PLANNING LIMITATIONS, CONTRADICTIONS AND NEW PERSPECTIVES FOR RURAL AND TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT IN COLOMBIA

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All translations from Spanish to English are free translations by the author.

List of abbreviations

ADM	Archer Daniels Midland Company
ANLA	Autoridad Nacional de Licencias Ambientales (National authority for environmental licensing)
ANT	Agencia Nacional de Tierras (National land agency)
CIHDEP	Centro de Investigación Hábitat Desarrollo y Paz (Research centre habitat development and peace)
CNP	Consejo Nacional de Planeación (National council of planning)
Colciencias	Departamento Administrativo de Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (Administrative department of sciences, technology and innovation)
Comperj	Rio de Janeiro Petrochemical Complex
CONLESTE	Consortium of Leste Fluminense
Conpes	Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social (National council for economic and social policy)
COP	Colombian pesos
Corporinoquia	Corporación Autónoma Regional de la Orinoquia
CPER	Contrats de Plan État Région (State-region contracts)
DANE	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas (National department of statistics)
DDP	Departmental Development Plans
DNP	Departamento Nacional de Planeación (National planning department)
Ecopetrol	Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos S.A. (Colombian oil company)
ELN	Ejercito de Liberación Nacional (National liberation army)
EPL	jercito de Liberación Popular (Popular liberation army)
EU	European Union
FAAFOP	Western São Paulo Federation of Settlement and Family Farmer Associations
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Farc	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Colombian revolutionary armed force)
Fedepalma	Federación Nacional de Cultivadores de Palma de Aceite (National federation of oil palm growers)
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GAP	Good Agricultural practices
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Gini	Gini coefficient
hn.	Hectares
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IDEAL	Intermunicipalidades de Europa y América Latina (Inter-municipality of Europe and Latin America)
IDEAM	Instituto de Hidrología, Meteorología y Estudios Ambientales (Colombian institute of hydrology, meteorology and environmental studies)
Incoder	Instituto Colombiano de Desarrollo Rural (Colombian institute of rural development)
INFRA	Federal Institute for Rural Advancement
inhab	Inhabitants
JEP	Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (Especial jurisdiction for peace)
LOOT	Ley Orgánica de Ordenamiento Territorial (Organic law for territorial/regional planning)
LUP	Land-use Plan
m.a.s.l.	Meters above sea level
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDP	Municipal Development Plans
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index

MST	Landless Workers Movement
MTR	Misión para la Transformación Rural (Mission for rural transformation)
NCR	Native customary land rights
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHA	National Hydrocarbons Agency
NOC	National Oil Company
OCAD	Organismos Colegiados de Administración y Decisión (Collegiate administrative and decision bodies)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
Ompetro	Oil and gas production zone of Campos Basin Organization
PATR	Planes de Acción para la Transformación Regional (Action plan for regional transformation)
PDET	Programa de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial (Development programme with territorial-based approach)
Petrobras	Petroleo Brasileiro S.A.
POT	Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (Territorial ordinance plan or land-use plan)
Resnatur	Asociación Red Colombiana de Reservas Naturales de la Sociedad Civil (National civil society network of Colombian natural reserves)
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGR	Sistema General de Regalías (General system for royalties)
UAF	Unidad Agrícola familiar (Family farming unit)
UBN	Unsatisfied Basic Needs
UN HABITAT ROLAC	United Nations Habitat - Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP-WCMC	United Nations Environment World Conservation Monitoring Centre
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UPRA	Unidad de Planificación Rural Agropecuaria (Rural agricultural planning unit)
USD	U.S. Dollars
WNBR	UNESCO World Network of Biosphere Reserves
WW2	World War II
Zidres	Zona de Interés de Desarrollo Rural Económico y Social (Areas of interest for economic and social rural development)
ZRC	Zonas de Reserva Campesina (Peasant reserve zones)

Abstract

Colombia's development model based on economic growth has favoured nature exploitation and unequitable power relations over rural land. This has led to violent conflicts, land disposition, migratory dynamics and poverty, which has delayed rural development. Colombian rural regions are characterized by limited access to political, social, and economic resources, poor basic services, detriment on cultural and environmental values, as well as undervalued traditional productivity activities and life style; in sum, they have limited development opportunities and capabilities. In turn, the country's decentralized planning system undermines territorial comprehensiveness, urban/rural articulation and rural sustainable development. Limitations and contradictions caused by overlaps and gaps amongst governmental levels, laws and decrees, which goes hand in hand with urban-oriented planning policies that have undermined rural development, environmental sustainability and social well-being.

Within this context, the signing of the Peace Treaty of 2016 gave origin to new trends and revalued rural Colombia as the privileged space for peace making. Therefore, the country is in the process of reconsidering rurality not only as land for agriculture or nature exploitation, but also as a space for community opportunities and the protection of nature. In order to comprehend rural development models and planning limitations and contradictions for rural and territorial development in Colombia, this work proposes a conceptual approach on the basis of theories on development, rural development, rurality and political ecology. A state of the art of current history of political and economic conflicts over rural land and the evaluation of the planning systems are presented in this thesis in order to orient planning perspectives for policy transformation and to search for urban and rural development alternatives. The review of various international examples of nature exploitation unveils links between the exploitation of nature and the potentials of spatial development. The analysis of Colombia's region Casanare shows how critical aspects caused by fast-growing demographic and economic dynamics due to extractivist industries, which have generated unjust resource distribution and planning decisions, have impaired rural development and social improvement. Based on evidence on these variables, recommendations to reorient planning policies for rural and regional development alternatives in Colombia will be provided. This dissertation proposes alternatives, redefining objectives and spatial planning principles centred on nature-mankind relationships that can also be internationally applicable.

Colombia and Casanare in the world

1. Planning in the context of rural development in Colombia: limitations, contradictions and new perspectives

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1.1. Research background

1.2. Research aims and questions

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And dawn came up before us. Without our being able to observe the precise moment of its arrival, a roseate vapor came floating over the long grass, quivering like tennis muslin. The stars paled and faded, and in the opaline distance just above the horizon appeared a streak of fire, a violent brush-stroke of flaming pigment, a splash of coagulated ruby. Cutting the crystalline air in the glory of the morning swerved flocks of shrieking ducks, slow moving egrets that seemed soaring cotton pods, emerald parrots of tremulous wing-beat, red, blue and yellow macaws. And everywhere, in grassy plain and vast spaces, in lush pastures and in the palms, was born a breath of joy that was life, light, palpitation. Then, through the scarlet clouds sweeping open like mighty curtains, darted the first stabbing rays of the sun. Slowly it rose like a huge dome, pouring itself over the plains before astonished bull and beast, glowing red before it climbed into the blue.
Alicia, tearful, stirred, embraced me repeating: "Dios mio!
The sun, the sun!"
Then, continuing our journey, we plunged into the sun-scorched of sweeping grasslands.

*José Eustasio Rivera**

*La Vorágine, José Eustasio Rivera. The Vortex, translated by Earle K. James

Wisirare natural reserve park, Orocué

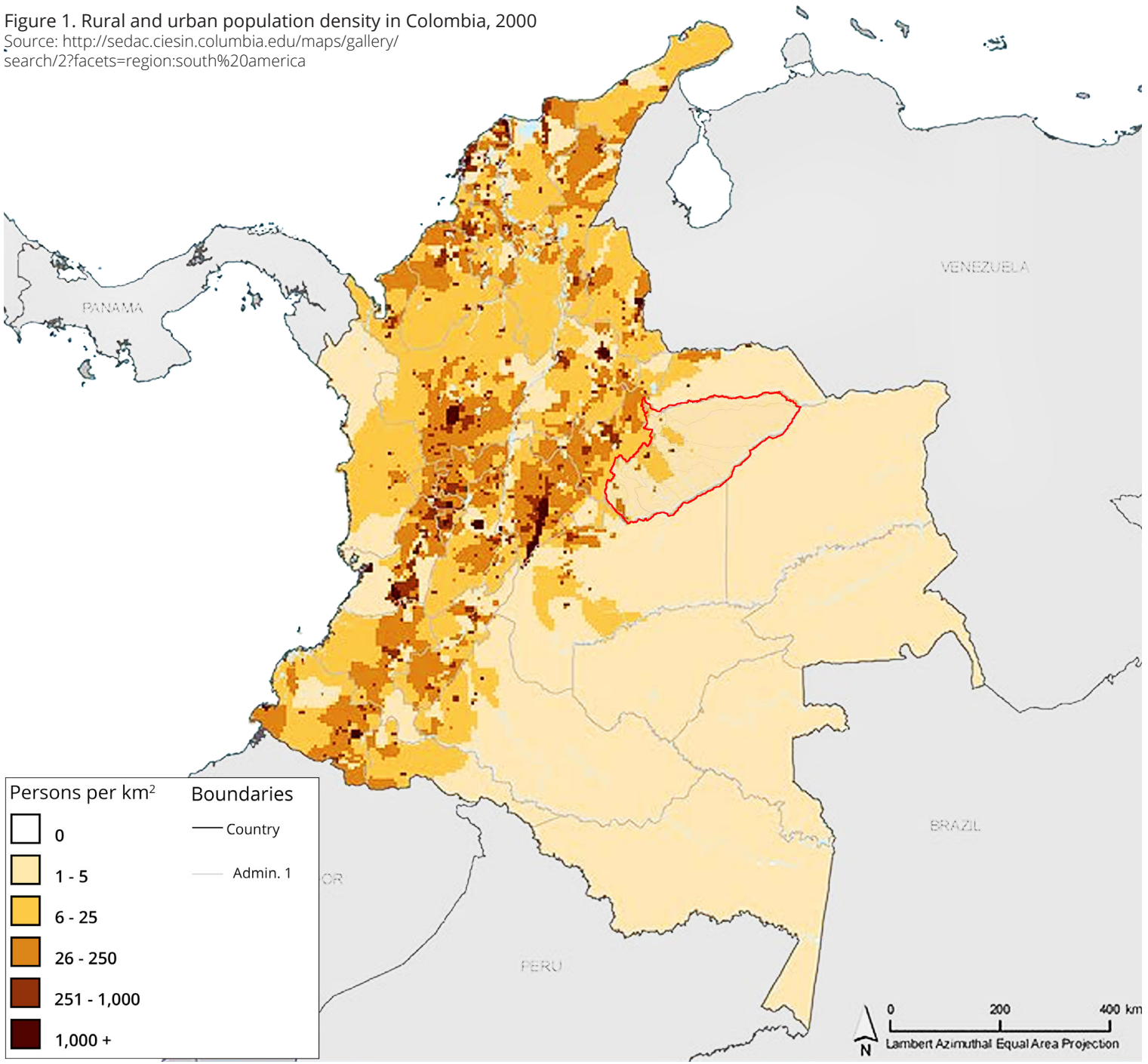
1.1. Research background

"Currently, the rural world is considered as a potential for the development of multiple economic and social activities thanks to both natural resources and those of the different inhabitants that dwell in it. Activities linked to processes of agro-industrialization, tourism, agroforestry, fisheries, mining and handicrafts are just a few examples of the great variety of economic activities that were not clearly recognized by the sectorial vision over the rural world" (Pérez, 2004:181)[1]. Modern perspectives indicate that rural development is a transition towards urban lifestyles, implying progress, civilization, and modernity (Pérez, 2001; Panadero, 2010). The concepts of development, *new rurality*, political ecology, and the understanding of planning systems can give insight into development models that privilege economic growth over human well-being and environmental sustainability, thus throwing light upon issues regarding planning policies and decisions that affect resource distribution as well as access to territorial potentials and rural development.

Several regions and territories in Colombia have suffered from uncontrolled spatial reconfigurations due to the internal conflict -oftentimes addressed as a war- dynamics and deriving problems such as social struggles, migration, colonization as well as the influence of transnational production processes, including extensive coca crops (Palacios, 2011; Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017). Some of the country's regions and territories are protagonists of accelerated economic growth due to governmental support policies for extraction of natural common goods by private entrepreneurs, arguing productivity and competitiveness (Vargas, 2010; Reyes, 2016). Also, petroleum extraction and extensive mono-crops (African palm, rubber, rice; coffee; sugar cane) are widely spread in the country's territory. In recent times, legal and illegal mining has engrossed coal and gold extraction in the Atlantic and Pacific regions,

1 Original text in Spanish, translation by the author: "Hoy en día, el mundo rural se ve como el ámbito en el cual se desarrollan múltiples actividades económicas y sociales, a partir de los recursos naturales y de los diferentes pobladores que allí se encuentran. Actividades ligadas a procesos de agro-industrialización, turismo, agroforestal, pesca, explotaciones mineras y elaboración de artesanías, son apenas algunos ejemplos de la gran variedad de actividades económicas, que no eran claramente reconocidas por la visión sectorial sobre el mundo rural" (Pérez, 2004:181).

Figure 1. Rural and urban population density in Colombia, 2000
Source: http://sedac.ciesin.columbia.edu/maps/gallery/search/2?facets=region:south%20america



whereas in the andean highlands, agroindustry occupies larger tracts of land (Carrizosa, 2012; UNEP-WCMC, 2014; Castro, 2014). In these territories, foreign and national companies are lured into extraction processes, attracting specialized labour force to oil, mining and agroindustries, thus altering labour structures, land ownership, population dynamics, and traditional productivity. Additionally, vast regions and tropical forestry enclaves are ideal places to hide coca-leave crop and hence to drug laboratories settled in land owned and used by drug cartels (Vargas, 2010; Leiva, 2017). Therefore, the history of land use, exploitation and ownership accounts for the main issues related to delayed rural development, environmental degradation on land, water, air and biodiversity, due to unregulated land use, property changes, and unsustainable production activities. Furthermore, social struggle due to rural population displacement, urban growth in unplanned settlements and inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities, together with an urban-oriented planning system, pose a serious threat to rural, economic and societal developments (Reyes, 2016; García , 2017 (b); Sánchez, 2017). These critical circumstances have generated the prevalent socio-economic and environmental conflicts of emergent human settlements, informal housing agglomeration, poverty and scarce educational and health services, which altogether cause detriment to its rural potentialities.

Thus, responding to the Peace Treaty of 2016, the country is directing its attention on rural regions from different perspectives: as a source for opportunities on economic growth in a globalized world, but also as a source for food, raw materials, environmental services and alternative renewable energy, thus looking into sustainability and environmental policies (Reyes, 2016). Colombia[2], with 94% of its territory being rural and populated by 32% its total inhabitants (Figure 1) (Castro, 2014), is one of the most unequal nations in the world with an average Gini coefficient of 0.55, in rural areas of 0.88 in 2012[3] (Figure 2), and is characterized by a high level of land concentration, with 0.4% of landowners owning 62.6% of the country's surface. Yet, Colombia has great rural potentialities: it is the second most bio-diverse country in the world (UNEP-WCMC, 2014) and the fourth richest in hydric resources (Castro, 2014; Semana, 2014); from its 114 million hectares, 26 million have potential for agricultural, livestock and forestry production, though just 6.3 million hectares (24.2%) are currently used; 67 million hectares are forests; it possesses 2 million water bodies, and only 332,000 hectares constitute urban areas[4]. In view of the above, a vision of a new rural Colombia envisions a privileged scenario for peace building, for a population that has suffered violent internal conflicts and displacement (DNP (a), 2015; Reyes, 2016). The Peace Treaty signed in 2016 redirects policies towards a change of social, political and economic dynamics in order to delineate a spatial-planning reform for its rural development and societal change within an atmosphere of peace and post-conflict (Machado, 1999; Reyes, 2016; García (a), 2017; Leiva, 2017; Machado 2017).

According to Pérez (2010) and De la Torre (2017) the adopted Land-use Plans[5] from Spain and France are the foundation for autonomous decentralised planning decision-making in Colombia. These policies are drivers of urban expansion led by developers and private entrepreneurs. Integral and regional approaches and strategies reorient power relations and actions towards a more articulated urban and rural development. In the process of government decentralization, planning policies define strategies to reduce income disparities and life inequities between rural and urban areas. However, this shows that departments and municipalities have very different capacities and mechanisms to respond to specific local problems (De la Torre, 2017). Therefore, Colombia is facing challenges to solve tensions and contradictions between territorial planning policies compelling its development, such as state sectorial regulations, municipal land-use plans, ecological preservation zoning and nature exploitation licensing (Massiris, 2012; Molina, et al., 2017). These tensions pose conflicts around planning strategies, decisions and their

2 49.829.755 total inhabitants occupying 1,141,748 km^2

3 http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/index.htm)

4 http://www.upra.gov.co/uso-y-adecuacion-de-tierras/evaluacion-de-tierras/zonificacion

5 The Colombian Constitution changed in 1991. By 1997 the Law 388 introduced Territorial Land-use Plans or Territorial Ordinance Plans (Planes de Ordenamiento Territorial –POT) decentralizing the territorial development to municipalities.

This map shows the Gini rural land index, demonstrating the concentration of quality, cultivableland in the hands of few owners. The Gini index measures distribut on a scale from 0 to 1. The closer the number is to 1, the more concentrated the land is (few owners, lots of land), whereas the closer the number is to 0, the more distributed it is (lots of owners, lots of land)

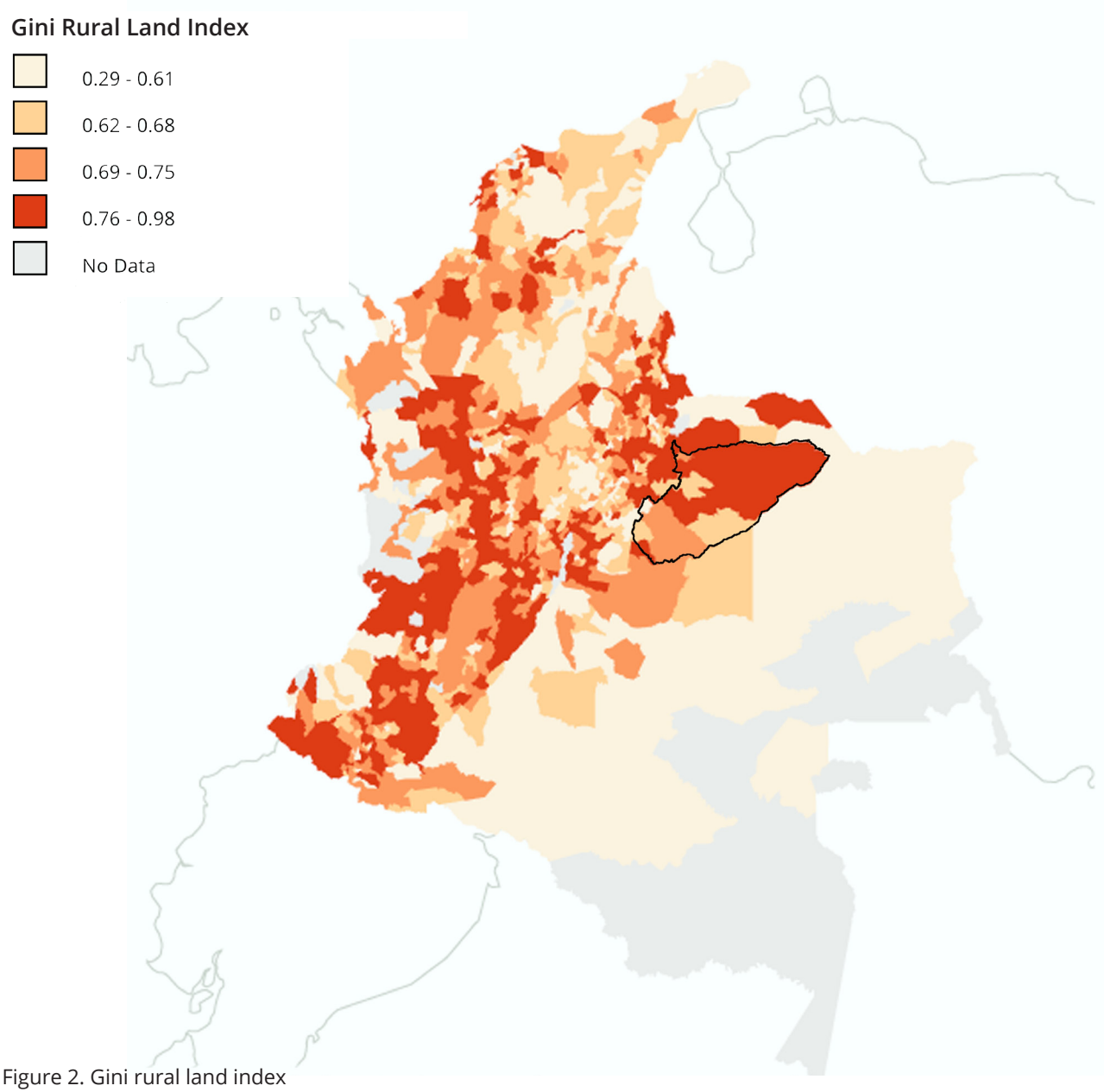


Figure 2. Gini rural land index
Source: UNDP Colombia National Human Development Report, 2009
http://tolomaps.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/GINI_de_Tierras_print.png

complex implementation, which involve negative impacts on environmental, social and economic cohesion, as well as governance efficiency (Massiris, 2012; Molina, et al., 2017; Machado, 2017).

From a European perspective on the history of planning practices in Latin American history, it becomes clear that implementation processes have been far from seamless, since local contexts and realities are different, especially due to major social inequalities and severe environmental degradation (Carruthers, 2008; León, 2011). According to Mattar & Cuervo (2017) and Tassara (2015), spatial planning and policies in Latin America seem to focus on urban development. Thus, geographical scales are not equally applicable everywhere, neither from local to regional environments nor at global levels. Consequently, actions have favoured political and economic unequal powers, thus leading to territorial fragmentation as well as to social segregation. Additionally, some of the social and economic problems have been caused by a conception of development based on massive exploitation of natural resources that benefits the accumulation of capital to support national economies and privileged social groups (Smith, 1990; Heynen, Kaika, & Swyngedouw, 2006; Serje, 2010; Alimonda, 2011;). Therefore, planning policies give priority to economic and political interests over social and environmental goals, largely ignoring social and environmental dynamics in rural areas.

In search for a new construction of rurality, Colombia's commitment to rebuild the rural territory has to prioritize the need for new relationships between the urban and the rural-centred, considering territory as a continuum for social dimensions based on ecological and natural infrastructures and productive systems. Under this conception, territories integrate rural settlements and small towns, seeking for relations that foster the articulation of spatial and socio-cultural and economic relations, from local to regional levels, so as to diminish the gap between the urban and the rural. This tendency opts to disperse the dense urban centres into dynamic poly-centres, in order to address rural production at different scales. From this theoretical perspective, geometric multi-form structures generate spaces in-between the territory, as well as successions of nodes and grids, and diffused borders articulated in natural structures (Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruiz, 2010; Molina, 2010; Lukomski, et al., 2013; Schröder, et al., 2017). Trends in new socio-economic relations give value to rural territories and their population because of the need for food and sovereignty, environmental services, and protection of nature under a sustainable logic in favour of agricultural production. The revaluation of the rural may be a way to bridge the gap between urban and rural spatiality, by means of the intervention on the middle landscape, a land between urban and rural enclaves, and the realm of invisible borders (Neu, 2016).

1.2. Research questions and aims

Based on Colombia's historic background, multidimensional problems and planning perspectives, this investigation sets out in search for insight to propose possible answers for rural and territorial development based on the following questions:

1. *How can rural inequities be counterbalanced by means of planning systems and resource distribution and to what extent do these measures influence the improvement of both life quality and territorial sustainability?*

Colombia's rural development is immersed in squirearchy reflected in landownership and in an economic model based on the exploitation of nature. Thus, a theoretical framework is proposed to gain insight into the concepts of development, more specifically rural development, *new rurality* and political ecology in relation to planning systems and the evolution of land management, its trends and requirements. Therefore, these conceptual approaches to overview the historical, political and economic conflicts over rural land as well

as to assess planning systems will constitute a state of the art that will help identify and determine elements to be considered in the planning-policy, governance and operational engagements to reorient the country's planning future for regional and rural development alternatives focused on people's well-being and on territorial sustainability.

2. How can planning policies reorient territorial and rural development favouring equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities among urban and rural contexts?

International examples are reviewed to help recognize leading forces and consequences not only of extensive exploitation of nature, but also of distinctive and general factors that have influenced rural development in each specific context depicting *extractivism*, social turmoil and planning decisions. The particular case of Casanare is analysed in order to assess asymmetric local and regional multidimensional characteristics and the inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities between rural and urban contexts. These analyses provide references in relation to limitations and contradictions of spatial planning to sponsor community welfare, environmental sustainability and rural/urban equitable development in Colombia. Based on these insights, the outcomes of this research envision a framework of principles to reorient planning objectives, policy definition and decision-making for rural and territorial development. Therefore, these research findings may direct national and international debates on new planning perspectives to transform rural development not only in Colombia but also in other national and international contexts.

1.3. Research design and method

This research is built upon a literature review, an approach to international examples of the exploitation of nature, a national planning framework, and the analysis of the case of Casanare region. The literature review contributes to gain insights into theoretical approaches introducing alternatives for regional and rural development, exploring both global and Latin American perspectives of human well-being in relation to nature sustainability. In order to understand the main issues derived from inequities and opportunities between rural and urban contexts, the concepts of development, rural development, *new rurality* and political ecology are considered, together with their relation to planning systems. Further, some representative international cases addressed in official reports, journals, and articles, are analysed in order to extract general and distinctive characteristics related to social, economic and environmental issues. This analysis will also shed light on planning decision-making by both grassroots and the government and its effects on nature exploitation. In turn, an insight of Colombia's historical, political, social and economic conditions in rural areas in relation to planning policies and strategies will contribute to set development perspectives and alternatives in times of peace agreements. Due to its characteristics of rural lifestyle, great biodiversity and cultural richness, the region of Casanare is of special interest to view issues within the Colombian context, considering also that this region has suffered accelerated social, environmental and economic changes because of productive dynamics of oil extraction and agroindustry. An analysis of this emblematic department in Colombia, where historical problems of violence, inequities, segregation and fragmentation are evident, contributes to the identification of core issues in urban/rural development. Additionally, it reveals the consequences of inappropriate planning policies, and the role of state-led management, of resource distribution and of service provision. The analysis of Casanare derives from primary sources. On one hand, it encompasses data from more than twenty semi-structured interviews to local community members, government authorities, policy makers, political and social

actors, productive and professional associations at local, regional and national levels (annex). On the other hand, it comes from site visits and direct observation, as well as from national and international academic *in situ* workshops and seminars based on grassroots participation. Finally, data and qualitative issues come from secondary sources, official reports, journals, articles, media, and cartographic information. Based on this research, a policy framework is commended to reorient planning objectives, design and implementation for comprehensive rural and territorial development in Colombia.

1.4. Outline of the research and final outcomes

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1, introduces the general context of Colombia's development model, with reference to its problems, limitations and perspectives to reassess the rural context. It also presents the questions, objectives, and methodology addressed in this research. Chapter 2, reports on the *rural development and political ecology theories in relation to planning practices in Latin America.* It proposes a theoretical framework reviewing literature on the topics of development, rural development, *new rurality* and political ecology for identifying alternative elements to be considered as planning policy reforms for regional and rural development in Colombia. Chapter 3, reviews *relevant examples of decision-making processes for nature exploitation* related to oil extraction, agroindustry (extensive mono-crops), and mining in Brazil, Mexico, Malaysia, and Norway, in order to understand social, economic and environmental aspects and to suggest alternatives for planning practices and grassroots participation for decision-taking.

