

Online Appendix

January 18, 2025

1 Quantitative Analysis: Variables and Operationalization

1.1 Basic Descriptive Statistics and Data Sources

Figure 1 shows descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values) for dependent, independent, and control variables, indicating data sources.

Figure 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Variable	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Source
DV	Cosine similarity scores	15452	0.29803	0.116372	-0.0247	0.80342	Own elaboration (Citizen proposal reuse in the 2016 peace accord)
IV	Rural movements	15452	0.619	0.4856	0	1	FIP (Citizen proposals)
	Protest	15452	0.62	0.4852	0	1	Cinep (Social struggles dataset)
Control variables	Proposal Length	15452	70.13	72.379	26	2694	FIP (Citizen proposals)
	Signatures	15452	2.708	4.922	1	32	
	Municipality Coverage	15452	4.697	8.482	1	71	
	Allies	15452	0.4559	1.3895	0	15	
	Endowed Organizations	15452	0.3255	0.566	0	14	

1.2 Dependent Variable: Text Reuse in the 2016 Peace Agreement

While the dataset includes a large number of collective petitioners' proposals, the documents are relatively short. They range from 2,694 to 26 words, showing a mean of 70 words. Before calculating the cosine similarity scores, I pre-processed the rural development sections of the peace agreement using conventional techniques (Grimmer et al., 2022). First, I performed lemmatization through Stanza, a Python library designed by the Stanford NLP Group, which reduces words to their base forms (e.g., "hará," "haciendo," and "hizo" become "hacer"). Second, I standardized frequent terms employing spaCy's rule-based matcher engine to merge entities written in various forms into custom labels. This tool proved useful in standardizing divergent labels referring to same entities, such as "asamblea nacional constituyente," "asamblea constituyente," "asamblea nacional," "constituyente," and "ANC," which were merged into "asamblea constituyente." Third, I further processed the text corpora by lowercasing and removing punctuation marks and stop words (e.g., pronouns, articles, and auxiliary verbs).

Such processed text was then set as a baseline document for comparison with collective actors' proposals. To minimize estimation bias, I down-weighted common language found in the agreement and proposals by excluding frequent terms when constructing word vectors for cosine similarity computation. Following the principle that text informativeness is inversely proportional to frequency (Grimmer et al., 2022), I retained more informative—or less common—terms by introducing TF-IDF weighting as a parameter. TF-IDF produces a value that reflects both the importance of a term in a document (TF) and the uniqueness of that term across the corpus (IDF). Moreover, I excluded terms occurring in fewer than 5% of the documents to mitigate noise and reduce corpus dimensionality. Rare terms often lack sufficient informational value for effective comparison and may otherwise introduce skew. To evaluate model robustness, I conducted tests at an occurrence rate of 0.02 to assess performance in higher-dimensional embeddings, finding that lower-dimensional configurations with a higher occurrence threshold offered

an optimal fit for similarity computations. Additionally, I normalized vector lengths during word vector distance calculations to minimize document length’s effect on similarity scores. To further streamline the dataset, I applied Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA) for dimensionality reduction, projecting high-dimensional term-document matrices into a compact semantic space.

Recent natural language processing research suggests that short-text datasets (fewer than 100,000 sentences) perform better with lower-dimensional embeddings (e.g., between 50 and 100 dimensions), while longer texts may require higher-dimensional embeddings (around 200 to 300 dimensions) (Amur et al., 2023). Too many dimensions can introduce noise, while too few may fail to capture subtle semantic distinctions (Rodriguez and Spirling, 2022). Given that my dataset comprises primarily short documents (Rodriguez and Spirling, 2022), I set low embedding dimensions and tested cosine similarity performance at thresholds of 42, 82, and 123 dimensions. At an occurrence rate of 0.05, LSA reduced the corpus to 42 dimensions, while an occurrence rate of 0.02 yielded configurations of 42, 82, and 123 dimensions. I evaluated model performance by computing cosine similarity scores across these dimensional settings, using metrics such as explained variance, similarity distribution analysis, and clustering efficacy measured by Silhouette Scores. Additionally, I compared documents with high and low similarity scores across these dimensions, examining whether their linguistic features aligned with the language in the peace agreement as anticipated based on qualitative insights.

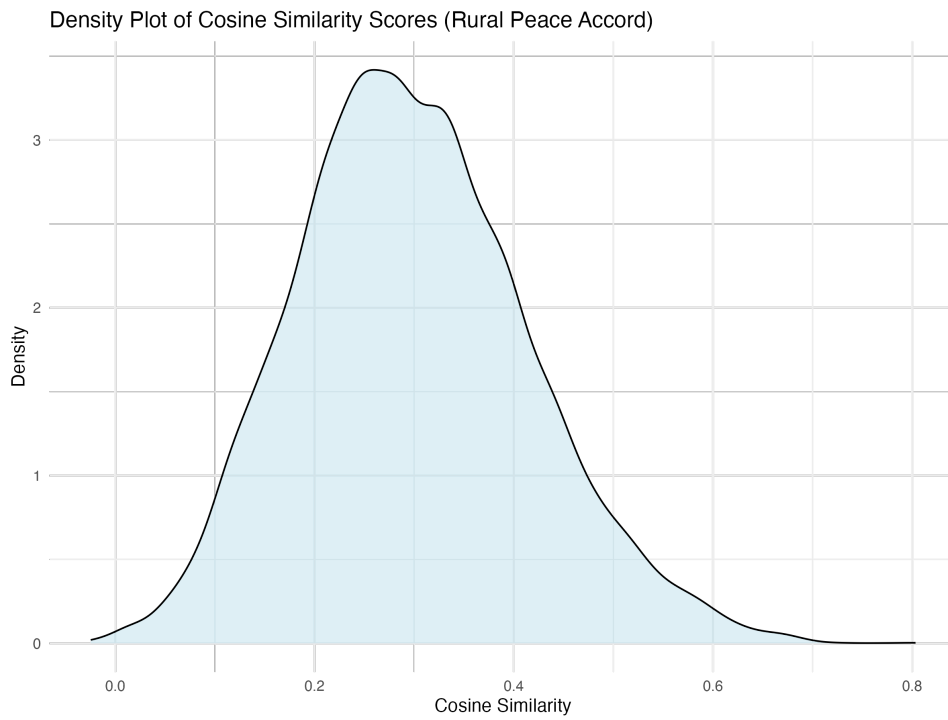
Table 1 displays the test results across similarity distributions. These metrics suggest that dimension 42 at occurrence threshold of 0.05 best fits the corpus since it retains essential information, reduces noise, and maintains interpretability.

Table 1: Similarity Model Performance Across Embedding Dimensions

Metric	D = 42	D = 41	D = 82	D = 123	Interpretation Guide
Mean and Variance of Similarity Scores	0.298 / 0.013	0.165 / 0.022	0.099 / 0.012	0.073 / 0.008	Higher mean and variance indicate broader similarities (less granularity). Lower values imply stricter similarity and finer distinctions.
Explained Variance	1	0.465	0.75	1	Higher explained variance retains more data detail, capturing additional nuances but potentially introducing noise. Lower values focus on broader patterns.
Silhouette Score	0.189	0.213	0.261	0.288	Higher silhouette scores indicate clearer cluster separation, suggesting better-defined groupings of similar documents.

Figure 2 shows the similarity distributions for embedding dimensions at 42 and 0.05 occurrence rate and dimensions at 42, 82 and 123 and 0.02 occurrence rate.

Figure 2: Cosine Similarity Score Distributions



(a) Similarity Distribution (42 Dimensions, 0.05 Rate)



(b) Similarity Distributions (42, 82 & 123 Dimensions, 0.02 Rate)

Based on this assessment, I use a low-dimensional embedding of 42 dimensions and an occurrence threshold of 0.05, determined through model fit comparisons across different dimensional settings.

Cosine similarity is a bag-of-words approach (i.e., it does not consider word order)

for comparing a vector of word frequencies (\mathbf{A}) from one text with a vector of word frequencies (\mathbf{B}) from another text, as specified in Equation (1):

$$\cos(\theta) = \frac{\mathbf{A} \cdot \mathbf{B}}{\|\mathbf{A}\| \|\mathbf{B}\|} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n A_i B_i}{\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n A_i^2} \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n B_i^2}} \quad (1)$$

In word embedding models, two words are considered semantically similar if the vectors representing them are close according to a specific distance function. Cosine similarity ranges from -1 (unrelated words) to 1 (identical words). I computed these scores per proposal to assess text similarity between the rural development sections of the peace accord and proposals on rural issues signed by collective petitioners.

The density distribution of cosine similarity scores indicates that the dependent variable appears to be right-skewed to some extent (see Figure 2). Kolmogorov-Smirnov and Anderson-Darling tests further confirm that this variable is different from a normal distribution at a statistically significant level. Therefore, I transform it into a binary variable where 1 means that a proposal yields a similarity score at the 75% of the distribution.

Table 1 lists collective actors' proposal excerpts by the degree to which they record text reuse. Most highly-rated proposals refer to land reform in war zones through an illicit crop substitution program.

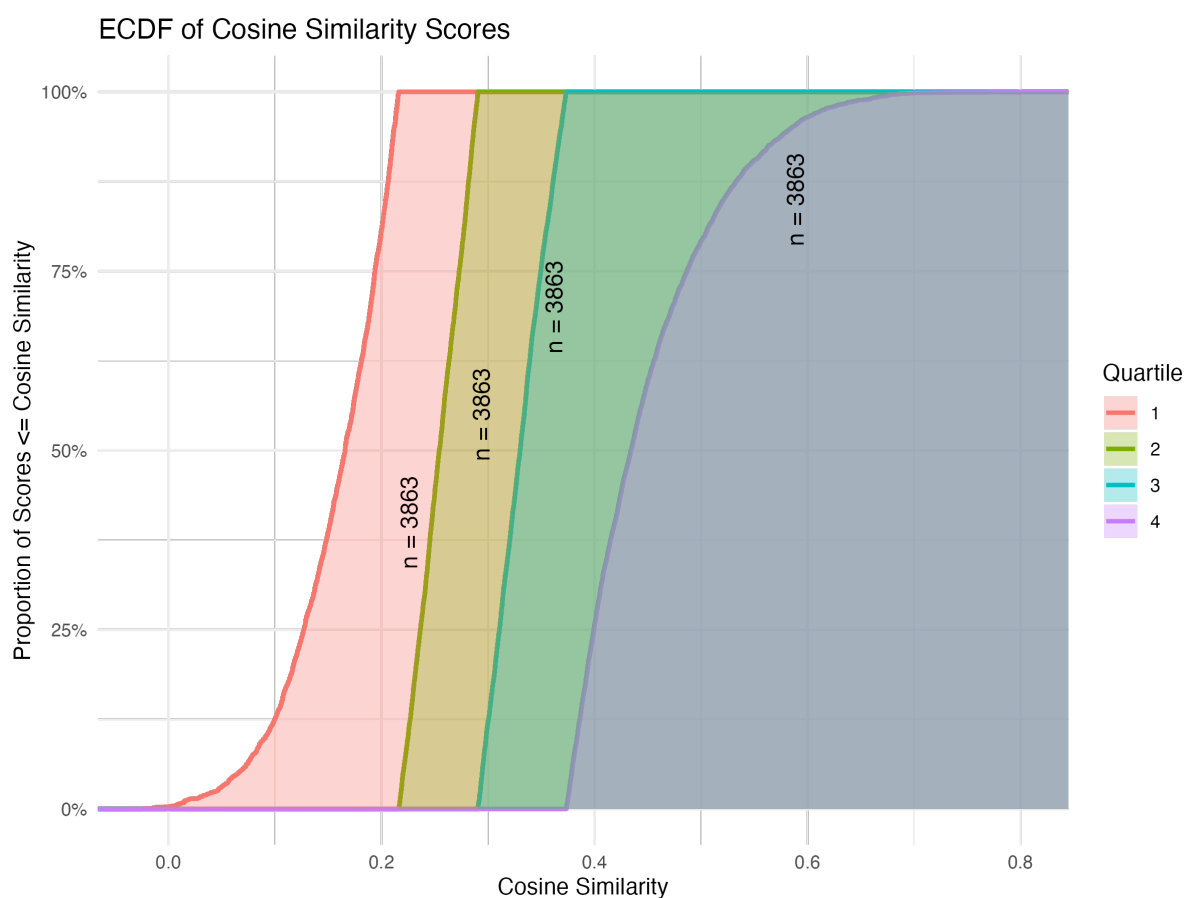
Table 1: Proposals Rated by Similarity to the Peace Agreement (Rural Sections)

Proposal	Score
<p>“Guiding Principles for Voluntary Illicit Crop Substitution. Comprehensive Rural Development with Short, Medium, and Long-Term Support: In efforts to increase employment and income, a “full-package” approach is employed, which includes: Support for Productive Ventures: Regions have productive ventures aligned with the Regional Competitiveness Plan, the National Productive Ventures, and other promising initiatives that spark local market activity. The goal is to support collective territories and producer organizations with incentives for establishing or restoring lands previously abandoned due to illicit crops and illegal economies. Incentive values vary depending on the activity and are negotiated among participants. Technical assistance should include specialists in the crops chosen by each region. Fair Market Access: Perhaps the most crucial element, this principle recognizes that poor farmers in marginal areas struggle immensely to earn a fair price for their legal goods, while coca buyers offer direct, on-site purchasing. With coca, the market comes to the farmer; with legal production, market access is much harder. Market access includes continuous information about current demands, pre-purchase contracts, and ongoing technical advice on buyer requirements. Additionally, the solidarity and committed support of governments and the international community are vital, recognizing communities’ efforts through premium pricing for products from these regions. This compensates for their role in eradicating and preventing illicit crops, contributing to security, peace, and sustainable development for these communities. Value Addition and Market Access: Currently, local products and raw materials must travel long distances to reach processing and distribution centers, sometimes weakening competitiveness and reducing producers’ incomes. The program proposes setting up Product and Raw Material Processing Units within these regions. Achieving this requires policies to promote and incentivize public-private partnerships that address the economic factors needed for these processing units. It also calls for primary producers’ effective participation. Government support at municipal, departmental, and national levels, as well as from partners, should focus on ensuring these processing units are established locally, with local stakeholder involvement, and on placing these products in national and international markets under fair, sustainable conditions. Technology: Access to suitable technology is another major challenge for these families. Quality seeds, best agricultural and manufacturing practices, proper fertilization, certifications, and technical assistance are essential but not universally available. Technical assistance should comprehensively address these and other needs, aligning with program phases. Human Talent Development: In the Nariño Pacific Ethnodevelopment Plan, this component was known as “Educational Conversion” as it aims to lay the social foundations for sustainable development models and technology packages. A pilot plan for the voluntary substitution of illicit crops will be implemented with the following components: 1) Coordination by the Governor’s Office of Nariño; 2) The plan will operate without fumigation and will undergo evaluation every four months to determine its continuation; 3) The program will be structured at the municipal level, with the minimum implementation area being an entire municipality; 4) Active participation from the majority of the municipality’s inhabitants is required;</p>	0.803

