the role of the female producer is not the same that here in Bogotá, where she can talk to everybody and get things done. In the armed conflict zones one must have certain sense and a particular way to

behave in front of these guys. And this not so easy... You have to read their faces, know what they are talking about, what can be said or not. I mean, it is not simple, it requires very different security skills. It is a different way of moving in the zone. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

In certain situations, the interventions are direct such the prohibitions of recording, which are not very common, or ‘friendly chats’ in which, for instance, the leaders of the armed groups want to know more about the project or just wanted to talk with the director.

One day a commandant called me, but it was more a political talk that let’s say of authorisation to work or not. I think that he was more interesting in having a conversation, because sometimes they have nothing to do. In other zone, in Calamar, Guaviare, a very complicated zone; the commandant did not allow me to record and I had to be there three days without being able to turn on the camera. But *Peace Communities* was different because I did not talk to the guerrillas. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

When the director is asked if the situation is the same, he responded that he has not been again in the rural zones because he is now moving to other topics that could reach wider divulgation:

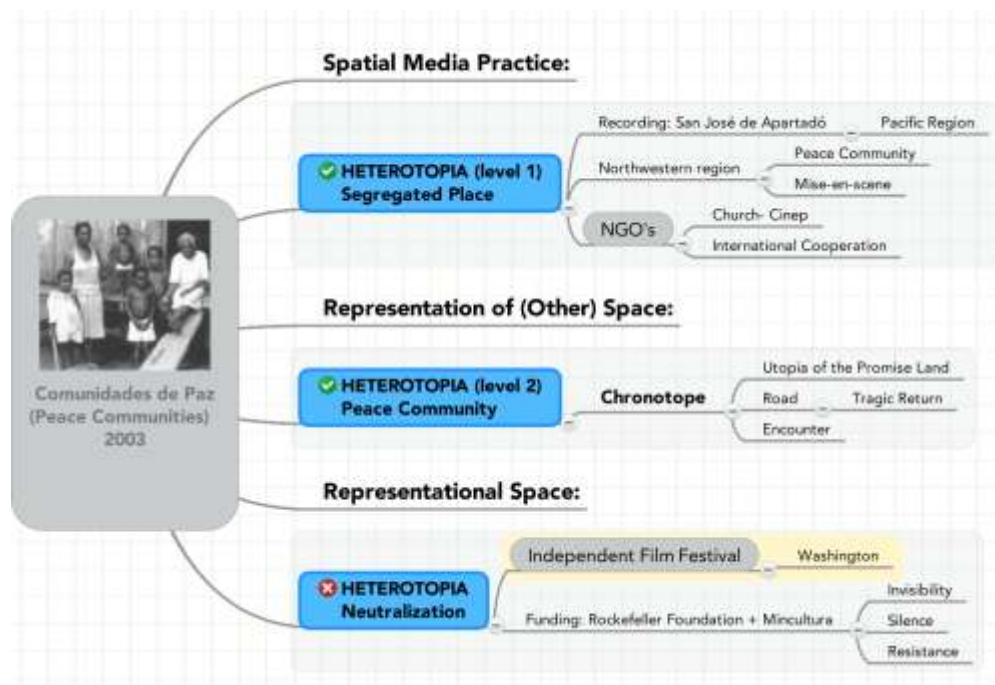
I have not entered the mountains since a long time. And as the times passes I feel less inclined to do so. But is also a personal decision to change my perspective. Now I am looking a more commercial route. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Many of the portrayal from the beginning of the period of the democratic security policy, from which *Peace Communities* is a clear example, were not independent documentary films, but works commissioned by official institutions. On one side, it guaranteed a secure access to the heterotopic zones of segregated spaces of war

(Burdett, 2000), but on the other, also conditioned the content, the perspective and the aesthetics of representation of other spaces.

5.10.4 Representation of Other Space

Synopsis. The documentary follows the five years experience of forced displacement and local peace processes in Urabá, one of the most violent regions of Colombia. The *Peace Communities* of San Francisco de Asís is an experiment in local development and neutrality in the armed groups that control and disputes this strategic territory. This five-year history (1998-2003) left as a result, more than seventy leaders of *Peace Communities* killed by illegal armed groups, and a list of unfulfilled agreements by the state that has not resolved the situation of a historically abandoned region. But these five years also show a history of civil resistance, and toughness of the members of a community that is committed to building their life projects in the framework of peace. (Citurna TV)



The narrative structure is constructed on three parts: The displacement, the return, and the failure. The documentary ends tragically with a report of the leaders assassinated or expelled from the peace community. It stresses the lack of compromise of the Government to protect the *Peace Communities* and its incapability of helping them to remain independent from the pressure of guerrilla and paramilitary groups that traditionally operates in the zone.

The director appears in the interviews, making explicit the conversation between the filmmaker and the leaders and this performativity. This strategy was a request of the funding organism of the Rockefellers Foundation. It intend to reduce the distance with the people who were interviewed, but also traces a line in which the privileged story tellers are those who are closer to the urban life such as: the noun, the priest, the aid workers and the expelled leaders that have started a new life in the cities.

The urban characters in the documentary enter in the heterotopia of the peace community to help, but finally they know that they are visitors, that they must live outside of the rural territory. Then, the urban testimonies occupy a similar heterotopic space that the gaze of the documentary filmmaker. No matter how involved they can be with the community, they are still urban traveller to remote zones affected by the armed conflict.

The filmmaker is a bridge between the new, more secure life style in a city and the life of the others (the communities) that resist the violence and heroic leaders that gave their lives in search for the dream of the return. But the utopia of the return is never complete for the leaders that paradoxically lead a process, but cannot enter in the land that they have helped to recover.

The promise land of for some of the leaders of the community remains thus as a permanent utopia. Sometimes they do not want to come back even if it would be possible, because he cannot live in a land of nostalgia.