The following two chapters provide a rationale of Colombia's planning situations and historical background. Chapter 4, deals with *planning policies and strategies in Colombia's peace process*. It presents a state of the art based on the current history of political and economic conflicts over rural land, and it evaluates the situation and the perspectives for planning systems for a new rural Colombia[6]. Chapter 5, analyses *planning limitations and contradictions in the Casanare region* regarding its asymmetric social, environmental and physical features. The last chapter proposes *a policy framework for planning recommendations to reorient rural development in times of peace building in Colombia.*

From a strategic point of view, this research seeks to contribute to Colombia's commitment to recover the delayed development of rural territories after more than six decades of armed conflict, so as to grant economic wealth, environmental sustainability, social equity and cultural identity within a peacebuilding period. Our expectations concur with those of governmental, academic, civil, public and private organizations and NGOs committed to contribute to the State's obligation to rebuild the country through spatial planning strategies, including the modernization of Land-use Plans (Territorial Ordinance Plan -POT) and the adjustment of the territorial planning law (Organic Law for Territorial/Regional Planning -LOOT[7]) for the implementation of planning instruments for the restitution and redistribution of rural land (Pérez, 2010; Massiris, 2012; León, 2011; Molina, et al., 2017; Leiva, 2017).

6 This is mainly based on the new political trends, and academic discourse after the Peace Treaty of 2016

7 Law 1454, 2011 Ley Orgánica de Ordenamiento Territorial

2. Rural development and political ecology theories in relation to planning practices in Latin America

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The history of the universe and nature is being told to us by the stars, by the Earth, by the uprising and elevation of the mountains, by the animals, the woods and jungles, and by the rivers. Our task is to know how to listen and interpret the messages that are sent to us. The original peoples knew how to read every movement of the clouds, the meaning of the winds, and they knew when violent downpours were coming... We have forgotten all that.

*Leonardo Boff**

*https://frjustinbelitzteachings.wordpress.com/tag/hans-urs-von-balthasar/

Meta River, Casanare

2.1. Planning practices: rural and urban relationships

Colombia's decentralized planning system as well as numerous policies and operational entities postulate community improvement and nature protection. Yet, state strategies and programs encourage massive extraction of natural resources by private entrepreneurship. They promote urban growth, thus undermining regional and urban-rural articulation and rural development. This chapter illustrates the role of spatial planning in prioritizing development alternatives to overcome social inequities and environmental degradation based on literature. It considers theoretical frameworks that foster welfare development in relation to cultural and social values and natural assets of a community, to the fulfilment of basic needs, and to the encouragement of progress according to their context. With this purpose in mind, the literary review serves the purpose of extracting conceptual approaches on human and rural development, on *new rurality* and on political ecology. It is our purpose to understand power relations over nature sustainability and human well-being.

Authors such as Sen (1999, 2009) and Nussbaum (2002, 2011) have globally influenced conceptions on poverty, justice and human capabilities providing ways to approach different realities taking into consideration differences and similarities in culture and needs in different territories. Sen and Nussbaum have extensively provided academic support where social leaders and communal workers seem to encounter challenges in societal empowerment. They have supported NGOs in fostering techniques and opportunities for communal development. On the other side, Pope Francis (2015) has projected the inspiration of the Catholic Church over the population of developing countries and their beliefs. This might not constitute a scientific approach but it can be used as a vehicle to sustain some changes bound to cultural and sustainability principles. These concepts oriented towards well-being point at an upper dimension, the importance of man and environment: the cosmic vision of humanity introduced by South American authors such as Max-Neef, Elizalde & Hopenhayn (2010) and Gudynas (2009, 2015) & Acosta (2011). Current importance on sustainability, seen by grassroots as part of

growth and maintenance of biocentrism and ecosystems is of interest. Vargas (2016), Martínez et al. (2015), and Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano (2014) consider the historical approach over human factors as a means for development. In turn, landscape becomes part of the need to understand preservation and conservation of enclaves together with the aforementioned human scale. Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga; Brenner (2006); Zasada (2017), as well as Molina (2010, 2017) and Serje (2010) show the importance of anthropology and spatial location, considering rural productivity approached from communal organization. From the viewpoint of geographical economics, Vargas (2010), Rosales (2007, 2012), and Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruiz (2010) have significantly explained territorial growth and the visions required for *new ruralities*, which was firstly explored in European territories by Schröder, Carta, Ferretti & Lino (2017) and Zasada 82017) and his collaborators. For Latin America, Rosas-Baños (2013), Pérez (2001, 2004) and Molina (2010) state the trends and theories as well as practical social programmes for change and societal empowerment, basically in rural communities. Further, from a political viewpoint, authors such as Massiris (2005, 2012), Machado (2017a, 2017b), Lago-Peñas, & Martínez-Vázquez (2013) and De la Torre (2017) have specialized in planning theories; the latter has developed an approach to current Colombian trends by outlining various paths and processes bound to governmental policies (public policies). Finally, cooperation as a means to obtain assistance and funding from developed countries is of special interest, as has been vastly discussed by Tassara (2013 (a), 2015, 2017), Vargas (2010) and Pérez (2011).

Planning expectations based on theoretical and practical documentation oftentimes facilitate historical schedules for improvements and changes and provide new visions for growth and societal change. Palacios (2011, 2012), Vargas (2010), De la Torre (2017) approach planning from political standpoints; they outline dichotomies of prevailing processes despite vast changes and intentions in policies to be implemented in writing rather than by conviction. Thus, academics, and most specifically the ones found in Latin American books and scientific journals, have provided transversal reviews equating disciplines for societal development based on economic geography, such as those published by Rosales (2017), Rosales & Brenner (2012), Rosas-Baños (2013). Also research in anthropology, economics and geography has contributed to a better understanding of territory. This interdisciplinary approach has contributed to the comprehension of the implications of the current Colombian Peace Treaty based on historical facts, as shown by Leiva (2017), Reyes (2016), and Sánchez (2017) in a state of the art literature. Although Colombia is in the process of gaining awareness on the importance of ending an internal war, too many unsolved issues need to be addressed step by step: Sixty years of war cannot just end with signatures and good intentions. The integration of interdisciplinary contributions of both national and international authors have helped to envisage Colombia's past, present and possible future positions regarding development on spatial planning, which constitutes a contribution towards advancements in political policies for communal development.

2.1.1. Decentralized planning practices transferred from the Global North to Latin America

Cooperation is a key issue in global development; it means assistance of wealthier economies to those that are less prosperous by means of consolidating improvements, implementation and monitoring public policies. Programmes such as South-South cooperation are examples of regional integration and of efforts to understand both successful and conflictive resolutions of programmes. Colombia is a leading country in cooperation processes not only as a receptor but also as an effector throughout the region (Martínez, 2014; Tassara, 2015).

Planning practices from the Global North have been both adopted and adapted in Latin America. As is to be expected, such implementations have been far from seamless, since local realities are different due to social inequalities and to severe environmental degradation (Palacios, 2011; Gudynas, 2015; Machado, 2017). According

to Castells (1993), transferring planning strategies, policies, and information technologies have served as means to spread development goals across borders. Consequently, generalized planning tendencies respond to economic interests favouring multinational companies, which transform operational structures that transform local contexts mainly in underdeveloped rural areas or in areas where important investments are required (Leiva, 2017; Tassara (b), 2013; Hernández, 2017). Decentralization of international economic powers has been possible with the support of governments associated to private sectors, thus representing different roles in local communities, appointed agencies, political parties among other interested actors (Booth, Breuillard, Fraser, & Paris, 2007). Transfer dynamics in most Latin American countries assume planning systems following the Spanish and the French models for government decentralization supported on municipal empowerment (Pérez, 2010; Massiris, 2012; De la Torre, 2017; Máttar & Cuervo, 2017). Thus, central governments assign political, administrative and fiscal competences in order to reorganize autonomous and efficient service provisions, social programmes, and public infrastructure projects. Given the Spanish model, municipalities have assumed land-use planning strategies which involve technical processes and administrative policies to set long-term use layouts, occupation and transformation of the territory in line with existing biophysical, socio economic, political and institutional potentials and limitations (Massiris, 2012). Furthermore, the Spanish model for autonomous municipalities (Comunidades Autonomas) has been exemplary in Latin America since the early nineties for the projection and implementation of territorial ordinance plans which address spatial planning and the coordination of sectorial policies including regional development as separated but complementary maters. Ordinance plans considered as a public function which integrates urban and sectoral policies, environmental and economic, in relation to the administrative/political boundaries of the national territorial division defining spatial structures and land management instruments. The territorial ordinance plans stablish criteria to locate infrastructure and communal facilities, protect natural and agricultural areas, define intervention territories according to socio-economic homogeneous characteristics, and promote specific spatial zoning (urban, urban expansion and no urban) at regional and sub-regional scales (Benabent, 2009). This model has been adapted in some countries in Latin America with different affinities: in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, and Puerto Rico spatial planning is oriented towards urban layouts emphasizing on municipal ordinance. In Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic and Uruguay, environmental resource preservation and natural disaster concerns are priorities in planning policies. In Mexico and Chile, a national system for regional development orients planning towards the solution of urban and regional socioeconomic issues. On the contrary, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela are in the process of reshaping planning policies away from capitalist ideologies (Massiris, 2012).

As stated by both Massiris (2012) and Molina (2017), the governmental decentralization model has not been fully successful due to strong resistance of central governments to lose control over regional and local actions and actors. Additionally, national sectorial decisions prevail over regional and local governances. Development is also hindered by insufficient financial support to municipalities as well as by corruption in the management of financial resources, by the interests of local authorities, among other obstacles. Also, in many cases, there is no coordination between too many similar institutions trying to address sectorial issues instead of accomplishing territorial and local tasks. The challenges faced in planning definitions and implementations caused by such tensions involve negative consequences for the economic, social and environmental cohesion and equity and for governance efficiency and territorial articulation (Leiva, 2017; Sánchez, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). Thus, spatial planning in Latin American countries share similar challenges to overcome territorial problems due to economic exploitation models, which affect rural and urban land uses. Subsequently, inappropriate use and degradation of environmental resources, causes social inequities and endangers biodiversity and multiculturalism. Hence, most national governments are in the process of shifting decentralized municipal planning to more regional-oriented strategies (Lozano, 2007; Rosales, 2007; Panadero, 2010; Rosales, Brenner, & Mendoza, 2012; Lago-Peñas & Martínez-Vázquez, 2013; Molina, et al., 2017)

2.1.2. Planning policies that respond to urban development

Borja & Castells (1997) argue that urban-oriented development policies and entrepreneurial presence of transnational companies replace traditional economic activities in the sub-national, local, and regional levels. Consequently, some city and regional governments adopt competitive attitudes to attract external investments and greater involvement of private sectors, looking for key locations within the international contexts for placing their operations and for improving city competitiveness. Then, lured by some cities, global economies develop unevenly because few cities are at the top competitiveness, and economical hierarchies exclude regions from development and possible growth. Thus, limited economic opportunities, combined with some local conflicts, lead to territorial inequity and fragmentation (Newman & Thornley, 1996). In addition, uneven political and economic forces have an impact on spatial planning, consequently creating scenarios of strong alliances between public and private partnerships, changing priorities of political agendas or true social needs. Thus, Booth et al. (2007) conclude that political and public authorities hand over the responsibility of policies to private agencies visibly having strong influence on rural and urban planning in favour of business interests and high profitability. Accordingly, Brenner (2004) points that, under state surveillance at various scales through diverse political strategies, imbalanced spatial expansions produce uneven competitiveness and growth causing polarization of territorial development.

According to Brenner (2014), planning policies and strategies have been centred on socio-spatial problems addressing issues of city-size, distribution, space systems and hierarchies. Additionally, depending on the extension of the city and on changes in its boundaries and morphologies, urban unities have modified their scales to metropolis, conurbations, city-region, megalopolis, etc. Hence, the urban concept evolves from a bounded, nodal and self-enclosed socio-spatial entity to a more territorially differentiated, morphologically variable, and multi-scalar system (Scott, Gilbert, & Gelan, 2007; Schröder et al., 2017; Zasada & al, 2017). Furthermore, extension and density are distinctive characteristics of a city that differentiate it from the suburban, the rural and/or the natural world, located beyond or outside the city limits and borders (Pranlas-Descours, 2016). Besides, urbanization process enhances political and economic hierarchy and power relations, which Lefebvre calls "the politics of space" (Brenner, 2014), a concept applicable to territorial alteration at various scales and dimensions. Power relations affect cities, extending them into the surrounding territories to non-urban realms linked together through infrastructure and service networks. Within the Latin American context, these territories are sometimes considered as informal urbanization. Differentiations between city and countryside are in this context eliminated and local economies are connected to regional economies towards transnational flows of raw material, labour, commodities and capital. Lefebvre (2003) maintains that the extension of logistical, commercial and touristic infrastructure has fragmented traditional cities to form large-scale territorial megalopolis stretching along various countries in former rural zones and causing environmental degradations (Pranlas-Descours, 2016). Brenner (2014) addresses the phenomenon of *implosion-explosion* illustrating the agglomeration and the transformations of a territory, landscape, and environment showing the destruction of cities (implosion) and the growth of megalopolitan territorial formations (explosion). Therefore, the transformation of the built environment, releases deep inequalities, conflicts and threats because of the urbanization called by Lefebvre the "planetarization of the urban". Hence, the planetary formation not only affects the city and countryside, but also the in-between urban, regional, national and global scales creating new foundations of densely and/or fragmented urbanized landscapes (Rowe, 1999; Shane, 2005; Gouverneur, 2015; Neu, 2016). These new landscapes are being intervened to become more productive enclaves thus implementing infrastructure comprising large-scale territorial planning strategies which support accelerated growth and urban expansions causing socio-ecological degradation, which is undermined by the rubric of "rural-to-urban" for demographic change.

However, landscape urbanization in non-industrialized countries, more specifically in Latin America, is characterized

by dense and fast-growing metropolitan regions. It is evident in a great percentage of territories, where lifestyles and physical characteristics are still predominantly rural (Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Vargas , 2016; Leiva, 2017). That is, where nature and communities, development and development rights progress at different paces (Hernández, 2017); in vast territories and where infrastructure and communication do not efficiently link the countryside to the far borders and city limits or its systems (Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruíz, 2010). Therefore, according to Molina, et al. (2017) urbanization concepts often fail to envision and estimate the impacts of urban sprawl beyond the cities and throughout the countryside. Thus, urbanization dynamics often traverse rural and natural contexts affecting their essential roles of supplying raw materials, water, food, culture, biodiversity and global ecology and climate sustainability. Hence, the characteristics of population concentration in the urban cores are misleading criteria to understand worldwide urbanization, which may be globally replicated as urban settlements (Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga, 2006; Brenner, 2014; Zasada & al, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017).

2.1.3. Urban/rural divides and relationships

According to Leiva (2017), policy makers influence the visions of rural transition. Depending on concepts based on local and global relationships, different models of the rural could be determined (Garayo, 1996; Herrschel & Newman, 2002). For some, it is a landscape that is a widely spread-out network of small towns and villages, as well as farmland. For others, rural areas are defined just as non-urban. Furthermore, Rosas-Baños, (2013) states that different concepts of rural are linked to social, economic and cultural histories in national contexts. So, depending on the rural conception, planning policies are defined to either protect the countryside from specific physical developments as a green landscape, or to protect the agriculture and farmers' productive areas (Molina, et al., 2017). Hence, Booth et al. (2007) conclude that the focus on planning policies is still defined in terms of urbanization and population densities in rural settlements, town fringe, and dispersed villages.

According to Ray Pahl (in Scott, Gilbert, & Gelan, 2007) the concept of urban-rural continuum helps understand the connection between the two terms; however, it also reinforces the notion of urban-rural differences at opposite ends (Schröder, et al., 2017). Today, an accelerated urban growth has occupied the world's planning agenda, which influences the vocation of the rural areas. Leiva (2017) and Molina (2017) consider that separating urban and rural as two different entities or competing areas becomes misguiding and misleading criteria since urban and rural do not constitute a dichotomy. They conform two parts of a continuum, of an interrelated territory that must be seen as an indivisible sequence of human settlements at different scales, characterized by two-way flows of people and resources. Hence, urban and rural are inextricably linked and cannot be dealt as separate units. As Rosas (2007) highlights, they are economically, socially and environmentally interdependent, and issues intersecting the urban-rural continuum need to be considered for policymaking and adequate governance. In this sense, Weller & Talarowski (2014) propose an increasing move from the physical world towards applied social approaches, sciences and public policies to convey nature and landscape in planning. Therefore, the built (the urban) is another element of an integer design process which ties together nature' preservation, rehabilitation and conservation, rather than existing in spite of it. Thus, nature reconciliation within the city is the contribution of the landscape in healing the physical and philosophical distance of urbanized places from their natural settings.

Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga (2006), Brenner (2014), Zasada & al. (2017), and Molina, et al. (2017) emphasize on newer understandings and valuate the relations between urban agglomeration processes and landscapes, which consider different forms of land-use intensification, logistical coordination and articulation of urban centres and peripheries and the rural world as a continuum. Hence, Rowe (1999) and Neu (2016), say that urban and rural are bonded by a middle landscape: an interrelated territory of indivisible sequence of human settlements at different

scales, where planning can harmonize two-way flows of people and resources (Leiva, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). As proposed by Carta (2017), Shane (2005), Weller & Talarowski (2014), Gouverneur (2015) and Neu (2016), in terms of spatiality, the urban form and the correlation to rural territories link nature borderlines as preserved, rehabilitated and converted forests and also as organizer of relations between infrastructure, mobility and basic services, as part of flexible systems (armatures) and shifting scales linking regional, territorial and local sites. Additionally, Weller & Talarowski (2014) emphasize on the design of natural and social processes across multiple scales and dimensions from gardens to regions that become spatial green infrastructure networks helping to bio-morphologically connect territories under rapid urbanization pressures. Thus, conserving and recovering habitat biodiversity, landscape can be ecologically representative and connected as transnational networks, which involve the reconciliation of agricultural, industrial and urban development and conservation interests (Viganò, 2014; Zasada & al, 2017; Schröder, et al., 2017). Landscape can also lead towards regional natural frameworks around which urban growth scenarios can be modelled regarding natural context sustainability. For this matter, landscape architecture and landscape urbanism work, not only as traditional forms of landscape and public space, but also to compose complex ecologies from the city to nature, including built urban forms and infrastructures. Regarding nature and rural space, Dilip da Cunha (in Weller & Talarowski, 2014:165) states that "The environment is fast ceasing to be just our 'surrounds' that bears the impact of human activity and manifest such impacts in what are called 'environmental/ecological problems' that preoccupy designer and planners. It is increasingly becoming a 'place of debate', an arena for critiquing, explaining, interacting and inventing nature".

From a design-oriented point of view, in relation to the transects between built city and nature at regional levels, Shane (2005) enhances the role of natural sections which can cross-link the territory, connecting complex natural and infrastructure systems, including informal and formal developments, centralities, residential areas, markets, dense enclaves, open spaces, agricultural and recreational lands. Then, the process of tying these elements together can be analogically take as armatures, like communicational systems, combined with transportation networks stretching and spreading the scale of traditional enclaves and territories, creating mega-armatures and mega-blocks containing mixed uses, old villages, agricultural settlements, as well as residential, industrial and commercial patches. Accordingly, Gouverneur (2015) envisions armatures as bigger systems such as highways, railways, aqueducts, boulevards, and open spaces. In this sense, it refers to open space (in addition to landscape at the bigger picture) as the organizer of the urban form and the connection to the rural territories, with the ability to manage, in a holistic manner, relations between infrastructure, mobility and basic services.

2.2. A conceptual approach to political ecology for nature sustainability: the Latin American perspective

The concept of political ecology provides criteria for an appropriate virtual management of relationships bound to reality, including cultural, spiritual, sacred, and symbolic realms in association with the environment (Martínez-Alier, 1995; Leff, 2003[8]; Alimonda, 2011). The concept of political ecology proposed by Heynen, et al. (2006) conceives rural development and regional planning based on the idea of environmental justice (Hernández, 2017). Grassroots participatory processes are enriched when bound together with these factors. The concept entails an interpretation of actions for spatial development, not only in urban contexts but also within rural milieus (Smith, 1990; Herrschel & Newman, 2002; Leiva, 2017).

8 http://www.scielo.br/pdf/se/v18n1-2/v18n1a02.pdf accessed February 20, 2018. "Political ecology builds its field of study and action in the encounter of diverse disciplines, thoughts, ethics, behaviors and social movements" Leff, 2003:18

2.2.1. Power relations over nature and environment: A political ecology approach

Smith's (1990) theoretical approach to political ecology helps untangle economic and political processes over nature in urban landscapes. Since nature has become a commodity, objectified and associated to profit, the question is to understand how nature becomes urbanized, whose nature is it, and how does the uneven power over nature arise against environmentalism. Smith poses the question on how to reconcile nature and society; and how to understand its interactions in an urbanizing world. Thus, to reconcile nature and society and its interfaces it is necessary to recognize the economic value of urban environments that are controlled and manipulated to serve the interests of few at the expense of marginalized populations (Smith, 1990; Heynen, et al., 2006; Panadero, 2010; Rosales, Brenner, & Mendoza, 2012).

As shown by Carta (2017) and Zasada & al. (2017), the commodification of nature clearly influences a market-based society, which evidences the socio-ecological processes of domination-subordination and exploitation-repression that are present in the borders between the urban and the rural environment or in the most remote places on earth. In this sense, Harvey (1996) says that there is much to be done to avoid class forces and powers perpetuating resource privileges under the doctrines of progress. Thus, in this context of nature dominated by society, political ecology theories demonstrate the uneven distribution of both environmental benefits and damages, meaning that, while environmental qualities may be enhanced in some places and for some humans, they often lead to social, physical, and ecological deterioration for others. Furthermore, political ecology is about defining political strategies based on democratic participation for the organization of the environments that communities inhabit (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Rosales, 2007). This conception allows building a critical position from the relation between social groups and resources coming from nature, and the economic and political networks at multiple power scales of these relations; in order to determine the way natural resources could be exploited (Heynen et al., 2006).

According to Hernández (2017), planners and policy makers often fail to recognize the close relationship between capitalist forces and socio-environmental justice. Natural-resource extraction (mining, large-scale fishing, cash-crop monocultures, heavy industry, etc.) triggers several adverse social and environmental consequences. In addition, as pointed by Heynen et al. (2006), environmental problems also relate to urban and industrial pollution due to current rapid industrialization and urbanization favoured by the development policies of central governments, which go hand by hand with entrepreneurial expansion, political power, and personal enrichment. Therefore, the work of Lozano (2007), Rosales (2007), Panadero (2010), Rosales, Brenner, & Mendoza (2012), Lago-Peñas & Martínez-Vázquez (2013), De la Torre (2017), Molina, et al. (2017) gives insight on power relations in planning, and lays the foundations for political ecology and provides guidance for spatial planning. This approach addresses the urgent need to overcome unregulated land use and nature obliteration. It signals environmentally unsustainable productive activities that need to be prevented and gives guidelines for administering migratory population dynamics, for controlling intense urbanization of unplanned settlements and above all, for addressing governmental ineffectiveness and lack of governance. In sum, this concept can be deployed to handle situations of unequal political and social powers and territorial fragmentation by determining social and environmental planning policies to prioritize social welfare and the protection of nature as values prevailing over economic and political interests

2.2.2. The control of nature's abundance in Latin America

It was only after the late 1980s, that some Latin American countries, based on European or US policies, saw the correlation between environmental risk, poverty and

minority communities. This led to appoint environmental institutions and laws to act. But initiatives were very limited or were conducted with non-democratic participation of the affected communities (Alimonda, 2011). On the contrary, it was expected that centralized environmental policies be transferred but without an integral adjustment to local contexts. This caused dissatisfaction, dysfunction, and misleading implementations. According to Carruthers (2008), planning strategies for environmental justice were localised to incorporate forms of local and indigenous social and environmental ideas or experiences as part of hybrid fusions. The focus on local languages, principles, tactics, and questions about ecological integrity constituted an opportunity to reveal new insights, notions, and ways of understanding social and environmental challenges faced within regions (Gudynas, 2009; Palacio, 2010).

South American authors such as Alimonda (2011), Vargas (2016), and Hernández (2017), this immense region has been for centuries a vast scenario of different human cultures that have been constructing ways and styles of coexistence with nature, expressed in knowledge, technologies, forms of social organization and mythical and symbolic elaborations. Its flora, fauna, climatic, and ecological diversity, found in numerous climate floors, different soils and the abundance of water resources, encompass a vast spectrum of ecosystems. Respectful to natural richness, local and indigenous societies depend on traditional systems of exploitation, according to a perspective that today can be qualified as sustainable, since the preservation of nature is key to human rights. However, Gudynas (2009) and Escobar (2005) complain that processes of controlled exploitation are dramatically multiplied in most countries within the region, favoured by state policies. Extractive mining models have been reinforced by the privatization and *commodification*, which implicates the annulment of traditional forms of coexistence with natural resources, often ancestral, maintained by peasant communities and indigenous enclaves. According to Alimonda (2011), the modification of legal regimes of land property has led to land dispositions and have generated violent social conflicts. Furthermore, Latin America has been the land of abundance of gold, silver, copper, coal, petroleum, and precious stones. Recently, the extraction of tantalum from coltan (used to manufacture tantalum capacitors for electronic products) is a new mining business, which has become the latest cause for environmental damages, evidenced in the Amazon and Colombia's Orinoquia. Serje (2010) and Palacio (2010) claim that deforestation, water contamination, rural degradation, social and political inequities, are some of the consequences of extensive/intensive mining. Additionally, mining is not only the source for large capital accumulation for states, as multinational companies have transformed agriculture for subsistence to industrialized agriculture for producing surpluses, which supposes a radical change of land-use, tenure and labour (Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017).

Consequently, Vargas (2016) points that there are enormous losses on biodiversity. There is great vulnerability to the whole agricultural and local ecosystems. This also has caused changes in financial, and energetic incomes. With the disappearance of diversified small-medium scale agricultures and of natural forests and jungles, there is also the loss of peasant and indigenous knowledge associated with it. Peasants or workers who interact with monocultures are in some way trapped by a highly specialized unique type of specific technical abilities, and they have lost the skills and traditional knowledge of agro-ecological practices. As reinforced by Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano (2014), tangible and intangible culture has been threatened and changed to urban beliefs and trends. Thus, traditional crops are replaced by profitable large-scale mono-crop plantations composed mainly of oil palm (African palm, hybrid palm), rubber, pine, eucalyptus[9], sugar cane and rice (Vargas, 2010). As has been denounced, this situation of agroindustrial business is usually in hands of foreign and multinational companies that undermine people's rights, such as low wages. Unreasonable extra hours are paid leveraging with in-site accommodations, food and basic personal needs, which actually benefits plantation profitability (Serje, 2010; Vargas, 2010; Palacio, 2010; Mejía, 2012; García, 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

9 Accessed September 2, 2017: https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/90a302d4-b968-4261-90df-4740ad478389/FINAL+Forests+Bond+Factsheet+10-5.pdf?MOD=AJPERES protecting forests through capital market mechanism which in Colombia has been developed by planting large areas in the west flat lands (Llanos Orientales) with pine, acacia and eucalyptus

Serje (2010) and Palacio (2010) highlight that Latin American conflicts, confrontations and disputes are due to loss of control over natural abundance. They argue against accumulation and concentration of capital and power favouring private interests over environmental resources and land. In Colombia, these confrontations are the main causes of the armed conflict, which weakens the capacity of communities to defend their own interests, necessities and basic requirements (García, 2017). According to Escobar (in Alimonda, 2011) parallel to this situation, the institutional weakness and indifference of governments to recognize people's aspirations and lifestyles is a major cause of rural abandonment and anarchy. Therefore, social, environmental and developmental tendencies in the country reflect crucial trends of global imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism tendencies (Palacios, 2012). These trends link economy and armed violence, particularly the prevalence of national and subnational wars over territories and resources. As stated by Reyes (2016), Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano (2014) and Vargas (2016), the effect of global interests and the powerful national elites who exploit the gap between societies and their relation with nature are a threat to ancestral and traditional cultures and their abundant natural legacies (management of tangible and intangible culture).