Proposal	Score
<p>5) At least 70% of coca cultivators within the municipality must agree to either personally uproot their plants or commit to not replanting following manual or forced eradication; 6) The national government will contribute through agencies including the National Narcotics Office, DPS (Department for Social Prosperity), the National Police, and the Ministry of Agriculture; 7) Economic development will be promoted through collaboratively designed packages that include market access, technology, and financing for selected activities. Rather than relying on an assistance-based approach, financing will be provided to support the transition period until alternative activities generate income. 8) Priority will be given to social investment, implemented through a participatory process; 9) Both coca cultivators and non-cultivators will receive equal treatment to avoid creating incentives that inadvertently reward illicit cultivation; 10) The program will include sustained support for at least three years. 11) The work will be phased, starting with municipalities identified by police data as having the largest areas of coca cultivation. If the initial phase is successful, the program will be expanded to additional municipalities after six months.”¹</p>	0.803
<p>“Agreement Implementation Criteria. The agreement implementation criteria should include: (1) a human rights-based approach, (2) democratic and deliberative citizen participation, (3) a differential and gender-sensitive approach, and (4) sustainability. Following these principles, the signing of the Final Agreement will initiate the implementation of all agreed-upon points, ensuring that peace policies reflect a long-term commitment by the State rather than a temporary government policy. It is essential to address the social agenda, establishing an action plan to implement both previous and current agreements between the government and social organizations, including rural, Indigenous, and Afro-descendant groups. Implementation should start at the smallest administrative levels—municipalities, villages, hamlets, and districts—and extend to large cities, removing bureaucratic or geographic barriers while intensifying efforts in areas requiring greater focus. The general framework for implementation should be discussed at the negotiation table and align with the 1991 Constitution and its supporting laws, so that the agreements can be properly incorporated into the Constitutional Block, a legal mechanism designed to amend the constitution and existing laws as necessary. Implementation, social oversight, and follow-up must have a strong local impact and be integrated with existing programs in line with national, departmental, district, and municipal development plans. The National Development Plan (PND) will need to be adjusted, with mandatory updates to departmental and municipal development plans, accounting for the diverse geographic, cultural, environmental, human, and infrastructural characteristics of each region. Given potential incompatibilities with the legal framework, development plan, fiscal policy, and political culture, urgent legal reforms and adjustments to the constitutional order will be required. As an initial step, a redefinition and reformulation of the National Development Plan, with specific guidelines for integration, should be presented to Congress.”²</p>	0.703

Figure 3 presents the empirical cumulative frequency distribution (ECDF) of the cosine similarity scores for proposals compared to the rural sections of the peace agreement. The x-axis displays cosine similarity scores ranging from -1 to 1, while the y-axis displays the proportion of scores less than or equal to the respective cosine similarity score. This distribution shows that the majority of documents exhibit low to moderate similarity with the peace agreement, whereas only 25% of citizen proposals showing significant alignment with the accord.

Figure 3: Empirical Cumulative Frequency Distribution of Cosine Similarity Scores

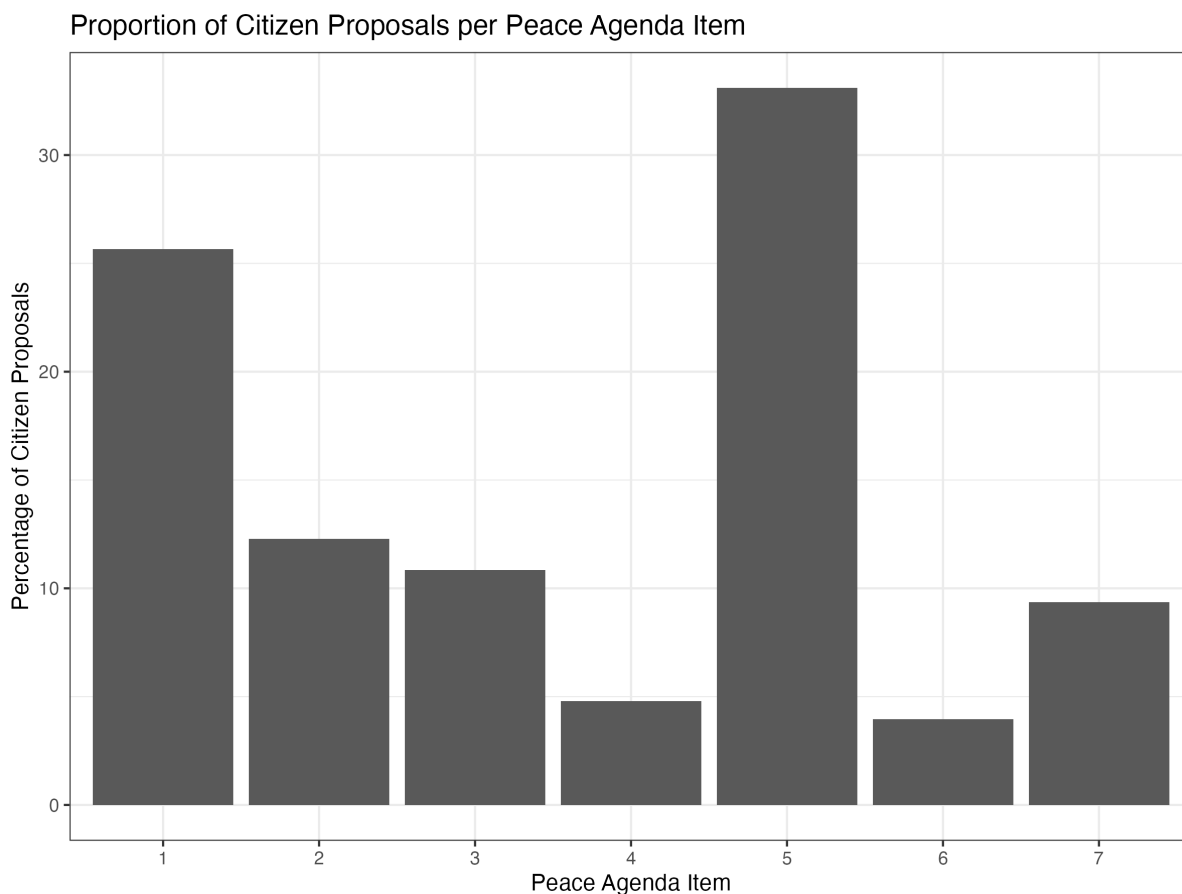


1.3 Independent Variable: Rural Mobilization for Land Redistribution

To operationalize my main independent variable, I used an original and so far unexplored dataset collected and assembled *Fundación Ideas para la Paz* (FIP) under Santos' ad-

ministration commission. Thematically, this dataset classifies citizen proposals by peace agreement topics, including themes left unaddressed at the peace table, such as extractive industries and security sector reform. Figure 4 lists out agreement sub-themes recording the highest proportion of citizen proposals (more than 1% of the proposals).

Figure 4: Proportion of Citizen Proposals per Peace Agenda Topics



To identify grassroots movements from the universe of collective petitioners, I manually classified collective petitioners as rural movements if they were initially categorized as labor unions, indigenous *resguardos* (collective territories enjoying political autonomy), community action boards (or village- and neighborhood-level social organizations), and social organizations (or *movimientos de base*). I refined FIP’s petitioner classification by manually verifying the type of organization and the population represented by each petitioner using secondary sources. This procedure allowed me to distinguish between collective actors endowed with political and economic power—such as political parties,

business firms, and economic interest groups—and rural movements.

Social movements actively engaged in participatory institutions during peace negotiation: on average, social movements submitted 15.4 proposals (standard deviation of ~27.6). At the subnational level, social movements from 463 municipalities participated in proposal-making forums and approximately 5.37 grassroots movements sent proposals per municipality (standard deviation of ~13).

1.4 Topic Modeling

Drawing upon FIP classification, I created a subset of proposals centered on rural issues by filtering out documents tagged integrated agrarian development (point 1), ex-combatant socio-economic reincorporation (point 3.3), illicit crop substitution (point 4.1), compensation (point 5.7), land dispossession (point 5.4.9), and extractive industries (point 7.1). Table 5 lists out two proposals assigned to more than one topic and signed by many organizations.

Figure 5: Proposal Sample

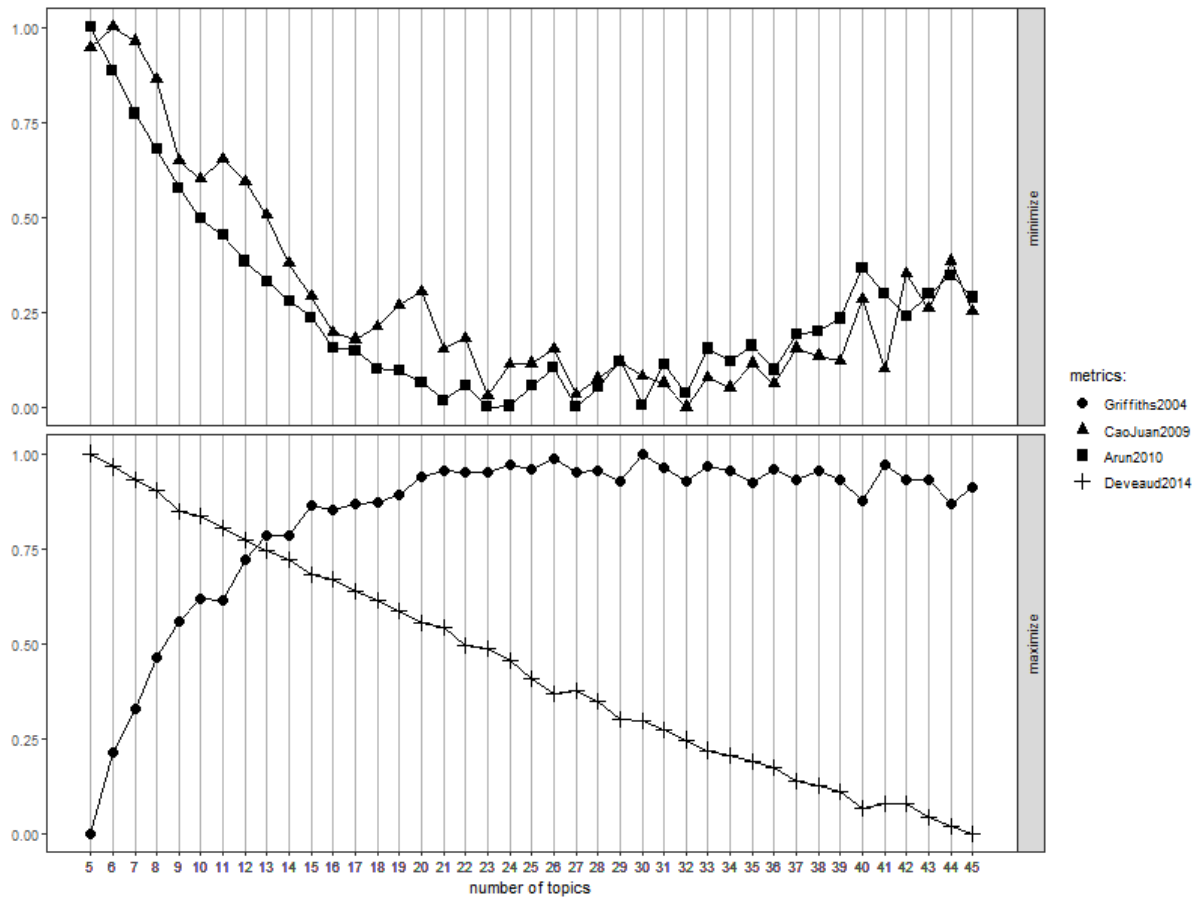
Proposal	Topics	Petitioners
“Develop a comprehensive agrarian reform plan that includes taking over unproductive large estates. Additionally, ensure economic and technological support for farmers by establishing a legal and political body to oversee the process.” ³	Integrated rural reform	Six petitioners, including two diaspora organizations, one national agrarian movement, one youth movement, one regional peasant movement, and one political movement.
“To prevent the recurrence of violence, it is crucial to develop public policies that reform the economic model, ensure equitable resource distribution, focus on sustainable development, and enable Colombians to live dignified lives with full access to their rights. The participants propose the following priorities: agrarian reform; reform of the mining sector and the development of an extractivist public policy that ensures community consultation, environmental protection, and revisions to fiscal policies affecting companies; justice reform to ensure a functioning justice system that can prevent impunity, which significantly contributes to ongoing conflict; reform of the security forces; review of the royalties system; and labor reform, including the promotion of cooperatives and improvements to social security.” ⁴	Integrated rural reform, political participation, armed conflict cessation, victims, and other non-agenda items such as extractive industries, security sector reform, and labor reform.	twenty five petitioners, including five women’s movements, one national peasant movement, eleven victims’ movements, three university-based research clusters, one labor union, and two environmental movements

I applied LDA topic models to this restricted sample. In more intuitive terms, LDA helps uncover hidden thematic structures within a large text corpora. LDA operates under three key assumptions: the order of words within documents does not matter (the “bag of words” assumption), the order of documents is irrelevant, and the number of topics (K) is fixed and known (Blei, 2012). However, K can also be estimated as a random variable (Teh et al., 2006). The model assumes that each document is a mix of several topics and each topic is characterized by a set of words that frequently occur together.

Before fitting the LDA topic model, I pre-processed proposals using conventional techniques described in subsection 1.2. I performed lemmatization through Stanza and then standardized frequent terms employing spaCy’s rule-based matcher engine to merge entities written in various forms into custom labels. I further processed the text corpora by lowercasing and removing punctuation marks and stop words (e.g., pronouns, articles, and auxiliary verbs). I retained auxiliary verbs and non-alphabetical characters that meaningfully denote human rights terminology in proposals by manually identifying such legal terms. For example, auxiliary verbs such as “deber,” or “tener” and legal references like “ley 1448/2011” (or the 2011 Victims’ Law) and T-025/2004 (a landmark judicial decision ruled by the Constitutional Court in 2004) are often used to frame claims as legal duties the state must fulfill for petitioners, given their rights-holding status.