For me Choco is a land of nostalgia, because even if i come back I know that there is too many people that is never going to come back

and be in the same place, would make me more difficult to forget them. (*Peace Communities*, documentary)

On the contrary, the community, the people that belong to a land where they have been expelled helps to represent their own story that being in the past seems to be closer to a fiction territory, or at least one experiment with the re-enactment of their own memories:

In *Peace Communities* there are long cues of forced displaced people... all of this was *mise-en-scene*, what I wanted was that we can have fun, because they have absolutely nothing to do there. When I told them, let's do these takes, we organize the *mise-en-scene*, and I was very comfortable and happy because I felt that we were creating something. This is my favorite part. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Ultimately the religious film communities of San Francisco de Asís, are an “experiment” that aspire to become a land of neutrality in the middle of the armed conflict. The documentary, however, shows that the aspiration is legitimate but the result is still the constant movement of the communities because violence is far from providing a stable place for them to stay. The Peace Community in search of an utopia, became a heterotopia produced by the armed conflict. Precisely, one of the leaders has pointed out in the documentary that beyond the aspiration and the will of the community of building a peace oasis, the armed conflict is something that is not outside the communities in the sense that some family members of civilians are also among the armed actors. It is a contradictory space. This is clear in one of the dialogues that, in the documentary, the director had with one of the participant:

-Nevertheless, we knew there would be inconveniences

-By inconveniences do you mean killings?

-Obviously. Inconveniences means deaths. Why do I say deaths? Because we knew there were strong family ties between the communities and the guerrilla, or viceversa. The communities and the paramilitaries. Why? Because

unfortunately many of the people of the groups come from this particular area. That's what their fathers, mothers and uncles, are. It isn't easy to close your...

-The house, the door.

-The house to a son who come back home. (*Peace Communities*, documentary)

Then, the reality of the rural zones appears as a heterotopia, that far away from the cities, is shown in the documentary as the refugee to rebuild the life for the leaders.

Maria Antonia and Alemán are still part of the *Peace Communities* of Chocó. They live in Chocó and are in constant anxiety due to the presence of armed groups in the region. Julio and his family live, we could say, in peace beginning a new lie in the centre of the country. The future of these communities is uncertain just as Colombia's future is uncertain. Each trip showed us different faces of the conflict. Upriver this tragedy has no end. Nonetheless, the people try to maintain a civilian resistance in the midst of the conflict, betting on the utopia of truly becoming *Peace Communities*. (*Peace Communities*, documentary)

In conclusion, from the idea of making a documentary on the road of the return, the chronotope symbolizes civilian resistance, but the reality encountered the tragedy of communal leaders assassinated in the field. In the video, the moment of silence of the community opens a tragic heterotopia that is a consequence of the abandoned of the government that is not helping to make permanent the places of peace. The armed conflict thus, is a permanent presence, a constant danger that is creating segregated spaces far away from the peace utopia.

5.10.5 Representational space

Peace Communities was screened at MID (International Documentary Film Festival) in Bogotá in November 2003. Internationally, it was part of the Margaret Mead Film Festival and JKH Film Land Kolumbien in January 2004. (Citurna TV)

It was funded by Dirección de Cinematografía from Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia, and also has obtained support from Ibermedia and the International Cooperation Agency from Spain and the Rockefeller Foundation.

It was made by the independent production house Citurna. This documentary production house, is in fact one of the pioneers in the experience of international projects for global television. This documentary was funded before the Cinema Law, with the model of co-production between Ministerio de Cultura and international institutions. It can be said that it is a previous stage to the policy of transnational circulation of Colombian films that became stronger after the Cinema Law of 2003.

In the elaboration of the work it was present the idea of an armed conflict that started to be invisible in media. Although the director maintains that even if the armed actors were physically invisible in the news, media tended to be focus on their perspective. The documentary in this case wanted to work in opposition to news, and it was sustained in the principle of giving voice to the victims:

I think that it is the same condition of illegality. One voice, one hand, one gesture, a small detail can take the guys to be identified by the other band or the authorities. I think that is one reason for their lacking of presence in camera, but I think that the documentary make the victims visible because news are not doing it. (C. García, December, 07, 2010, personal communication, Bogotá)

Comunidades de Paz was one of the few documentaries recorded in heterotopic rural zones during the first years of the democratic security policy. However, its potential of denouncement was limited, in other words, the heterotopia is neutralized by the lack of national circulation of the documentary. Two years after the launch of the documentary, there was a new massacre and seven persons within the community were killed by paramilitaries (PBI). According with some versions around 300 people from the Peace Community had been affected by violence. Some

paramilitaries were processed, but the government's responsibility is still unclear. During Alvaro Uribe's government, the community was signalled as collaborators with the guerrilla, which constituted a serious threat to their security. (Verdad Abierta, 2012). Nevertheless, the community continues the resistance, and even if some of the paramilitaries have been accused, as in many other zones of Colombia the impunity is still very high. This work shows was one of the first case that showed how during the democratic security policy, heterotopic rural zones were constantly reproducing logics of war. Despite the tragic situation, the voice of the victims did not have a space in television news and the documentaries depicting it were invisible in national media. This created a system to deny the internal war sustained in the silence of the heterotopias.

CHAPTER 6

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary of findings

This research was focused on the production of heterotopias in documentary films recorded in rural zones of the Colombian armed conflict in the period of the democratic security policy. A political stage in which the spatial restrictions suffered by the population, in zones most affected by the presence of the armed actors, became more explicit.

In this study, the *heterotopias* were considered at two levels: First, the heterotopia of the rural territories located in the periphery, far away by distance or access possibilities from urban spaces. Second, the production of heterotopia on the level of representation of (other) space, understood as the elaboration of spatial poetics, chronotopes, within the documentary film representation. In addition, there was an exploration of the third level that from the description of the main spaces of distribution/circulation, found that usually heterotopias are neutralized within transnational media flows, where the local stories are presented, mostly in European film festivals that are in search of universal stories and new forms that represent *other spaces*. These results point out to a *rural transnationality*, following Sinclair and Robertson, a *glocal* symptom that characterizes the documentary production of the armed conflict, especially in the last stage of the democratic security policy.

The conclusions presented here are not generalisations of the full list of documentaries, even though they reflect usual media practices and meaningful differences in the types of documentaries produced in rural zones of the armed conflict in Colombia during the period analyzed. The findings are based on the sample of 10 documentaries combined with the analysis derived from the theoretical proposal around heterotopias.