In this sense, Serje (2010) proposes an anthropological approach to a dialogue between development and political ecology in order to understand conflicts derived from profitable and entrepreneurial projects, programs or politics and their impact on nature and local communities. This needs to come from people's perspectives, especially those who have lost control over resources and territories because they have been excluded in decision processes. Solutions require jurisdictional frameworks to define procedures and actions towards conflict management so as to settle conflicting interpretations and assertions between communities and entrepreneurs, subject to the state-of-the-art. Additionally, an innovative concept is that of *Positive Development*, which refers "to physical development that achieves net positive impacts during its life cycle over pre-development conditions by increasing economic, social and ecological capital" (Birkeland, 2008:5). This constitutes a comprehensive approach encompassing past, present and future, and integrating tangible and intangible assets, nature and culture (Vargas, 2016).

2.2.3. Territorial fragmentation in Latin America

Lago-Peñas & Martínez-Vázquez (2013) and Leiva (2017) find that Latin American planning policies are shifting from municipal planning to territorial regional-oriented strategies to solve problems of incompatible and unplanned uses, unbalanced rural and urban land uses, degraded environmental and multicultural values, and inequitable social and economic opportunities. Additionally, Machado (2017) and Molina, et al. (2017) claim for regional planning to articulate sectorial policies and governance at different levels as well as for space for divergent development ideologies. They argue against the prevalence of private interests over territorial plans. According to Ponce (2007) and De la Torre (2017), policy and transferring experience from the European Union and other countries worldwide promotes criteria for global cooperation for appropriate landscape management and agricultural development[10], harmonizing actions amongst municipalities, to integrate and overcome problems of declined industrial sites in city centres or peripheries; depressed territories and remote rural areas. Thus, emphasis on planning of mixed uses and higher densities, inter-cities mobility networks, including roads, highways and rail and fluvial transport systems become key issues to be taken into account (Newman & Thornley, 1996; Herrschel & Newman, 2002; Karl, 2007; Zasada & al, 2017). In accordance with European transnational economic policies, responsibilities are shared nationally, regionally and locally to develop municipal networking and spatial planning policies. Thus,

10 "The European Landscape Convention of the Council of Europe which promotes the protection, management and planning of the landscapes and organizes international cooperation on landscape topics, preservation, rehabilitation and usage". https://www.coe.int/en/web/landscape/home accessed March 29, 2018. Also, The BioCarbon Fund Initiative for Sustainable Forest Landscapes http://www.biocarbonfund-isfl.org/ accessed March 29, 2018.

middle and small size cities will benefit from the cross-borders cooperation, consolidating the role of urban and regional policies to overcome governmental fragmented responsibilities and to tackle planning and economic growth divergences as well as social and environmental incompatibilities. Therefore, global economic powers have served to establish a common market, which implies removing frontiers, promoting economic integration and building the necessary infrastructure to connect territories to compete in global markets. Additionally, social and environmental effects due to economic change have been a big concern in the international, national and sub-national levels for the European spatial planning regulations. Hence, environmental policies have been developed through urban studies with a substantial interest on urban policy, which have drastically influenced most Latin American countries (Hall, 2005; Massiris, 2012; Schröder, et al., 2017; Zasada & al, 2017). However, Herrschel & Newman (2002) state that the EU focuses on economic and social cohesions giving priority to urban environments, within diverse particular interests to power up domination scales, creating intricate relationships between government levels or between public and private sectors or associations. In most cases, the coalition of cities conforms new functional urban regions without decision-making structures; so, the interactions between government authorities and other interest groups are explored to define partnerships and associations to generate better assemblages to achieve accountability, and long-term strategic visions.

From the European experience on inter-municipal coalitions and cooperation, Lago-Peñas (2013) opens the discussion to some concerns to be considered in relation to Global South cooperation. Geographic and political ideologies, population growth, life-styles, and environmental protection define the drivers to better approach cooperation in order to integrally balance inequitable development of different cities or regions (Tassara, 2015). The disparities mentioned determine various levels of fragmentation; therefore, it involves extra efforts and costs for cooperation in order to respond to political representation and institutional presence. Several issues that are unique for each Latin American context need to be addressed: on the one hand the optimal size and mixture of regions and their territories as operational enclaves; the differences of ethnics, linguistics, and cultures, sometimes trespassing virtual political borders; the multi-level government authorities combined with privatization. On the other, political weakness; corruption favoured by fiscal decentralization and lack of appropriate surveillance; and the jurisdictional size of the territory that generates bureaucratic processes, amongst others.

Governments like Mexico, Bolivia, Argentina, Guatemala and Nicaragua in alliance with Spain and France have implemented inter-municipal cooperation planning strategies. One example is the IDEAL cooperation project[11] (Inter-municipality in Latin America), whose basic guidelines consist in adapting a European model in order to contribute to the improvement of living and developing conditions of local governance through long-term visions, methodologies, technical and thematic training for cooperation. The principles of IDEAL include diverse actors like government appraisals at different levels (intermediate levels), private sectors, NGOs and local communities for profitable public investments on the basis of economies of scale; in consequence, effectiveness, efficiency, professional quality and transparency for building new plans to find common urgent solutions related to water supply, waste management, wealth, education, entrepreneurial actions, among other basic services. IDEAL is also a scenario for diversity and confrontation of positions and criteria expressed by politicians, researchers, academics, experts, technicians, the civil society (collective intelligence) to put together theory and practice to find new forms of political, social, and administrative organizations to overcome traditional and juridical and administrative boundaries (Carrizo, et al., 2012).

Consequently, according to Rosales (2007), Latin America should be seen between geographical scales, simultaneously on the local and global levels to generate different solutions and preventing giant systems, which are hierarchically organized from the top-down criteria. Space and place (global and local concepts) outline programs and strategies

11 Intermunicipalidades de Europa y América Latina: Proyecto IDEAL. Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, México, 2012. Centro Estatal para el Desarrollo Municipal- CEDEMUN

for territorial development linking economic, social and political tendencies, options and opportunities to plan and develop well-being in space and place as part of broader concepts (Low & Lawrence-Zuñiga, 2006; Schröder, et al., 2017; Sánchez, 2017). The fundament relies on adequate land management and tenure, in order to consequently plan and develop rural enclaves and borders within rural and urban limits (Rowe, 1991; Brenner, Schmid, n.d.; Carta, 2017). These procedures and developments combine social, economic, and political criteria to generate socio-spatial conditions to promote community welfare assuring governance and progress by means of production. Development rights as part of ethics and the essential nucleus of human well-being are to be guaranteed. (Hernández, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). Assuming the solution of governance and progress requires a multidimensional and integral vision (space and place), which transversally tackles problems (societal and environmental) that affect change or development (political and economic), so as to assure equity, opportunities, and above all, quality in the different forms of life within given human environments (sustainability).

2.3. Conceptual approaches to rural development

Rural development in the Global South is viewed from different and distant perspectives, which vary according to economic, social, political and environmental interests on preservation or exploitation of the rural. These perspectives take into account different aspects, from economic support of national Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the international source for raw or energetic goods and wealth and leisure places for urban societies to the lack of urbanized spaces. Conceptual approaches help understand the implications of development in rural territories and the lifestyles of their people. In order to generate new possibilities for rural development in planning policies, rural issues need to be approached from diverse perspectives: production models, human capability building, nature valuation, and territorial cohesion.

2.3.1. Rural development in relation to economic growth

Rural development management is understood as a model for global economy with a direct impact over rural society. Under this standpoint of economic growth, structural transformations arise from rural to urban and from agriculture to industry. According to Pérez (2001), in terms of productivity, there is a shift from agriculture to massive production processes that respond to industrial and urban demands. Therefore, agriculture has become a residual activity as a result of exploitation policies. The conception of rural development planning considers agriculture as the only primary production strategy for the economy of regions and countries by means of alimentary sustainability and sovereignty. Yet, contradictions lead to a shift from agrarian processes to environmental services, livestock, fishing, mining, trade, etc. As these activities expand to competitive locations in towns and villages, the interdependence of productivity to industrial and trade companies increase. Pérez (2001) considers that within the Latin American context the end of the twentieth century brought great demographic, economic, and institutional changes to the rural realm. As a result, there is a massive exodus of peasants to cities, so that agricultural productivity declines. Political decentralization takes advantage of unequal local and regional power and promotes the supra nationalization of agrarian policies. Thus, diversification for agricultural goods is at stake. So are the aged rural population and the undervalued agrarian life style. Additionally, this crisis endangers the traditional management of farmers, who now depend more on national and international markets and on competitive policies and trends difficult to cope with. Therefore, as shown by Rosales (2007) Rosales, Brenner, & Mendoza (2012), and Rosas-Baños (2013), the crisis of traditional social articulation generates conflicts

in institutional competence amongst unbalanced powers. Besides these demographic and institutional challenges, the crisis has also caused environmental degradation and erosion due to the overexploitation of natural resources. In addition to the changes in rural productive activities, land occupation and structure, has become the core issue of rural and social disintegration because of violent conflicts caused by inequitable distribution and access to land as well as imposed productive activities and political powers. Consequently, Leiva (2017) concludes that communities demand not only better basic services and stability in labour and nourishment, but also sovereignty and financial and trade support. They have pleaded for participation mechanisms to improve infrastructure, options and opportunities towards a better quality of life within rural contexts.

Rosales (2007), Rosas-Baños (2013), Lozano (2017), Hernández, (2017) argue that rural development in planning should be centred in scenarios and people. Education and community participation become the foundations of change, whereby an understanding of overall development and development rights is essential. Thus, Lozano (2017) imagines three pillars to achieve adequate social changes: culture, society and education. This is seen as part of social opportunities to accomplish development authority. In turn, Vásquez (2017) adopts dimensioning contextual changes in rural enclaves and advocates for welfare and for structural changes towards economic development in larger and interrelated territories, within the historical context, (Rosales, 2007; Sánchez, 2017; Vásquez, 2017). Massiris (2005) relates the term planning to economic growth at national, regional or municipal levels. Friedmann (1987), on the other hand, develops this concept as a means of public management based on a generic approach leading towards a specific individual, taking into account particular needs, capabilities and opportunities. Friedmann defines planning from a technical point of view, in which design capabilities (methods and rulings) target governance (policies). Thus, public management aims at the individual and towards particular advantages, starting off from the territory to enhance governmental actions based on normative and regulatory scaffolding. Thus, public investments (roads, education, housing, etc.) are part of a leading and coordinated top-down and bottom-up plans and processes. Rengifo (2012) considers planning as a decision-making tool for dealing with actual issues of a given territory utilizing direction, administration, methods and operative processes towards the development and stability of a given population. In turn, Massiris (2005) divides planning into three applicable groups, envisioning:

1. The global level: economic planning determines general policies for socio-economic development defined for the country, its regions and municipalities.
2. The sectorial level: global issues are disaggregated into governmental operational management of transportation, housing, education, etc. Plans and programs of each particular governmental institution guarantee the implementation of solutions.
3. The spatial or territorial level: An urban-territorial development plan is designed and carried out according of the specific economy and usability of a given territory or geographical enclave in order to improve spatial functionality.

To reinforce the above from another perspective, it seems appropriate at this point to mention Kuznets's words in his address as he received the Nobel Prize in Economic Science in 1971: "A country's economic growth may be defined as a long-term rise in capacity to supply increasingly diverse economic goods to its population, this growing capacity based on advancing technology and the institutional and ideological adjustments that it demands"[12]. He also addresses the structural transformation comprising the shift away from agriculture to non-agricultural pursuits and the approach to a different scale of productive units with an impact requiring "that a substantial economic advance in the less developed countries may require modifications in the available stock of material technology, and probably even greater innovations in political and social structures" (Kuznets). This vision allows for innovative notions on economic dependence that can redirect changes in developmental models for Latin America in accordance to its realities and needs (Lozano, 2017).

12 https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economic-sciences/laureates/1971/kuznets-lecture.html accessed December 11, 2017.

Thus, Bezemer & Headey (2008) position agroindustry as a state strategy for many governments in developed countries to achieve rapid and wide economic growth and poverty reduction. However, recent domestic and international policies advocate for environmental preservation and denounce increasing discrimination against agricultural economies, which together with policies beneficiating oil and mining extractions, lead to a delayed growth of the rural sector. Increasing emphasis on government's plans to support industry as the main engine of growth has ended in escalating scarcity at local levels. In addition, social inequity and internal social confrontations in certain countries have led to migration from the countryside, thus increasing urban informality and poverty within urban peripheries. Carta (2017) states that current relationships determine *rur-urban* linkages and dependence. Rural non-agricultural engagements and rural poverty have increased, thus creating a change in cultural beliefs and processes. The dichotomy of the above poses questions from the social, economic and political standpoints. There is the need for raising awareness of the importance to maintain and pursue sustainability, and to gain consciousness of climate change, of the wastage and loss of natural resources and of the need for environmental protection. These challenges can be met with diverse options on the relationships between the elapsed rural areas and the increasingly urban expansion over rural lands; this vision can be scrutinized from the *new rurality* perspective, which "... proposes the study of precisely this new relationship and its effects on rural territory: socioeconomic effects of emigration in communities; poverty; productive strategies; diversification, sustainable management of natural resources and the acquisition of capacities for market placement of products and social movements whose main claim is autonomy." (Rosas-Baños, 2013:3)[13].

13 http://polis.revues.org/8846 accessed September 2, 2017. Original text in Spanish, free translation by the author: "La Nueva Ruralidad propone el estudio precisamente de esa nueva relación y sus efectos en el territorio rural: efectos socioeconómicos de la emigración en las comunidades; pobreza; estrategias productivas; diversificación, gestión sustentable de recursos naturales y la adquisición de capacidades para la colocación de productos al mercado y movimientos sociales cuyo principal reclamo es la autonomía".

2.3.2. Development centered on *human capabilities*

Extensive discussions on Latin America's slow social and economic development as well as its fragile and fragmented societies have pointed out challenges such as centralized governments and weak agriculture as obstacles to incorporate large fractions of society onto overall visions for development (Escobar, 2005; Rosales, 2007; Vargas, 2016; Sánchez, 2017). As noted by Rocio Rosales (2007) a required change envisions the importance of regions and the opportunities to develop local productivity, permitting society and economics to correlate development based on *human opportunities and capacities* (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2002; Escobar, 2007). This approach provides options to protect cultural differences as means to "'*de-underdevelop*' societies in a systematic, detailed and extensive manner" (Escobar, 2007:23)[14] to produce changes and empower civic entrepreneurial organizations at local enclaves (Rosales, 2007). Thus, economic growth correlates to the relationship between *development-well-being-social actors* (Sen, 1998; Rosales, 2007). Yet, development has meant, especially after WW2, "an *'evolution'* in diverse economic, social, political and cultural features" (Rosales, 2007:7) to demonstrate wealth and development, expecting that non-developed countries would as well accomplish these changes within a concept of *modernity*. After this period, a new trend established dependence among or within countries resulting in many cases in more social fragmentation and poverty (Sen, 1999; Sen, 2009; Nussbaum, 2002; Escobar, 2005; Rosales, 2007; Dong, 2012; Lozano, 2017; Hernández, 2017). The concept of *development* has still been irresolute posing questions on how to reverse conceptualizations and theories and showing two options: whilst post-structuralism upholds exclusion and poverty of those countries being *underdeveloped, post-development* proposes a realistic vision being subtle, practical and useful in diverse discourses allowing *knowledge*

14 The text in Spanish reads as follows: "se embarcaron en la tarea de 'des-desarrollarse" sometiendo sus sociedades a intervenciones cada vez más sistemáticas, detalladas y extensas". It relates to historical analysis and interventions to change the vision on poverty and economic slowdown. It could be related to the model called dualism and agriculture-centred development.

and *knowledge-on-how* to sustain social movements for autonomous *growth* (Escobar, 2009). These visions promote a *human-centred vision*, a centrality on man's *capabilities* (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2002; Rosales, 2007; Dong, 2012; Vargas, 2016; Lozano, 2017). *Human capabilities* and processes interact hence towards a more equitable development and better societal outcomes. These discourses emanate from the academy and civil groups for communal progress. Leading thinkers such as Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, Arturo Escobar, Manfred Max-Neef among many, lead the philosophical path for these required improvements of societal behaviour and functioning providing opportunities and options for a better life, well-being, equity, and justice.

Sen (2009) argues against a focus on income and wealth distribution as the basis for measuring human well-being. He rather defines capabilities as peoples' potentials for functioning, enabling them to achieve something and to select and take opportunities. He also stresses the relevance of capabilities as the most important input into the evaluation of social state policies. However, income and wealth can be part of the means for achieving capabilities. The distinction between capabilities and resources is profound and consequential, since people may differ in their ability to convert their resources into capabilities according to their social, environmental, cultural, political and legal factors among other characteristics within a given context. The approach to human capabilities does not specify which capabilities should be taken into account. Assessment is the basis for a society's justice improvement. Its political values should include participation, accountability and efficiency. Sen emphasizes on social policies that allow for people's own values and choices. He places democratic deliberation at the centre of social choice. Additionally, Sen also gives significance to collective capabilities, giving importance to social structures and groups, for the less privileged ones, which requires shared and collaborative actions through unions, political parties, village councils, ethnic groups, women organizations, etc. Consequently, individuals are the centre of analysis, and collectivises are instrumental structures for social mobility. Therefore, social interactions, facilitated by collective groups, are fundamental for developing identities, ideals, and goals. Axiological aspects (subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, creation, identity and freedom) and existential features (being, having, doing, and interacting) (Sen, 2009) are also satisfiers referring to forms of organization, political structures and social practices, Therefore, reaching these standards involves access to options and opportunities, regarding oneself, a social group and its given environment.

According to Nussbaum (2011), the *capabilities approach* is a key framework to make assessments on existing and future political and economic circumstances to comply with pluralistic dimensions of measuring and promoting life quality. The term *Capabilities* refers to what a person is able to do and what he is, considering the set of opportunities an individual can choose from. Furthermore, Nussbaum conceives dignity as being related to the real life of specific human beings. This requires ten central capabilities, which are: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses (imagination and thought), emotions, practical reasoning, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment. Thus, both capabilities and lack of capabilities are introduced as two further concepts: fertile functioning and corrosive disadvantage. Fertile is the one that promotes other related capabilities. This could vary from context to context. One example could be financial support (loans) for landownership. Fertile functioning identifies the best intervention for public policies and for prioritizing, selecting and assigning resources. On the contrary, corrosive disadvantage is related to deprivation in various areas of life, like domestic violence and absence of protection (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2017). What is important is that people not only enjoy a certain level of functioning, but also that they are able to sustain a better life over time. A more general view contemplates development geographically differentiated into comparatively richer and poorer nations according to their location. Richer countries are mostly located in the Northern Hemisphere, with some exceptions like Australia and New Zealand, while poorer ones are located in tropical regions and in the Southern Hemisphere. Socio-economic and political conditions contrast the Global North and South, which have different levels of peoples' well-being (societal) and of access to services and opportunities to satisfy their basic needs like nourishment, health and education.

Gudynas & Acosta (2011), call the attention on the incongruity between the North and the South, which includes differential availability of natural resources and the possibility to preserve or transform them. In countries of the Global South, the urge to augment their wealth to overcome the left-behind social and economic conditions pushes State development policies to institute financial growth based on nature exploitation. This approach of development creates an ongoing environmental degradation, both at local scales (deforestation, destruction of biodiversity, soil degradation, water and air pollution, etc.) and at a global scale expressed on climate change. Concerning the perspective of development centred on the economic growth, Nussbaum (2011) points at the failure of country leaders who consider the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as a nations' progress. In contrast, the human development approach assesses people's living conditions in terms of available opportunities for each person and not by the average well-being of a territory. Thus, the principle of *human development approach* takes each person as an end. It focuses on ones-own-choice and freedom, and explores deep-rooted social injustice and inequity. Therefore, according to Nussbaum, peoples' possibilities are scrutinized to satisfy their basic needs, not as a matter of destiny, but as means for individual improved minimum conditions that any person can count on, as for example access to democracy, health and education.

A conceptual response to develop paradigms within the Latin American context prioritizes capital growth and encompasses intellectual movements in favour of well-being centred growth of local communities (Rosales, 2007; Rosales, Brenner & Mendoza, 2012). For this purpose, endeavours based on the concept of *Human Scale Development* are of great importance. Max-Neef, et al. (2010) refer to the improvement of life quality, to the fulfilment of human needs, and to self-reliance and organic articulation in given contexts. Consequently, people are the protagonists of their own future because each one is capable of forging their own path (Rosales, 2007; Rosales, Brenner & Mendoza, 2012; Vargas, 2016; Hernández, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). Notwithstanding, Cortina (2006), Rosales (2007), Hernández (2017), regrettably point that, despite definitions, concerns and policies, it has evidently not been possible to replace unsustainable social and economic models in Latin America by human-scale development in order to prioritize peoples' needs. This is in part due to high dependence on institutional help to overcome poverty by focusing development based on local empowerment. Newer trends seek for a balance between sustainable development and human-scale development (Max-Neef, 2006; Hernández, 2017) supporting transdisciplinary actions and the satisfaction of human needs, rights and growth (Hernández, 2017). Cortina (2006) explains that civil and political rights are part of human development as means of economic, social and cultural rights people have, and which is normally valued by UN, FAO and other worldwide organizations, governmental and civil institutions, as well as by NGOs that promote welfare. But, although development is of major concern, Cortina (2006) explains that action plans fail to provide the necessary changes to eliminate hunger, poverty and inequity.

A good example in South America, fundamental to human well-being in local communities' is the concept of *sumak kawsay* (Quechua indigenous language)[15], meaning the *good living* or *good life*, which defines nourishment, healthy environment, drinking water, communications, education, housing, heath, and energy supply as basic communal rights. Hence, a set of organized and sustainable governmental, economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental quality services need to boost and guarantee appropriateness of such basic rights. Gudynas & Acosta (2011) refer to the concept of *Good living (buen vivir)* as a moral and ethical principle that governments must aim at to target social unity, equality, inclusion, dignity, freedom, justice, accountability and responsiveness. Hence, *good living* requires economic changes, related to solidarity and reciprocity for a better distribution of wealth, in addition to austerity, which implies the individual's and the revocation to live better in favour of the interest of others (well-being/common benefit). Thus, market diversification avoids monopolies and speculation to secure opportunities for everybody (Lukomski, et al., 2013). Fundamental basic public services, like drinking water, nourishment, health, education, are finite, and their provision can be measured and classified by

15 https://www.puce.edu.ec/documentos/CuestionessobreelSumakKawsay.pdf accessed February 24, 2017

quality indicators, which evaluate the improvement of life quality, since they do not change according to culture and historic time. Accordingly, the fulfilment of basic needs is to be defined in relation to characteristics of the individual, the community and the locality. To sum up, community design focuses on social accountability comprising local decisions (Dong, 2012) related to options for development (Escobar, 2005; Rosales, 2007; Rosas-Baños, 2013; Sánchez, 2017). As presented by Dong, the *capability approach* "must assert a just socially-mediated process of devising a system, component, or process that achieves a set of goals established as a result of a shared understanding of the design work within a context defined by both the natural environment and human interests" (2012:77).

2.3.3. The value of nature in development

Most Latin American economies are based on the so-called *extractivism*, which is a hardly diversified economic development model, based on the appropriation of nature (subject to rights), removing large amounts of resources for exporting raw materials to transnational companies (Lozano, 2007; Gudynas, 2009). The *extractivism* of mining and oil has a long history in Latin America; these activities play key roles in national economies, but at the same time they generate serious problems in social and environmental structures. Therefore, most governments make efforts to achieve and maintain greater legitimacy of intensive extractions, through the redistribution of some of the surplus (royalties) generated by the extractive processes, at the expense of local communities and nature (Gudynas, 2009). The redistribution of surplus also generates differential territorial and financial capacities resulting in unequal, unclear or changing conditions for fair allocations, land appropriation and land-use (Palacios, 2011). The concern related to equitable distribution of resources, investments and economic concentration exacerbates the tension between small and large cities or estates, between rural and urban relationships, and rural progression (Newman & Thornley, 1996).

Although resource distribution takes place locally, infrastructure systems are developed as networking for fair territorial planning even beyond local and geographical boundaries (Rosales, 2007; Rosas-Baños, 2013). This shows the urgent need to confront economic growth related to economic geography, urbanization and local urban growth and to analyse nature within its protected borders. Land use in agriculture and production should be adapted to *human capacities* (Escobar, 2005; Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruíz, 2010; Molina, 2010; Schröder, et al., 2017). The capitalist perspective of development based on the exploitation of nature draws reactions not only of scholars and theorists, but also of religious leaders worried by the impacts on society and environment. Pope Francis's encyclical *Laudato Si'* (2015) calls for an urgent development model to tackle current ecological crisis and addresses human inequalities in the world. His invitation is to put the human being and the poorest at the centre of a dignifying human development, since they are the ones who are not responsible for the terrible consequences of nature degradation, and who have fewer resources and echoes to react. As an ethical point of view, the encyclical On Care of our Common Home (2015) places the human being in close relation with nature and visualizes humans as part of it. Human and nature are in constant and close relation. Decisions about production, consumption and exploitation have an inevitable effect on the environment and the well-being of people. In this regard, the Pope links the global conception of market with the urge of for-profit, pointing out its dominance at the expense of the poor and abusing the environment, which is detrimental to the interests of the vulnerable people, and constitutes a risk to the planet's sustainability. The message of Laudato Si' is a call to look at the world differently, to focus on the critical environment and inequity crisis from the notion of the common good. The Global South from the encyclical assessment of Pope Francis calls on rich and developed nations to compensate their ecological debt to the developing countries by reducing consumption of non-renewable energies and supporting them in shifting to clean energy and more sustainable development. He refuses economic and global interests, which have unjustly favoured multinational companies exploiting natural resources in the Global South.

Likewise, Gudynas & Acosta (2011) conceptual approach to Latin America focuses on *harmonious coexistence* as an alternative to the western capitalist idea of development based on the massive extraction of natural resources, placing special value on nature, in opposition to current development models. Therefore, the concept of *harmonious coexistence* evokes the knowledge and beliefs of indigenous communities who give special attention to nature. Gudynas (2015) refers to Latin American as a territory of abundant natural richness that supports peoples' lives. Thus, indigenous communities in the Andes value nature and land as life-territory: The *Pachamama* (Mother Earth and fertility goddess)[16] as protective and provider. Subsequently, the concept of *good life* defines new paradigms to protect nature and to improve life quality for local communities, integrating indigenous voices and assuming nature as a subject with its own values and rights. It is the relationship between rurality and appropriation of the territory by means of its management and specific enclaves under protection. Hence, concepts such as harmonious coexistence and *good life* have been included in Political Constitutions of different countries and as part of planning policies for direct governmental intervention, like in Ecuador and Bolivia; however, there are not sufficient strategies to put these notions into practice so as to protect nature and promote the improvement of life quality for local and indigenous communities (Vargas, 2016). On the contrary, development strategies for exploitation still are held by transnational corporations, territorialized in each country, and favoured by national governments, disregarding local ecological destruction and social inequities.