I selected the number of topics for the LDA model by computing the metrics developed by Griffiths and Steyvers (2004); Cao et al. (2009); Arun et al. (2010); Deveaud et al. (2014). These metrics aim to maximize the likelihood and coherence of topics while minimizing the similarity between topics and the distribution of topics and words in the model. Figure 6 plots these metrics across a range of possible topic numbers for my text corpora, suggesting 9, 12, 13, and 15 as the optimal number of topics for topic model.

Figure 6: Best Number of Topics for Topic Modeling

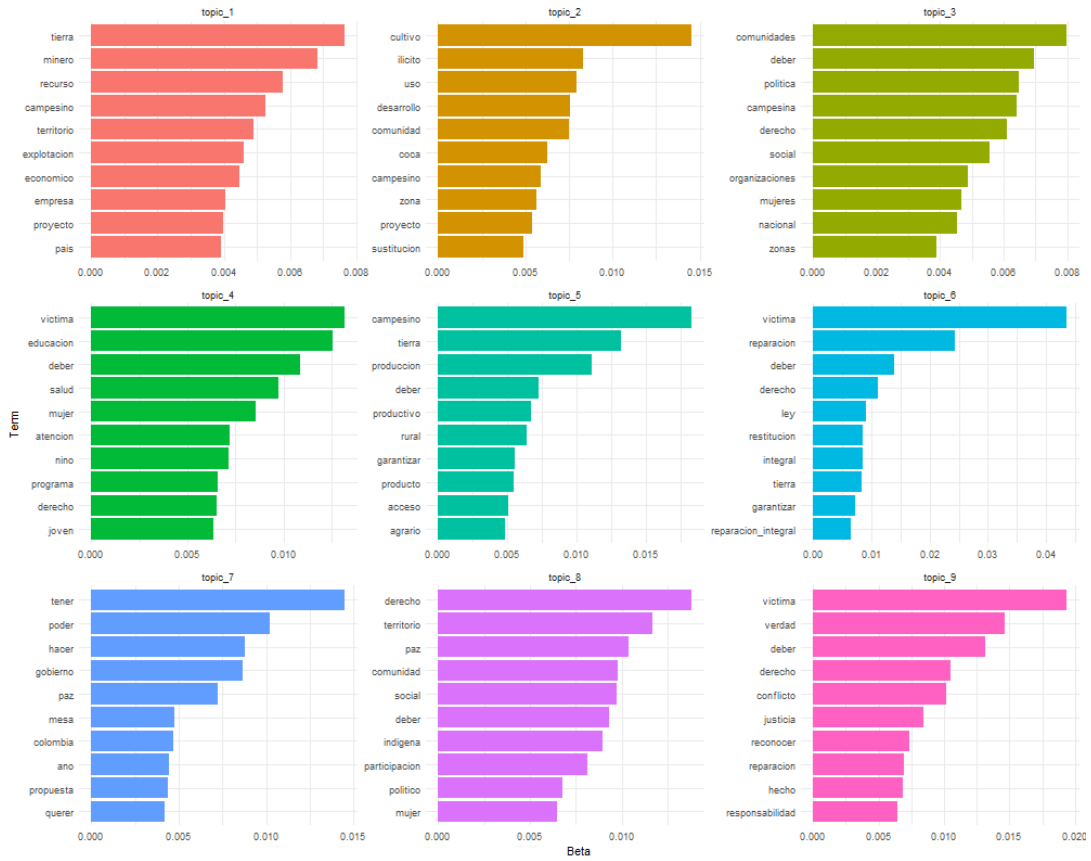


To facilitate interpretation, I plot the 15 top terms per topic for LDA models with 9, 12, 13, and 15 topics (see Figures 7 and 8). Then, I assess overall goodness of fit by computing the log-likelihood, coherence, and prevalence values. The log-likelihood, denoted as $P(\text{tokens}|\text{topics})$, is calculated at each iteration. Topic coherence aims to identify semantically interpretable topics by measuring the extent to which the top terms are semantically similar within each topic. By comparing pairs of words $\{a, b\}$, probabilistic coherence calculates $P(b|a) - P(b)$ where $\{a\}$ is more probable than $\{b\}$ in the topic. Prevalence identifies the most frequent topics in text corpora.

Figures 9 and 10 show the log-likelihood across topics, highlighting that the 9-topic model exhibits efficient learning and stability, as indicated by rapid convergence to a high value. Figures 11 and 12 illustrate coherence and prevalence across topics, suggesting that the 9-topic model features well-defined and meaningful topics (coherence) as well as

significant and interpretable topics (prevalence).

Figure 7: Top terms (K=9 and K=12)

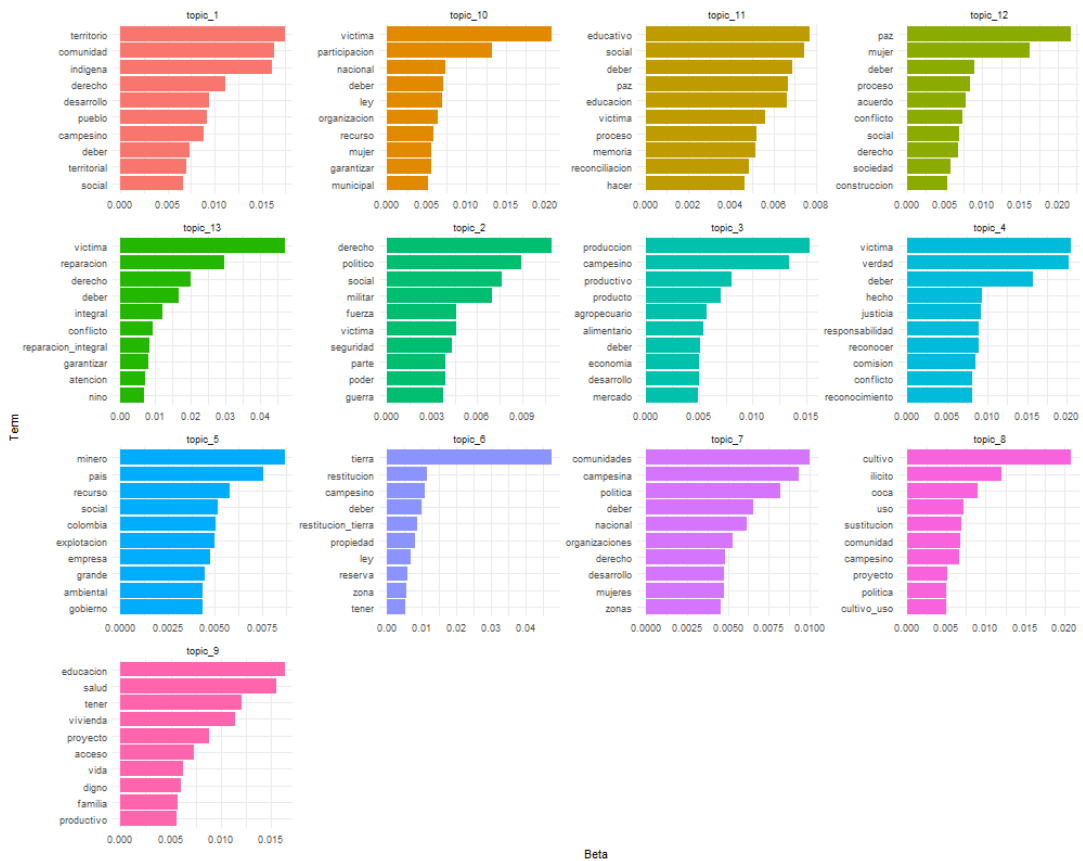


(a) Top terms (K=9)

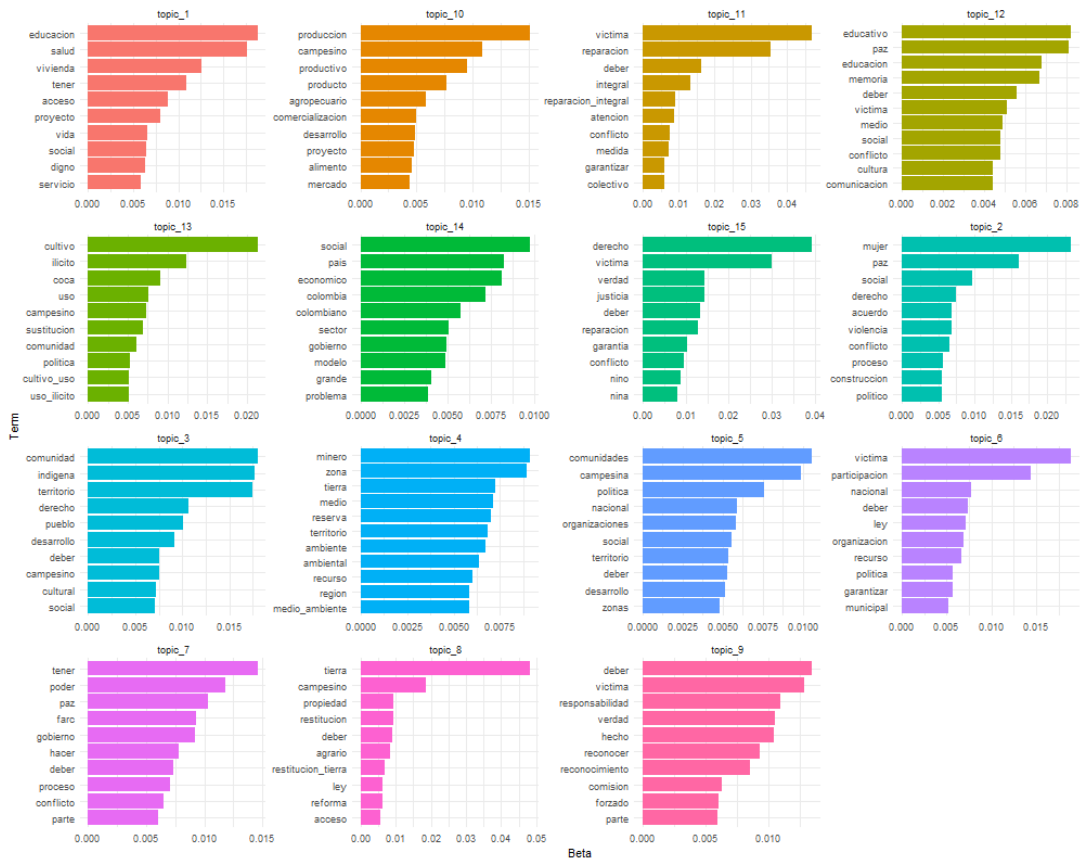


(b) Top terms (K=12)

Figure 8: Top terms (K=13 and K=15)

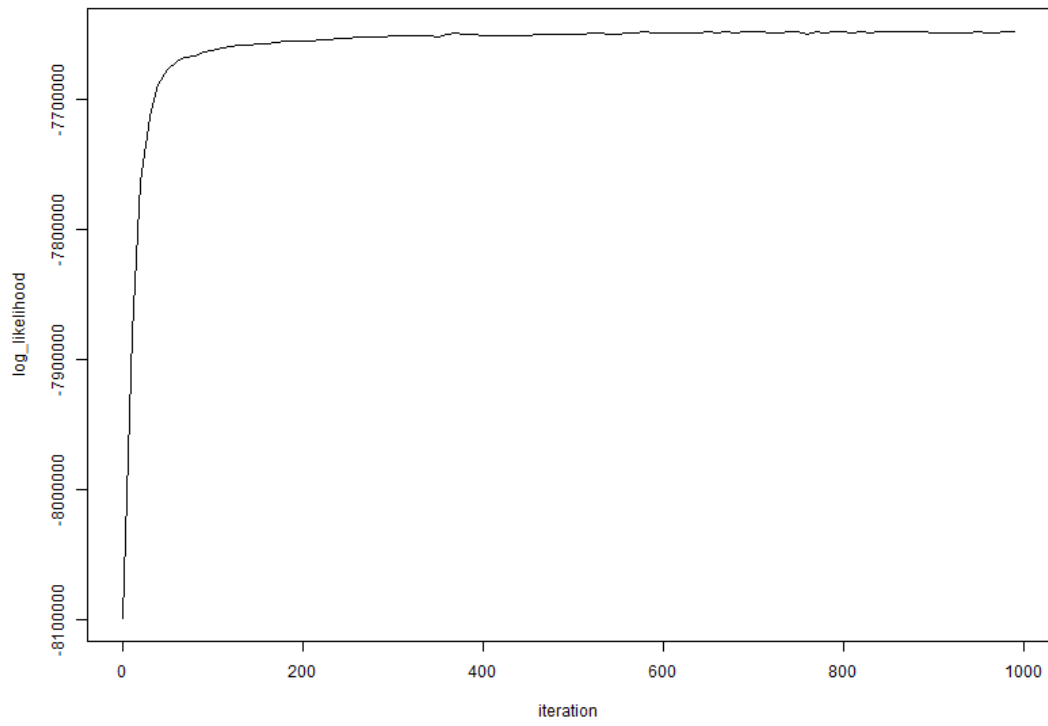


(a) Top terms (K=13)