Film	OTHER SPACE	SPATIAL MEDIA PRACTICE <i>Experience/ Place</i>		REPRESENTATION OF OTHER SPACE <i>Cultural/Storytelling</i>		REPRESENTATIONAL SPACES <i>Social-Lived</i>	
Title	<u>Heterotopia (Foucault)</u>	Director	Region <u>Rural heterotopia</u>	Gaze/ Voice	Chronotope (Bakhtin)	Funding	Circulation
<i>Comunidades de Paz (2002)</i> <i>Peace Communities</i>	Resistance Tragedy	Colbert García	Atrato River Pavarandó Urabá	Narrator Testimony	Road (Return)/ Encounter	Independent Public/Private NGO Rockefeller found.	Margaret Mead Film Festival – New York, US
<i>Cómo Voy a Olvidarte (2002)</i> <i>How Am I Going to Forget You</i>	Melodrama Hope	Jorge Botero	Eastern Region Mitú	Dialogue	Letters/ Distance Messenger	Independent Private Television	RCN (Private National TV Channel), COL
<i>Pequeñas Voces (2003/2010)</i> <i>Little Voices</i>	Real and imagined place Hope	Jairo Carrillo/ Oscar Andrade	Eastern Region <i>Mapiripán</i> Meta	Testimony	Rural Idyll	Independent NGO	Venezia Film Festival, IT
<i>El corazón (2005-2006)</i> <i>The Heart</i>	Broken Centre Tragedy	Diego García	Medellín Antioquia	Author's voice/ Testimony	Body as place	Independent Public FDC(National Cinema Fund)	Récontres Cinema d'Amérique Latine Toulouse, FR.
<i>La Casa Nueva de Hilda (2006)</i> <i>Hilda's New Home</i>	New Nomadism Resistance	Silvia Hoyos	Atrato River <i>Playita</i> Chocó	Dialogue (off shot) Direct Following	Road- River (Return)	Independent Public funding FDC (National Cinema Fund)	RCN (Private National TV Channel), COL

Film	OTHER SPACE	SPATIAL MEDIA PRACTICE <i>Experience/ Place</i>		REPRESENTATION OF OTHER SPACE <i>Cultural/Storytelling</i>		REPRESENTATIONAL SPACES <i>Social-Lived</i>	
Title	<u>Heterotopia (Foucault)</u>	Director	Region <u>Rural heterotopia</u>	Gaze/ Voice	Chronotope (Bakhtin)	Funding	Distribution
<i>En lo Escondido (2007)</i> <i>Those waiting in the dark</i>	Displacement Romantic visions Resistance Escape Space of play	Nicolás Rincón Gille	Central Region San Juan de Rioseco Cundinamarca	Direct Following Performance	Abandoned house (Gothic Castle)	Independent VOA (Belgium Producer)	Cinema du reel. Paris, FR
<i>El Rescate Perfecto (2009)</i> <i>The perfect operation</i>	Freedom Triumph Helicopter In-between-space	Jaime Escallón	Eastern Region Tomachipán Guaviare Cundinamarca Military Base	Omniscient Narrator Testimony	Helicopter/ Encounter	Private Funding Discovery Channel Latin America Semana Imagina US	Discovery Channel Latin America, COL
<i>Robatierra (2010)</i> <i>Stolen Land</i>	Resistance Clash (Modernity/ Tradition)	Miguel Salazar/Margari ta Martínez	South Region Cauca	Omniscient Narration	Original Land Rural Idyll	Private Funding Sundance	La Habana Film Festival, CU
<i>Meandros (2010)</i> <i>Meanders</i>	Invisibility Everyday life	Héctor Ulloque/ Manuel Ruíz	Eastern Region Guaviare River	Direct Following	Road- river/Encounter Ship	Independent Public Funding FDC (National Cinema Fund)	IDFA (Amsterdam), NT
<i>La Sirga (2012)</i> <i>The Towrope</i>	Non- belonging Instability	William Vega	Southern Region La Tota Nariño	Performance	Abandoned housem (Gothic Castle)/ Lake/ Ship/Towers	Independent Public FDC (National Cinema Fund) Coproduction (Cine Sud)	Cannes (Paris), FR

42 Summary of Findings

The table shows the three spaces of the analysis and the main results in the case of the movies selected. The ten documentaries are a sample of the database of the 110 documentaries of the armed conflict identified in the video-archival exploration. The complete database of documentaries elaborated for this study, as

well as the cartography, is a work in progress that will be available as research material on the web page mapdocs.org.

Finally, the findings present an overview of the physical cartography of one year of the documentary films. Every map comprises between 10 and 12 documentaries recorded in rural zones.

Next, I will present the main findings as the main answer to the three questions developed in the case analysis that comprises ten documentaries extracted from the data base of 110 documentaries:

6.1.1 Research Question 1

How spatial media practices of recording documentary in rural spaces can influence the production of other spaces?

Here I observed the practices of accessing rural territories to record a documentary film. In some cases, the first contact of urban filmmakers with rural spaces that amazed them sparked the interest on telling “other stories” (*La Sirga/ En lo Escondido*) of places that “the people” use or not to see. These are heterotopias in the first level, rural zones in which the documentary filmmakers are “always tourist”, or feel themselves like “engaging in ethnographic tourism”. In other cases the access to the territory occurs through other spaces of memory (*Pequeñas Voces, En lo Escondido*) produced by strategies such as animated documentary or re-enactments. Sometimes, they refer to access to confidential information, in which the information of access to the war zones is controlled by the legal or illegal armed actors (*El Rescate Perfecto, Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*). In general, in the spatial media practice, heterotopias are here connected to the figure of the *voyageur*, the adventurer, as an urban hero or a liminal figure that is able to move in- between of different spaces.