16 http://info.handicraft-bolivia.com/Pachamama-Mother-Earth-a346 accessed February 23, 2017

2.3.4. A *new rurality* perspective for rural/urban articulation

In Latin America, modern perspectives indicate that rural development is the transition towards urban lifestyles, meaning progress, civilization, and modernity (Pérez, 2001; Panadero, 2010). Currently, globalization constitutes new socio-economic relations giving value to rural territories and its population because of the need for food, environmental services, and protection of nature under a sustainable rationality for mainly agricultural production. The idea of rural-urban diffused borders is also enhanced by the presence of suburban areas of second homes, peripheral informal settlements and *rur-urban* housing. An urban spatiality is divided by epicentres and functions, linked by networks that open into the rural generating a fuzzy meta-urban entity (Brenner, 2004; Carta, 2017; Zasada & al, 2017). On one hand, the reversal trend of migration from urban into rural areas because of the rural renaissance spreads urban population out onto small-urbanized areas or scattered urban settlements in search for recreation, solitude and peace. Others perceive countryside as the place where food is produced; where it is possible to build on and develop, or the importance to preserve the environment as an answer to the alienated urban living (Scott, Gilbert, & Gelan, 2007; Institute for Social and Environmental Transition, 2008). The phenomenon of urban migration to urbanize the rural space is favoured by city sprawl onto the periphery or rural empty land, and by the introduction of improved infrastructures and technologies making the rural area "more urban". Additionally, in the context of the Global South, the problem of accumulation of capital by dispossession of local communities with the over-occupation of foreign companies is also a matter of land-use change, production and destruction of social space. Therefore, the concept of *new rurality* is reinforced to explain new organizational structures and functions, apart from agriculture, which brings population mobility, diversification of land-uses and new social networks (Pérez, 2001; Pérez, 2004). Moreover, changes of the rural space cause uneven development of the land, displacement of peasants or their enrolment to multinational labour systems, as well as the introduction

of different industrial technologies (Cortés, 2004; Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruiz, 2010; Castañeda, 2012). Therefore, the rural is the space for a great variety of economic activities driven by different kinds of inhabitants, which are not clearly recognized by the sectorial rural development policies that favour the use of natural resources for agro-industrialization, tourism, agroforestry, fisheries, mining and handicrafts, among others (Pérez, 2004).

In sum, the concept of *new rurality* (Pérez, 1993; Pérez, 2001; Cortés, 2004; Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruíz, 2010; Molina, 2010; Schröder, et al., 2017) describes a new relation between rural and urban, which implies expectancies to alleviate the dichotomy between urban and rural. This tendency opts to disintegrate the dense urban centres into multi dynamic polyesters –seen like a collage–, in order to assimilate rural production at different scales. Thus, geometric multi-form structures generate spaces in-between the territory, successions of nodes and grids, diffused borders articulated in the natural structure (Lukomski et al., 2013; Viganò, 2014; Gouverneur, 2015; Zasada & al, 2017). However, this optimistic view of articulation between the rural and the urban is based on the vision of smaller urban settlements linked as networks in the rural space, which is not clear on vast territories, far apart from large urban areas, which is the case in many territories in Latin America. According to Harvey (CENEDET et al., 2015; Martínez et al., 2015), Latin America should be seen in terms of geographical scales, simultaneously viewing local and global levels to generate different conditions of active participation of people by promoting bottom-up relationships and preventing giant systems, which are hierarchically organized from the top (Rosales, 2007). From the holistic point of view, considering perspectives by Rosales (2007), Rosales, Brenner, & Mendoza (2012), Rosas-Baños, (2013), the rural is a socioeconomic entity in a geographic space with four main components: First, a territory, which evolves on the ground of natural and raw material sources. The territory is the fundament of economic activities, towards sustainability in a broad sense. Second, the population structure, which encompasses cultural identity, traditions, productivity, consumption, and social relations and constitutes a complex socioeconomic system. Third, interdependent scattered settlements that are also related to external contexts and function according to networks that facilitate the exchange of inhabitants, merchandises, and information channels. Fourth, a set of public and private institutions, based on legal frameworks, which serve the articulation and functionality of the system.

According to Cortés (2004), rural space and its multiple ways of spatial occupation is related to various factors: firstly, to agrarian structures and their habitat; secondly, to economic productivity and persistent agricultural models (scales of production and technologies); and lastly, the physical-natural and socioeconomic components which are bound to transitions and change. Together, the generic idea of the rural related to agriculture creates and imaginary of a productive activity that defines social, economic y political structures, which affects landownership, capital, labour force and technologies. The above envisions the needs to develop strategies and governance to improve regional productivity and establish bonds with the population by means of life wellness and social development within boundaries of tangible and intangible cultural traditions (Vargas, 2016). The process of appropriation envisions sustainability, conservation, preservation and protection of natural resources and enclaves, as well as the fulfilment of basic needs and requirements for development. It involves change, transformation and consolidation of enclaves subject to exploitation. It also comprises, research, innovations and management of territories based on socioeconomic dimensions for place-making, designing strategies seeking for territorial complexity and its resolution (Schröder, et.al, 2017).

2.4. Spatial planning and political ecology concluding aspects for rural development

In most Latin American countries, spatial planning and policies are mainly defined in terms of urban characteristics, giving priority to city development and largely ignoring social and environmental dynamics in rural areas; therefore, utmost attention is given to physical development of cities or systems of cities responding to global urbanizing tendencies. Consequently, debates on planning tend to be urban oriented, although rural contexts are equally constituent of contemporary social realities; thus, planning policies recognize mainly urban life-styles. Under the tendencies of urbanization, multiscale governments have institutionalized subnational administrative units to empower local and regional economies, but still centrally coordinated transferring unbalanced competences to local authorities. Thus, coalition of intricate relationships between government levels or between public and private sectors or associations conform functional urban regions without established decision-making structures; so, the interactions between government authorities and other groups of interest need to be explored to define partnerships and associations to generate better assemblages, to achieve accountability, and long-term visions for strategic planning.

New understandings on urbanization are needed to revalue the relations between agglomeration processes and landscape and their diverse and complex relationships, which can consider different forms of land-use intensification, logistical coordination, urban centres and periphery dichotomies as well as socio-political struggles within different spatial scales and dimensions of its transverse and systemic outcomes. Therefore, in the context of unequal political and social powers and territorial fragmentation, planning policies should define social and environmental goals that are relevant enough to be a priority over economic and political interests; political and social will are to be key factors for development and growth options. Thus, profound changes in the rural may be favoured, since current uses and purposes of the countryside, which are not evident in planning policies, pose a grave threat for territorial development and to rural economy and its society.

Given the global tendencies for spatial occupation and urbanization, there is no consensus of what rural is and of what is expected to be in the purpose of spatial planning policies. In addition, there is no clear designation of the role of social and environmental goals within *rurality*. Consequently, social, cultural, economic and environmental issues in planning policies increase the development gap that divide actions and priorities between *rural and urban*. Traditionally, rural and urban have been set as opposites. In urban planning, open-space systems help shifting scales going from regional to local sites, from the unbuilt to the built. They favour flexibility and frame urban and rural interrelations and their continuum; they offer balanced habitats in harmony with environmental resources within the transition of the rural/urban spaces.

In this scenario of defining planning policies for rural development, the concept of political ecology helps understand power relations with nature. Planning policies should consider working with communities, productive sectors, governmental entities and political actors that are directly involved in local and regional development. Therefore, contributing to the democratization of knowledge helps build political capacity and empowerment, to actively participate in planning processes and projects (governance) that favour a sustainable relationship between productive models and the protection of nature. Besides addressing economic and political forces, planning primarily should bring solutions to undesirable social and environmental problems. It should become an instrument to achieve sustainable objectives at the national, sub-national, regional, territorial and city levels. For this matter, sustainable and comprehensive development depends on the participation of actors at different levels, such as decision-making communities at various scales and local grassroots actors like farmers, industry workers, and miners. Traditionally powerful actors as well as large production companies, multilateral institutions, as well as governmental authorities should work together to achieve a large consensus. Therefore,

policymaking based on multilevel group participation at various scales can be motivated by the common goal of environmental and social justice and sustainability to link strategic actions to determine spatial territorial planning strategies for overcoming environmental degradation and social segregation. In consequence, planning determines spatial strategies so as to serve public interests in market processes.

The conception of rural development explains complex realities and shows diverse possibilities for urban expansion. Changes in the rural realm need to be questioned. Research, innovations and territorial management contribute to the improvement of strategies for territorial development. Comprehensive rural development considers the relationship between the territory and the community, taking into account its natural landscape, its resources and its human settlements. The interaction between communal and governmental institutions serves an overall functionality, contributing to the social construction of a specific land. Environmental policies inspired by the principle of territorial sustainability aim to establish economic, social, cultural, political and institutional relationships determined by power structures and cultural identities to foster development.

Public policies that explicitly acknowledge the importance of collective actions can provide the basis for corporate life, democratic processes and goal-oriented organizations to explore and take advantage of opportunities. Therefore, there is a need to determine the principles that guarantee social equity and well-being, and that offer the best strategies and tactics to achieve long-term social functioning. Consequently, the requirements of these central capabilities must be met in any policy that intends to put an end to poverty, injustice, and inequalities. It can be concluded that viewing the individual in the core of society, cultural conventions, traditions and the social cartography can be the path to evaluate options and opportunities determined to foster development and to maintain tangible and intangible cultural assets. Decentralization is drawn from the idea that governments are autonomous and competent within the boundaries of a municipality, which contains spatial actions and projects; however, socioeconomic and environmental relations in given territories are complex, since they go beyond the limits of municipal geographies and their management. Therefore, there is a need to define criteria for regional delimitation in order to comprehend, from different interdisciplinary approaches, the interdependencies, the complementarities and the sustainability of harmonized regions. Additionally, a long-term strategic vision is fundamental for the definition of territories, considering different and holistic scales and dimensions like ecological, social, economic, cultural and political issues, together with the consideration of physical characteristics related to topography, infrastructure, basic services, built areas, ecosystems, sociological groups, etc. Thus, the rural context consists of an ensemble of regions and zones that conform territories whose inhabitants carry out various productive activities in relation to public and private institutions. From the Latin American standpoint, it is desirable to incorporate a dialogue with indigenous people to enlighten ideas and practices around development alternatives for the betterment and preservation of environmental and ecological conditions and the benefit of local communities.

3. Relevant examples of decision-making processes for the exploitation of nature

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The aim of development must be neither producerism not consumerism, but the satisfaction of fundamental human needs, which are not only needs of humanity.

*Manfred Max Neef**

*The Right Livelihood Award: Acceptance speech – Manfred Max-Neef, 1983
I severed my ties with the trends imposed by the economic establishment, disengaged myself from "objective abstractions" and decided to "step into the mud".
https://www.rightlivelihoodaward.org/speech/acceptance-speech-manfred-max-neef/

African palm plantations

Extensive commercial extraction campaigns, agroindustry (mono-crops), and general mining projects affect environments and local communities throughout the world (Salóm, 2010). Governments depend, to different extents, on these exploitation processes, as they benefit the overall economy. At the same time the revenues may help develop regions, territories and municipalities thanks to public investments and policies. Most of the projects bring foreign investments of multinational companies. Some governments are required to build infrastructure, to manage social and community-oriented compensations and provide housing interventions as social accountabilities to improve territorial well-being (Göbel, Góngora, & Ulloa, 2014). Nonetheless, the outcomes not always result as expected by governments, agencies or communities. Historically, extraction processes connote colonialism and exploitation of natural resources affecting grassroots, indigenous and peasant groups (Salóm, 2010; Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Vargas, 2016; Sánchez, 2017). Extensive decrees and regulations and institutional entities that supervise these commercial projects and advocate for sustainability end up having no real options or functionalities to detain destruction, pollution nor to sustain or protect the terrestrial or aquatic territories where they take place due to the dominance of political and private interests (Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruíz, 2010).

A review of different examples related to oil and gas exploration and exploitation, and agroindustrial extensive large-scale mono-crops developed to boost national economic growth shows that controlled social and environmental impacts have apparently decreased. Relevant cases are those of the oil extraction industry and biofuel agroindustry in the region of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), the mining exploitation of gold and silver in Mexico, the Malaysian biofuel production, and the example of oil extraction in Norway. All of them underline general and peculiar characteristics, from which four important lines of discussions can be derived:

- the exploitation of nature as a mechanism for a country's development;

- giving social, economic and environmental solutions to conflictive situations;
- the implication of planning practices;
- grassroots participation.

Qualitative aspects are derived from secondary sources of information, mainly based on academic papers, reports from governmental institutions and NGOs, news and journals addressing social, environmental, economic and planning issues. This review aims at providing multiple references for a deeper understanding of practices similar to the ones ongoing in the department of Casanare. An overview of these relevant examples, which have been on the national and local media and public debate agenda of their countries, helps discussing planning limitations and perspectives for rural and territorial development in the specific situation in Colombia will then be analysed

3.1. Brazil's inequitable royalty distribution among producing and nonproducing states and municipalities

3.1.1. Oil, one main share of Brazil's GDP

Brazil is one of the largest oil producers in Latin America. About forty percent of its production is used for domestic energy consumption and the rest is exported. It is also one of the main sources for the GDP (Correia da Silva, et al., 2008). Since 2006, in a territory comprised by fifteen municipalities in Rio de Janeiro, the Consortium of Leste Fluminense (CONLESTE) manages Rio de Janeiro Petrochemical Complex (Comperj), one of the main refineries in Brazil, joining the state-owned publicly-traded oil company Petroleo Brasileiro S.A. (Petrobras). The oil and gas production zone of Campos Basin Organization (Ompetro), founded in 2001, is a remarkable example in Latin America of because the production of oil in this vast area has led to a series of fast and significant transformations of urban spatiality, population mobility, socioeconomic and demographic fluctuating dynamics (Columbia University, 2011). It includes nine coastal municipalities within the State of Rio de Janeiro. The region concentrates approximately 80% of oil production in the region. Thus, it has become the major receptor of royalties or financial compensations. Municipalities, previously expellers of population, are now attractors of labour force, and of fast urbanization processes.

3.1.2. A conflictive social, economic and environmental situation

The main conflicts in the region are caused by the impacts of oil extraction on natural environments and demographic escalation. The region suffers from deforestation and river pollution, which causes violent conflicts between local communities and the refinery administration, mainly because traditional fisher unions have been affected by the degradation of the sea and the rivers. Another important impact is the large migratory labour force of skilled workers required for refinery employments (Carvalho, 2016). Rio de Janeiro Petrochemical Complex (Comperj) was expected to create 200,000 direct jobs, which required an urbanized area equipped with basic services to prevent unplanned typical patterns of "petroleum urbanizations" characterized by spontaneous inappropriate housing facilities and sanitation infrastructure. According to Clara Irazábal[17], the massive-scale development around the petrochemical complex was transforming an area five times the size of New York City into a highly uncontrolled, environmentally precarious settlement. This has forced municipalities to invest in road infrastructure, schools, health centres, hospitals, urban equipment, sanitation and expansion of water, sewage and

17 https://jeffreybyuen.wordpress.com

security networks. The intervention of governmental social responsibility programs provides employment and improves life quality based on appropriate royalties' allocation.

However, it is noteworthy that some of Rio de Janeiro's municipalities are economically dependent on the oil companies, which represent essential monetary resources. Despite many efforts, the management fund administration lacks transparency, social control and hence, public and democratic influence over investment priorities. This fact reproduces a social dynamic that favours private interests, so that the state is dominated by certain groups and fractions that benefit from these power unbalances. This is also affected by the general fragility of public institutions and poor experience in political participation (Correia da Silva et al., 2008). Therefore, conflicts arise between local oppositions and national authorities and between public and private interests. There is controversy between several legal rationales of international regulation that benefit global markets and state sovereignty, as well as between local environmentalist trends and indigeneity versus resource commodification (Caselli & Michaels, 2013).

3.1.3. Implications of planning practices in oil extractive regions

Although the revenues of oil extraction have an important role on the Brazilian GDP, its positive impact on social transfers, public goods provisions, infrastructure, and household incomes is scant. Offshore oil has no effect on municipal non-oil GDP, while onshore extraction has little effects on non-oil GDP composition, because of modest royalties' allocation. On the contrary, producing municipalities receive abundant economic resources that increase revenues and expenditures but contribute little to improve living standards (Fernandes, 2007).

3.1.3.1. Municipal master plans

The Brazilian policy-making structure is a federal decentralized system stating the fundamental concept of sustainable city rights. As a consequence, planning policies focus on housing and mitigating environmental impacts as key factors for social justice and equity. Therefore, development plans, which are supported by the oil royalty system, are conceived to achieve two goals. First, they serve to compensate federative entities that suffer environmental damages. Second, royalties are intended for investments in infrastructure to support social benefits such as health, education, security and transportation (Postali, 2009). Municipalities are very dissimilar in terms of demography, rate of growth and urban densities; there is also a great economic variation between the governmental budget and per capita GDP, which makes evident disparate levels of poverty. The region's wide range of Human Development Index accounts for different levels of employment and opportunities. The issues related to poverty are linked to poor quality of basic and sanitary services and of housing, in addition to the presence of emergent informal settlements. Issues of economic disproportions, social inequities and environmental degradation are declared problems to be addressed by autonomous decentralized governmental authorities. State and city authorities define urban planning and urban design practices and proposals through Local Master Plans, whose strategies for planning and managing public and community relationships, along with private and voluntary sectors, determine urban land development. Special emphasis is placed on political processes for communal participation, safeguarding the right for housing, the upgrading of favelas, normalising land regulations for low-income housing, and delineating land for public purposes. Additionally, Master Plans control the process of urban development at municipal levels to reorient state actions and regulate land and property markets according to legal, economic, social and environmental criteria. Although, most of the power is given to municipalities, the various levels of governmental intervention are highly fragmented, making it difficult for municipalities to coordinate common goals and projects for housing, infrastructure and sanitation improvements (Columbia University, 2011).

Given the difficulties of municipalities to address regional problems, inter-municipal associations like the consortium CONLESTE facilitate assistance to define scopes and scales for intervention, contemplating Petrobras' financial support. A governance structure was created comprising the participation of Mayors of different municipalities and a deliberative council constituted by civil society members, governmental institutions, Petrobras, UN HABITAT- ROLAC (Regional Office for Latin America), the National Bank, federations and industries of Rio de Janeiro' region, the Federal Savings Bank, neighbourhood associations, and the directorate and representatives of municipal and departmental secretaries. The main problems CONLESTE faces are disparities between municipalities given their physical and technical capacities, population size, density, development status, budgets and institutional capacities (Columbia University, 2011). Yet, this on-going process aims at planning and executing actions, programs and projects basically targeted at the accelerated urban growth, thus supporting administrative, social, economic and environmental development of the region. The current vision is to have a strategical plan for 2018-2030 as a continuous itinerary for municipal interaction and sustainability [18].

3.1.3.2. Grassroots participation in planning decision-making

Uneven cost and benefits of extractive oil economy affects Brazilian territory at various scales. Minorities and local communities directly witness or become part of increased conflicts over natural resources extraction. However, participatory institutions and collective rights have transformed resource extraction provoking state and corporate actors to delegitimize them as unconstitutional, non-binding clusters, thus resulting in displacing indigenous and environmental groups. For instance, affected communities organize specific consultations as a response to state inactions. Synergies between committed state actors and organized civil society generate robust and stable participatory processes and institutions. According to Riofrancos (2017), participation processes of scaling bottom-up democracy helps build political identities and interests for contextually specific institutional norms, organizational infrastructures, and social meanings.

Most recently, grassroots participation in planning processes has gained relevance. CONLESTE's mechanisms for local community participation contemplate active collective participation and opinions over new housing settlements and infrastructure to respond to the increase of population and to the need to increase environmental and social positive effects. As an example, the State of Rio de Janeiro implemented participative mechanisms such as open forums to discuss planning and funding strategies to support the "Growth Acceleration Plan", which particularly addresses issues on housing settlements. The participation forum is established to help plan and implement projects, including territorial and regional highway systems, infrastructure, water, education, environmental sustainability, economic development, social policy and public safety (Columbia University, 2011). Stakeholders were involved in the process of planning with the support of the UN HABITAT Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (ROLAC), who is in charge of monitoring the "Millennium Development Goals" (MDG) prioritizing on poverty reduction, health, gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability. However, this mechanism has not been successful enough, since there is political fragmentation and there is no monitoring process and evaluation because of weak technical capacities of the state. For this reason, the academia participates through the Federal Fluminense University and Columbia University, integrating multidisciplinary experts and researchers to monitor changes related to housing quality and provision; environmental detriment; institutional corporation and organizational management over the conflicts and impacts of extraction activities (Columbia University, 2011). Consequently, COMPERJ crafted a local developing agenda based on the UN Conference on Environment and Development, which monitors regional economic growth, job and labour markets, production specialization, development of local industries, entrepreneurship, energy supply, healthcare systems, regional violence, municipal

18 https://www.conleste2030.com.br/ accessed June 20, 2018.

fiscal condition and environmental sustainability. The agenda establishes a common language for states, corporations, and civil society to work together for sustainable and equitable regional development involving cities, and the coordination of global, regional, and local scales (Jornal Cidade de Niteroi "POLITICS", 2017). New objectives seek to improve municipal actions and fight for economic growth in a political diverse region comprising 3.5 million inhabitants with a great fiscal and cultural potential. The aforementioned is decisive for administrative success. So far, this joint effort of municipalities brings exchange of experiences and partnerships to improve and solve violence, health and education, as well as unemployment.

3.1.4. Royalties allocation benefit oil-producing municipalities

In 1997, Brazil approved the Law 9478 ruling on petroleum royalties to be shared amongst Brazilian municipalities. According to the Law, all concessionaires working on the production of oil and natural gas, onshore as well as offshore, must pay royalties to the government. In general, these royalties consist of 10% ad valorem tax over the gross production value. 40% of oil-financial resource comes from royalties being directed over Brazil's federal government, whilst 45% goes to producing states; the remaining 15% is divided between nonproducing states and its municipalities. It is the Federal Treasury who distributes royalties to states and municipalities to offset possible adverse effects generated by productive activities (Riofrancos, 2017). Thus, royalties are shared unequally among localities, where Rio de Janeiro's municipalities obtain a higher percentage, yet procurement has a negative relationship between per capita royalties and municipal growth. Thus, the great disparity among municipalities, the lack of coordination and the weak technical capacities are foremost obstacles to succeed with overall planning responsibilities. On the other hand, municipalities that are unable to define plans and projects cannot opt for funding. Therefore, inter-municipal cooperation is a strategy to overcome communication and collaboration problems, linking municipalities and articulating projects (mainly housing plans), and controlling expansion outside city borders along transportation routes (Riofrancos, 2017).

The negative phenomenon of inequitable distribution of fast-growing financial resources obtained by means of nature exploitation often performed in low-income countries of the Global South is seen as a curse. The *Dutch Disease* is an ailment that affects countries with abundant natural resources whose economies are highly dependent on nature exploitation. This situation of large flows of economic resources brings high levels of exchange rates and wages that slow down growth of other productive activities like small scale agriculture and manufacturing, causing the prevalence and dependence on extraction industry (Larsen, 2005). The *disease* is connected to high levels of consumption and investment during periods of extraction boom that cannot be sustained during following downturns. In addition, Postali (2009) confirms sufficient availability of resources for investment, whilst low GDP growth rate derives from the *Dutch Disease*. This is associated to institutional weaknesses, consumption overshooting, and corruption. Royalties are spent mainly on energy, environmental management, sewerage and roads. However, the 1997 Law eases local governments to non-restrictive investments, except for ordinary expenditures (wages and debts). Additional resources increase rent-seeking to entrepreneurs, whose effects impact negatively on income and well-being of local populations (Riofrancos, 2017).

However, other reasons for low development performance and dysfunctional policies, weak institutions, poor technological processes, lack of human capital and education are drivers of delayed growth and social justice. The resource-dependent development is a worrisome issue, since mineral reserves are often scattered and isolated, leaving most part of the territory without articulated regional assets. According to Slaibe (2015) the current discussion on more equitable distribution of royalties between the Brazilian states and municipalities considers a portion of Brazilian localities that suffer from low fiscal capacity, due to regional inequalities. The increase in oil revenues

may contribute in reducing the incentives to collect taxes, generating a vicious circle of dependence on federal funds, which is a chronic problem in Brazil[19].

3.2. The impacts in farming of Brazilian biofuel expanding agroindustry

3.2.1. Biofuel production supported by state policies

The debate on renewable/non-renewable resources is centred on diverse sources for energy usage from agroindustrial large-scale production sites. Brazil's ethanol production has rapidly become a global commodity and an alternative to petroleum to be used according to the convenience of national and global prices. The country is in the urge to expand its ethanol and biodiesel market share, promoting these commodities in other developing countries, mainly in Latin America. Therefore, the national government launched in 2004 the Brazilian National Biodiesel Program, supporting social inclusion plans by offering preferred feedstock according to regional locations: palm oil in the north, castor oil in the northeast, soy and other oil crops in the remaining provinces. In order to compensate large-scale biofuel production, tax exemptions were given to producers who, in turn, would contract family farmers for their feedstock. Large companies were also required to offer technical assistance to farmers and to guarantee fair prices for their crops. Therefore, this example depicts the how palm oil (African palm) is one of the world's most rapidly increasing crops to produce biofuels and the consequences generating tropical deforestation and biodiversity loss since the survival of native flora and of exotic fauna is at stake, as plantations support fewer animals and plants. Thus, biofuel initiatives – ethanol extraction from sugar cane and biodiesel from African palm- witnessed a crisis in 2008 because of disapprovals emerged from NGOs, social movements and global agro-food organizations that questioned Brazilian biofuel programs in the global market (Wilkinson & Herrera, 2010). Increasing large-scale palm oil production can be explained by Brazilian federal inter-ministerial programmes who aim to recover degraded land with the idea that palm oil is a long-term crop that restores unfertile soil. Additionally, inter-planted food crops in palm oil plantations are encouraged since they require less additional labour. Therefore, such crops are more profitable compared to alternative and diversified agriculture.

3.2.2. Social, economic and environmental issues

Criticisms came very soon based exclusively on extensive production scales that benefit large producers have been criticised due to the modification they generate in agricultural boundaries in reserved forests and in the Amazon region. The expansion of large plantations, together with the land use for pastures, is especially changing the Amazon region, converting indigenous groups into rural workers under proven unsafe working conditions, informal recruiting and deceitful contracts. In addition, negative impacts include depredation of species and habitat fragmentation, greenhouse gas emissions and a weakened food security. Maximum impacts start from the initial process of land clearance, often with fire to clear up forests or clean agricultural land killing seeds and animals. Erosion, sediments and fertilizers going to streams increase adulteration of water streams and land. Despite these negative impacts, palm oil plantations provide more ecosystem services such as carbon sequestration than other annual crops or grassland (Fitzherbert, et al., 2008).

19 https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1517758015000417

The introduction of transnational and global traders affects access to food, deteriorates the environment, and changes the use and scale of land tenancy and management. Palm oil crops have been associated with the violation of land rights, including the dislodging of family farmers forced to sell land to medium and large producers. To mitigate these effects, producers can get state or private certifications to obtain global marketing passports (i.e. clean manufacturing by sustainable procedures) if they adequately comply with production acts. However, the negotiation of production standards generates critical discussions as it includes environmental and social criteria, which in turn require controls for greenhouse gas emission, water preservation, organic fertilizers, satisfactory land usage and labour legislation (Wilkinson & Herrera, 2010).

3.2.3. Implications of planning practices in the oil palm agroindustry

Agro-fuel crops expansion reorganizes rural land use and undermines some forms of peasantry participation in production modes. It provokes direct effects over territorial struggles, so that there is the need to revise perspectives on agrarian societal management. This situation is a challenge to rethink planning policies, production and territorial development, land management, and human intervention in the environment at large (Mançano, et al., 2010).

Brazilian state policies advocate for local and regional planning and decentralized agroindustry/food system harmonizing biofuel production and arguing that the country has exceptional availability of land and water resources. Policies have favoured expansion of ethanol exports, while food production targets domestic scale for family consumption and daily income access. Thus, biodiesel was designed for agro business as a regional development strategy contrary to family farming, which, because of its weakness, leads to marginalization, thereby increasing social and environmental tensions (Wilkinson & Herrera, 2010). Although social programs ponder family farming in opposition to biofuel programs based on alternative strategies for food sovereignty, there is controversy over the real capacity to change salaries and traditional employment opportunities. Nonetheless, low productivity and reduced family farming areas, given the agrarian structure, hinders viability to small producers, due to the prevalence of large agricultural plantations and cattle ranches on chartered land (Dayang Norwana et al., 2011). Land price speculation and oftentimes land scarcity for extensive plantations and cattle block the advancement of agrarian reform initiatives.