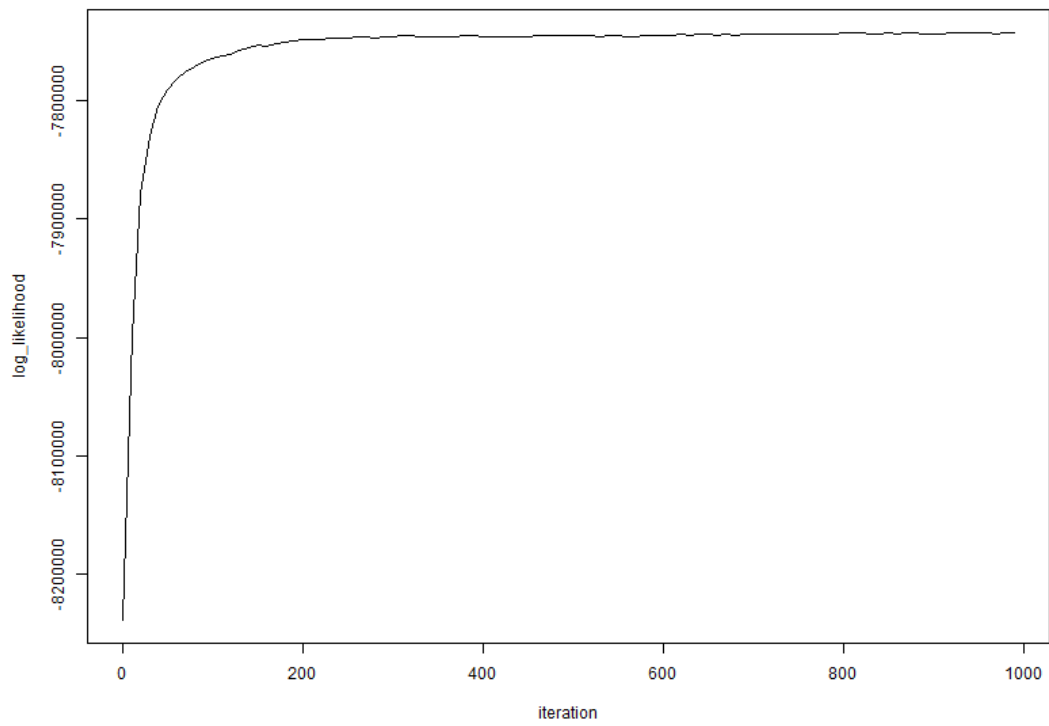


(b) Top terms (K=15)

Figure 9: Log Likelihood (K=9 and K=12)

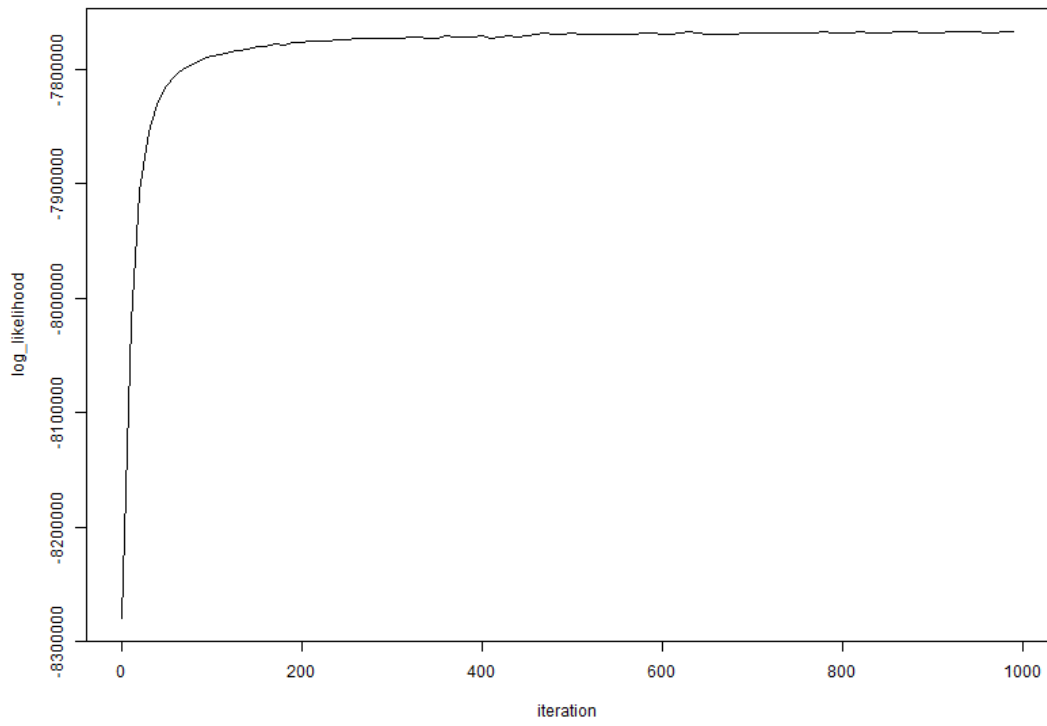


(a) K=9

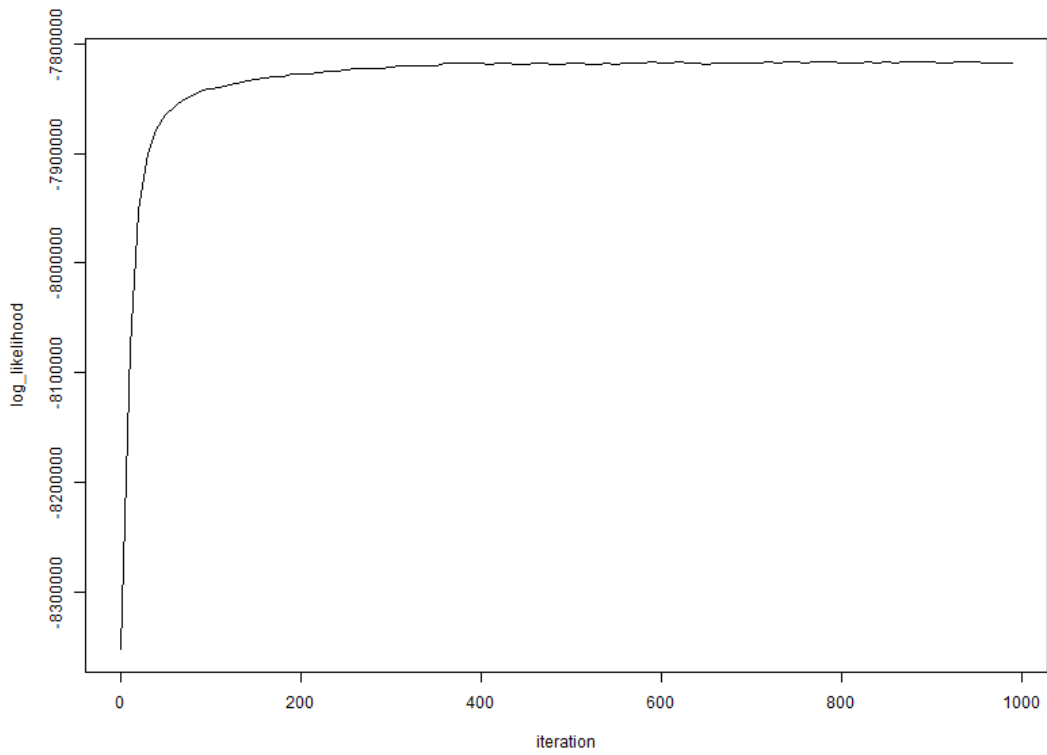


(b) K=12

Figure 10: Log Likelihood (K=13 and K=15)

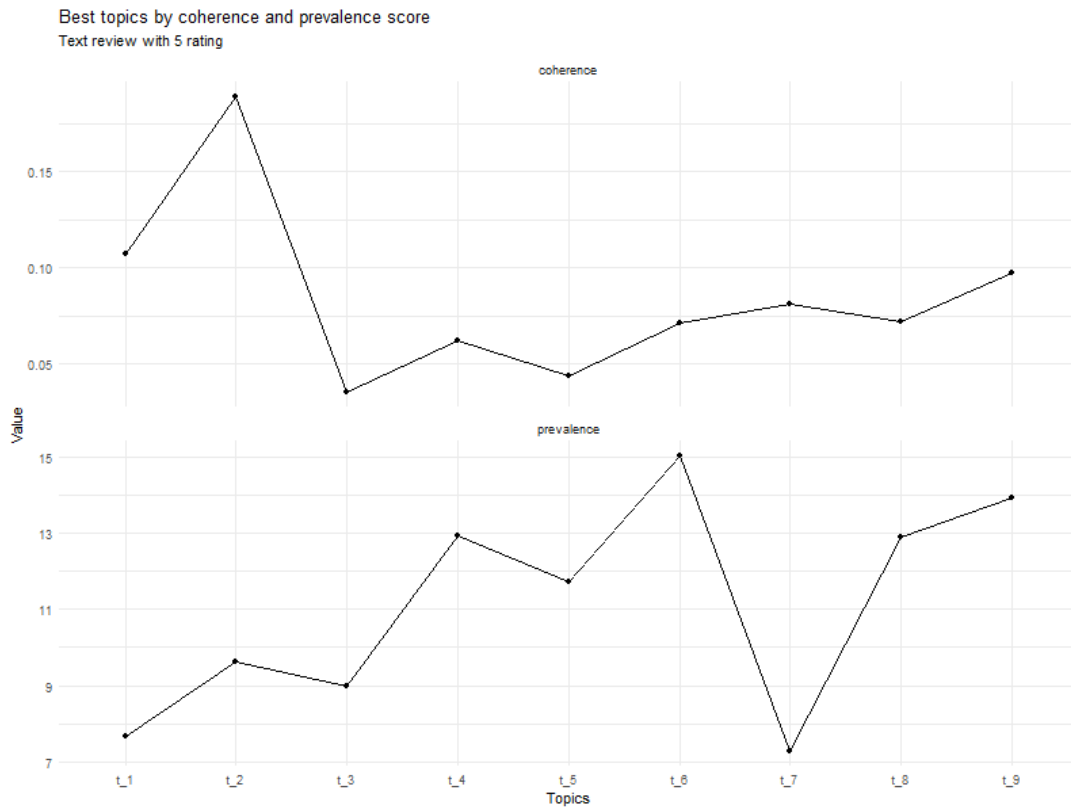


(a) K=13

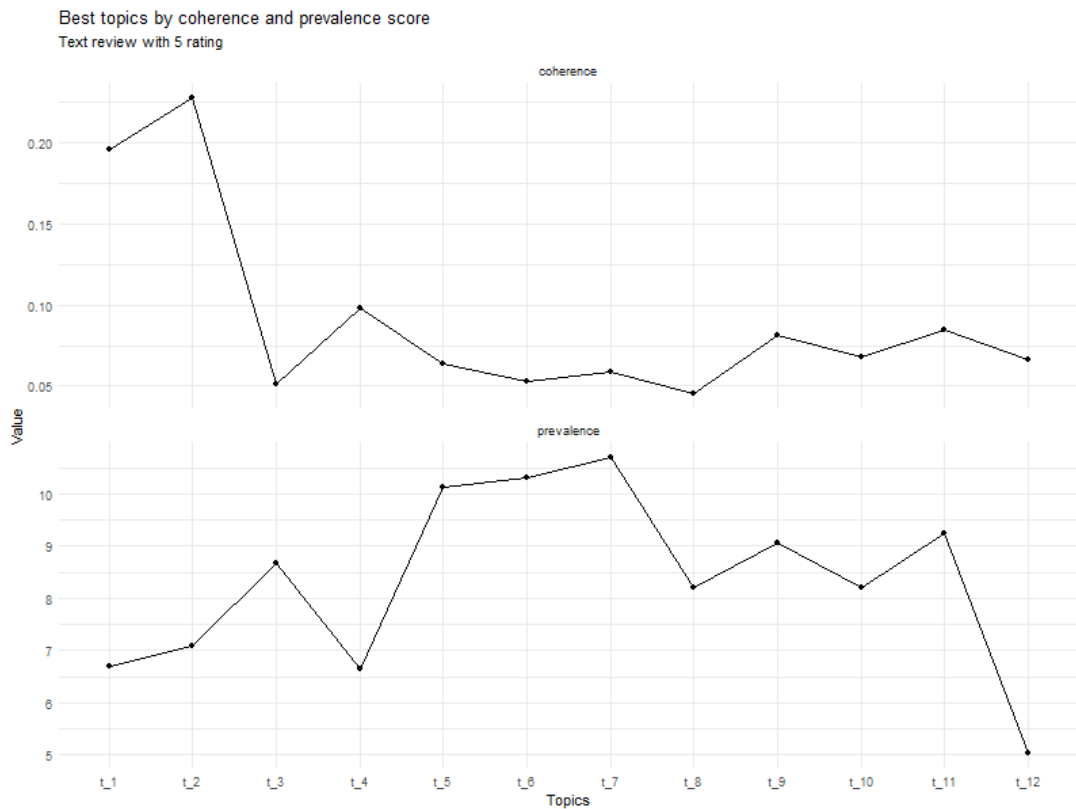


(b) K=15

Figure 11: Coherence and Prevalence (K=9 and K=12)