A second aspect present in all the interviews conducted for this study is the importance of constructing trust networks between the documentary filmmakers and the communities. This aspect was even more important than the access to physical spaces of the armed conflict, because it used to determine the real access

to the situation that occurred there. In *Meanders*, they have guides, in *La casa Nueva de Hilda* the recording crew unofficially accompanied the return of the Indigenous community to fill in for the lack of State presence, and in *En lo Escondido* the empowerment of the protagonist through the performance of their stories allowed the filmmaker the access to the other space. If the network is not strong enough the documentary could arrive to the territory, but as the director of *Peace Communities* has pointed out “the story could not be revealed”. The constructions of social networks in rural zones of the armed conflicts thus, guarantee the possibility to access the heterotopias

One third aspect to highlight here is the presence of media, mainly television images, as the first filter between the reality of the armed conflict and the intention of the filmmakers to work with it. In many cases such as *La Sirga* or *Comunidades de Paz*, the filmmaker previously used to work with public television programs. In other cases such as *Meanders* or *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte* they are working in opposition to the fast information of television news. In every case analyzed here the depiction of the armed conflict by mass media in Colombia had a very relevant role in the documentary representation, which points out to a collective reaction to the fast information logic of the television news.

To summarise the first question: *How spatial media practices of recording documentary in rural spaces can influence the production of heterotopias?* It can be seen how the other spaces determines attract the documentary filmmaker to zones that are distant from the cities. Documentaries of the armed conflict are then conceived as a travel to faraway places. This attraction is, to a great extent, filtered by mass media representation and finally, the access to the heterotopia occurred by the mediation of proper social networks established with the communities in the rural zones.

6.1.2 Research Question 2

The second question: *At the level of “representations of (other) space” how is the relationship between spatial metaphors “chronotopes”* (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84)

that structure the story telling of the armed conflict with the real-place based representation of heterotopias?

At this point, there are three elements to describe the process of representation of (other) space:

The reaction against the invisibility of the armed conflict was a constant in several documentaries analyzed. The ambiguous presence of the armed conflict is an element that used to be depicted through their traces in documentaries. It comes in opposition to the more explicit figures used in reports such as *El Rescate Perfecto*, where details of military strategies are revealed, but even in this reports, the conflict is also depicted as something mysterious. The invisibility of the armed conflict is thus, a recurrent treatment, particularly in author's documentary. This gaze upon the traces and details that became a constant in rural independent documentary (*En lo Escondido, Meandros*) progressively has become part of recent fictional films such as *La Sirga* that depicts the armed conflict with a documentary gaze (Luna, 2013).

The gaze in documentary is moving back and forth from ethnography strategies to the elaboration of the documentary gaze. Some recent readings in contemporary Colombian cinema highlight that some movies are “making visible a space in the extra-radio of the political, economical and media power” (Zuluaga, 2013, p. 116). However, this ‘virtue’ of accessing heterotopias is usually confronted to an “accusation of escapism” (p.119). I maintain that the fact of making visible the periphery and the distant gaze are, on the contrary, not so far from each other as a first reading could make us think. It is precisely in the same line of this discussion that I have used the idea of exoticism as derived from its etymology: exo- (outside) and tics (hermeneutics- explanation). The meaning of exotic to understand the heterotopic gaze of the urban documentary filmmaker thus points out to his position as an outsider that enters into the communities to explain their situation. The aspiration to occupy a proper place or to make part of

the community is usually denied by the testimonies of the filmmakers who always feel like visitors or are aware of the temporal characteristic of the relationship.

In particular moments, the heterotopia (other space) is depicted because a bridge, a space of mediation is built between the documentary gaze and the everyday life of the rural communities. This is pointing out to the representation of dynamics in other space as “way of being together” (Martín-Barbero) in which the representation of people creating alternative spaces to the geographies of terror formed by the armed conflict are expressing the potential of heterotopia as a space of resistance. For instance, the last scene of *Meanders*, capturing the rhythm of life of the Nukak Makuk, the metaphor of the abandoned watch towers in *La Sirga* as a space for a romantic encounter, the conversations between Hilda and the filmmaker (out of shot) that shows how Hilda organized the scene or in the same line the final performance in *En lo Escondido* where the emotion mixes with the recalling of memories beyond the testimony in the performance of Mrs. Carmen. These are ephemeral moments of heterotopia, materialized in concrete occupation of spaces by the documentary gaze.

Of course, this creative gaze upon the rural periphery is not exclusive of documentary films and comes from the heritage of literary forms such as the romantic naturalism present in *La Vorágine* (Jose Eustasio Rivera). This romantic perspective that frames the rural depiction of the armed conflict from the urban gaze is present in the portrait of an uncivilized jungle (*El Rescate Perfecto*); the armed conflict as a zone of terror (*En lo Escondido*) or the chronotope of the ruin (the gothic castle) where the hostel is the symbol of decadence and state abandonment (*La Sirga*). This romantic vision is approaching the concept of “romantic lie” as has been interpreted in literature analysis (Girard, 1985). Here, a contradictory space emerges, because from the aesthetic translation of the categories of ‘geographies of terror’, a frame proposed for the approaching to *another history of violence* seems to point out to the search for a more universal communication that in the end tends to neutralize the debate upon political/local realities and problems.

The search for how to poetically express the armed conflict is filtered by classic structures. However in the mix with reality, chronotopes such as the road, the encounter, the rural idyll or the gothic castle at most seems to overcome the idea of a classical narrative. This became concrete in new heterotopic figures such as the instability of the terrain (*La Sirga, Meandros*) or in the fear of the hidden others, the invisible armed actors (*En lo Escondido*). It also could be an endless route of return (*La Casa Nueva de Hilda, Comunidades de Paz*) or an uncertain wait for the liberation and the final return to the utopia of the secure city (*El Rescate Perfecto, Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*). The main classic chronotopes thus, instead solving a classic narrative of initial balance-unbalance-restore of balance used in many cases, tend to converge in the heterotopic chronotope of the uncertain territory, the heteropic zone of war. This expression appears from the poetic of other space, built from an outsider's gaze, beyond the use of conventional figures and seems to be pointing out to a production of an open storytelling of the armed conflict.