In order to address these challenges, in the case of the State of Pará, small producers gather together with the support of the international organization Solidaridad[20] and the Archer Daniels Midland (ADM), a company that turns crops into renewable products, in order to implement sustainable field practices. They also create training and building capacity associations and palm oil health and safety projects. They support agrochemical applications, rural property management, and basic ecological administration. This partnership created "Rural Horizons", which is a system specially designed to support continuous improvement in agricultural production and to strengthen social organizations throughout the supply chain. Partnership agreements, shared responsibilities for mixed public and private grants, funding and loans, and investments to finance initiatives of smallholder farmers are alternatives for particular regions that facilitate the sharing of risk management, financial costs, and basic services and infrastructure programs (Solidaridad, 2014). Governmental and nongovernmental organizations develop national strategies for land allocation. They develop conservation maps and work on agricultural suitability. However, these strategies cannot assure that impacts are minimized unless land use allocation goes hand in hand with effective regulatory systems to limit palm oil plantation in low conservation areas (e.g. degraded grasslands). Therefore, governance and land tenure need to be tackled effectively to implement land use policies to determine suitable

20 Solidaridad is an international network organization with partners all over the world. It seeks partnerships with others, collaborates with industries and it aspires to be a financially sustainable organization. https://www.solidaridadnetwork.org/news/in-brazil-the-fruits-of-oil-palm-cultivation-help-ensure-safe-practices

plantation sites. Additionally, according to Fitzherbert et al. (2008), nongovernmental organizations can help increase transparency by disseminating information to plantation managers and other stakeholders to locate crops in areas where they cause least ecological damages. In addition, there are also ways to minimize environmental impacts and to promote wildlife-friendly management practices and awareness of biodiversity by creating natural corridors, protecting natural forests and riparian zones, by controlling agricultural frontiers, and by defining land use and agriculture scale, etc.

3.2.4. The role of peasant movements in sustaining agrarian production

The expansion of agro-fuel crops pose challenges to rethink policies, territorial organization, and community awareness and participation. Policies supporting the expansion of agro-fuel crops structure rural land use and control some forms of participation in small and large industries. The study by Mançano et al., (2010) on this situation in the Brazilian region of Pontal do Paranapanema in the state of São Paulo shows the reality of peasant movements, analysing their reactions, proposals, and territorial disputes with regards to the expansion of biofuel plantations that have changed the processes of land acquisition and use among agribusiness and peasantry. Community movements like the Landless Workers Movement (MST) and the Western São Paulo Federation of Settlement and Family Farmer Associations (FAAFOP) have provided new insights into the nature of territorial conflicts, thereby stimulating the need to revise perspectives on agrarian reform settlements as well as biodiesel production projects to be developed. Therefore, family, peasants and producers have created profitable processes (capitalist or non-capitalist) that together create decisive opportunities.

In the realm of the agro-fuels, various groups dispute the control of spaces and territories to define uses and settlements. Whereas in some cases peasant appropriation of territories is fragile and most agribusinesses are a threat rather than a support for them, established small family farmers, as well as small and medium associations of farmers achieve suitable land management practices. Although agrarian capitalist paradigms are dominant in governmental institutions and orient their policies, some Brazilian peasant movements have been remarkably innovative in capturing limited resources to sustain peasant territories and experiment alternate economic models (Mançano et al., 2010).

3.3. Central decision-taking for mining exploitation in Mexico

3.3.1. Extensive mining in Mexican sacred land

Extensive mining is another type of exploitation that affects Latin American development. For over 200 years mining exists in Mexico, especially in the western part of the country, where indigenous groups inhabit a vast sacred region. Sacred sites contain natural features regarded as valuable means for biological conservation, where indigenous and peasants believe in biodiversity conservation as part of their cultures and bio-centricity (Boni, Garibay, & McCall, 2015). They cite the voice of traditional, civil and agro authorities of the Pueblo Wixárika[21] referring to the significance of sacred sites as the "Territory [under the indigenous conception which] integrates the elements of life in all its natural and spiritual diversity: the land with its diverse soils, ecosystems and forests, its diverse animals and plants, rivers, lagoons

21 Autoridades Tradicionales, Civiles y Agrarias del Pueblo Wixárika http://www.frenteendefensadewirikuta.org/?p=2732&lang=en

and estuaries. Natural ecosystems are considered by the indigenous people as the habitat of the gods that protect life's diversity, and through them the natural balance and integrity of forests, rivers, lagoons and the soil's fertility, all which allows plants and animals to thrive and reproduce" (2015:9).

Notwithstanding the sacredness of this land, the Mexican government favours exploitation by concession laws, which support international and national monopolies. Therefore, the state has given all juridical and financial advantages to large-company monopolies discrediting and finally dismantling miner unions, negatively affecting rural and indigenous local communities. This situation results in worker protests and NGOs indicts, as indigenous and rural communities are impacted by adverse environmental mining effects (Madrigal, 2013), in detriment of their land property ownerships and their working conditions, generating asymmetric power relations.

3.3.2. National and international debates regarding environmental effects of mining

In the region of San Luis Potosí, Mexico, historical economic activity has been based on extensive mining. Since colonial times, this has directly affected both communities and the environment. Water quality has become the most serious problem. Currently, irresponsible exploitation continues in the region. Measures for the implementation of less polluting technologies are not a priority for the mining sector nor for the state, so that impacts on the environment and water are ongoing. (Sariego Rodríguez, 2011). Land contamination impacts nature and human settlements. Besides, artisanal exploitation processes and industrialized methods introduced by international companies have polluted water streams, which affects both human health and the environment (Madrigal, 2013). Not only sovereignty but also agriculture and food security have been especially affected by the extraction of goal and silver of the Canadian Mining Company, which has resulted in social migration motivated by a collective rejection of the methods of exploitation and the transformation of the landscape. Because of the magnitude of the socio-environmental damages, new generations have condemned these processes (Madrigal, 2013). In the first phase, between 1995 and 1996, it was publically protested against fragmented power relations in dealing with economic, social and environmental issues at local and national levels. Between 1997 and 2000, controversy was centred on mining projects that gave priority to economic and political interests over ecological costs, favouring exploitation by foreign mining companies. At the same time, official institutions, governmental agencies, and local media legitimized the existence of opposition groups, thus establishing a way to respond to societal demands. Consequently, the Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí performed scientific-technical evaluations that supported the outcomes of the debates. During the years 2001 and 2004, the state government backed communities in their claims and disagreements by creating a climate of confidence and conforming coalitions to benefit regional employment. By 2007 negative environmental impacts reached international and national media, causing violent disputes between community, government, and the mining company. Based on these facts, local communal groups perceived the state as the promoter of the mining projects, which legitimated the risks and hazards caused by relations of power and ownership over the mining industry. Up to date, tensions between transnational mining and social opposition are still present.

3.3.3. Changes in the use of protected land to benefit mining industry

Mexico's land use policies allow for nature exploitation. Therefore, conflicts reflect diverse approaches over subsoil management in search for natural resources. The government's vision on economic gains, with an auto-regulated and authoritarian approach disaffected seven

million areas of natural reserve to become exploitable land not only by the government, but also by private companies. In addition, mining richness is conceived as a source for speculation in times of global economic crisis. This model of exploitation causes strong controversies among different social and intellectual actors. As a consequence, at the beginning of the XXI century, under the juridical act of the Ley General de Equilibrio Ecológico y Protección al Medio Ambiente (Law for ecologic equilibrium and environmental protection), local communities disputed natural exploitation titles and licensing against politicians, policymakers, and academia at local, national and international arenas. However, the outcomes over rights and permits are ceaseless to international mining and exploitation powers over Mexican land (Karl, 2007).

Based on the above, UNESCO fosters "biosphere reserves" as places for learning about sustainable development aiming to reconcile the conservation of biodiversity with the sustainable use of natural resources. New reserves are designated each year by the International Co-ordinating Council of the Programme, which brings together elected representatives of 34 UNESCO Member States[22]. The UNESCO World Network of Biosphere Reserves (WNBR) covers internationally designated protected areas, that are meant to demonstrate a balanced relationship between people and nature (e.g. encourage sustainable development) limiting economic activity. Biosphere reserves are places for testing interdisciplinary approaches to understanding and managing changes and interactions between social and ecological systems, including conflict prevention and management of biodiversity. These reserves are nominated by national governments and remain under the sovereign jurisdiction of the states where they are located. Their status is internationally recognized.

As a result, Mexico has implemented the *paradigm of conservation* under these guidelines. However, despite these efforts to maintain natural resources and to control land use, as well as to enable rural communities to manage their development, the overall social situation is at stake. According to Brenner (2012), recommendations target multilevel oriented governances with open and active communal participation, as part of implementation, decision-making and environmental preservation processes. Principles have been established for the recognition and monitoring of sacred land that is under the pressure of exploitation, so as to preserve communal beliefs and cultures.

3.4. Palm oil agroindustry in Malaysia

3.4.1. Malaysia, the largest exporter of palm oil in the world

Malaysia is the world's largest exporter of palm oil, and is the primary feedstock for biofuel production for internal consumption[23]. Palm oil was firstly planted commercially in 1917 along Peninsular Malaysia to replace rubber plantations and natural forests. As land became scarce, expansion shifted from the continental area to Sabah and Sarawak in the island of Borneo, often in association with logging, and facilitated by the reclassification of some state forest reserves to allow conversion for extensive plantations. Between 1990 and 2005 the area of palm oil in Malaysia increased from 1.8 million Ha. to 4.2 million Ha., while 1.1 million Ha. of woodlands were lost. The estimate is that 1.0 million Ha. of forest was replaced by palm oil, not considering forest conversion into unproductive land, nor whether palm oil caused or simply anticipated deforestation (Fitzherbert et al., 2008). This case reflects the path some of South Asian countries are following, which show the impacts palm oil production can have on social functioning and land-use on native customary land rights (NCR), where villagers

22 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/natural-sciences/environment/ecological-sciences/biosphere-reserves/

23 https://www.indexmundi.com/agriculture/?commodity=palm-oil

traditionally practice subsistence farming. Therefore, the introduction of large-scale palm oil schemes has resulted in conflict and disunion among communities.

3.4.2. Large-scale plantation conflicts on land use, community life-styles and environmental changes

Large-palm oil plantations were supposed to bring development to Malaysia and create employment to lift people out of poverty. However, the political and economic processes related to cultivation intersect with local communities in two different ways. First, internal power structures and inequalities have increased. Secondly, the influence of community government has increased and local community relations have become part of national political discourses (Andersen et al., 2016). Originally, conflicts were over land-use changes. Historically, forests, rubber, cacao and coconut enclaves were part of Malaysian culture until land was converted into palm oil estates by the early 1980s. Generally, palm oil industry has brought positive impacts, such as increased incomes, secure employment and improved access to social services (Ngah, et al., 2010). In terms of land use and management, a different pattern emerged as farmland became irregular and randomly distributed as a result of extensive plantation management. By 2005, the forest was degraded, rivers polluted, and local population could no longer hunt or collect wild fruits and were forced to infringe on surrounding forest reserves affecting traditional life styles. Since Malaysian living conditions had been very poor, communities were attracted to venture into the palm oil plantations as a work source. While some communities were receptive, their capacity to embrace this opportunity was limited due to land constraints related to land-use change and lack of secure land tenure (Dayang Norwana et al., 2011). The location of surrounding villages and the extent to which they are dependent on natural resources were part of the influencing factors. However, from the point of view of small-scale farmers (villagers), land-use according to traditional approaches allowing secure and diverse options has offered opportunities to survive in the event of a price drop of palm oil. Still, there are different perspectives to appraise land distribution and usage, and serious conflicts among small and large producers have created unbalanced relationships among stakeholders. The struggle to maintain traditions and sustainable development and economic viability of production is prevalent (Soda, Kato, & Hon, 2016).

3.4.3. The implications of planning authorities, practices and community participation in rural development

Malaysia's national agenda integrates development-centred socio-cultural relations, industrialization, modernization and provision of basic needs. Rural planning started in 1950 with the independence from Britain, where land tenure was a daunting challenge for the new state of Malaya (now Malaysia). At that time, transnational corporations dominated land development leaving local and native communities with small and economically insignificant plots of land. By 1956, the national government established the Federal Land Development Authority (FELDA) funding resettlement projects for the landless poor (Barau & Said, 2016). FELDA fosters holistic inclusive social and physical development processes, which have successfully stimulated both communal and economic growth. Still, strong trust, social cohesion and rapport between public authorities and community remains as the main challenge for institutional outcomes, in addition to safeguard traditional values as key factor for sustainability at local and regional levels (Mamat, et al., 2016). The concept of rural development supported by FELDA, includes multidimensional state-led development programs of land management, production of high quality local products, conservation of natural values, organic farming and agro tourism. Meanwhile, agricultural productivity and high technological support are main sources for rural community employment and progress. However, state plans do not take into consideration the voices of rural communities or of grassroots organizations, whose conception of development might differ from those

of policy-makers. Accordingly, the holistic idea of inclusive development is concerned with wealth distribution and basic needs defined in the decision-making agenda. Thus, FELDA operates based on the concept of finding a balance between the horizontal (e.g. socio-cultural status, industrialization, modernization and basic needs) and vertical (e.g. top-down and bottom-up) governance (Mamat et al., 2016). FELDA has transformed the lives of landless population through provision of shelter, jobs, income from agribusiness shareholding, and ownership of highly valued land titles in regions that are nowadays part of urban enclaves furnished with social amenities and basic infrastructure, organized and well-served towns surrounded by prized agricultural lands (Barau & Said, 2016).

The Village Action Plan or Rural Action Plan strategy introduced in 2007 as a federal initiative facilitates village designs for self-development, finding local priorities in settled communities (Ngah et al., 2010). Action plans have addressed farming and sustainability, protecting social, environment and village households. This guarantees rural planning based on human development programs and contains statements on problems and development potentials of a village to define objectives, visions and development projects and programs. The plan is laid out on maps and diagrams; states target groups, timeframes and implementation costs (Dayang Norwana et al., 2011). Anecdotally, during the independence of Malaysia, rural development started with the provision of basic infrastructure and facilities to address poverty. The planning mechanism of the "Red Book" contains instructions for designing programs and projects asserting top-bottom and bottom-up ordinances and procedures to orient the setting up and organization of the Rural District Development Committee. Regional Development Authorities would carry out these programs, which later required the assistance of the Federal Town and Country Planning to prepare new physical layouts for new settlements with the participation of professionals rather than the community. The involvement of rural people was limited, since only heads of the community were called to articulate their needs. Between 1970 and 1990, the Regional Development Authority carried out massively regional scale plans including agriculture, new settlements, infrastructure and institutional development. Because of the scope and complexity of the plans, foreign consultants were involved. These processes did not consider community participation except for some socio-economic analyses to examine specific issues.

Universities have played an important role together with the Federal Institute for Rural Advancement (INFRA) for community training, workshops and sessions to express views, reach consensus and define priorities. Development proposals frame social, physical and productive/economic activities, revealing priorities according to needs and aspirations. Institutional capacities have been articulated including village improving management and leadership. In terms of rural sustainability, communities prioritize farming and agricultural diversification. The main issue is that the State is obliged to release land to villagers, for either agriculture or tourism, according to their cultural resources. Participatory approaches empower communities to plan and implement development. This has been an important step to achieve sustainable village communities, using federal investment as a start-up capital, which is to be repaid to the government for reinvestment in other villages. The government of Malaysia (Ministry of Rural Development)[24] keeps promoting four agendas based on pecuniary challenges, communal programmes, municipal empowerment and infrastructure as means of betterment of rural enclaves.

24 http://www.rurallink.gov.my/en/program-program-di-bawah-pengupayaan-komuniti-dan-infodesa/ accessed June 18, 2018.

3.5. High social and environmental standards of the oil industry in Norway

3.5.1. The alternative role of the oil industry in Norway's development

The effects of exploitation of natural resources are depicted in the exceptional case of Norway. This is an interesting case because of its opposite approach to oil exploration and exploitation seen in a developed country. Norway has diversified its national assets with alternative productions, and with controlled environmental oil extraction impact. This difference relies in the management, which clearly benefits the country, with upright labour and high environmental standards, transparency of financial expenditures and investments, for which the country has earned a privileged place in the United Nations Development Program for best social development performance. In opposition, Latin American oil exporters are close to the bottom of the list. Of course, there are historical and path-dependent reasons that need to be taken into consideration in order to avoid turning Norway into a simplistic development model.

Countries from the Global North count with successful experiences, since mining and oil exploitation contribute not only to a very small percentage of total economic outputs, where exports do not dominate nor depend on what characterizes oil-led developments; therefore, oil and minerals are not drivers of economic development (Larsen, 2005). Generally, natural resource discoveries have been considered to be a curse rather than a blessing, not only because of the social and environmental impact, but also because they do not necessarily lead to fast economic growth. Norway has properly managed oil revenues along the years. This experience contains valuable information on worthy policy guidelines and practices helpful for other oil producers, but the institutions that implement them may require time to build-up from this experience (Bebbington, et al., 2008). According to Larsen (2005) well-managed resources can create faster growth because of controlled financial flow. In a nutshell, this happens because Norway has disengaged itself from volatile oil prices being administered by a governmental fund and a strong legal and tax system overlooking its oil production[25].

3.5.2. Institutional management and resource diversification in Norway's economic development

"Norway has made a point of administering its petroleum resources using three distinct government bodies: a national oil company (NOC) engaged in commercial hydrocarbon operations, a government ministry to help set policy, and a regulatory body to provide oversight and technical expertise. In Norway's case, this institutional design has provided useful checks and balances. It has helped minimize conflicts of interest and allowed the NOC, Statoil, to focus on commercial activities while other government agencies regulate oil operators including Statoil itself" (Thurber, Hults, Heller, 2010:4)[26]. According to the authors, a separation of functions (policy and regulatory agencies) consolidates actions and processes and strengthens oil extraction revenues. But patronage and other practices have demonstrated inefficiencies, corruption in addition to political turmoil around the revenues.

Norway accelerated its per capita GDP after the oil discovery in the 1970s; however, there was a slow-down after the 1990s. The reason why Norway escaped from the prevalence of oil extraction revenues in its economy can be that Norway's institutionalized policies were designed to deal with the problems resulting from resource extraction, including the prevention of the *Dutch Disease*. Therefore, Norwegian policies for oil extraction have focused from

25 https://eiti.org/news/norway-revenue-from-oil-fund-now-exceeds-revenue-from-oil accessed September 4, 2017

26 https://pesd.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Thurber_Hults_and_Heller_ISA2010_paper_14Feb10.pdf accessed September 4, 2017

early stage on avoiding the effects of high-level economic resources and exchange rates causing the dominance and dependence on extraction industry. The state has defined the implementation of multi-faceted policies, which support industrial production and the manufacturing sectors for improving tractable and observable employment. Additionally, these policies shield the domestic economy by investing the oil earnings abroad, especially, on debt repayment. Resource revenues have increased to such extent, that Norway has shifted from debtor to creditor. Thus, the threat of the *Dutch Disease* on domestic economy has also been faced by avoiding the high spending effect, which in turn results in a control of price inflation and wage increases. Large flows of money generate currency appreciation, thereby putting pressure on the competitiveness of the manufacturing sector. Thus, policies have been implemented to curb spending according to real local economy (Larsen, 2005).

3.6. Concluding generalities and specificities based on the reviewed examples of exploitation

3.6.1. State exploitation policies and community awareness

The examples reviewed in Latin America and Asia evidence state policies that favour massive natural resources exploitation for economic growth, producing social and environmental distress situations within rural regions because of political will, and under continuous conflictive conditions. State policies are designed to favour exploitation and investment, which encourage nature utilization and enhance large-scale production sites managed by multinational companies. Oil, mining, and agroindustry are pillars to increase national GDP in order to respond to public investments at national and local levels by means of resource distribution as in the case of Brazil. However, the unequal distribution of royalties shows disparities due to weak technical capacities and disarticulated institutional coordination, which are worsen by lack of transparency and accountability in the managing of governmental processes. Also, inter-municipal cooperation has demonstrated to be a strategy to plan integral projects to better answer to regional needs of housing, mobility and basic services. Cooperation facilitates economies of scale, important for the provision of services and public goods, and equal opportunities for productive development to be offered to the entire population of a region. Besides, the influx of money coming from oil and mining in Brazil and Mexico has brought significant increase of living costs; unstable and foreign labour force. Before exploitation and extraction, living conditions were very poor for rural communities; for this reason, a great majority of them had to change their lifestyles to become working forces for large companies. Thus, reiteratively, exploitation is associated to migratory dynamics, appalling labour conditions, unsustainable and inequitable patterns of development and growth, as well as unequal wealth distribution. Natural capital is seen as a blessing resource in the Global South cases, which relies on exports of primary products, leaving aside other sources of productivity as agriculture diversification, manufacturing, tourism, among other suitable productive activities for rural development.

On the other hand, state polices have supported political and private interests and large-scale productive projects, favouring and changing land tenure of small-scale producers by uncontrolled land price speculation, land availability, and indiscriminate allocation of exploitation licences. These have caused land use variations, the displacement of local communities, and agrarian structure alterations. In terms of rural sustainability, communal traditions are based on agricultural diversification, since they comprehend the equilibrium between productive development and the protection of ecosystems. Yet, loans, technical assistance and marketing are oftentimes inexistent or difficult to obtain for small parcels. The examples of small producers' association in Brazil and Malaysia to counteract the decrease

of peasant and family production under the pressure of large and multinational agroindustrial companies reveal that the support of academic and nongovernmental organizations (national or international) is crucial to endeavour the betterment of services and the improvement of technical capacities for more competitive agriculture and communal well-being.

As presented in this chapter, increasing pursue for human development as means for more equitable societal groups (be it urban or rural) encourages local communities and raises awareness of the environment and its sustainability within social and spatial contexts. Thus, communal or associative work is a decisive factor to counter social disparity situations and to promote societal solutions. Hence, local movements have shown to be of great importance, since they offer opportunities and options for participative communities, based on their needs and requirements, beliefs and truths, and on their aim to render satisfaction and purposeful growth propositions. Therefore, in the contexts that have been studied community participation and interrelations between diverse actors have favoured planning and development progressions stimulating societal well-being as part of bigger relationships between economics-territories-society under political and institutional interventions. The examples illustrate the organized work of indigenous groups and traditional local communities as a response to state inactions to the detriment of human rights and generate environmental degradation. Interventions aim at developing strategies to oversee economic growth, and to improve labour conditions, service quality and environmental sustainability, as seen in Brazil. Furthermore, actions have been taken to mitigate land rights violations and to assure food security and autonomy. Farmers are empowered to demand state certification from producers to demonstrate clean and sustainable extraction/production procedures. Community associations and family farming movements in the region of Western São Paulo were able to achieve changes in state policies and obtained an agrarian reform and the control over the expansion of agroindustrial plantations. In Mexico, social, political and intellectual actors have encouraged public debates to transform legislation in order to dispute exploitation titles and licensing. Academia has also played an important role for community training, defining governmental intervention priorities, to articulate actions according to needs, built information, collected data, among other arrangements to support communities and governmental authorities for positive outcomes on public policies. Some of these actions have not completely reached their goals yet, but they have shown that community participation helps create awareness of the social and environmental impacts that prevailing exploitation models can have and the economic consequences entailed. In sum, expansion of exploitation activities remains part of public debates regarding human rights, community development and integrity, environmental sustainability, and local development deferrals.

3.6.2. Planning decisions, effects and consequences

Since loss of abundant resources has displaced tangible and intangible ancestries to give way to exploitation, discussions have evidenced the need for holistic planning strategies, multi-scalar and transversal actions derived from interventions and adjustments compelling planning procedures for development outcomes for many. In the Asian and Latin American developing regions, fast economic growth and slow social progress indicate subordinate functionality where rural regions are fragmented and contain peripheral options, within marginalized territories. Poverty and undermined societies depend on governmental help to develop alternatives for human advances that respect human rights.

Urban and rural economic, social, and political disparities are common conditions in the Global South. Reviewed examples from the standpoint of planning and development policies focus on economic growth and urban expansion despite social and environmental undesirable effects. Growing exploitation enclaves displace rural communities and transform rural regions onto urban-rural districts causing detriment on cultural assets, traditions, customs,

ethnicities and their territories (tangible and intangible values). As seen in Brazil and Mexico, exploitation sites for oil and mining convey massive migration of unskilled labour forces settled in new areas with inappropriate housing facilities and sanitation infrastructures. These processes are usually not well considered in advance, nor are envisioned neither town development nor planning schemes. It must be hindered that dispersed unplanned settlements become realities. In large-scale extraction sites covering more than one municipality, disparities cause misappropriation at different territorial scales having an impact over physical characteristics, institutional capacities, population size, occupation density, and budgetary allocation. As seen in Rio de Janeiro, the accelerated urbanization process is characterized by spontaneous emerging settlements with inappropriate infrastructure and housing qualities, as a product of atomized public interventions resulting in unbalanced powers of royalty-dependant municipalities. Large-scale new developments in rural regions are also evident in Malaysia, where central government offices define spatial layouts for new agricultural settlements with the assistance of foreign planning experts, which have limited knowledge of traditions and rural practices and life styles.

Regarding planning decisions, a common characteristic expected by central governments is the unconsented changes on land use of protected cultural and environmental areas to permit exploitation and industrial uses on natural parks and indigenous reserves. Changes on land use to reorganize rural territories can be seen in all reviewed examples. The case of Mexico, where sacred territories have been released to become mining territories is especially striking. In Malaysia, natural protected areas were disaffected in order to expand agricultural frontiers for extensive monocrop industries. These interventions have caused detriment on fauna and flora. Small and medium agriculture production and its farmers have been displaced, and rural and agrarian life styles have been viewed with disdain. Another concern is land usage and property ownership. For the above, a balance between regional integration of rural enclaves (land to be protected, land to be reconstructed, land to be used for production) promotes integral vision for territorial and local development.

Finally, the Norway example shows how governmental will and foresight help diversify its national economy with alternative production despite the richness of its oil resources. Oil revenues have been developed with the financial and technical support to create stimulus to manufacturing and clean industries. The country has also advanced on favourable labour conditions and low environmental impacts. These last actions have helped to some degree to overcome negative effects on countries and communities and to free them from the curse of extensive/ intensive nature's exploitation. This cannot be a model to be executed in Latin America, but this example teaches that Norwegian national economy is diversified with alternative production activities that prioritize natural and social values, which can influence public policies and will. Additionally, it has controlled financial flows to avoid high spending and price inflation effects. Lastly, the country has managed the oil industry by articulating different agencies in order to balance and control negative effects and power relations: the national oil operational and commercial company, the governmental policy-making institution, and, a regulatory and technical body.

The described examples illustrate similar social tribulations and adverse situations with regards to environment and extractive processes. The different ways communities in association with political organisms have accomplished to reverse these conditions can inspire changes under other circumstances or situations where nature exploitation, massive agriculture and human settlements can coexist taking into account ecosystems and biodiversity. These criteria can be applied to the agrarian structure, as has been extensively supported in the literary review in this dissertation. Thus, it is important to increase agricultural production, and to stimulate and support better rural living[27] for peasants, grassroots and indigenous groups, who face precarious conditions when massive extraction processes are allowed or enforced. Governmental discourses tend to diminish the importance of disaggregated rural enclaves.