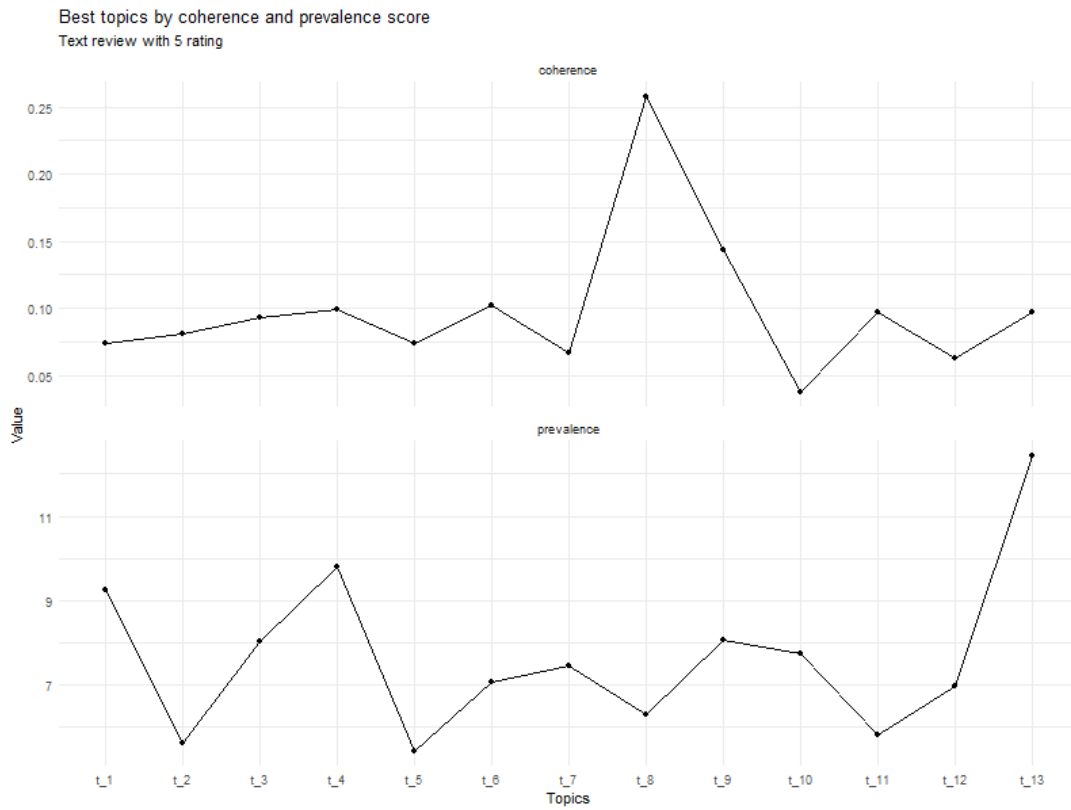


(a) K=9

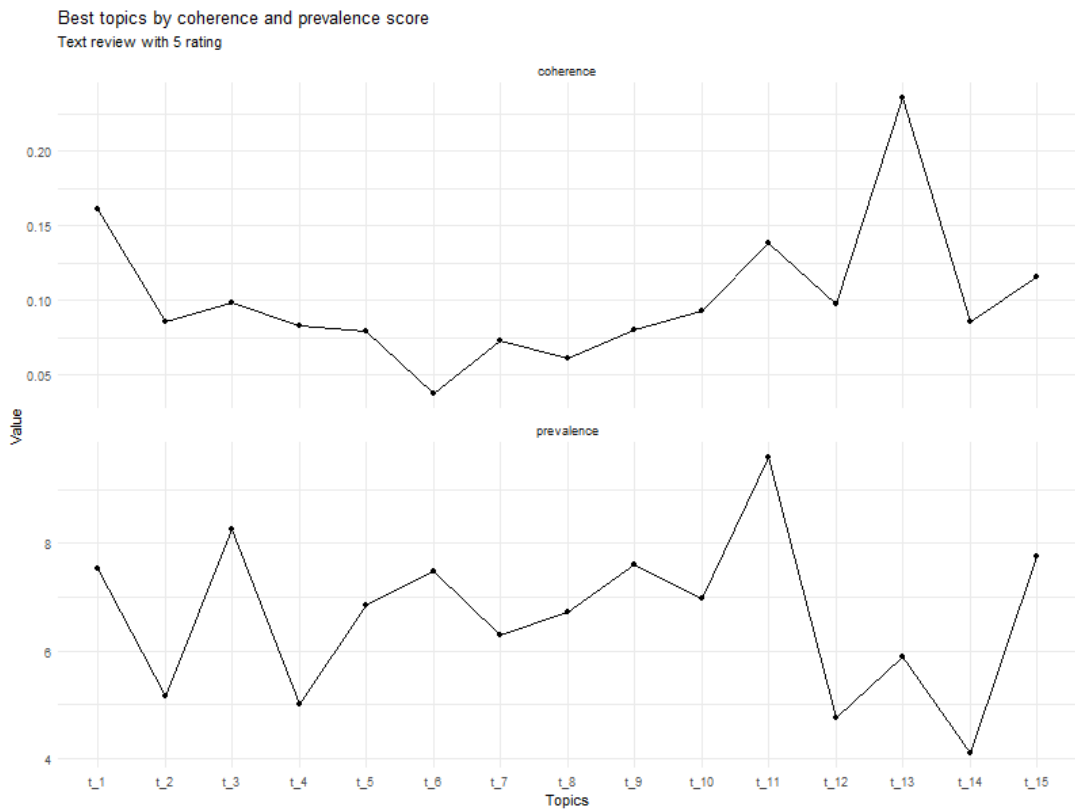


(b) K=12

Figure 12: Coherence and Prevalence (K=13 and K=15)



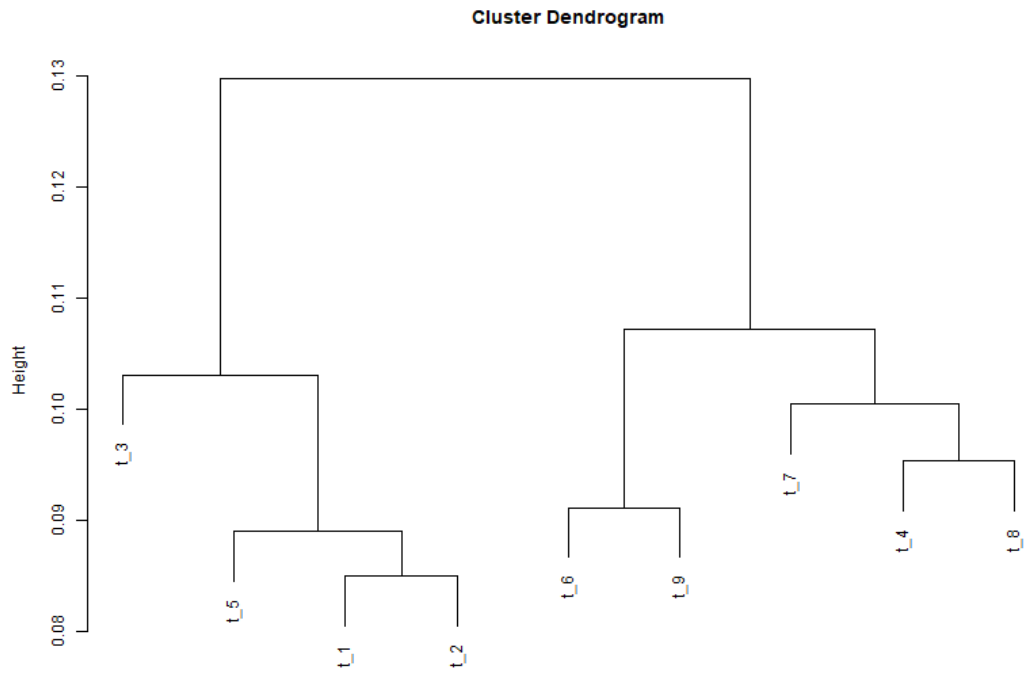
(a) K=13



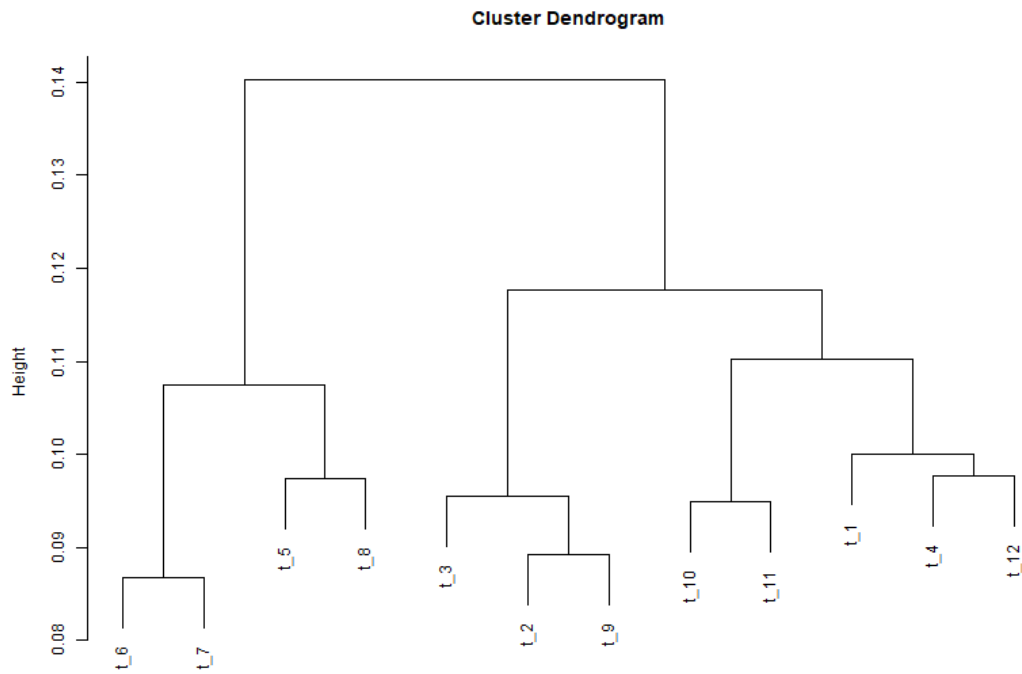
(b) K=15

Since I aim to identify overarching collective action frames, I evaluate whether topics can be grouped together by plotting Dendograms. A Dendogram computes Hellinger distance—that is, distance between two probability vectors—to provide a visual representation of the hierarchical clustering of topics, showing how similar or different they are from each other. Figures 13 and 14 suggest that my text corpora branches out into two overarching topics. For instance, in the 9-topic model—the best model based on log-likelihood, coherence, and prevalence values—documents cluster into two groups. One group refers to reparation-based frames, including proposals focused on victims rights such as justice, truth-seeking, and reparations, represented by the left-hand side cluster covering topics 6, 9, 7, 4, and 8. The other group comprises class-based frames, including proposals centered on land access for landless communities and effective control over land (topics 1, 2, and 5), as well as women political participation (topic 3). Such topic clustering pattern is consistent across models with 12, 13, and 15 topics.

Figure 13: Dendrogram (K=9 and K=12)

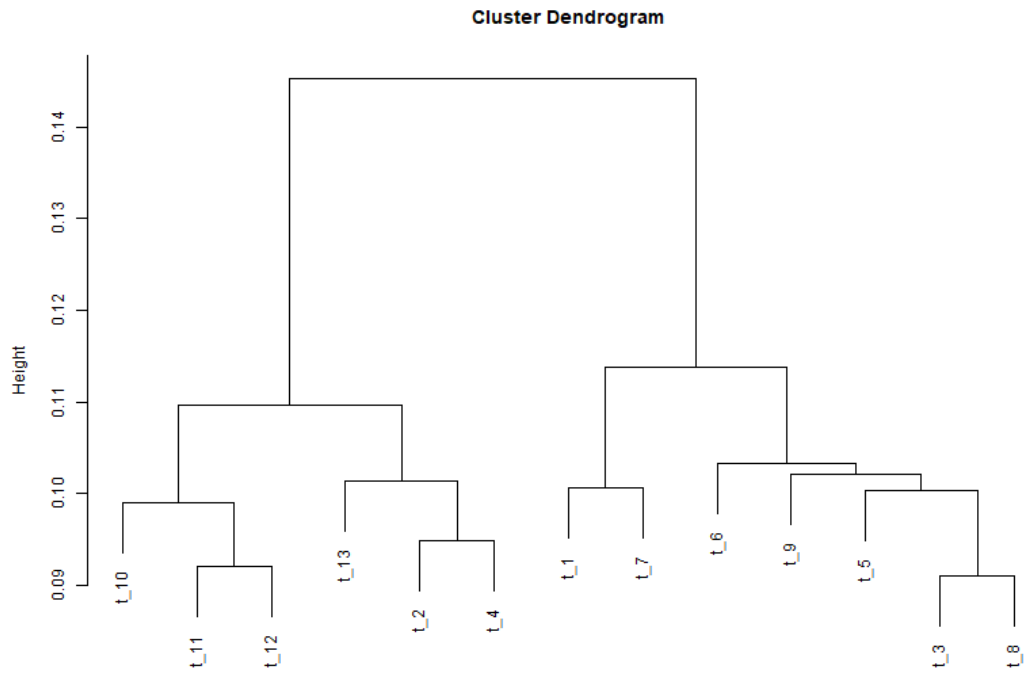


(a) K=9

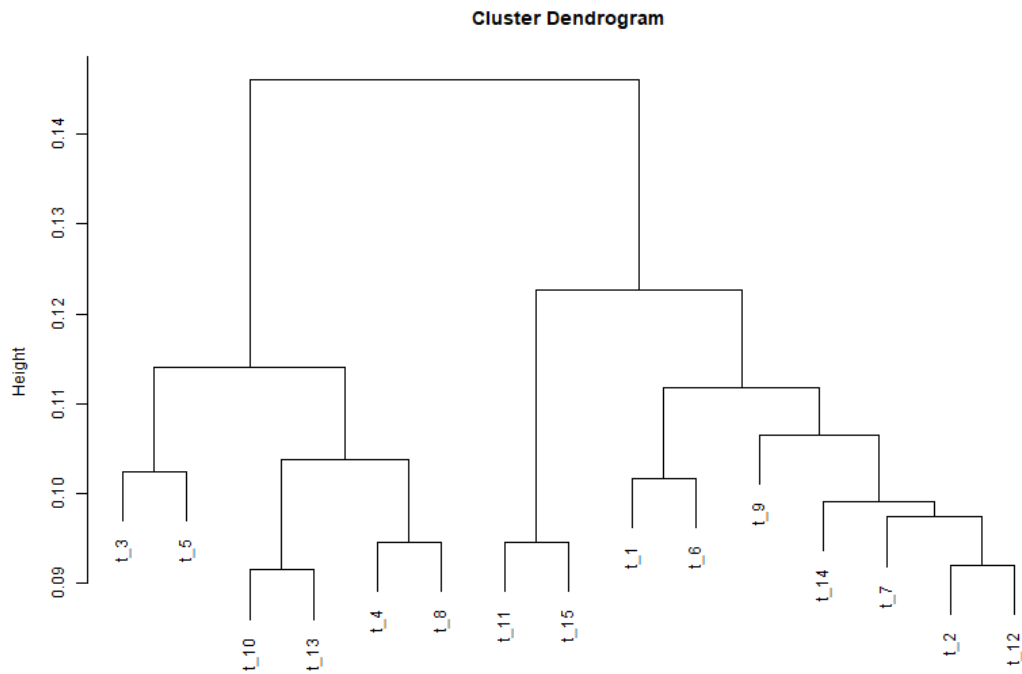


(b) K=12

Figure 14: Dendrogram (K=13 and K=15)



(a) K=13



(b) K=15

Table 2 lists the two highest per-topic-per-word probabilities—also called β —and their proposal excerpts per topic for illustrative purposes for a 2-topic model.