6.1.3 Research Question 3

The third question: *How does the documentary of the armed conflict in the rural zones of Colombia became a heterotopic form (a counter-space of resistance and contention) or how are they neutralized?*

This level was initially guided by the question of the documentary film as an aspiration to open another space of social resistance. However, in most of the cases analyzed in this study, the *neutralization* of the heterotopic character seems to be dominant and the documentary is subordinated to the ideas of national legitimating transnational products, and data circulation consulted here has shown.

In the cases analyzed, the more local the production of the space, the more transnational seems to be the product. The logic of the remote place works as a reclaim for more visibility and is amplified in press reviews and film festival synopses. The cases analyzed here show that that the documentary gaze was first produced from the big cities with the aspiration of being screened in big cities

world-wide. It is in this sense that the rural places became exotic (seen from the outside). The *transnational aspiration* of the circulation of a local product is the other face of an ultra-localization in the recording.

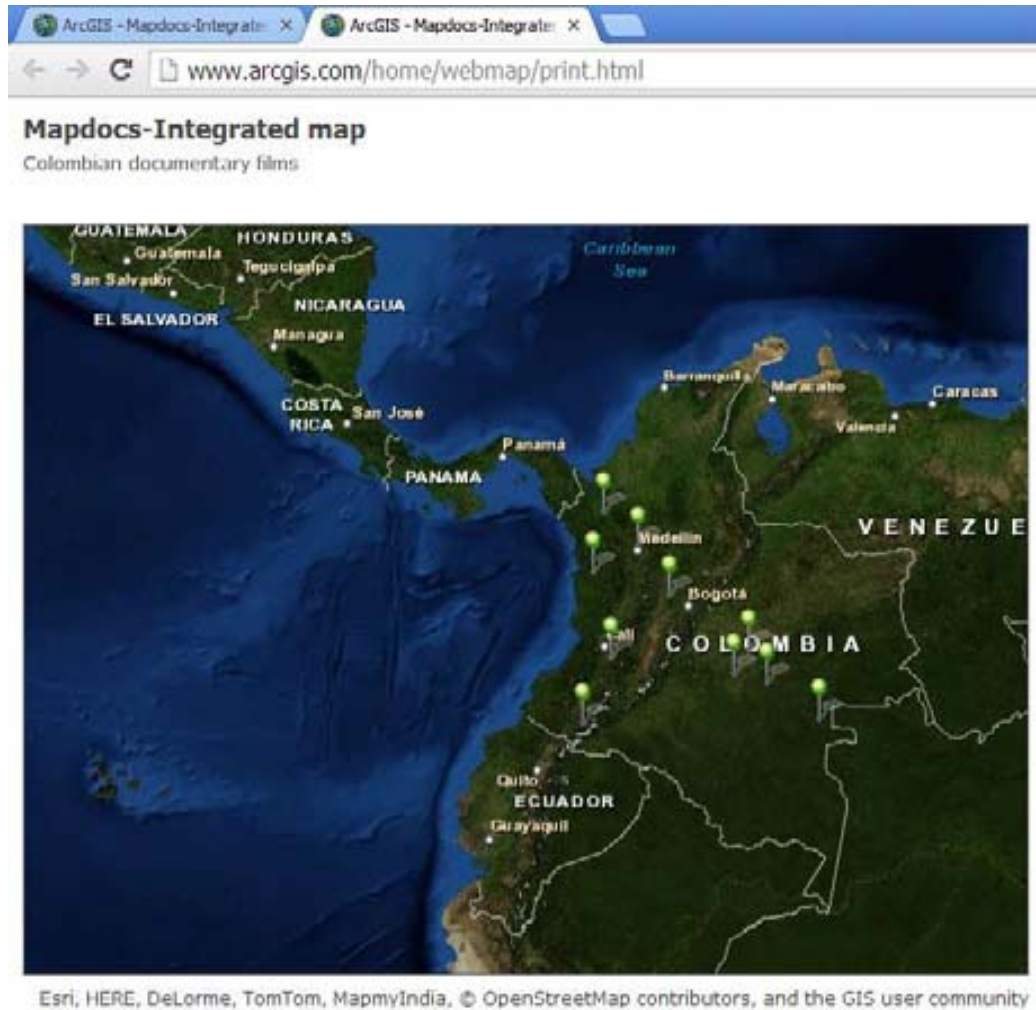
This transnational aspiration finally points out to a cosmopolitanism that is a constant in the formation of the most renowned documentary filmmakers, those who have influenced the subsequent documentary production in Colombia (Luna, 2013). This tradition is now combined with “glocal” (Sinclair, *Televisión, comunicación global y regionalización*, 2000) products, as a market strategy, in which independent documentary as part of the world-wide cinema is inscribed. Of course, as the biographies of the director shown, this is also connected with the formation of documentary filmmakers. Many of them studying or living outside the country, especially in countries of Europe and US. Then, the figure of the *voyagueur*, the explorer of an unknown country, present from the spatial media practice, that influence the poetics of heterotopia is responsible of the transformation of the representational social space that maintains the distance between the city and the countryside.

6.1.4 Documentary Film Cartography

The cartography is not only a visual tool. The physical location of documentary films provides an integrative view over the local/transnational circulation of the movies. The thesis includes a design in ARCGIS made using ESRI technology of geographical localization. The use of the online program was possible with the advisory of LIGIT (Geography Lab of Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). The results included here are not general to the whole database, but as has been pointed out in the methodological discussion, the small sample permitted a more precise analysis.

A general map integrates the cases analyzed in the previous chapter. It shows the presence in different rural zones that were accessed or depicted in the documentary production selected for this analysis. All of them were screened during

the period of the democratic security policy (2002-2010) with the exception of *La Sirga*, a fiction film that was launched in 2012, but it was recorded during this period.



43 Integrated map, mapdocs.org

In the selected films the list map had shown covers in four regions: Eastern Colombia, Urabá in the northwestern part of the country, South in Nariño and Central region, the rural zone in Cundinamarca.