27 This is related to FAO's description of ""Agrarian structures" as institutions of food and agriculture systems (including forestry and fisheries) going from farms to final markets, including intermediary processors" http://www.fao.org/europe/regional-initiatives/agri-food-trade/asi/en/ accessed June 27,2018

Sectorial programmes are implemented disregarding concrete regional, territorial and local realities.

Thus, consent among communities is key to any counteract inclusive territorial degradation to achieve sustainability and sovereignty. It can be asserted that planning is the starting point of discourse, of a task and of a checklist to determine development, yet oftentimes it is the tool that hinders development and prevents communities to safeguard what has been theirs. The disclosures of problems or inequities are existing or incorporated community options to confront imbalances and help for bottom-up techniques to confront power groups. Brazil as well as Mexico and Malaysia have searched for support from international organizations and academia compelling environmental and human progress, enforcing technical communal capacities, scrutinising Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), searching for organized and technically supported grassroots participation, as well as addressing specific debates on the effect nature exploitation entails for national and international awareness. Support is also substantial to develop alternative proposals such as ecotourism; environmental services; landscape preservation, rehabilitation and conservation. The core issue is that tenure and land-usage need to be taken into account in agroindustrial systems, considering that any possible change shall upsurge production for human well-being and set up an environment for long-lasting sustainability.

In sum, to fight against agrarian undervaluation and delayed development, small producers form organizations with the force of change of NGOs for training and building productive and associative capacities in order to improve quality of products, market, to manage *good agricultural practices* (GAP), to promote environmental responsiveness, access to financial funds, and to increase transparency and accountability. Additionally, private (community) and public alliances have been fostered to favour long-term sustainability. Associative farmer organizations have favoured competitive production and have joined efforts and actions to control agribusiness expansion and to obtain governmental financial and technical support. International cooperation has also played an important role by offering technical and financial support from governmental agencies as well as empowering communities in order to influence policy transformation. Inter-municipal cooperation has been also a strategy to better distribute and invest royalties and fiscal resources for basic service provisions. Finally, these mind-sets should envision collective territorial rights over land development and they should guarantee the protection of territories and of their inhabitants.

4. Planning policies and strategies in Colombia's peace process

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4.5. Planning perspectives for comprehensive rural development in Colombia

The differences between the agrarian conflict and the armed conflict are found in the objectives, its protagonists, and the role played by the land in each of them and the practices to which the actors recourse.

*Elcy Corrales Roa**

*Colombia La crisis del sector rural colombiano. Experiencias que aportan a la construcción de alternativas, December 22, 2016 in http://www.semillas.org.co/es/la-crisis-del-sector-rural-colombiano

Agroindustry and endangered fauna in Orocué

4.1. A history of political and economic conflicts over rural land

When Colombia's Peace Treaty between the government and the guerrilla group known as the Farc (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia) was signed, a turning point in Colombia's history was marked after more than 60 years of internal war. One crucial component of the post-conflict programme is the delineation of a spatial planning reform for its rural development and for a social change within an atmosphere of peace.

Over the last 80 years Colombia's history has been the scenario of internal conflicts, violence and political oppositions that had created social crisis, segregating and displacing rural inhabitants onto city peripheries (Reyes, 2016; García, 2017; Sánchez, 2017). This has affected its agricultural legacy, which has been characterized by geographical diversity, diverse climates, and rich hydraulic resources (Carrizosa, 2012). The Napoleonic principles lead over the XIX century to land appropriation by *terratenientes* (squirearchy) who coerced the *campesinos* (peasants) with the conviction that "fortunes of territories were still the centre of power, social prestige and wealth of the nation" (Palacios, 2011:28). One key issue in the Peace agreements is the commitment to social changes in rural territories as part of new rural projected developments in the country (Palacios, 2012; Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017; Machado, 2017). This will be analysed in more detail below. Reyes shows how throughout Colombia's history "the political establishment did not take into account that social reforms were necessary to overcome violence, nor has it understood the political conflicts involved in the existence and growth of guerrillas" (Reyes, 2016:23). Social and political turmoil is described by Palacios (2011), who states that in the late 20's, dominant social sectors, oligarchies and the political ruling class fragmented popular and *campesino* movements pursuing oligarchic local and regional powers. One initial issue arose when some populist groups invaded land vindicating its vacancy, whilst the true owners claimed title property. This skirmish against oligarchic interests promoted political solutions over land possession and domain by writing out Law 200 of 1936[28] known as the "Land Law" (Ley de Tierras) with the purpose of redirecting vacant lands or

28 Law 200 of 1936 establishes the Land Law https://www.redjurista.com/Documents/ley_200_de_1936_congreso_de_la_republica.aspx#/

wasteland owned by the State to be assigned for peasant development. But at the same time, Colombian Civil Code permitted *squirearchy* to rule over these and other more productive lands, a trend that has continued ever since (Reyes, 2016; García, 2017; Sánchez, 2017). Thus, land usage is determined by the possession and material exploitation as means to demonstrate domain, limiting in this way the scope of notarial titles. In addition, it is important to note that wastelands and subsoil are state owned and constitute part of Colombian sovereignty. Its usage binds private interests to private property, but also to possession and domain, despite the existence of notarial titles (Palacios, 2011; 2012; Machado, 2017). These facts have been key issues over the last 60 years provoking peasant displacement and extractive processes, in addition to the well-known[29] conflict with guerrillas.

Under these circumstances, attempts to change land use or tenancy augments the subjection of peasants to landowners. The opportunity to end these social disparities came when Law 135 of 1961[30] was to change and agricultural productivity reform via the National Institute for Agrarian Reform was set up. It also was to end the confrontation between liberals and conservative partisans, which started in 1948, with the assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, a populist liberal leader. This killing became the detonator of social unrest and bipartisan violence under conservative totalitarian governments and policies, which ended in the coup d'état of 1953 (Safford & Palacios, 2002). *La violencia* submerged the country in additional segregation and internal migration passing from 70% of rural population in the 1950s' to a similar amount of urban population in the 1980s' (García, 2017). Whilst bandits proliferated and peasants imagined alliances for their survival, by 1958 the two leading political parties, Liberals and Conservatives, achieved the agreement known as the *Frente Nacional* (National Front) by which both parties would share power by alternating the Presidency and rule under political watch of the parity in office as an effort to end political chaos (Safford & Palacios, 2002; Palacios, 2012). Nevertheless, by 1971 the Committee evaluating the Agricultural Reform program showed technical, operative and procedure disparities, which in turn, permitted that small farm lands be expropriated or merged into larger farmlands allowing again oligarchies to access land, whilst *peasants were left forsaken* (Machado, 2017). This committee alerted on principles and outcomes by which production and productivity were the fundamentals, while redistribution of income and benefits for social development of peasants was ignored. Some rural areas were technically developed under the new rural Law 4 of 1974[31], which favoured *squirearchies* (Machado, 2017).

Unfortunately, as pointed by Reyes (2016), the close coexistence between *campesinos* and *guerrilla* reveals subjugated relationships where neither social enhancements nor peasant demands were satisfied. On the contrary, the guerrilla received periodically contributions. These donations also came from the *squirearchy* as protection money. At later stages, and as military actions were severely condemned, paramilitary groups created by 1981 and subsequent years started persecutions. Absence of governmental institutions or its unstable presence aggravated the conflict (Vargas, 2010; Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017). Reyes (2016), García (2017) and Sánchez (2017) show that all the actors involved generated diverse dichotomies and economic pressures. This became even more critical when drug cartels started buying land that stood unoccupied as a result of the forced peasant displacement. This rupture of territory permitted that armed leftist insurgents persistently demanded -over sporadic peace talks with different governments in Office- political decentralization. Ultimately this occurred in 1991, when the country's new Constitution was enacted. "Framers of the new constitution reasoned that political decentralization would simultaneously give the rebels a legal political outlet by opening up the electoral system, partly achieved by the implicit erosion of the political duopoly" (Balivé, 2012:607), which was shared solely by Liberal and Conservative parties. Regrettably, according to Pérez (2016), the criteria of propriety, life and development staged a different reality for the peasants, showing even more the state's incapacity to protect and fulfil the requirements of a forsaken population.

29 http://www.suin.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?id=1792699 Law 135 of 1961 addresses Agrarian Reforms.

30 ibid

31 http://www.suin.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?id=1786293 Law 4 of 1974 which changes Law 200 of 1936 Law 135 of 1961 and 1 of 1968 appointing the Agrarian Chamber within the State Council.

As mentioned, some regions and territories were abandoned by state surveillance, as military efforts had to be placed around large cities or in areas where guerrillas were operating (Vargas, 2010; Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017). Contradictions of Colombia's guerrilla became evident, as there was "not a process of social change or popular emancipation but the re-enslaving of the population" (Reyes, 2016:17). Reyes (2016) states that relationships between governments, guerrillas and *campesinos* exacerbate when peaceful marches of *campesinos* seek vindications of their needs and the government uses military repression intensifying insurgent combats justified by arguing guerrilla' infiltration in the protests (Palacios, 2011; 2012; Leiva, 2017). By 1972, a new agrarian reform faithfully envisioned large properties as the foundations for economic development, directing loans to wealthy agricultural entrepreneurs. The agrarian reform was thus declared terminated, while technical assistance programs should have been directed to smallholders[32]. In writing: "the Social Function Doctrine of the Colombian Constitution imposes the positive obligation of an owner to use property not only in a way that does not prejudice the community but that it is beneficial to the community"[33]. By 1994, Colombia accordingly passed the Law 160[34] that established the State's commitment to promote access to land[35]. Yet again big landowners were extensively benefited and peasants were once more subjected. The acknowledgement of inequalities and social segmentation has unfortunately shown opposite conditions (García, 2017), despite the phrase 'social function', which first appeared in the Colombian law in 1936 and has remained a seal of Colombian property law. The Social Function Doctrine in article 58 of current Colombian Constitution follows the positive obligation approach to social function"[36] (2006:103) as part of territorial, cultural, economic, and social integrations and options. In brief, Colombia's cumulative social and economic gap preceded by relentless promises for more equitable social and economic growth has derived from Laws, decrees and operational programmes benefiting oligarchies against peasantry around land tenure, land usage and funding, resulting in omissions of public policies to improve the overall well-being of its diverse communities, territories, and regions (Safford & Palacios, 2002; Palacios, 2011; 2012; Leiva, 2017). Failed engagements generate violent land dispossession. The lack of institutional presence and law enforcement (public policy) is systematically manipulated by guerrilla, paramilitary and drug cartels, forcing displacements of peasant population. *Squirearchy* and political elites have ended up in fraudulent alliances or coexistence[37] with marginal groups deinstitutionalizing the rural sector over the last 25 years (Palacios, 2012; Reyes, 2016; García, 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

Vargas (2010) argues that extensive and large export-oriented agroindustry including cattle farming, mining and oil extraction have helped, to some extent, maintain institutional and development policies, albeit illegal crops along territories where mobilization of resources and surplus modify Colombia's GDP. Accordingly, García (2017) explains that the newer versions of peasant displacement or massive killings have been sponsored by either guerrilla or by paramilitary groups in different regions of the country to obtain additional land for illegal crops, and /or to have enclaves that are secured by large rings of military presence to keep out institutional intervention (Reyes, 2016). As a consequence, this territory has always been part of the conflict and has segmented its population because of armed groups that have ruled over land distribution and its exploitation. Thus, Sánchez (2017) concludes that economic integration is altered by these forces where politics, policy or administrative tendencies do not allow for any type

32 http://prensarural.org/spip/spip.php?article1288 accesed January 6, 2018.

33 https://www.law.ufl.edu/_pdf/academics/centers/cgr/9th_conference/Ankersen_Article_on_Tierra_y_Libertad.pdf with the following annotation: Sentencia C-389/94 §VII.2 (Supreme Constitutional Court of Colombia) (Thomas Ruppert trans.); see also Sentencia C-595/95 § VI.h (Supreme Constitutional Court of Colombia) page 104, accesed January 6, 2018.

34 http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_0160_1994.html Law 160 of 1994 establishes the National System of Agrarian reform and Rural Development.

35 https://www.law.ufl.edu/_pdf/academics/centers/cgr/9th_conference/Ankersen_Article_on_Tierra_y_Libertad.pdf page 103, accessed January 6, 2018.

36 Op.cit page 103 accessed January 6, 2018.

37 As per informal talks over the interviews, the author colloquially mentions that Casanare is a particular case, as the private investment supposedly coexists with actions of illegal entrepreneurs who administer the department safety and development. An overview of maps of armed confrontations reveals Casanare as a green and prosperous enclave.

of social bond to flourish as part of regional and cultural beliefs: displacement has brought colonization as part of the dislocation and in search of abandoned land or as part of the historical continuum of social fragmentation and uprooting. During President Santos's first presidency (2010-2014) land tenure policy focused on land restitution of uprooted families by enacting the Victims Law (Law 1448 of 2011[38]), thus recognizing the existence of an internal conflict and of victims and accepting the State's responsibility to address these prior unresolved issues (Machado (b), 2017). According to Machado (Machado (b), 2017) the interesting point is that it "recognizes what academics and various social organizations have proclaimed, but has been despised by Colombian institutions, by the political class and in many sectors of society" (2017:86). This is one of the unique aspects of President Santos's triumph to convince the guerrilla of the Farc to open the dialogue to be held in Cuba with a broad participation of countries acting as guarantors of the process.

Some of the agreements of the Peace Treaty with the Farc signed in 2016 have not yet been implemented because of financial, political and security issues and challenges[39]. *Guerrilleros* are in the process of giving up armaments and weapons and of disclosing land-fields with mines under the assistance of the United Nations in "transitory normalization zones" scattered throughout the country[40]. They have been elected to the Congress sessions to start in July 2018. Media debates blame both sides on slow outcomes or lack of accomplishments on the agreements. The International Commission for the Verification of Human Rights in Colombia has also denounced voids and slow processes[41], plus the killings of social and communal leaders over recent months. Open discussion between government and Farc reveal that the latter have a clear agenda. The Farc are a legally constituted political party with 10 seats at the Colombian Congress. Meantime, the magistrates that conform the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) have taken office as part of the new judicial system set up by the peace pacts. However, there have been opposing trends mainly from the extreme right. Former president Uribe claims that "my soul is not prepared to debate with criminals"[42] whilst the guerrilla ties him to right-wing paramilitary groups emerged when he was governor of Antioquia back in 1994.

Part of Colombia's recent history has been the recapitulation of more than six decades of internal war. There is still some distress with dissents of the Farc. The peace talks in Ecuador with the guerrilla of the ELN (National Liberation Army) are currently at a stand-still because of recent bombing of oil pipelines. Police or military officials have been assassinated. Newer militias are persecuting social leaders who believe in the peace and the post-conflict processes. Meanwhile, UNODC[43] figures show "an increase of 52 per cent in coca cultivation areas - from 96,000 hectares (ha.) in 2015 to 146,000 ha. in 2016" as "the conditions in the country are favourable to reach a sustainable solution, since the country's strategy is moving from a crop-based intervention to one focusing on the transformation of territories"[44].

38 Law 1448 of 2011 addresses attention, assistance and integral reparation to the victims of Colombia's internal armed conflict http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_1448_2011.html

39 This counts for 2017 and part of 2018; it has to be noted that President Santos is to step down in August 2018 and a new Office is to continue or adjust some of the agreements

40 Some sources are from http:// elespectador.com; http:// eltiempo.com; htpp:semana.com and the official page http://colombiapeace.org/

41 http://www.eltiempo.com/colombia/otras-ciudades/ivan-marquez-se-reune-con-ciudadanos-en-santa-marta-184000, http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/cifras-del-cumplimiento-del-acuerdo-de-paz-con-las-farc-181646

42 Note from Colprensa news.

43 https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2017/July/new-unodc-report_-coca-crops-in-colombia-increase-over-50-per-cent-in-one-year.html

44 ibid

4.2. Colombia's planning limitations and contradictions

Converging topics coincide with the global goal established by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to take action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and wealth[45]. Similar criteria have been addressed at the United Nations Housing and Sustainable Urban Development "Habitat III" conference (2016). UNESCO[46] concurs in defining globalization as a *multi-dimensional* process which convenes and embodies a transformation of the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, which implies the mission "to be a framework for improving global policies, plans, designs and implementation processes, which will lead to more compact, socially inclusive, better integrated and connected cities and territories that foster sustainable urban development and are resilient to climate change" (UN, 2015:1). These concepts align with Colombia's interests to cope with global trends for spatial organization, for involvements and for urban/rural planning development. Yet, agreeing with Tassara (2015) and Mattar & Cuervo (2017), spatial planning strategies and policies in the Global South, particularly in Latin America, focus on urban development, disregarding social and environmental dynamics in rural areas and giving priority to economic and political interests over social and environmental goals. Hence, these circumstances are specified by the pressure of State polices to engross its economies by massive extraction of natural resources and by decentralized planning systems which prioritize urban growth, undermining regional and urban/rural articulation and rural development.

Colombia persists in the adoption, verification and cooperation of global policies (Tassara (a) (b), 2013; 2015; Martínez, 2014). Likewise, concepts of rural development, sustainability together with different approaches to planning and development principles envision comprehensive scopes and enlighten processes for the well-being of local communities (Gómez & Londoño, 2011; Ayllón, 2015[47]; Lozano, 2017). Ayllón illustrates a truthful sentiment of Colombia's conduct, as the country "aims to improve its image by thriving for the good relationship with the OECD[48] countries and for its future membership in this institution, adopting the guidelines of donors in cooperations and aiming at becoming a leading force in the region for the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness"[49]. Colombia, with its geography and diverse cultures within a biodiverse territory since Spanish colonization times, has been considered a fragmented and segregated society (Safford & Palacios, 2002; González, et al., 2011; DNP, 2013; Vargas, 2016). Hence, De la Torre (2017) explains that Colombia's government has been centrally based, despite many efforts since the 1980s to establish autonomous regions and territories based on the French CPER policies. The 1991 Colombian Constitution fundamentally opted for decentralization. However, De la Torre (2017) concludes that autonomous territories and municipalities are weak or inoperative because of lack of technical knowledge, governance and management competences, and also because too many institutions try to implement similar programmes. According to Molina, et al. (2017) multiplicity of institutions and actors seeking to solve similar programs arise from the government itself and the National Planning Department (DNP), as they do not coordinate effectively the implementation of sectorial and multi-scalar programs and plans. Territories are not scaled or seen as development areas, and local collectiveness has to follow sectorial guidelines instead of focusing in particular requirements and needs at local stages.

It cannot be stressed enough that, as Safford and Palacios show in their book "Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society" (2002), the country has always been characterized

45 It was presented in 2016 and will monitor outcomes and policies for 15 more years. Accessed November 18, 2017.

46 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/globalisation/

47 http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/globalisation/

48 www.oecd.org/ The mission of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is to promote policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people around the world.

49 Ibid - "Colombia pretende alcanzar ganancias de imagen apostando por la buena relación con los países de la OCDE, a la espera de su futuro ingreso en ese club, adoptando en su cooperación las directrices de los donantes y convirtiéndose en impulsor en la región de la Declaración de París sobre eficacia de la ayuda".

by its geographical fragmentation of distinct regional cultural, social and economic features and the consequential conditions of the country. The book also exposes contrasts of diverse and delayed social and economic developments stressing the weakness governments have had in many of its distant territories forgetting the vastness and greatness of the country. Concentration of politics and policies depend on the central government and the influence of its capital Bogotá for decision-making and development.

4.2.1. Tensions and conflicts in planning policies and rural land management

In Colombia's decentralized political system, municipalities have adopted autonomous Land-use Plans[50] defining spatial strategies and policies as drivers for urban expansion led primarily by developers and private entrepreneurs. The system underestimates integral and comprehensive approaches to planning, and the opportunity to redefine power relations and actions for a more balanced national, regional and local development. Vásquez (2017) and Machado (c), 2017) point at the failure of development policies to reduce income disparities and life inequities between rural and urban areas and between rural head towns and rural dispersed regions. They also highlight different capacities and mechanisms where state and municipalities have to respond to specific local problems. In this view, Colombia faces challenges to solve tensions and conflicts not only with reference to land-use plans, but also in territorial development policies, such as state sectorial policies, ecological preservation, zoning and nature exploitation licensing. These tensions expose conflicts around spatial planning. The limited efficiency in making decisions and in their complex implementation hampers the solution of environmental, social and economic problems.

León (2011) explains that land ownership following the feudal path to the *latifundio* (large-estate) has augmented in the past two centuries, since the Spanish colonization, especially in specific marginal regions in Colombia where there is lesser presence of governmental authorities. In the absence of effective regulation and balanced development measures, issues related to land have been reduced to a conflict between landowners and peasants, where the concentration of property, the power of the proprietors and rural poverty stand out. Studies by Palacios (2011) and Reyes (2016) on land ownership have revealed difficulties to fully clarify the property rights of vacant land belonging to the state (*baldios*), while private owners have no certainty of the legitimacy of their property titles, since the country does not have up-to-date qualitative and quantitative information about cadastres. This situation has a high potential of conflict among parties and oligarchies seeking for a status quo. The most recent and predominant problems on land ownership are related to access to property and land retribution, which has to do with the privatization of public lands and the marginal allocation of land stripped during the armed conflict to communities. Likewise, Machado (2017 (b)) explains that the various attempts to reform the land market since the beginning of the twentieth century have not succeeded nor have they solved the problems of the country's agrarian structure because the rural policy has been mainly responding to large private interests of massive investment and production. In this regard, Palacios (2011) concludes that the management, use, and ownership of land in Colombia have been a political and ideological struggle around the allocation of land rights in a country with peasant majority. The lack of coordination between the three levels of governance: the state (central or national government), the municipal level, and the departmental level fail to connect policies, which shall heavily impact rural regions. Reyes (2016) calls for the urgent action of state policies to define landownership, distribution and management according to different governmental levels. The problems evidently involve conflicts generated by the use of the state-owned subsoil, prioritizing mining through an elite structure targeting profit and enhanced GDP.

50 The Colombian Constitution 1991 determined that the territory should be organized, planned and managed. It was only until 1997 that the Law 388 introduced Territorial Land-use Plans/Territorial Ordinance Plans (Planes de Ordenamiento Territorial –POT) decentralizing the territorial development and decision-making, thus empowering municipalities. See http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_0388_1997.html

4.2.2. Rural comprehensive development, the first goal in the Peace Treaty

The uncertain fate of the Peace Treaty signed with the Farc in 2016 and the on-going negotiation with the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional), which is currently in a limbus[51], urge for the recovery of the rural areas. An urgent task in the current conflict management is to bridge the gaps between rural and urban areas as far as welfare and opportunities is concerned. Democratic and political participation is another aspect that concerns planning for a more equal society. Other aspects are crucial but cannot be seen as directly targeted in terms of spatial planning (armed conflict resolution, stopping illicit drug production and commercialization, guarantees for victims' reparation and uncovering the truth of so-called war crimes). These arguments can be envisioned from the Havana Peace agreements of 2016[52]:

1. Towards a new Colombian rurality subject to a comprehensive rural reform: it aims at the well-being of rural communities'; it strengthens the presence of the state to narrow the gap between urban and rural areas, and to develop and integrate regions for productivity addressing poverty, institutional weakness and governance. One of the key issues is land distribution and use. It envisions citizen participation, loans, and policy definition to develop rural areas and agriculture.
2. Political participation by means of allowing plural democratic participation to propitiate reconciliation, coexistence and tolerance within the various territories.
3. End of the conflict as part of the agreement to cease-fire and prepare the conflict zones for institutional frameworks for democratic processes.
4. Illicit drugs management addressing issues related to the relationship between the FARC and the drug cartels, to drug production and commercialization and the resulting consequences for the economy of Colombia due to money laundering and corruption.
5. Agreement regarding the victims focusing on truth, reparation, justice and non-repetition of the conflict.
6. Mechanisms of implementation and verification of the agreements.

With the peace agreement, Colombia is undertaking a comprehensive rural reform and is to adopt a territorial approach to guide bottom-up development to integrate communities in both the urban and rural enclaves. According to Lozano (2017) it is crucial for the country to outline and plan continuous development of its territories, focusing on interventions that will define social well-being based on the presence of public institutions and the construction of basic local services. Therefore, development policies, education and rural incentives based on the Peace Treaty promote social bonds linking territories within local and regional outcomes augmenting expectations of life improvement. In broader terms the treaty seems to align and to be in continuity with most progressive aspirations of previous acts. For example, Colombia's Law 152 of 1994[53] requires the National Government in Office to submit political, economic and social programs to the National Council of Planning (CNP) during the four years (2014-2018) of government of President Santos. "All for a new country: Peace, Equity and Education"[54]. This government platform contains five pillars with basic sectorial strategies and practices to be transversally deployed to improve infrastructure and competitiveness and to promote social mobility, rural transformation, security and justice for peace building and governance, as well as to foster good practices and management. Planning and development processes constitute the structure to uphold possible and required social arrangements (political, social and economic alterations) (Gudynas, 2009; Tassara (a), 2013; De la Torre,

51 http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/proceso-de-paz/eln-se-contradice-con-paro-armado-dice-santos-181160

52 http://www.altocomisionadoparalapaz.gov.co/herramientas/Documents/summary-of-colombias-peace-agreement.pdf

53 http://www.minhacienda.gov.co/HomeMinhacienda/ShowProperty;jsessionid=ahVO3Kva7iZN6I9-UVQOjDsinYxZp3MoA7AokwtqnR0KsDKbMzIJ!-1088947312?nodeId=%2FOCS%2FMIG_5817353.PDF%2F%2FidcPrimaryFile&revision=latestreleased Law 152 of 1994 established the Organic Development Plan.

54 https://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1759/w3-article-356367.html

2017 Leiva, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). In fact, Colombia needs to set up new politics, public policies and civic commitments[55] to appropriately accomplish the covenants derived from the peace treaty, and especially those changes within rural territories previously administered by the guerrillas and currently part of the victims' land restitution program (Pachón, Molina, 2014; Hernández, 2016; Leiva, 2017; García, 2017).

4.2.3. Global principles for rural development in Colombia

The North-South and South-South cooperation, in which Colombia has participated in for decades, have been part of governmental rationalization procedures. The National Planning Department (2017) adopts the requirements of international multilateral agencies and NGOs in order to transfer experiences and/or to verify Colombia's commitments regarding global agreements for human rights, for environmental goals for climate change, and for Millennium Development Goals, among others. An example is the validation process to access the OECD, which requires complying with union agreements and protecting civil rights and/or societal leaders who are being systematically assassinated. The country has shown dynamism when it comes to outline policy definitions, compliance and alignment with global trends and to participate in regional cooperation in Latin America. But internally, implementation, and irresolute action plans are still irresolute and their implementation and assurance with protective engagements are at stake (Tassara (b), 2013; Martínez, 2014; Leiva, 2017; De la Torre, 2017). Still, the literature reviews comprehensive strategies to carry out development processes (growth) in spaces and societal environments, including developmental rights. (Piña, 2012; Molina, et al., 2017; Hernández, 2017).

According to OECD, and part of cooperation covenants of North-South, South-South guidelines, extensive municipal governance and social projects are executed to jointly build a *new rurality*, including the participation of civil groups as well as of reinserted guerrillas[56] (Martínez, 2014; De la Torre, 2017; DNP, 2017[57]; Lozano, 2017; Tassara, 2017). The OECD "focuses on reorientation of policy that has been observed through a series of reviews of territorial policy at the national level and a number of case studies of policy strategies in rural regions. The evidence suggests that the shift in policy towards a "new rural paradigm" concerns both 1) changes in the policy focus and 2) adjustments to the governance structure pointing out some features or concerns on the rural territory and addressability on required clarifications, as follows:

- "a shift from an approach based on subsidizing declining sectors to one based on strategic investments to develop the area's most productive activities;
- a focus on local specificities as a means of generating new competitive advantages, such as amenities (environmental or cultural) or local products (traditional or labelled);
- more attention to quasi-public goods or "framework conditions" which support enterprise indirectly;
- a shift from a sectorial to a territorial policy approach, including attempts to integrate the various sectorial policies at regional and local levels and to improve co-ordination of sectorial policies at the central government level;
- decentralization of policy administration and, within limits, policy design at those levels; and
- increased use of partnerships between public, private and voluntary sectors in the development and implementation of local and regional policies" [58].