Table 2: Word-topic probabilities and Proposal Excerpts (K=2)

Topic	Proposal Excerpt	β
1	“The government must immediately and urgently proceed with the removal of the forest reserve designation and reclassify the area as a peasant reserve zone. This includes advancing the land titling processes within a program called ”Guaviare and Southern Meta: Land of Owners.” Furthermore, it is crucial to promote the continuous participation of communities in the design, management, and evaluation of comprehensive agrarian policy.” ⁵	0.999
1	“The aerial fumigation-based anti-narcotics policy is criticized for its harmful effects on peasants, indigenous people, Afro-descendants, and other marginalized populations who rely directly or indirectly on this economy for their subsistence. We propose recognizing the existence of the social and coca conflict, which would allow for the legal organization of a National Association of Small-Scale Coca Growers under subsistence conditions for industrial uses. Additionally, anti-drug policy must be developed through discussion and agreement between the directly and indirectly affected communities and the governing state, without foreign impositions. Furthermore, a ”true” agrarian revolution with social justice is advocated, aimed at halting the concentration of hundreds of thousands of hectares in the hands of a few, which have been turned into idle properties or dedicated to extensive cattle ranching, including the 10 million hectares resulting from dispossession over the past 20 years.” ⁶	0.99
2	“We are a group of peasant women, victims of the internal armed violence that plagues our country, belonging to various women’s organizations in the department of Nariño. We present our proposals and request that they be considered and incorporated into the final agreements to be ratified. The new comprehensive agrarian reform must ensure land ownership for women in conflict zones where those who held ownership, tenure, or possession were their husbands or partners who are no longer with them due to widowhood or abandonment. The Truth Commission to be established should include a special chapter for women, detailing the truth about the systematic violations we endured, such as forced abortions, kidnappings, sexual assaults, and other abuses.” ⁷	0.99
2	“As a measure of reparation for victims, we propose to the FARC-EP that, as part of the peace process, they release the kidnapped individuals, return the remains of the disappeared, and provide the locations of minefields to facilitate their removal in collaboration with the government. Additionally, we call for the return of land and the illicitly acquired funds to be used for victim compensation and the preservation of historical memory. (...) Furthermore, we demand that the state recognize the truth and disclose the whereabouts of the disappeared victims of the public forces and paramilitary groups. This process of recognition and reparation should include revealing the names of those responsible for the crimes committed by these armed groups, particularly those mentioned under the Justice and Peace Law. The Attorney General’s Office must investigate and prosecute those responsible, ensuring concrete results.” ⁸	0.99

2 Full Model Estimations (All coefficients)

Table 3: Logit and Probit Regression Results

Similarity Scores (Binary)					
Variable	Logit Estimate	Logit Std. Error	Probit Estimate	Probit Std. Error	
Rural_Movements	0.2512***	0.0700	0.1471***	0.0406	
Protest	0.2698***	0.0540	0.1555***	0.0314	
Proposal_Length	0.0132***	0.0005	0.0071***	0.0003	
Signatures	-0.0121**	0.0060	-0.0080**	0.0035	
Municipal_Coverage	-0.0081**	0.0041	-0.0042*	0.0023	
Allies	-0.1234	0.0854	-0.0645	0.0492	
Endowed_Organizations	0.0664	0.0559	0.0393	0.0328	
Observations:	9,536		9,536		
Log Likelihood:	-5,017.0590		-5,035.4600		
Akaike Inf. Crit.:	10,050.1200		10,086.9200		

Significance codes: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

3 Alternative Model Specification: OLS Regression

I conducted OLS regression analysis for the variable at its original scale. The main results remain robust for alternative model specifications. Table 4 provides further evidence for Hypothesis 1. When more than half of proposal signatories are identified as rural movements, text reuse increases by 0.014 (model 1) and 0.010 (model 2) on the similarity scale (ranging from -0.0247 to 0.8034), both statistically significant. Proposals from municipalities with at least one protest event display a small positive shift in text similarity of 0.009, though this effect is not statistically significant. However, in municipalities where rural movements are active and protests occur, text reuse increases by 0.01 on the similarity scale, achieving statistical significance.

Table 4: OLS Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Similarity Scores (Original Scale)	
	(1)	(2)
Rural_Movements	0.014*** (0.003)	0.011* (0.005)
Protest		0.009* (0.004)
Proposal_Length	0.001*** (0.00001)	0.001*** (0.00001)
Signatures	-0.0005 (0.0003)	-0.001** (0.0003)
Municipal_Coverage	-0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.0004* (0.0002)
Allies	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)
Endowed_Organizations	0.004 (0.003)	0.005 (0.003)
Rural_Movements:Protest		0.010* (0.005)
Constant	0.256*** (0.003)	0.251*** (0.004)
Observations	9,536	9,536
R ²	0.136	0.140
Adjusted R ²	0.135	0.140

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
Standard errors in parentheses.

4 Robustness Checks

I replicated all model specifications for Cosine Similarity Scores between citizen proposals and the revised peace agreement signed on November 24, 2016. The main findings remain robust in these robustness checks.

4.1 Logit and Probit Models

Table 5: Logit and Probit Regression Results

Similarity Scores (Binary)					
Variable	Logit Estimate	Logit Std. Error	Probit Estimate	Probit Std. Error	
Rural_Movements	0.2992***	0.0710	0.1721***		0.0410
Protest	0.2505***	0.0543	0.1456***		0.0315
Proposal_Length	0.0141***	0.0005	0.0076***		0.0003
Signatures	-0.0085	0.0061	-0.0058*		0.0035
Municipal_Coverage	-0.0108***	0.0041	-0.0057**		0.0023
Allies	-0.1237	0.0857	-0.0647		0.0493
Endowed_Organizations	0.0779	0.0570	0.0447		0.0332
Constant	-2.3253***	0.0842	-1.3444***		0.0477
Observations:	9,536		9,536		
Log Likelihood:	-4,968.9000		-4,987.9850		
Akaike Inf. Crit.:	9,953.8000		9,991.9700		
Pseudo R²:	0.4226		0.4205		

Significance codes: *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05

Table 6: Logit Model Results By Protest Presence

Variable	Protest		No Protest	
	Estimate	Std. Error	Estimate	Std. Error
Rural_Movements	0.4271***	0.0949	-0.1234	0.1364
Proposal_Length	0.0126***	0.0008	0.0147***	0.0008
Signatures	-0.0292**	0.0118	0.0152*	0.0080
Municipal_Coverage	0.0044	0.0096	-0.0099**	0.0048
Allies	-0.0132	0.1554	-0.2698**	0.1297
Endowed_Organizations	0.1999**	0.0790	-0.2400*	0.1356
Constant	-2.1006***	0.1006	-1.9336***	0.1426

Significance Codes: *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05

Model Fit Statistics:

	Protest	No Protest
Observations	4,004	4,806
Log Likelihood	-2,162.888	-2,461.493
AIC	4,339.776	4,936.986
BIC	4,383.841	4,982.329
Pseudo R ²	0.0943	0.1047

4.2 OLS Regression

Table 7: OLS Results (Revised Peace Agreement)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Similarity Scores (Original Scale)	
	Model 1	Model 2
Rural_Movements	0.015*** (0.003)	0.011* (0.005)
Protest		0.010* (0.004)
Proposal_Length	0.001*** (0.00001)	0.001*** (0.00001)
Signatures	-0.0004 (0.0003)	-0.001** (0.0003)
Municipal_Coverage	-0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.0004* (0.0002)
Allies	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)
Endowed_Organizations	0.004 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)
Rural_Movements:Protest		0.010 (0.005)
Constant	0.257*** (0.003)	0.252*** (0.004)
Observations	9,536	9,536
R ²	0.141	0.146
Adjusted R ²	0.141	0.145
Residual Std. Error	0.107 (df = 9535)	0.107 (df = 9535)
F Statistic	261.360***	177.351***

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
Standard errors in parentheses.

5 Qualitative Analysis: In-Depth Interviewing and Archival Research

5.1 Description of Ethics Protocol

Below, I provide my research ethics protocol approved by the Notre Dame Office of Research Compliance (Protocol number 22-11-7517). It was circulated with research participants and archival sites upon first contact. When requested, I explained my research goals and methodological strategy at length to further ensure informed consent from participants.

My name is Isabel Güiza-Gómez, and I am PhD Student in Political Science and Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. I am conducting a dissertation project entitled “Landing Peace. Rural-Poor Mobilization and Land Redistribution in Civil War Political Transitions”. It investigates why wealth redistribution is forged in civil war political transitions despite prior theorizing that expected it to be bargained away. More specifically, it inquires why land redistribution is promised in civil war negotiated settlements and, when addressed in such agreements, why land democratization is achieved at varying degrees at the implementation stage. My dissertation project will explain the nature and content of political commitments on land redistribution found in negotiated settlements and post-transition policies during two civil war, nationwide political transitions in Colombia for the 1982-1994 and 2012-2016 periods. It will also explain the effectiveness and scope of carried-out land redistribution—to wit, policy implementation and subsequent landholding outcomes—across Colombian municipalities for the 2016-2024 period.

I am collecting data on rural-poor mobilization strength and rural-poor movements interactions with peace negotiators (e.g., government and guerrilla negotiators), political parties, and economic elites through in-depth interviews and archival data collection. Today, I am interested in learning from your experience in these issues given your role in [name of movement / negotiation team / political party / economic elite to which the

research participant belongs]. The interview will be around 1.5 hours / I request you access to [name archival data I need to collect] for solely academic purposes.

Please bear in mind that your participation is entirely voluntary. You can decline to respond to any of my questions without being asked why. If you decide not to talk about any topic, please let me know and I will move onto the next question. Also, please remember that you can stop the interview at any time with no penalty. Your answers will remain confidential, and I will not include private information about you in my records or research outputs. I will study the content of our conversation together with the content of several other interviews with other leaders throughout Colombia. I am not recording this interview and, rather, taking notes for merely academic goals.

I do not anticipate costs or any psychological, emotional, physical, social, or legal risks to you related to your participation in this interview. You may find some questions sensitive, but please remember that you can decide not to answer them. In case any risk associated with your involvement in this project emerges, do not hesitate to share with me and I will find the most appropriate ways to address them. While there are no direct benefits to you, you will contribute to a project aimed at enriching our understanding of rural-poor movements' impact on land redistribution committed and carried out in civil war political transitions.

Consent: Do you wish to participate in this project? Please express your willingness to participate by clearly stating yes or no.

5.2 Interview Sample Selection

I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with government and insurgent negotiators and advisors, representatives of social movements, allied organizations such as NGOs, and staff members responsible for facilitating participatory spaces. Interviewees were selected based on their firsthand knowledge and expertise in land grievances and peace negotiations. Leveraging existing networks, I initiated contact with several interviewees, who subsequently referred me to additional participants, following a snowball sampling method. To address ethnic, racial, and gender disparities in the sample, I

actively recruited participants from underrepresented groups. However, the number of women recruited was limited, reflecting gender imbalances in the Havana peace talks, where men predominantly occupied negotiation roles despite efforts to enhance women's representation on both sides to the table.

Given the localized nature of rural mobilization, I selected movement representatives from municipalities directly engaged in protests and high-level negotiations. These high-ranking interviews enabled me to trace the role of rural movements in peace negotiations. Furthermore, my sampling strategy accounted for variation in subnational mobilization strength. Hence, interviewees were primarily drawn from municipalities exhibiting different levels of direct involvement and disruptive actions during the period under study. I also included participants from movements showing diverse ideological perspectives to explore the varying collective action frames used by these actors in articulating their grievances. To ensure anonymity promised to participants, I assigned a code to interviewees. Table 8 lists interviewees' codes, profiles, and the date they were interviewed.

Table 8: In-Depth Interviews List

Code	Interviewee Profile	Date
1	Peasant Movement Leader in Cauca	07/15/2021
2	Peasant Movement Leader in Nariño	07/17/2021
3	Peasant Movement Leader in Cauca	07/28/2021
4	FARC-EP Negotiator	09/05/2022
5	Government Negotiator	09/15/2022
6	Peasant Movement Leader in Cauca	11/08/2022
7	Peasant Movement Leader in Bolívar	11/10/2022
8	Participatory Institutions Staff Member	11/15/2022
9	National Indigenous Movement Leader	11/21/2022
10	National Leftist Political Movement Leader	01/20/2023
11	National Leftist Political Movement Leader	03/14/2023
12	National Peasant Movement Leader	03/01/2023
13	Peasant Movement Leader in Cauca	03/14/2023
14	National Indigenous Movement Leader	03/15/2023
15	National Peasant Movement Leader	03/22/2023
16	FARC-EP Negotiation Advisor	03/24/2023
17	FARC-EP Negotiator	03/25/2023
18	Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader in Catatumbo	03/30/2023
19	Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader in Catatumbo	03/30/2023
20	Government Negotiation Advisor	04/13/2023
21	Mid-Sized Farmer Movement Representative	04/14/2023
22	FARC-EP Negotiator	04/19/2023
23	FARC-EP Negotiator	04/21/2023
24	Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader in Catatumbo	04/27/2023
25	Peasant Movement Leader in Bolívar	04/27/2023

Code	Interviewee Profile	Date
26	FARC-EP Negotiator	05/03/2023
27	Peasant Movement Leader in Meta	05/08/2023
28	Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader in Putumayo	06/07/2023
29	Government Negotiation Advisor	06/20/2023
30	Government Negotiation Advisor	06/21/2023
31	National Indigenous Movement Leader	06/21/2023
32	NGO representative	06/23/2023
33	FARC-EP Negotiation Advisor	06/28/2023
34	Participatory Institutions Staff Member	06/30/2023
35	Participatory Institutions Staff Member	06/30/2023
36	Afro-descendant Movement Peasant Leader in Cauca	07/07/2023
37	Coca-Growing Movement Peasant Leader in Putumayo	07/08/2023
38	Coca-Growing Movement Leader in Putumayo	07/11/2023
39	Peasant Movement Leader in Cauca	07/12/2023
40	National Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader	09/08/2023
41	Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader in Catatumbo	09/23/2023
42	Coca-Growing Peasant Movement Leader in Catatumbo	09/23/2023
43	FARC-EP Negotiation Advisor	09/23/2023
44	National Peasant Movement Leader	09/27/2023
45	Afro-descendant Movement Leader in Chocó	11/15/2023
46	FARC-EP Negotiator	02/13/2024
47	Government Negotiation Advisor	26/03/2024

5.3 Interview Questionnaires

Below I provide a description of ethics protocol circulated with participants and archival sites to collected data. I also present versions of questionnaires translated in English since interviews were only conducted in Spanish.

A. Movement Leaders' Questionnaire

1. Background information

- Please tell me about your mobilization trajectory in the movement [name].

2. Movements' strategies and demands

- What demands does your movement primarily raise regarding land issues?
- What significant mobilization events do you recall for your movement's claims-making for land redistribution?
- When do you prefer to go to the streets instead of negotiation spaces? When do you choose to engage with state institutions rather than embarking on protest action?
- What outcomes does your movement achieve through protest action and/or institutional channels?