In the access to eastern Colombia it is worth highlighting that two of four documentaries were recorded in the real place. The first was *Cómo Voy a Olvidarte*, (2003), perhaps the only images of an independent filmmaker recorded in the guerrillas' camp. The second access to the eastern region was *Meanders* (2010),

recorded in several locations in the shores of the Guaviare River. In the other two documentaries that make reference to Guaviare and Meta: *The Perfect Rescue* (2009) and *Little Voices* (2010-2003), the access occurred through recreations of testimonies that took form of docu-drama or animated documentary, respectively.

Two documentaries were recorded at the Pacific Region in Urabá in the North western part of Antioquia: *Hilda's New home* (2006), recorded in Playita and *Peace Communities* in Pavarandó. Both were following routes by the Atrato River and access was possible by following the return of the communities to their original towns after being forcibly displaced by illegal armed groups (paramilitaries). In *Hilda's New Home* the reporter is accompanying the return, due to the lack of presence of the State. In *Peace Communities* (2003), a commissioned work, access was guaranteed by official institutions that were working in the zone with the communities.

Other two independent authors' documentaries were recorded in central regions; the first one, *En lo Escondido*, in San Juan de Rioseco, Cundinamarca, close to the capital and El Corazón, a documentary recorded in the outskirts of the city of Medellín, recalling an episode of the explosion of a landmine in an undetermined rural region.

Finally, *La Sirga*, the fictional film of real-based place representation included in this selection, was recorded in La Cocha Lake, in the South of Colombia. The film shows real traces of the armed conflict. The access to some unknown places within a natural and relatively tourist zone was the result of a previous entrance to the region with a public channel environmental program. Paradoxically, La Cocha is currently promoted as one of the location for the recording of fiction films by the national institution Proimagenes echoing the objectives of the cinema Law 1556 that, recalling the promotion of Focine during the eighties decade, is promoting a global production in local landscapes, promoting the use of the territory for foreign films and co-productions.

Here the advantages of the selection of a small sample, even if sacrifices the generalization, allow a more detail analysis of the regions depicted during the armed conflict. As it has been said before, the results do not have the intention to be extrapolated to the whole data base, but they show trends that can be meaningful as categories in further studies.

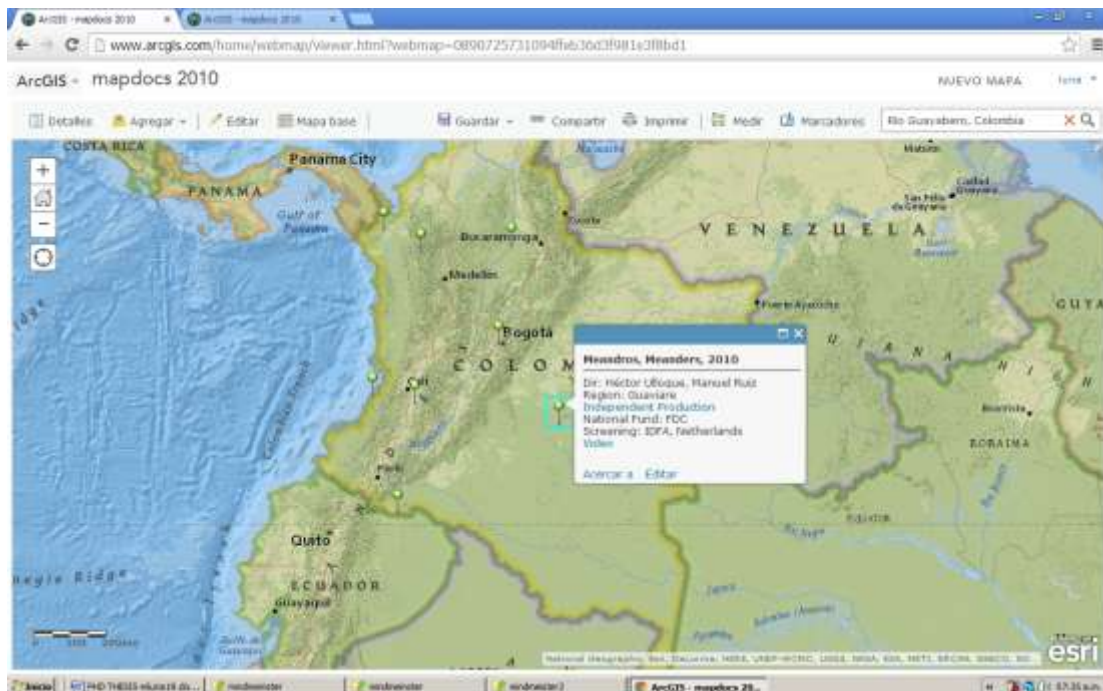
The map next, is a sample of a more complete cartography of eight maps that shows the production screened at every year of the democratic security policy. This is a work in progress that will be updated in the web page mapdocs.org, when more information of the documentaries of the first period (2002-2006) will be available online. At the moment, four maps of the production corresponding to (2007-2010) can be consulted as well as the whole data collection included in the sample of documentary films of this period.



44 Sample: Map by year, mapdocs.org

Besides the points that indicate physical location on the group of the documentaries (In this case, the films screened in 2010), the on-line design in Arc Gis displays data of the circulation and in the case in which it was possible, the region or precise location where the film was made.

The data displayed on the next map details shows additional information about the circulation. It also includes the link to the documentary film, when available online, or the trailer's website, usually available through the official production or distribution house of the film. In cases where this data is not available, as is used to be the case of the films screened before 2006, the link can redirect to the Proimagenes site (the repository of the national film catalogue) or ultimately to a press review about the film.



45 Sample: Individual map, mapdocs.org

This is a sample of how the general database will look like. The reason why is not complete will be discussed next in the section dedicated to the limitations of this study. But I would like to point out that the online availability of documentary films is increasing as well as the emergence of web pages of the independent production

houses and documentary filmmakers. This changing web-environment will provides more data that can be added to the website and suggest further possibilities for the application of the theory and categories applied to the selected works in this dissertation.

6.2 Limitations of findings

6.2.1 Documentary as experience and socio-cultural/media practice

The findings of this study should be situated in the perspective of documentary as an “experience” (Sobchack V. , 1999) or “socio-cultural (media) practice” “the place (in the history of cinema) where it was the most lively but at the same time, less delimited interpretations are produced” (Lagny, 1997, p. 188). Documentary is conceived here as an interdisciplinary realm and is situated in the search for innovative methodologies to understand communication studies as a dynamic process.