55 http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0142694X12000646?via%3Dihub accessed December 2, 2017.

56 www.acuerdo nal.com.co accessed December 2, 2017. Reviews on the new transition territories or municipalities are also useful to further understand the changes to be made in the coming years. http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/paz/la-arquitectura-del-posconflicto-articulo-697731 dated 10 June 2017 accessed December 2,2017

57 https://www.dnp.gov.co/Contratos-Plan/Paginas/ContratosPlan.aspx accessed December 2, 2017.

58 http://www.oecd.org/cfe/regional-policy/thenewruralparadigmpoliciesandgovernance.htm#chapter_1 accessed February 24,2018

Some of these issues and especially the ones shifting from sectorial to territorial policies are being developed by scholars in Colombia (Leiva, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017; De la Torre, 2017) as part of the trends for the post-conflict and of on-going applications to improve and strengthen institutional and communal relationships (Pachón & Molina, 2014). Additionally, some other specificities adopted in rural regions that need to be transformed, as for example:

- A limited interconnectivity with urban centres, small-size urban centres (in terms of population, market and labour supply), and limited links with higher scale economies.
- A wide variety of income distribution, a very high investment for access and development, self-employment, and specialization in boom-and-bust economies generate most of the employment.
- High production and servicing costs, together with a limited range of public and private services limit economic diversification and levels of employment. Other possible employment sources are activities at the service of the primary sector, the public-sector activities, handcrafting, and environmental services.
- Holistic measures in the space they cover and in the range of issues they address, transcending the capabilities and the authority of local areas. Such measures are to be adapted according to different identities or attributes: history, language, political orientation, landscape, climate etc. (Ortiz-Guerrero, 2013:50).

These diverse issues on development trends nourish debates on the overall process being undertaken by international organizations (World Bank, IDB, UN, UNESCO, FAO) and the countries themselves as part of larger regions (Latin America, Andean Pact, Mercosur, Global South). Additionally, each country internally uses planning options as policies for its own development and competitiveness within larger global relationships or agreements (Tassara (b), 2013; 2017; Martínez, 2014; De la Torre, 2017). In this sense, it is important to understand the global trends the country considers in order to transform planning policies. For instance, Colombia assumes the goals set by the FAO related to global agreements on food and agricultural policies. These objectives are: "the eradication of hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition; the elimination of poverty and achievement of economic and social progress for all, and the sustainable management and utilization of natural resources, including land, water, air, climate and genetic resources for the benefit of present and future generations"[59]. Other pertinent pacts on rural territories derive from the European Commission leading towards an all-inclusive analysis based on:

- Fostering knowledge transfer and innovation in agriculture, forestry and rural areas
- Enhancing the viability and competitiveness of all types of agriculture, and promoting innovative farm technologies and sustainable forest management
- Promoting food chain organization, animal welfare and risk management in agriculture
- Restoring, preserving and enhancing ecosystems related to agriculture and forestry
- Promoting resource efficiency and supporting the shift toward a low-carbon and climate-resilient economy in the agriculture, food and forestry sectors
- Promoting social inclusion, poverty reduction and economic development in rural areas[60].

4.3. Rural development in Colombia: opportunities and conflicts

Colombia´s political and social conflictive dynamics have affected urban and rural development causing dramatic impact on society and over territories because of military operations, political and social violence, forced evictions and kidnapping. These issues altogether have caused a

59 http://www.fao.org/about/en/ accessed January 20,2018.
60 https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rural-development-2014-2020_en accessed January 20,2018.

large number of Colombians to migrate (Figure 3) from the countryside to more urbanized areas producing a massive rural exodus, accelerated and unplanned urban expansion and the proliferation of peripheral informal settlements around city centres. On the other hand, displacement due to natural disasters including floods, earthquakes and landslides affects not only urban and rural transformation but also the national social and spatial structure causing greater inequities, deepening the social and economic gap between the poorest and the richest of society. Additionally, the uneven distribution of economic resources coming from national and local governments exacerbates the tension between rural and urban medium and small-sized cities.

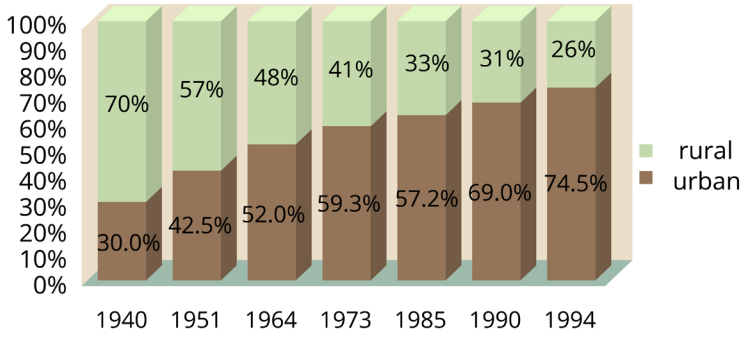

Figure 3. Rural and urban population migration 1940-1994
Source: DANE

In this regard, Reyes (2016) studies on Colombia's rurality show that the country's capitalistic development model fosters a misleading idea that it is an urban country prioritizing this aspect. Vulnerability of the rural municipalities has increased if compared to the urban areas benefitting from more investments and better service provisions. This situation produces an unbalanced development between rural and urban contexts. The author also states that rural development up to these days, is highly inequitable and segregating, in fact it propitiates multiple rural conflicts. It barely recognizes written policies, different social actors (African descendants, indigenous, peasants, immigrants), or the value of nature, which leads to inappropriate usage and destruction of biodiversity. Alfonso (2014), León (2011), and Quintero (2011) express that rural development models have allowed precarious public institutions to open more space to the action of market forces, thus producing social imbalances and inequities. Additionally, the lack of territorial planning has increased the conflict between those who exploit natural resources and those who have agriculture as part of their life styles. Governmental institutions and public policies currently play a weak role in planning of rural land arrangements and human settlements. According to the United Nations Development Programme -UNDP (2011), factors such as the influence of the armed groups and small local government elites in power, the lack of political recognition of rural populations as political actors, together with farmers' migration to cities because of the rural armed conflict and the lack of rural development policies, have intensified rural poverty and hampered development. Consequently, official reports (UNDP, 2011) conclude that the current situation of Colombia's rural context does not promote human well-being and makes rural population vulnerable. The situation is inequitable and does not favour convergence and participation of the communities. It makes invisible gender differences and discriminates against women. It does not promote sustainability, it concentrates land ownership, and it fails to strengthen rural institutions. In sum, it is undemocratic and creates conditions for emergent conflicts.

4.3.1. Colombia's population and economic growth

Colombia's Development Plans are instituted on the allocation of fast growing financial resources that come mainly from nature exploitation. Mining, oil extraction, and agroindustry (mono-crops) are the pillars of national and local economies. Recognitions to the economic resources come from natural resources and from the allocation of royalties and taxes, and municipalities can count on substantial financial support. However, Colombian economic growth has decreased dramatically. The GDP reached a growth rate of more than 4.5% per year in the past decade due to the oil extraction; lately, it has gone down from 3.3% in 2015 to 1.1% at the beginning of 2017 due to the fall of oil prices and a slowdown in investments, production and real estate. On the other hand, the violent conflict has produced forced evictions, rural exodus and accelerated unplanned urban expansion. In fact, population growth in rural regions decreased from 0.52% in 2002 to 0.21% in 2012 (94% of its territory is rural and inhabited by 32% of its total population) (Castro, 2014). On the contrary, the urban population in medium size cities of more than 1 million inhabitants increased from 34.45% in 2002 to 38.38% in 2012[61] (49.829.755 total inhabitants occupying 1,141,748 km2, with an average density of 42.25 inhab/km2)[62]. In addition, the increasing gap between the rich and the poor measured by the Gini coefficient of 0.55[63] classifies Colombia as one of the countries of the world with highest inequality (Figure 4) A more dramatic condition is seen in rural areas, where the Gini coefficient reached 0.88 in 2012[64]. Although the Human Development Index (HDI)[65] has increased considerably from 0,557 in 1980 to 0.711 in 2013 (UNDP, 2014), rural and urban differences have gradually increased. The gap between urban and rural human development is given not only because of the income per capita, but also because of life conditions and access to public services, education, health, and transportation. The Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN)[66] index shows that the level of poverty has decreased in Colombia from 53.7 in 2002 to 45.5% in 2009, though close to 20 million people are living in precarious conditions mainly in rural areas (PNUD, 2011).

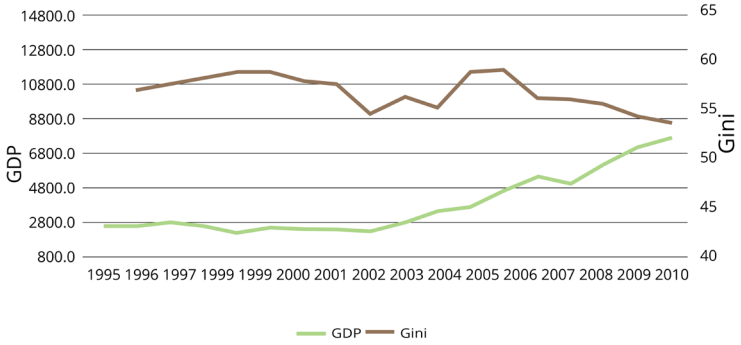

Figure 4. GDP and Gini compared
Source: http://www.proyectarnacion.com.ar/crecimiento-economico-e-igualdad-en-unasur-y-en-argentina/

During the last decade, the economy has maintained a steady growth along with an expansion and the improvement of social services. However, this dynamism has not been reflected to the same extent on the quality of life for rural dwellers. The rural population remains poorer and continues having lower social and economic opportunities and less access to state services, which directly affects quality of life, chances for development, and, in short, social mobility. Despite multidimensional poverty reduction in rural areas, there has not been enough improvement to close the gap between the countryside and the city. On the contrary, according to the National Planning

61 http://www.tradingeconomics.com/colombia/population-in-urban-agglomerations-of-more-than-1-million-percent-of-total-population-wb-data.html

62 http://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/en/

63 Gini coefficient, which measures the inequality of revenues, (The World Bank data catalog, 2011) http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/index.htm) where 0 represent perfect equity, while 1 total inequity.

64 http://www.semana.com/especiales/pilares-tierra/asi-es-la-colombia-rural.html

65 For 2015 UN Development Programme reports a H D I of 0.727 in Colombia, compared to 0.949 in Norway. http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/HDI accessed June 20,2018.

66 The Unsatisfied Basic Needs index is for Colombia 0.022 for 2010. The analysis sorts 104 countries according to OPHI Multidimensional Poverty Index between 20006 and 2015. https://ophi.org.uk/multidimensional-poverty-index/global-mpi-2017/mpi-data/ accessed June 21,2018.

Department (DNP (b), 2015), while in 2003 rural poverty was 1.9 times the urban poverty, in 2013 the ratio was 2.5. Indeed, while 46% of the rural population is currently in the condition of multidimensional poverty, only 18.5% of the urban is in this situation. According to official data, this difference can be interpreted as gaps in opportunities for the rural population leading to low levels of human capital, deepened by difficulties to access goods and basic social services. The lack of economic and social opportunities as "poverty traps" for rural communities reinforces the situation of multiple misappropriation, characterized by low coverage in health, education, public services, financial credit, productive assets, market and agribusiness access. Indeed, these limitations do not allow rural population to improve their limited conditions to overcome basic unsatisfied needs to reach social mobility and progress as means of development rights (Hernández, 2017). Moreover, besides low social security coverage and opportunities, there are other problems related to poverty, which are food insecurity, wages below the minimum legally established, poor technical capacities and education, as well as strong demographic changes. Especially migratory processes of young people, particularly women in search for better opportunities lead to greater and faster aging of rural population

4.3.2. Rural conflicts and opportunities

UNDP depicts the rural problem in the country as follows: "Colombia is more rural than it is believed, but now has more mining hectares than food production. The government signed association agreements and free trade treaties and created incentives for agribusiness entrepreneurs but, with honourable exceptions, the agricultural productive performance leaves much to be desired. Meanwhile, small and medium sectors of farmers expect from the State larger steps to prevent their economies to disappear or to be reduced to just means of survival. Old and new socio-economic indicators confirm the greater vulnerability of the rural population, but the State institutionalism to address them has weakened or disappeared. Additionally, coverage in the provision of public goods and services (education, drinking water, infrastructure, health, sanitation, technical assistance, etc.) are not comparable with the weight of strategies and programs of sectorial subsidies that in practice benefit those who have more skills and resources" (2011:13).

Colombia Rural: Razones para la esperanza (Rural Colombia: Reasons for Hope) reports on human development from the United Nations Development Program (PNUD, 2011) It shows that Colombia has neither modernized its economy nor overcome extreme poverty. Moreover, it has not recovered from the armed conflict nor has proactively addressed the agrarian struggle. Colombia has not offered adequate developmental conditions to peasants, limiting their access to land, capital, new technologies, and markets; besides, rural population has been segregated from political participation, and their productive activities and their natural context has been threatened by activities such as biofuel projects and mining (Leiva, 2017; Sánchez, 2017). Therefore, disregarding the rural areas, government policies have not equally treated the vast majority of the country. The study *Land in Colombia - Between Usurpation and Trade, Current situation of a central issue within the conflict* (Oidhaco, 2013), points out that the concentration of poverty in the rural context has been exacerbated by the ongoing-armed conflict and by the fact that technology and financial support has been at the hand of large estate owners *(latifundistas*). The armed long-term conflict led by various parties (FARC, ELN, EPL) has been continuous and constant within the country, gaining control of territories that are both rich in natural resources and ideal sites for large-scale profitable legal and illegal agricultural production projects (Figure 5).

Colombia is a country with a high level of land concentration: 0.4% of landowners own 62.6% of the surface with properties of more than 500 hectares, while 86.3% of landowners have 8.8% of the surface area of the country with properties of less than 20 hectares; 10.7% of landowners have 14.6% of the land with properties between 20 and 100 hectares; 2.6% of landowners have 14% of the land with properties

between 100 and 500 hectares (Castro, 2014)[67]. Today, Colombia and Sudan have the highest number of internally displaced people in the world. Arturo Escobar (in Alimonda, 2011) analyses the country's internal displacement over the past two decades, which counts for more than three million people - mostly peasants, indigenous and afro-decedent communities- exiled or forcedly evicted within the national territory, reinforcing the historic patterns of exclusion (Palacios, 2012; Reyes, 2016). Since late 1990s, displacement has been caused by paramilitaries who receive money from wealthy landowners with the purpose of expanding their possessions and of increasing their agro-industrial and cattle farming; USA-Colombia multi-millionaire agreement to control drug production and trade known as the "Plan Colombia" is based primarily on military strategies, illegal-crop substitution and extensive glyphosate fumigation (Vargas, 2010). In many regions, minorities of ethnic groups inhabit territories rich in natural resources, which are now coveted by national and transnational capitals (Reyes, 2010; Oidhaco, 2013). To compensate the victims and displaced communities from the violent conflict, the government has created policies for land restitution in the mid 2010s. However, this process has not been fully accomplished due to many limitations mostly related to lack of cadastral and land ownership information, and also, because of unclear criteria to select the true beneficiaries and avoid impersonation.

Reyes (2016) recalls Alvaro Uribe Velez presidency (2002–2006, and 2006–2010) when government policies favoured mining and extraction regulations to respond to free-trade agreements to boost national economy, based on a sort of entrepreneurial hegemony. The free trade and privatization policies ignored the fact that valuable natural regions belong to local communities and that community groups and ecosystems have not fixed geographic limits responding to administrative and governmental boundaries. Additionally, Reyes (2016), Leiva (2017), and Avila & Londoño (2017) sustain that during that government, the so-called *democratic security* focused on shielding the country from guerrillas. Therefore, military policies and actions left aside participation processes for rural and indigenous communities, key actors for defining natural protected areas, which became, to some degree, remote entrenched battlefields or exploitation grounds (Leiva, 2017).

Biofuel companies, mining industry, and mega-construction projects undergo to promote competitiveness and economic growth. Numerous ongoing mega-projects like dams, highway construction, large-scale agroindustry, and resource extraction have failed to follow sustainable standards and local community participation threatening environment, biodiversity, food security, agriculture in landownership despite complex decrees that excessively tend to protect ecosystems, not understanding the territory and its environment or true requirements. Pretelt (2012) and Duque (2012) explain that the major threat to rural integral development has been the government's indiscriminate allocation of exploitation licenses to private companies since the national government owns the country's subsoil. Therefore, exploring and exploitation permits disregard land property and social and environmental interests at local or regional levels. In this context, municipal planning authorities have neither influence nor sufficient jurisdictional power on decision-making. Consequently, affected communities (both indigenous and non-indigenous) have organized informal consultations against mining, then, the national government has responded with repression. Meanwhile, the Colombian Supreme Court has ruled against the government advocating for the local communities' rights to protect their traditional living productive conditions (Pretelt, 2012; Duque, 2012); however, some indigenous groups have in turn criticized the Court for what they see as overly consultation procedures.

Despite the mentioned conflicts, the United Nations Environmental Programme – World Conservation Monitoring Centre (UNEP-WCMC, 2014) places Colombia as one of the 17 mega diverse countries, ranked in the second place as the most biodiverse country in the world and the fifth richest in hydric resources (Castro, 2014). This classification has been proven to create awareness on biodiversity protection in nations with high biological diversity and many unique ecosystems that are under most severe threat. For this reason, according to the UN

67 See also http://www.elmundo.com/portal/noticias/economia/46_de_tierra_rural_esta_en_manos_del_04_de_la_poblacion.php#otras_noticias accessed January 15, 2016.

Many of Colombia´s internal conflicts are driven by ilicit armed groups´ access to lucrative mining, petroleum, and natural gas sites, which they use to finance themselves. They can do this by taxing and extorting companies that do the extraction, as is the case of the oil industry and some types of mining. This map shows the relationship between areas of extraction and violence.

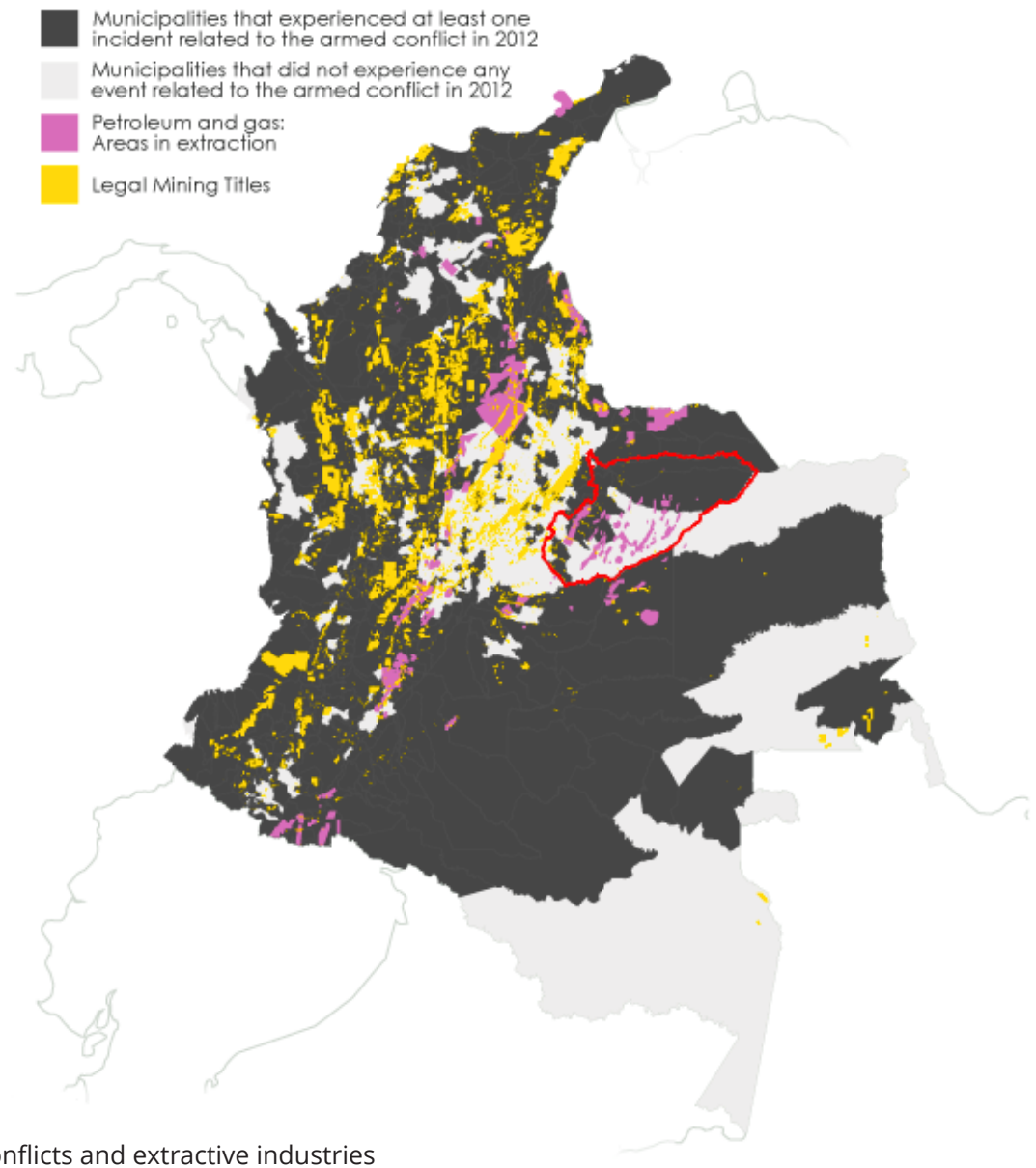

Figure 5. Conflicts and extractive industries
ICGM, 2012; ANH, 2013; UN OCHA Colombia,2012
http://tolomaps.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/violencia_y_recursos_print.png

programme, conservation efforts must focus seriously on these countries rich in diversity and endemism. In Colombia, some positions for reconsidering rural development beyond agriculture and nature exploitation to grab the opportunities the environment itself offers in rural development are now emerging. According to the FAO, Colombia has the 25th greatest potential among 223 countries with more than 10 million hectares for agricultural land without affecting natural reserve areas. Agriculture contributes to Colombia's food security. It is also seen as a profitable source for economic incomes that can be available for different scale producers, benefiting associated small and medium farmers (Molina, et al., 2017). Therefore, one of the fundamental tasks of the government is to implement economic policies allowing efficient agricultural development in order to promote the country's economy (Piña, 2012; Leiva, 2017; Machado (a), 2017). Currently, in Colombia significant improvement in the food chain production is allocated. Although there has been a shift regarding land tenure from agricultural smallholdings too large national and international producers, changing the structure of tenure and land-use from traditional structures to a large-scale production system is part of the inequities derived from the central government ignoring peasantry and grassroots (Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017; García, 2017). Some other problems to overcome in rural areas besides inequitable land tenure systems, unproductivity of land due to poor farming qualifications, lack of technology, inefficient infrastructure, undeveloped local trade markets and the lack of government policies for small and medium farming (Serje, 2010; Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Vargas, 2016).

Colombia's bio-diversity and many unique ecosystems are endangered because of various interests over its exploitation (Carrizosa, 2012). Its natural richness is due to the abundant fresh water and mineral resources; more than 55 million hectares of Amazonian and Pacific forests, and the 7 million hectares of Andean forests, converted into natural reserves with the support of international cooperation, contribute to stabilize the global climate change. Also, the country has 21.5 million hectares of agricultural land to potentially contribute to global food security (Reyes, 2016)[68]. However, the exploitation control of natural resources has been another cause of violent conflicts to finance illegal armed groups. Besides, biofuel production, mining industry and agroindustry respond to economic interests ignoring the environment sustainability and the interests of local communities. This is the case of petroleum mega-projects, extensive mono-crops (African palm and hybrid palm growth) as well as of legal and illegal mining (coal and gold). The impacts of the exploitation of nature augment in most regions of Colombia due to the on-going coca crops in vast areas in the Southern part where forests are being felled

4.4. Decentralized government system for spatial planning in Colombia

The report of the National Department of Planning –DNP *El campo colombiano: un camino hacia el bienestar y la paz* (Rural Colombia: a path to well-being and peace) (DNP (a), 2015) based on Law 388 of 1997[69], defines that through the land-use plans POT municipalities establish urban land as those territories which have primary roads and electric power grids, drinking water and sewage and delimits as rural land the territory which is not suitable for urban use, whose purpose is to use land for agricultural, livestock,

68 Also interesting to review https://noticias.igac.gov.co/es/contenido/de-las-53-millones-de-hectareas-intervenidas-en-colombia-el-61-presenta-un-uso-inadecuado accessed June 21,2018.

69 Law 388/1997, the Territorial Development Law (LDT) was enacted as a continuation of Law 9/1989 and sought to carry on with the goal of urban reform. Law 388 establishes mechanisms that allow the municipality to promote territorial planning, equitable and rational land use, as well as the implementation of efficient urban actions. The LDT principles are a combination of two Constitutional principles (the social and ecological function of property and the prevalence of public over private interest) and two new principles added by the LDT (the public function of urbanism and the equitable distribution of benefits and burdens). These principles are based on the concept of rights and duties. http://urbanlex.unhabitat.org/law/183

forestry and natural resource exploitation usage. The National Department of Statistics (DANE) builds and gathers statistical information to characterize 'urban settlements' and the rural context, which is identified as the 'rest'. From this perspective, Colombian territory is observed dichotomously as urban or rural, assuming that all urban or rural areas are homogeneous territories in themselves, and that the rural is totally opposite to the city's territory. According to the National Planning Department and the *Misión para la Transformación Rural* (MTR - Mission for Rural Transformation) (DNP (a), 2015), this vision does not allow for the development of public policies that could identify the complementarity of urban and rural spaces, thus ignoring the importance of territorial interactions. Based on the above, the MTR has more recently proposed a classification for Colombian rurality, which identifies the relationships between cities and countryside in order to target and implement specific programs for agricultural development and rural population and to design differentiated policies for rural contexts. The Mission identifies rural areas, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which has proposed that a population density below 150 inhabitants per km2 is defined as a rural community. However, at the international level there is no consensus on the definition of rurality. Thus, the designation is given depending on the variety of situations in each country, since it is not desirable to adopt costumed criteria to distinguish between urban and rural.