3. Mobilization before and during peace negotiation

- Could you please tell me more about mobilization during wartime in municipalities where your movement has a foot? What obstacles do you face in mobilization waves at the local level?
- What challenges did your movement face when engaged in mobilization for land redistribution? What spaces did you have to bring about redistributive demands during wartime?
- What changes in obstacles and opportunities for mobilization did you realize once peace negotiation started?

4. Participation in peace negotiations

- The talks between the Colombian State and the former FARC-EP in Havana opened spaces for citizen participation through forums (organized by UNDP and the National University), written proposals, and delegations. I note that your movement sent several proposals to the table, especially on rural development, political participation, substitution of illicit crops, and land restitution.
- How did your movement participate in these scenarios?

- What motivated you to do so?
- How did you define who would go to the scenarios?
- How did you decide which issues you would send to the table?
- Were these issues that you were already working on, or did you focus on the points that were included in the peace agreement?
- Was there any aspect of those participation spaces that generated the idea that proposals would find support at the table and beyond the signing of the agreement?
- What benefits do you perceive that your organization had in those participatory spaces (expansion of networks with other movements, echo of political agendas, ideas resonated in the agreement, etc.)?
- What other mobilization strategies did you use to advance your political agenda during the peace negotiation and implementation phase?
- What have been the most significant protests in which you have participated during peace negotiation?
- At what moments do you decide to protest or block roads instead of advocating within institutions (participating in regional forums or sending written proposals to the table)?
- Do you perceive any change in the political landscape after the Havana participatory scenarios? Do you think that this political change has implied that new issues have appeared in the public debate with more strength? Why?

5. Alliances with key actors

- What political allies does your movement join in its quest for land redistribution (e.g., other movements, donors, political parties, insurgent groups)?
- How has your movement forged such alliances? What strategies has your movement envisioned through alliances with key actors?

- To what extent have such alliances increased your movement's success in achieving its purported goals?

B. Government and Insurgent Negotiators and Advisors

1. Background information.

- Could you please introduce yourself to me and tell me more about your trajectory in the negotiation team [name it] at the peace table held between the government and the guerrilla group [name it]?
- What role did you play in advising the signatories on the peace agenda? For how long were you involved in the negotiation team?

2. Peace negotiation.

- How did you build up the content of each point included in the peace agenda to be bargained with the opposing actor at the table?
- Did you follow internal consultation processes to build up your proposal? If so, how did such consultation processes unfold? What actors were involved in those processes? (Place emphasis on land redistribution)
- What outsider actors were critical to building up the proposals introduced to the table by your side?
- How did you create relationships to those actors? (type of actors, objectives of the alliances, places with greater and lesser presence, at what level (emphasis on local vs. national)) (Place emphasis on social movements)
- What strategies did your side employ to persuade the other signatory to agree upon your proposal per agreement points?
- Which issues were crucial for your side to striking an agreement?
- Why and how did you insist in such issues to be addressed at the table?
- What factors do you think help us understand why both sides compromise on land redistribution?

C. Proposal-making forum staff members' Questionnaire

- Background information. Please tell me about your role in running proposal-making forums during peace negotiation.

1. Proposal-making forums' establishment:

- Why did the warring sides establish proposal-making forums during the peace talks if peace negotiation was initially guided by high confidentiality?
- How did they draft the structure and methodology of this novel platform?

2. Forums' objectives and methodology:

- What objectives did proposal-making forums pursue?
- How often were those forums run? What themes could be discussed therein?
- What audiences did those forums target? What strategies did the coordinating team employ to guarantee representation of diverse populations and high participation in those forums?
- How did you collect citizen proposals voiced in forums? What systematizing strategy did you use to compile proposals for the signatories' review?

3. Citizen proposals at the peace table:

- After running forums, how did you communicate citizen proposals to the signatories?
- Which impacts did you see that citizen proposals have on bargaining between the warring sides?
- Do you see any further impact of proposal-making forums on Colombian post-agreement politics?

5.4 Interview Analysis: Coding, Saturation, and Consistency

Coding: I promised anonymity to all participants, seeking to ensure a confidential environment where interviewees could speak freely about the influence of unarmed, marginalized actors on peace bargaining. While some elite interviewees might face minimal harm from identity disclosure, I do not reveal identifiable information for any participant, instead using unique IDs. Only interviews with public officials or public figures were recorded. Most interviewees came from marginalized backgrounds and were involved in high-risk activism within a violent context, so I primarily took written notes, which were promptly transcribed after the interviews. Recorded interviews were transcribed using AI software (Whisper), following cybersecurity protocols to guarantee confidentiality.

I transcribed in-depth interviews for comprehensive analysis. Following predefined interview categories, I manually coded excerpts that provided evidence on the theorized effects and causal sequences. I also identified segments that did not align with existing categories, organizing these into new categories as necessary. To ensure the robustness of this coding procedure, I utilized MAXQDA to assess whether the existing categories were exhaustive.

Additionally, I assigned weight scores to each segment, ranging from 0 to 100, based on the extent to which the interview excerpts related to my main research questions. Segments with scores above 60 were retained for their relevance to the research question. I then compared trends across different groups, focusing on similarities and differences in peace negotiation strategies, ideological and instrumental perspectives on land redistribution, and the influence of unarmed actors in the bargaining process. This comparative analysis was extended to social movements to explore their impact on peace negotiations, particularly regarding how and why they shaped the outcomes.

I further compared social movement segments to the results from an LDA model to deepen my understanding of how these movements framed their claims. By manually coding the excerpts as either reparations-based or class-based frames—categories initially identified through LDA topic modeling—I was able to explore the strategic choices

movements made in articulating their grievances. This analysis provided insights into the reasons behind and the methods by which these movements selected specific frames when engaging with warring factions.

Saturation and Consistency of Responses: Although I did not prime interviewees on peace negotiation strategies, stances on land redistribution, or social movement involvement, their responses consistently aligned with the hypothesized effects. Consistency was evident both within and across different profile groups. For within-group comparisons, I assessed consistency among participants by considering their hierarchical positions within each organization. I further ensured consistency by cross-checking interview excerpts from participants holding equivalent positions across different groups. This process allowed me to evaluate the saturation and consistency of responses, thereby increasing my confidence in the findings and the reliability of my reporting.

5.5 Archival Sources

I collected diverse archival materials on peace negotiation, movements' demands, and protest agreements. Most peace negotiation archives were retrieved from the open-source digital archive <https://bapp.com.co/>, assembled by *Fundación Compaz*—a nonprofit founded by former President Santos. To address potential imbalances in data collection, I also gathered undisclosed documents shared by *Partido Comunes*—the FARC-EP successor party. Social movements' documents and protest agreements were collected onsite at movement offices during fieldwork across various municipalities and from institutional archives compiled by *Vivamos Humanos*—a nonprofit founded by former President Samper.

These archives were manually coded based on pre-established categories also used for interviews. This coding procedure was then reviewed in MAXQDA to ensure consistency. I use these documents to complement interview analysis, allowing me to fact check events mentioned in interview excerpts. Table 9 lists out archival sources, document relevant information, and the type of evidence they provide for my analysis.

Table 9: Archival Evidence

Document	Date	Title (in Spanish)	Description	Link / Image
CEDEMA	May 14, 1982	Ley de Reforma Agraria Revolucionaria Promulgada por la Séptima Conferencia de las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP)	Revolutionary agrarian reform bill mandating <i>de facto</i> redistribution from large landowners to landless peasants	Link
UN Peacemaker Archives	March 28, 1984	Acuerdo de la Uribe	Peace accord framework including land reform into the negotiation agenda	Link
FARC-EP Archives	May 6, 1999	Agenda Común por el Cambio Hacia una Nueva Colombia	Peace accord framework including land reform into the negotiation agenda	Figure 15
BAPP	April 9, 2012	Hoja de ruta para la construcción del Acuerdo Marco para la Terminación del Conflicto	Santos' government negotiation document outlining proposed peace agenda	Link
Portafolio	November 12, 2015	Ocho grandes empresarios se reunieron en Cuba con las Farc	Business groups' involvement in peace negotiation	Link
La Silla Vacía	January 23, 2013	Seis razones por las que la propuesta de drogas de las FARC tiene sentido	FARC-EP illicit crop substitution program proposal (version 1)	Link
BAPP	January 1, 2015	Anexo. Cifras de judicialización de campesinos cultivadores	Official statistics on peasant incarcerated for their involvement in illicit crop cultivation	Link
Vivamos Humanos	June 18, 2013	Ante El Pliego del Campesinado del Catatumbo	Press release where local authorities support coca-growing peasant strike	16
El Tiempo	March 16, 2015	Entablan millonaria demanda por perjuicios durante paro del Catatumbo	Oil palm corporations oppose peasant strike in Catatumbo	Link
Fedepalma	June 06, 2013	Levantamiento del bloqueo ilegal en el Catatumbo	Oil palm corporations oppose peasant strike in Catatumbo	Link
Radio Nacional de Colombia	July 19, 2013	'Que no nos crean bobos con zona de reserva campesina de Catatumbo'	Government stigmatizing statements against peasant protest	Link
El Tiempo	June 30, 2013	'Marchas en el Catatumbo están infiltradas por las Farc': Gobierno	Government stigmatizing statements against peasant protest	Link

Document	Date	Title (in Spanish)	Description	Link / Image
Semana	July 9, 2013	ONU pide investigar las muertes en Catatumbo	Outsider support for peasant strikes in Catatumbo	Link
El Tiempo	July 9, 2013	Negociación en el Catatumbo sigue sin mayores avances	Outsider support for peasant strikes in Catatumbo	Link
Vivamos Humanos	August 28, 2013	Estrategia para la post erradicación y fase inicial de la intervención par ala estabilización socio-económica como parte del proceso de sustitución y desarrollo alternativo	Protest agreement	17
Vivamos Humanos	August 11, 2013	Acuerdos entre los gobiernos nacional y departamental de Norte de Santander y la ASCAMCAT para la ejecución inmediata de proyectos de confianza en la región del Catatumbo	Protest agreement	18
Vivamos Humanos	December 11, 2013	Acta Mesa Política del 11 de Diciembre de 2013. Mesa de Interlocución y Acuerdo del Catatumbo	Protest agreement	Figure 19
BAPP	December 16, 2013	Reservado- Acuerdo sobre cultivos de uso ilícito para la Región del Catatumbo	Government assesment of the Catatumbo protest agreements	Link
BAPP	January 14, 2014	Lineamientos básicos para la formulación de un "Programa nacional de sustitución de los usos ilícitos de los cultivos de hoja de coda, amapola o marihuana"	FARC-EP illicit crop substitution program proposal (version 2)	Link
BAPP	December 1, 2013	Talking points punto 4 "solución al problema de las drogas ilícitas"	Government initial stance on illicit crop substitution	Link
BAPP	December 3, 2013	Política anti-drogas para la soberanía y el buen vivir de los pobres del campo	FARC-EP stance on illicit crop substitution	Link
BAPP	December 4, 2013	Solución al Problema de las Drogas Ilícitas	Government stance on illicit crop substitution	Link
BAPP	March 6, 2014	Acta N° 16	Negotiation deadlocks on illicit crop substitution	Link
BAPP	March 6, 2014	Rueda de prensa de fin de ciclo. Propuestas de las FARC-EP para abordar el tema solución al Problema de las Drogas Ilícitas	Negotiation deadlock on illicit crop substitution	Link

Document	Date	Title (in Spanish)	Description	Link / Image
BAPP	February 13, 2014	Acta N° 15	Negotiation deadlocks on illicit crop substitution	Link
BAPP	April 8, 2014	Documento de trabajo. Temas pendientes del Punto 4, Solución al Problema de las Drogas Ilícitas, y propuestas tanto del Gobierno como de las FARC-EP	Negotiation deadlocks on illicit crop substitution	Link
BAPP	May 12, 2014	Documento de trabajo: Pendientes del Punto 4. Temas pendientes a tratar entre las delegaciones sobre la gradualidad de la erradicación de los cultivos ilícitos, la aspersión aérea, la implementación del PNIS, entre otros	Negotiation deadlocks on illicit crop substitution	Link
BBC Mundo News	May 15, 2015	Colombia suspende uso del polémico pesticida glifosato contra cultivos de coca	Aerial fumigation cessation	Link
BAPP	January 14, 2013	Desarrollo rural para la paz de Colombia. Diez propuestas para una política de desarrollo rural y agrario integral con enfoque territorial	FARC-EP land reform proposal (version 1)	Link
BAPP	March 11, 2013	Listado de temas del Punto 1 ya discutidos, aplazados o que no hacen parte de la Agenda	Government stance on land reform	Link
BAPP	March 21, 2013	Declaración del Jefe de la Delegación del Gobierno Nacional para los diálogos en La Habana, Humberto de la Calle Lombana	Negotiation deadlock on peasant communal land	Link
BAPP	May 22, 2013	Dinámica de la negociación y asuntos no tratados como el latifundio, la minería general y artesanal, el TLC, las ZRC y la soberanía alimentaria, entre otros	Negotiation deadlock on peasant communal land	Link
Revista Semana	March 16, 2013	El lío de las Zonas de Reserva Campesina	Negotiation deadlock on peasant communal land	Link
La Silla Vacía	February 22, 2013	La locomotora minera: A una velocidad para Santos, a otra para los mineros	Government partnership with extractive industries	Link

Document	Date	Title (in Spanish)	Description	Link / Image
United Nations High Commissioner Office in Colombia	July 31, 2013	Reserva Campesina en la Billetera de Timochenko	Government stigmatizing statements against peasant reserve zones	Link
La Silla Vacía	March 21, 2013	La reunión de campesinos que busca llamar la atención de la Habana	Peasant mobilization for the enhancement of peasant reserve zones	Link
Nuevo Siglo	March 14, 2013	Farc busca que otorguen 9 millones de hectáreas	FARC stance on peasant reserve zones	Link
La Silla Vacía	August 28, 2013	El Paro Agrario versión Bogotá	National agrarian strike	Link
La Silla Vacía	August 26, 2013	Al negar el paro, Santos le echa más gasolina al fuego	Government missteps in addressing rural protest	Link
La Silla Vacía	May 13, 2014	La fórmula para desactivar el paro: un complemento a La Habana	Government preemptive response to hamper rural mobilization	Link

Figure 15: 1999 FARC-EP Shared Agenda for Change

AGENDA COMUN POR EL CAMBIO HACIA UNA NUEVA COLOMBIA

1. SOLUCION POLITICA NEGOCIADA

Se buscará una solución política al grave conflicto social y armado que conduzca hacia una nueva Colombia, por medio de las transformaciones políticas, económicas y sociales que permitan consensos para la construcción de un nuevo Estado fundamentado en la justicia social, conservando la unidad nacional.