Next, I will discuss three points in the limitations of findings, especially to justify why this was not an audience study, or a study that look to define the identity of a national cinema, and also why it decide not to focus only in the figure of the director as an individual author. Factors such as transnational circulation and the relevance of documentary media practice, situate this study in other perspectives.

This is not an audience study. Even if I consider circulation/distribution perspectives, this research is, in no way, claiming to be an analysis of the public in Colombian documentary films. In order to delimit the study, the interviews were focused on the creators. The perspective of how the reception of the depicted spaces of the armed conflict is suggested indirectly in some interviews, but an empirical study of the public is not part of this analysis. Here, the documentaries of the armed conflict included the transnational circulation of the product, but the first screening is conceived as an aspiration, that is why the data contemplates only the arrival to their first screening in international film festivals. Recalling the ideas around the “model reader” (Eco, 1994, p. 9) here the transnational character appears in the form of the discourse conceived for a *model spectator*.

Even if the work is focused on Colombia, it is not only a study of national cinema, mainly because in the transnational era, this concept tends to blur. As Lagny has pointed out, national cinema is becoming a very unstable category (1997, p. 109). The appeal to the national/local was understood here always in relation to the aspiration to be transnational. Moreover, as the biographies of the directors indicate, the Colombian film/documentary filmmakers are a cosmopolitan group of media professionals, usually studying or living in foreign countries. In fact, in many cases analyzed, a nostalgic return logic led them to get involved with very local places/subjects. With the rise of the co-productions due to the impact of recent cinema laws 814/2003 and 1556/2010, the category of studies of the “glocalization” (Robertson, 1995) (Sinclair, 2000) (Sinclair, 2004) seems to have more sense than the study of national cinema that starts to be qualified as an emergent form in the cinema world production landscape.

The figure of the director as a canonical author is therefore not central in this analysis, even if this is a very common perspective in film studies. Certainly, I point out to personal trajectories and spatial media practice, however they are not used here to highlight the author’s marks in a documentary. In my perspective the film/TV director is immersed in complex audiovisual production systems and, even when working as independent producer, it cannot be denied that makes of wider media structures. In my analysis, for instance, documentaries are subject to public funding or are commissioned works. In other words analyzing documentary as the results of individual creation surrounded by artistic influences that ultimately define characteristics and groups of author’s in documentary was far from the scope of this research.

In addition, even if the research deals with socio-political issues, the study of participatory documentary and community video was not included for various reasons: First, many of this works did not make part of the groups of documentaries that received transnational/national exhibition during the period analyzed. Second, and more important, many of these works were not included in the documentary database of Ministerio de Cultura de Colombia and Muestra Internacional Documental.

And third, in this particular study, I was interested in observing the distance between a rural and urban gaze that could not be a meaningful factor in the production of communitarian video. Finally, I think that the study of how communities produce their own communication requires a different theoretical approach, closer to participatory communication for social change.

6.2.2 Other limitations of the study

In this section, I will report some limits, particularly derived from the use of mixed methods that were explored on the study. First, working with an evolving archive. Second, limitations inherent to cartography design. Third, the unavailability of data of the complete period of analysis.

First, the work with the archive, which, at the moment of the first data collection did not have systematized information on documentary films. Second, the cartography design to integrate the component of the representation of space was dismissed, particularly due to the difficulty of mapping multiple narrative spaces, that overlapped on one film. In the same vein, the decision to include only the first place of transnational circulation and the main place of recording had to be made, in order to produce a locative map. Some analysis of narrative cartography addressed the limits in the location of film narrative spaces (Caquard, Naud, & Gonzalés, 2012). My decision to overcome this limitation was to keep a detailed small sample to explore every component, instead of focusing on the quantitative location of the whole database, that could be develop on a further study.

Finally a third limitation on the cartography of the whole data-base was determined by the difficulty of gathering on-line data regarding the circulation and technical information of several documentaries produced before 2006. In some cases, this data started to be more available online in archive film festivals' web sites and personal pages of the documentary filmmakers or through the website of their production houses'. Even though the unavailable data has limited the possibility to extrapolate the results to the whole sample, the study has shown that the small selection, combined with the detailed information collected in the semi-structured interviews to

the filmmakers, has provided enough information to detect important trends in documentary practices in rural regions. More experiences in cartographic analysis of films are desirable to compare methods and share outcomes.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

Coming back to the heterotopia, the general aim of this work was to understand how the spatial practices in heterotopias, *rural spaces of the armed conflict*, determines the production of other spaces in documentary film representations of the armed conflict. On a second level, the research explored how the rural space of difference became a representational *social space* when the films were immersed in dynamics of transnational circulation.

The theoretical application of a model of analysis that explores the heterotopias (Foucault, 1986) in the light of the production of *another* space (Lefebvre, 1991) showed a first result in the theoretical approach to the model of spatial analysis. This situated the study in the relation to previous work made in geography of communication (Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006)(Adams & Jansson, 2012), as well as with methods of cartographic analysis applied to film studies (Caquard, 2013) (Robers, 2012) (Hallam, 2010). The study was completed with an approach to theory of communication in which the ideas of “nocturnal maps” (Martín-Barbero, 1993) justify the study based on a “travelling concept” (Bal, 2009) such as heterotopias.

The confluence between the theory of heterotopias and the spatial model was a productive exercise for the design of a spatial analysis. However, the abstraction of the theory was points out to methodological challenges on how to obtain operational categories based on open concepts. The first attempt was to simplify, however, the advance of the research showed that the categories should not be reductionist if one wants to obtain an overview, not only about factual issues, but above all, about the complexity of the phenomenon of *glocal* (Sinclair, 2000) production/circulation of heterotopias in documentary films.

This research was a first reflection on this issue and the main result here is that cartography has provided useful visualization that permit to detect trends of creation in relation to categories of funding and circulation. This is particularly noticeable when analyzing small samples in detail and the information was complemented with interviews. Of course, the question on how to prioritize between a small or general sample depends in much on the question and the object of analysis. In this case the relation between political issues and access to media practice in rural territories leads me to privilege the detailed analysis in front of the quantitative study of the entire collected works that made part the data-base.

The access to physical zones of the armed conflict in the cases analyzed here, were determined by the creation of trust networks within the communities and participants in the documentary. The most successful strategies allowed a close look at the every day life in the zone. It is possible to make reference to the production of the heterotopia in particular scenes in which the gaze of the documentary filmmaker became a living testimony of the “ways of being together”. These moments reflect how the people affected by the armed conflict develop strategies, not only to survive, but to live in the midst of the most adverse conditions. This shows the generation of other spaces of resistance represented through the documentary film experience.

On the other hand, heterotopias detected in the zone, can be transformed in more conventional spatial poetics within the film. Some of them implied a gaze upon the exotic (seen from the outside) as well as the return to a romantic perspective. The presence of figures such as traces, abandoned houses, and empty roads are used to overlap upon the testimony. This highlights the presence of terror as an invisible, undetermined, ambivalent space. This is, of course, an open debate and points out to wider questions on how the documentaries recorded during the democratic security period, were able to express, or not, the complexities of the spatial restrictions that generated rural heterotopias during the armed conflict. The explanation seems to escape to conventional audiovisual representations. Several independent documentaries analyzed here, tend to express the conflict through a

new chronotope of instability. The searching for new chronotopes tries to overcome the romantic perspective that, suppressing the explanation, seems to point out to an irrational violence (Springer, 2011). Other documentaries, usually those attached to private mass media distribution, tend to rebuild melodramatic visions of heroes and victims producing a story-telling more explicit attached to media rules. In any case, the poetic production of heterotopia does not guarantee that their circulation will open a social debate upon the problem of violence. In both cases, the creation of the chronotope seems to point out to the need for unity and the search for a universal narrative.

The methodological challenge is asking for a deeper reflection of what does it mean to study glocal audiovisual production in relation to political realities. It also point out to questions about the influence of the foreign education in this kind of production. Perhaps the most important conclusion of the study is that the cases show that the ultra-localization on remote rural territories seems to promote transnational circulation. The current trend in what has been called *new Colombian cinema*, shows that the gaze upon rural-based representation is re-appropriated by fiction co-productions (Luna, 2013a) (Luna, 2012a). This shows an increasing production of rural cinema connected to the expectations of an art that expresses “another geographies”. What is relevant is that the idea of other spaces projected in international film festivals, particularly in Europe and to a less extent in Canada and the US, is working as well as a reclaim to national legitimization of products usually funded by the state. The success in the circulation of important film festivals worldwide is amplified in official institutions and national private media. In this aspect, the visibilization of the remote places of the armed conflict, are usually neutralized in wider structures of media circulation. This is basically because the official discourse points out to the generality of the success of Colombian cinema, but it does not concentrate on the discussion on the topics or the zones portrayed within the films.

Finally, the gaze on Colombia as a country in which “Violence sits in place” (Springer, 2011) that is very present is some readings of Colombian cinema

(Osorio, 2010, pág. 16) can be defied in a close observation of the logics in which the armed conflict precisely ‘takes place’ not only as a nonresolved problem, but as the result of spatial dynamics of power derived from governmental rationalities and behaviours of the armed groups. In this perspective, the integrated map of access/portraits of the rural zones affected by the armed conflict, shows in my case of analysis, to the southeast, in the old demilitarized zone, known as *zona de despeje* is still dominated by the guerrilla. The North West, in the Pacific zone is the zone where the communities suffer from forced displacement, usually from the paramilitary groups. This localization is denying the gaze upon an invisible armed conflict where the presence of the armed actors is unclear. This unveils a contradiction because, in general, the story telling of the analyzed documentaries tends to the neutralization of the political realities and to the aspiration of transnational circulation. This explains that the perspective of the victim, and the silence, can eclipse the possibility of a more explicit denouncement that generates a poetic debate around the responsible of the production of rural heterotopias. In this sense, the connection of documentary story-telling with the geographical analysis upon the dynamics of the armed conflict (González, Bolívar, & Vásquez, 2003) (Oslender, 2008) can produce a more situated interpretation of the realities that determines the everyday life in the rural zones of the country.

6.4 Suggestion for further research

The increasing availability of online data about documentary films in Colombia suggests that more quantitative analysis on geography of films can be done. With this information the perspectives on the geography of communication and cartography of film can provide a situated understanding of this dynamics of localities-mobilities, going beyond the cartographic metaphor. I think that a cartography of documentaries films and in general of world cinema productions will produce a better understanding of the relationships between recording of local place and the transnational circulation of films that are classified, particularly from a Western perspective, such as productions of the rest of the world.

The category of new globalities in contemporary Colombian cinema have moved from a urban representation to a representation of rural spaces. Studies on how the *transnational ruralities* are connected with the funding of co-production and distribution of world cinema deserve further exploration.

The analysis upon the methods of an armed conflict that are invisible also can be productive in the representation of violence from a psychoanalytical perspective upon imaginary/real spaces.

The use of hybrid strategies that goes from documentary to fictional films in contemporary cinema suggests a very productive field of analysis. It has started to being explored from the idea of re-frames of violence and there are new studies on orientalism in media representation,

There is a distance of the works analyzed here, with militant documentaries such as those that make part of the third-cinema, in which the main objective was the direct denouncement. The focus on a third cinema was the dominant reading on the theory on Latin American Cinema during the seventies but with the arrival of a world cinema the field is asking for a critical perspective that involves different frames of interpretation.

I decided not to include the reflection around work with archive and video essay. But there is a very rich production in Colombia. The cases of found footage are creating an intervened geography of the rural zones of the armed conflict through an indirect access. This virtuality and the work with archive is a very interesting line of analysis. On the other hand the research of social movements and political readings of documentary as an instrument for a social debate is a topic that can be further developed. The combination between the findings of geographies of the armed conflict with a geography of documentary films is a promising field of reflections.

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