En la medida en que se avance en la negociación, se producirán hechos de paz. De ahí, el compromiso que debemos asumir todos los colombianos con la construcción de la paz, sin distinción de partidos, intereses económicos, sociales o religiosos.

2. PROTECCION DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS COMO RESPONSABILIDAD DEL ESTADO

- 2.1 Derechos fundamentales
- 2.2 Derechos económicos, sociales, culturales y del ambiente
- 2.3 Tratados internacionales sobre derechos humanos

3. POLITICA AGRARIA INTEGRAL

- 3.1 Democratización del crédito, asistencia técnica, mercadeo
- 3.2 Redistribución de la tierra improductiva
- 3.3 Recuperación y distribución de la tierra adquirida a través del narcotráfico y/o enriquecimiento ilícito
- 3.4 Estímulos a la producción
- 3.5 Ordenamiento territorial integral
- 3.6 Sustitución de cultivos ilícitos y desarrollo alternativo

4. EXPLOTACION Y CONSERVACION DE LOS RECURSOS NATURALES

- 4.1 Recursos Naturales y su distribución
- 4.2 Tratados internacionales
- 4.3 Protección del ambiente sobre la base del desarrollo sostenible

5. ESTRUCTURA ECONOMICA Y SOCIAL

- 5.1 Revisión del modelo de desarrollo económico
- 5.2 Políticas de redistribución del ingreso
- 5.3 Ampliación de mercados internos y externos
- 5.4 Estímulos a la producción a través de la pequeña, mediana y gran empresa privada
- 5.5 Apoyo a la economía solidaria y cooperativa
- 5.6 Estímulo a la inversión extranjera que beneficie a la Nación
- 5.7 Participación social en la planeación
- 5.8 Inversiones en bienestar social, educación e investigación científica

6. REFORMAS A LA JUSTICIA , LUCHA CONTRA LA CORRUPCION Y EL NARCOTRAFICO

- 6.1 Sistema judicial
- 6.2 ~~Organos~~ Organos de control
- 6.3 Instrumentos de lucha contra la corrupción
- 6.4 Narcotráfico

7. REFORMA POLITICA PARA LA AMPLIACION DE LA DEMOCRACIA

Figure 16: Press release

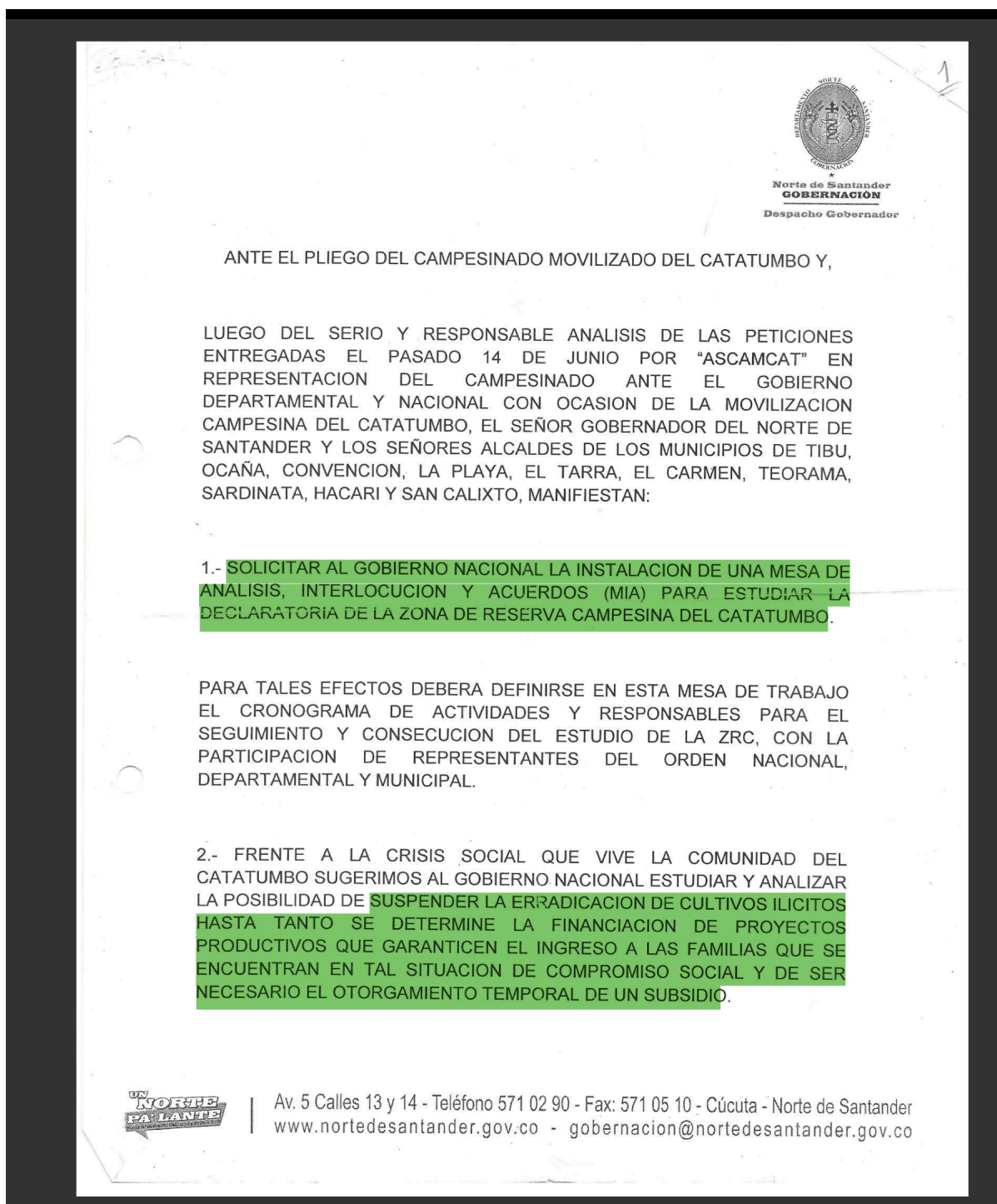


Figure 17: Protest agreements in Catatumbo

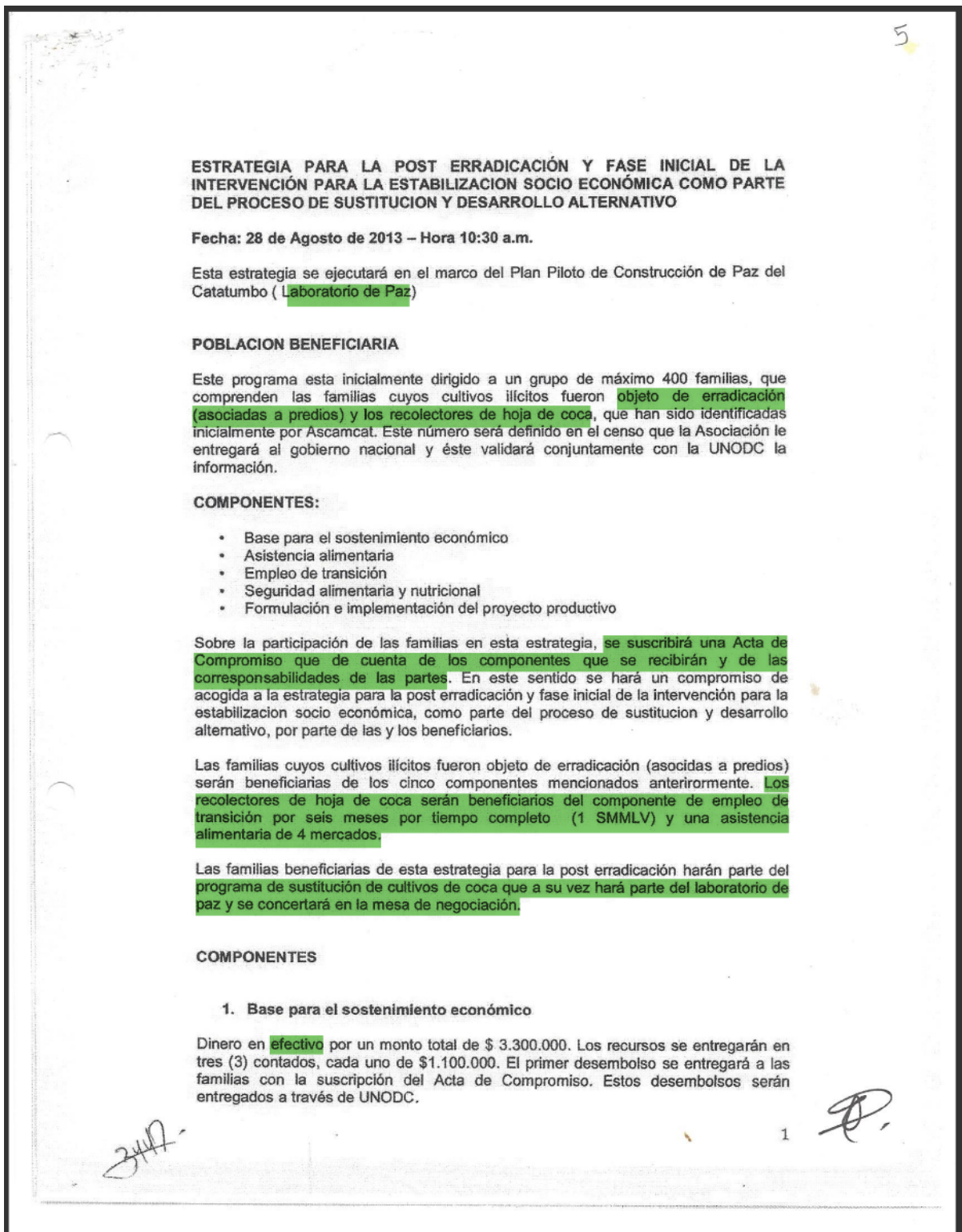


Figure 18: Protest agreements in Catatumbo

1

REUNIÓN COMISIÓN DE GOBIERNO Y ASOCIACIÓN CAMPESINA DEL CATATUMBO

San José de Cúcuta, 9 de Agosto de 2013

ACUERDO SOBRE EL TEMA DE GARANTIAS:

El Gobierno Nacional y los campesinos del Catatumbo están plenamente de acuerdo en el respeto a los principios consagrados en la constitución política de Colombia tales como el Estado Social de Derecho, la sujeción al ordenamiento jurídico, el rechazo a todas las formas de violencia.

Igualmente, reconocen la importancia del respeto y garantía de los derechos fundamentales tales como el debido proceso y la libertad de locomoción de los ciudadanos colombianos.

Con base en estos argumentos, las partes acuerdan:

1. Solicitar una Agencia Especial, por parte del Ministerio Público (Procuraduría General de la Nación y Defensoría del Pueblo): para el acompañamiento a las investigaciones penales abiertas, así como la garantía del derecho a la defensa técnica, con ocasión de los hechos ocurridos en el Catatumbo entre el 10 de junio y el 3 de agosto de 2013, en el marco de las manifestaciones campesinas y bloqueos.
2. Elevar una solicitud la Fiscalía General de la Nación para impulsar los procesos de quienes están siendo investigados por la posible comisión de delitos en el marco de los hechos ocurridos durante las manifestaciones campesinas y bloqueos del Catatumbo entre el 10 de junio y el 3 de agosto de 2013, y además propiciar un espacio de dialogo con el Fiscal General de la Nación.
3. El Gobierno Nacional reconoce y respeta los derechos de asociación, opinión, libertad de expresión y participación de la Asociación Campesina del Catatumbo y de los campesinos del Catatumbo, bajo el cumplimiento del ordenamiento legal vigente.

Figure 19: Protest agreements in Catatumbo

**Acta Mesa Política 11 de Diciembre de 2013
Mesa de Interlocución y Acuerdo del Catatumbo**

En San José de Cúcuta el 11 de diciembre de 2013 participaron en la sesión de la mesa política delegados y delegadas del Gobierno Nacional (Sub-Directora DPS, Viceministro de Desarrollo Rural- Ministerio de Agricultura, , Viceministro de Aguas del Ministerio de Vivienda, Gerente General del INCODER, Mininterior y DNP), Ascamcat y PNUD. Se desarrolló el siguiente orden del día:

1. Socialización de Investigación - Servicio Geológico Colombiano
2. Participación de Ascamcat - Mapeo de Actores
3. Acuerdos de Confianza-Agricultura-IPDR
4. Ordenamiento Territorial - ZRC
5. Garantías

Al tratarse de la última sesión del año se espera avanzar de manera contundente en los temas planteados en la agenda. Asimismo, el Gobierno rechaza los hostigamientos que han tenido los voceros de Ascamcat los últimos días. Se espera que en el espacio de garantías se realice un balance sobre la reunión de la UNP.

1. Socialización de Investigación - Servicio Geológico Colombiano

El Servicio Geológico Colombiano realiza la presentación del Proyecto de Investigación Científica, cuyo objetivo es desarrollar procesos científicos de mapeo y cartografía geológica.

2. Participación Ascamcat - Mapeo de Actores

De acuerdo a la necesidad planteada por Ascamcat de contar con pronunciamiento del Gobierno frente al documento del Padre De Roux sobre la iniciativa de paz, se expone la posición del Gobierno Nacional al respecto. **Se resalta la necesidad de contar con un espacio amplio, que incluya la mayor cantidad actores. Se entrega por medio electrónico la posición del Gobierno y queda establecido que en reunión con garantes se discutirá el tema.**

Ascamcat expresa nuevamente su inconformidad por lo sucedido en el ejercicio de mapeo de actores y la discusión de la mesa técnica de la semana pasada. El Gobierno Nacional reitera el reconocimiento y la legitimidad de Ascamcat, así como de las organizaciones sociales del territorio. Se trata de un pronunciamiento desafortunado, pero no corresponde a la posición del Gobierno y de ningún vocero, y en tal sentido se han tomado medidas correctivas.

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