Based on the definition of rural, the MTR has classified rurality in 'rural' and 'rural dispersed', categorizing characteristics of municipalities for the differential determination of public policies for rural areas. In particular, they serve as the basis for social policies within rural areas, in order to differentiate property ownership, public service provision, and types of agricultural and aqua-cultural production projects, including non-agricultural ones. Rural municipalities are conformed by small head towns (less than 25,000 inhabitants), with a rural population density between 50 to 100 inhabitants/ km^2. A total of 373 municipalities in Colombia in the year 2014 were rural, with a population of 5,402,735. This area corresponds to 19.8% of the national territory. Dispersed rural has smaller towns and lower population densities, with less than 50 inhabitants/km^2. Accordingly, 318 territories were considered in the category of "dispersed rural", with a rural population of 3,658,702 with an area that is 64.9% of the total nation's surface. MTC reports that 30.4% of the Colombian population lived in rural areas in 2014. Moreover, it is estimated that 84.7% of the country's municipalities correspond to rural and dispersed rural categories. The MTR also found that 659 of the total 1122 municipalities of the country have to maximize their effort to effectively reduce their levels of social inequity. From these municipalities, 77% are rural or dispersed rural (507 municipalities). Unfortunately, public investment for the aforementioned municipalities is very low, and they have weak fiscal performances

4.4.1. Three territorial conflicts affect rural land uses

According to the National Planning Department (DNP (a), 2015) there are three territorial levels of inter-sectorial conflicts that affect rural areas. First, government, private, and community actors have different productive and social interests over the same territory, which includes access to natural resources, land, water and biodiversity. Usually, systems of economic and political powers operate regardless to the vocation of the territory, which gives rise to underuse or overuse natural and social resources producing unsustainable conditions within rural territories. This happens because of prevailing exploitation inconsistencies -extensive exploitation procedures- or because of lack of regulations or updated cadastre registers. This leads to the second level of territorial conflict related to the definition of priorities and clear rules for the exploitation of its natural resources, disconnected from the territorial capacities and aptitudes. This circumstance creates social tensions between various national and local actors, whose vision and cultural ideologies and ways of living are not considered in the decision-making process. The third conflict pertains the overlaps and inconsistencies of existing national and local legislations, which makes it difficult to define land uses causing conflicts between planning instruments

and operationally. Besides national sectorial regulations and the conception of national mega-project, there are local interests and processes of grassroots participation that clash with national decisions, as is the case of land expropriation, which results in tensions between different groups and levels of governance.

4.4.2. Territorial Ordinance Plan or Land-use Plan (Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial -POT)

Spatial Planning in Colombia, as in most countries in Latin America, was formally implemented in the 1960s to control territorial use, occupation and transformation, under urbanistic and municipal perspectives. The Constitution of 1991 introduced spatial planning as an institutional structure and relevant power, giving municipalities autonomy to define land use, management and development. Therefore, with Law 388/1997[70] (Territorial Development Law), Territorial Ordinance Plans (POTs) or Land-use Plans (LUP) were adopted from models based on Spanish and French planning, implementing instruments and regulations for urban activities, basic services, roads, public spaces, housing, mobility system and urban facilities (De la Torre, 2017). Additionally, LUP gives priority to the conservation and protection at local levels of environmental systems, architectural and urban heritages and cultural values. Land-use Plans focus on different aspects according to the region, in some cases on physical urban growth strategies; other times, on environmental preservation; and also, towards urban-regional socioeconomic goals. The LUP can be oriented to different territorial scales (metropolis, city-region, towns) regulating use, occupation and the transformation of the territory concerning limitation and potentialities of nature, and social well-being (Quintero, 2011). However, Pérez (2010) and Roa (2014) clarify land use and zoning as the prevalence on local and sub-regional scales, assigning permitted, restricted and prohibited uses to land, accompanied by regulatory instruments. At regional scales, planning pursuits to overcome regional imbalances and disparities with large infrastructure projects for spatial transformation to achieve development objectives. Besides, there is a contrast between territorial and sectorial planning, because spatial scales are disarticulated. This is characterized by absence of integral coordination, concurrency, concertation and cooperation of state entities; therefore, according to Molina et al. (2017), current arrangements generate incoherency, contradictions, and conflicts in spatial planning, especially between central state, regional and local governmental powers as well as between public and private interests. Planning policies have undergone impacts of decentralization and of given and vested interests on local actors, individuals and economic and political groups. Poor relations between national and local instances have hindered impending decentralization to build articulated development strategies for regions to mediate the country's problems of violence, inequality and weak local governances. Thus, in Colombia spatial planning and policies are mostly defined in terms of urban growth: transportation, zoning, public space, basic service supplies, population high densities, etc.

Pérez (2010) infers that the urban emphasis underestimates integral and regional approaches and strategies to redefine power relations and actions for a more articulated urban and rural development. Recently, the Conpes 3870 from the National government (DNP, et al, 2016) has facilitated a financial and advisory structure to modernize and harmonize LUP to current urban dynamics. Lately updated in 100 municipalities, 25 departments and three metropolitan areas coincide in the New LUP for rural and urban areas. This law foresees to solve major challenges faced in the Colombian territory regarding urbanization, road system, public transport, disaster risk management, climate change, protection of natural resources, among others for the achievement of better quality of life and sustainable cities. Thus, the plans respond to the modern dynamics of urban expansion and city networks. It is expected that priority is given to middle and small cities and their balanced relation to rural areas.

70 Ibid

4.4.3. Organic Law for Territorial/ Regional Planning (Ley Orgánica de Ordenamiento Territorial -LOOT)

After two decades of political debates and failed attempts to define regional planning regulations because of conflictive interests over land usage and management, the Organic Law for territorial planning 1454[71] (LOOT, Ley Orgánica de Ordenamiento Territorial) was adopted in 2011 in order to overcome territorial fragmentation, accelerated urban growth, environmental deterioration, social inequality and rural degradation. LOOT targets institutional and territorial development by transferring skills and decision-making from central and decentralized government bodies to regional levels with corresponding resource allocation. As stressed by León (2011), it is supposed to open new legal and administrative possibilities to assemble planning projects considering geographic diversity, history, economy, environment, ethnicity, culture and socio-political characteristics of a region and, most important, their association. The law's principles are based on regional integration through cooperation, encouraging community development, provision of public services, preservation of environment and productive and social development. It also promotes sustainability and territorial equity through greater political, economic and fiscal capacity to support regions or government entities with scarce development in an effort to guarantee equal access to opportunities and benefits for progress. It supports cooperation among municipalities to generate economies of scale, synergies and competitive partnerships for territorial development. Thus, this juridical act is an attempt to go further in terms of planning, articulating territorial spatiality for the urban and rural expansion to multiply and tie social, cultural, and economic environment and political dimensions.

However, Mendoza et al. (2013), and Duque (2012) as well as Pretelt (2012) argue that the law has been applied with narrow perspectives of administrative efficiency oriented to fiscal issues rather than to facilitate innovation, long-term visions, new developments, and grassroots participation. The law allows determining articulations and complementarities between national sectorial systems and subsystems, the independent juridical acts (Environmental, Planning, Agrarian, Mining, Budgeting and Participation Systems, among other sectors) for the comprehensive development of rural and urban territories. Still, as pointed out by these authors, short-term commitment prevents from enabling changes. The law is applicable to the existing state political division (departments) without possibilities to sponsor administrative changes, to affect jurisdictional borders according to more coherent geographical and cultural and/ or territorial characteristics. Therefore, for the time being, the LOOT has not been enforced. The general principles of this law should be developed by subsequent regulations in order to avoid governmental and administrative duplication of competences. The criteria offer autonomy and relevance to departmental decisions over territories and promote regional development, at least in writing.

4.4.4. Areas of Interest for Economic and Social Rural Development (Zonas de Interés de Desarrollo Rural Económico y Social –Zidres)

Colombia's National Government issued the Law 1776[72] in 2016 to create the Zones of Interest for Economic and Social Rural Development – Zidres. This law promotes productive projects that benefit landless peasants, promotes the investment of capital in agriculture and allows the creation of associative schemes to activate the productivity of thousands of hectares throughout the country. The Zidres are planning instruments to promote social inclusion for agricultural workers to become productive agents, to increase sustainable land productivity, to promote the social and economic development of specific areas,

71 http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_1454_2011.html Establishes Law 1454 of 2011 on organic rules on territorial planning

72 http://es.presidencia.gov.co/normativa/normativa/LEY%201776%20DEL%2029%20DE%20ENERO%20DE%202016.pdf creates the Zones of Interest for Economic and Social Rural Development – Zidres.

to improve agrological conditions of soils, to encourage environmental conservation, and to promote access and ordinance of land ownership for agricultural workers (Finagro, n.d.). Vacant State-owned land (Figure 6 and 7) and financial incentives are allocated to these special zones for agronomy and livestock farming in order to improve the quality of land for sustainable productions. The Government's institute "Unidad de Planificación Rural Agropecuaria – UPRA" (Rural Agricultural Planning Unit) is in charge of defining and managing the Zidres. The zones can be outlined in areas of Peasant Reserves, indigenous reservations, collective territories, protected natural areas and lands affected by measures of protection against forced displacement. The UPRA, together with local, regional and national actors, defines land-use, the types of projects that can be undertaken, the minimum conditions required for investment, and incentives to make Zidres profitable. These projects must be registered at the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development. A technical committee composed by the UPRA, the Instituto Colombiano de Desarrollo Rural – Incoder (Colombian Institute of Rural Development) and / or whoever is chosen by the National Government evaluates and makes decisions for feasible projects according to predetermined goals. Once the zones are defined, they should be developed through associative projects, in which agricultural, forestry or livestock enterprises may participate with peasants and peasant associations, which include alliances with industrial companies; therefore, Zidres are strategies that end-up favouring large producers instead of small farmers. Accordingly, alliances are formed and actions are determined for the exploitation of the land (rent, purchase, contribution or concession, among others).

Meanwhile, the community and the media debate on the applicability of Zidres. The arguments are that these special zones and land-use plans (LUPs) are not articulated with other similar governmental actions. The municipal requirements for Zidres location are unclear, and there are no options for bottom-up participation. In principle, they should respond to social and productive criteria defined by the UPRA as an instance of the Ministry of Agriculture to coordinate at the central levels the development of an administrative scheme focused on financial, legal and environmental sustainability. Accordingly, UPRA defines the conditions to implement the zone to benefit agricultural workers by means of loan management for land purchase and project creation; technical assistance guarantees the provision of technological packages; a system that assures the purchase of the entire crop or livestock production at market prices, throughout the cycle of the project; a system that ensures land for the landless agrarian groups; a plan that ensures the compatibility of the project with the country's food security policies; a program that allows the resources that are received to be managed through trusts or other mechanisms that generate transparency and accountability; a legal study of property titles, required for the establishment of projects and land access; and, a business plan, for vacant properties of the nation (UPRA - Minagricultura, s.f.). However, interested communities to be beneficiated by these programs by the central government, argue against the zones that have so-far been implemented, since they are isolated from the most significant urban centres; demand high costs of productive adaptation; have low population density and high poverty rates; they lack the minimum infrastructure for transportation and marketing, which make it difficult for family production favouring large companies that could support larger investments, and finally, they benefit entrepreneurial projects ran by productive companies.

4.4.5. Peasant Reserve Zones (Zonas de Reserva Campesina – ZRC)

As mentioned in 1994, the Law 160[73] established ZRC (Peasant Reserve Zones) as part of the National System for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (MinAgricultura) seeking to distribute land equitably in different regions, some affected by the internal Colombian conflict. The law 160 functions as a promise of change set by the current government, facilitating the return of peasants to the countryside. It has also supported land restitution since the signature of the current Peace Treaty.

73 http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_0160_1994.html

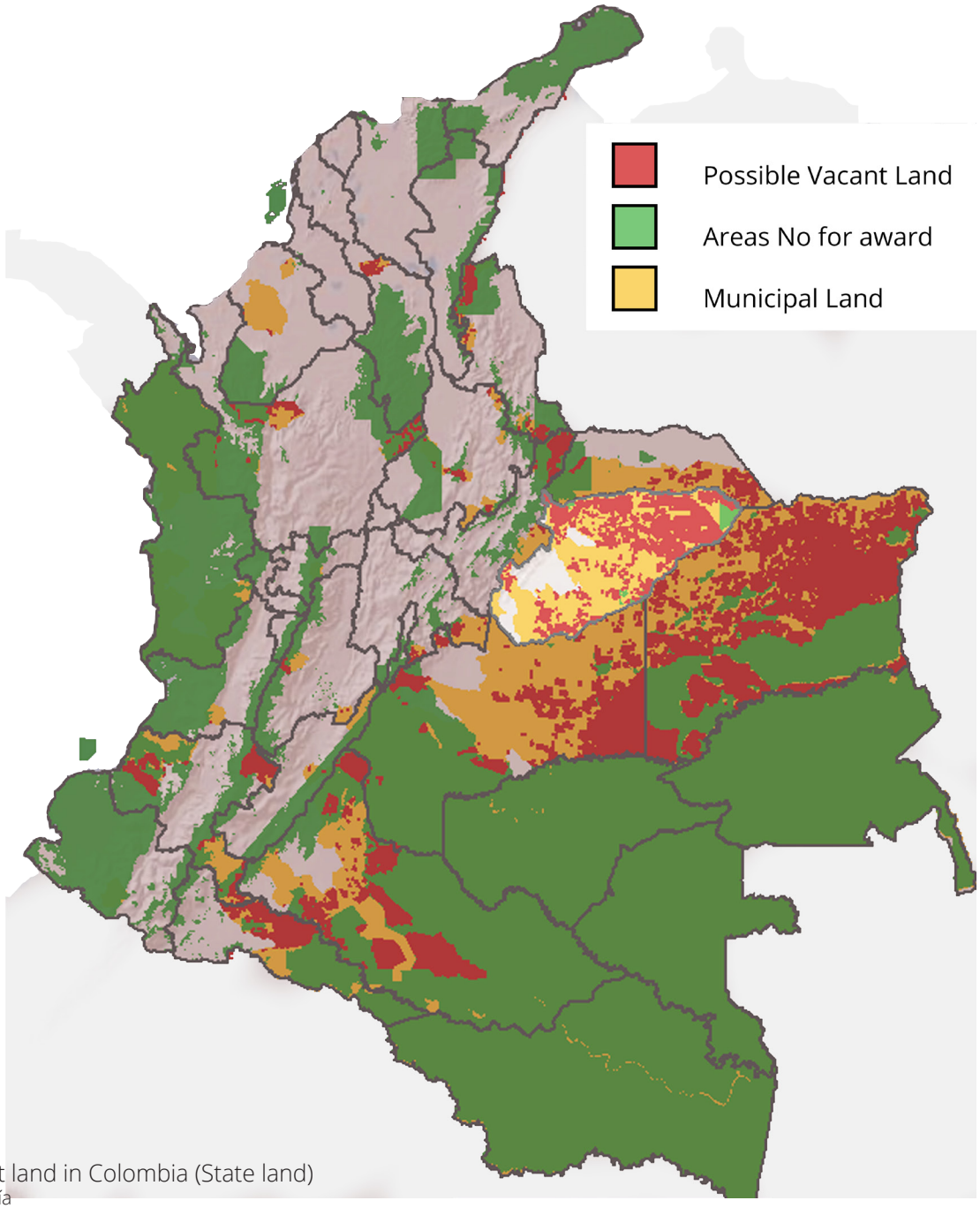

Figure 6. Vacant land in Colombia (State land)
Source: La Silla Vacía

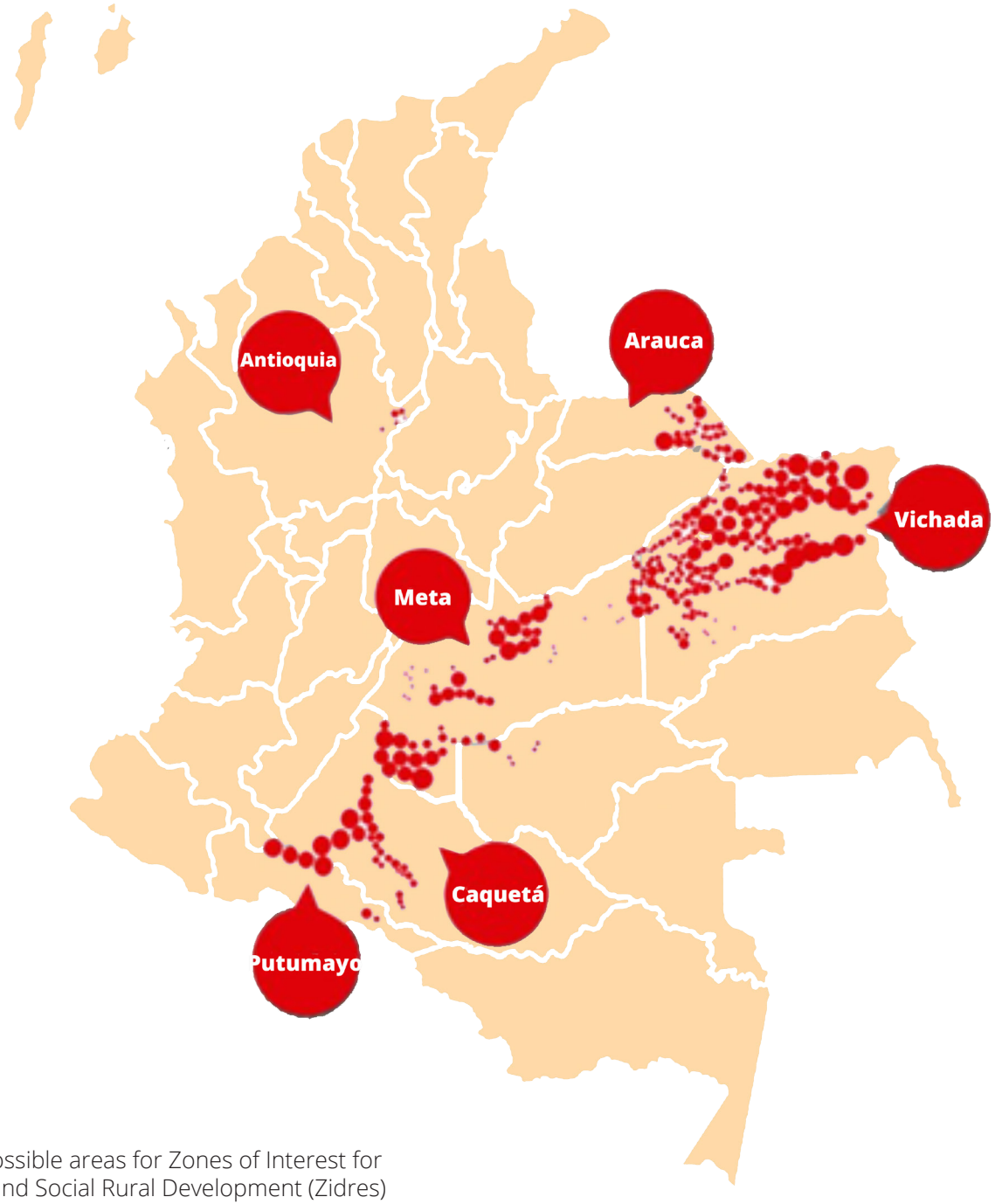

Figure 7. Possible areas for Zones of Interest for Economic and Social Rural Development (Zidres)
Source: Área digital – Caracol Radio (2016)

The main goal of ZRC is to promote and stabilize peasant economy; to overcome the causes of social conflicts that affect farmers, and to create conditions to achieve peace and social justice in the corresponding areas. Approximately 9 million hectares (twice the land cultivated in the country by 2013) were selected for the creation of 59 Peasant Reserve Zones within political, administrative, economic, social, environmental and cultural autonomies and the Justice Administration. Currently there are only 6 established ZRC, covering 831,000 hectares (in 6 departments); there are 7 more in line for approval with a total extension of 1,253,000 hectares. In addition to their allocation in vacant land, ZRCs may also be set up in areas that require land tenure or ownership in buffer zones and in areas within the National Natural Park System in regions where the peasant economy predominates and in others where social conflicts for the reconstruction of social structure and substitution of illicit crops is required, as well as in areas for extinction of land domain from drug cartels. A ZRC can cover a region of one or more municipalities. ZRCs cannot be located in forest reserve areas (ZRF), indigenous territories, collective lands of Afro-American communities, or in land set up by the state as business development zones (ANeIA, 2015). The idea is that groups of peasants live and work in them and that each one owns a piece of land. One of the inconveniences of the ZRC is that state has the power to limit the land extension for each landowner according to the Incoder (Colombian Institute of Rural Development) in order to avoid large landowners. Another is that the zones can become small independent territories governed by illegal groups.

Finally, the state is obliged to provide infrastructure, health, education, sewer, and electricity, among other services[74]. Some of the problems of the reserves that have been implemented are the long distances to urban centres, the insufficient road system, the poor communication and access to distribution markets, and the strong influence of the agroindustry and agribusiness that harms the local food security of small communities.

74 Article 65 of Colombia's Constitution reads specifically: "For this purpose, priority will be given to the integral development of agricultural, livestock, fishing, forestry and agroindustry activities, as well as the construction of physical infrastructure works and land adaptation.
Similarly, the State will promote research and technology transfer for the production of food and raw materials of agricultural origin, with the purpose of increasing productivity".

4.4.6. Family Farming Unit (Unidad Agricola Familiar -UAF)

The Law 160 of 1994 also created the UAF, an instrument for land distribution on State land, which are land extensions assigned to small producers (family work-force), in order to provide income and to enjoy a dignifying life for the lowest income groups in rural areas. The UAF are based on the creation of companies with agrarian livestock, aquaculture and forestry vocation. Designation of state-owned vacant land is done for productive and technological projects that promote regional development as part of the national restitution program, for which access to subsidies and ownership titles is provided. UAF varies its extension according to soil productiveness and geographic characteristics. These variations generate inequitable economic opportunities and hence social conflicts. The dimension of the UAF for a family sustainability has many variables depending on regional characteristics: soil quality, legislative antecedents, biophysical characteristics, social and culture background and productive potentialities. In order for UAF to be carried out with equity, the State promotes cooperative schemes and offers funding and technical assistance to farmers. On the other hand, private entrepreneurs are required to incorporate small producers in their projects. However, UAF prevents peasants to associate with international entrepreneurial companies, which are in search of *squirearchy*. It praises the role of small farmers, since they give vitality to the economy and contribute to food security by producing their own food (Rey, 2013).

UAF is a land ownership opportunity, which peasants advocate for. However, the main problems for land allocation is the formalization of land property due to limited information of available state-owned land or because the fields had been expropriated from illegal groups. Its

implementation is hampered by the lack of governmental programs to guarantee sustainable productivity, technical capacity, favourable credits, market distribution and prices, services and infrastructure, and security[75].

4.4.7. Development Programme with Territorial-based Approach (Programa de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial -PDET)

The Peace Treaty comes with implementation processes linked to a given territory to overcome conflictive issues of land distribution, occupancy, productivity and ownership. The agreements for rural comprehensive reforms, set in 2016, are supported on the basis of three components: land access and efficient use, national development plans and the Development Programs with Territorial-based Approach (Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial – (PDET). To respond to the first point of the peace treaty of rebuilding rural Colombia, the PDETs define planning units in terms of productivity, social structure and environmental systems. They are implemented in prioritized municipalities where the armed conflict has left social, institutional and environmental deterioration. These plans have been established given the urgency to overcome the challenges of poverty, unmet needs derived from the conflict, the weakness of administrative institutions and poor management capacity, together with the presence of illicit crops and other illegitimate economies[76]. These planning units are defined in terms of land uses according to environmental services related to water, soil and biodiversity in relation to the regional main ecological structure as means to guarantee community well-being. PDETs are meant to develop peasant and family economy, forms of production, favouring access to land, productive and social goods and services. They have been established to progressively implement public investments and to strengthen the bonds between urban and rural, as well as to recognize and promote community organizations, including rural women's organizations, so that they become first-line actors in the structural transformation for rural development. PDETs target to integral and sustainable development according to an analysis and comprehension of the territory with the participation of grassroots, in order to add multi-ethnic and multicultural assets, thus contributing to traditional knowledge, community organization, productivity, and the relationship with nature.

However, only 170 of Colombia's 1122 municipalities are defined for PDTE application with very difficult implementation processes given numerous coordination inconsistencies within the National Development Plan, the various levels of LUPs concurring at municipal and departmental categories, and the Action Plan for Regional Transformation (Planes de Acción para la Transformación Regional -PATR). Additionally, development and territorial plans have different valid and operational agendas and government hierarchies which make PDETs hard to coordinate and harmonize with at various territorial instances. Additionally, guidelines and methods for community decision-making, agreement, project and programme definition, assessment, information gathering and accountability are not yet defined.

4.4.8. General System for Royalties (Sistema General de Regalías - SGR)

Colombia's National Political Constitution (1991) determines that every territorial entity manages its resources and establishes the necessary taxes for the fulfilment of its functions. Likewise, departments and municipalities where exploitation of non-renewable natural resources, as well as seaports and fluvial ports where these resources or

75 http://lasillavacia.com/silla-llena/red-rural/historia/uaf-predial-o-uaf-de-adjudicacion-los-desafios-de-las-unidades accessed May 4, 2018

76 https://www.razonpublica.com/index.php/regiones-temas-31/10373-los-programas-de-desarrollo-territorial-qué-son-y-cómo-van-funcionar.html and http://es.presidencia.gov.co/normativa/normativa/DECRETO%20893%20DEL%2028%20DE%20MAYO%20DE%202017.pdf accessed May 4, 2018

products derived from exploitation are transported, are entitled to participate in royalties and compensations.

Colombia's Consitution contains "*an economic consideration of state property that is caused by the exploitation of a non-renewable natural resource*"[77] directing an allotment for 2017-2018, based exclusively on oil production, of EU423Billion[78], a sum that outrageously outbursts any conception of reality and envisions development and wealth. Royalties generate thus political interests and avidity despite law enforcement, decrees and supervisions, as confirmed below:

> *The resources will be distributed in all the departments of the country through the Science, Technology and Innovation Fund - FCTI, Regional Development Fund - FDR and Regional Compensation Fund - FCR. Additionally, savings will be made through the Savings and Stabilization Fund - FAE and the Territorial Pension Savings Fund - Fonpet.*
>
> *All the resources of the SGR (General Royalties System) will finance investment projects submitted by the territorial entities to the Collegiate Organs of Administration and Decision - OCAD, who will be responsible for defining, evaluating, making viable, prioritizing, approving and designating the executing agency.*
>
> *By constitutional mandate, the Monitoring, Control and Evaluation System - SMSCE was created, and will be administered by the DNP (National Planning Department) and will be developed selectively and with emphasis on preventive actions. The supervision of the projects financed with these resources will be in accordance of the provisions of the Anticorruption Statute.*[79]

Accordingly, the General Royalty System (SGR) was created in 2002 to determine the distribution, objectives, purposes, administration, control, efficient use and destination of incomes provided by the exploitation of natural resources, specifying the conditions of participation of its beneficiaries. Hence, the distribution is to benefit public investment for territorial and social balances, responding to Municipal Development Plans. Thus, royalties must be invested primarily on health, education, basic sanitation, water supply, sewerage and roads for local communities and exploitation regions. However, community and control agencies argue that the impact of royalties on municipalities has been very small despite the fact that they have more resources to put into development projects because of high levels of corruption, low grassroots participation, lack of technical planning capacities and futuristic vision, and almost no governmental presence on the territories.

Since 2012, non-extracting municipalities and departments are also benefited by the SGR in order to finance projects that capitalize on returns of scale, responding to the needs of specific regions for the improvement of larger scales. For better distribution balance, the National Planning Department redefines SGR goals as follows (DNP, 2017a):

- Generate savings for times of scarcity;
- Distribute resources to the poorest, generating greater social equity;
- Promote regional development and competitiveness;
- Encourage mining and energy projects for small and medium industries;
- Promote the integration of territorial entities into common projects;
- Promote investment in the social and economic restoration of the territories where exploration and exploitation activities take place.

The law designates the OCADs (Organismos Colegiados de Administración y Decisión – Collegiate Administrative and Decision Bodies) as reciprocal bodies for administration and decision-making to approve, define, evaluate, and prioritize investing project's, allocating funds according to population criteria (poverty, unemployment) to benefit the most vulnerable regions of Colombia. Other goals are targeted to strengthen research and innovation projects at regional and national levels giving greater power of decision to Colciencias (Administrative Department of Sciences, Technology and Innovation), as a member of the OCADs. The law also allows Mayors, as well as Governors and Ministers to be part of the Regional Development Funds and Regional Compensation Funds. However, the new SGR defines that local authorities cannot directly execute resources but must develop projects technically evaluated and approved

77 Colombian Constitution (1991) article 360.
78 https://ceo.uniandes.edu.co/index.php/es/component/content/article?id=105:mas-de-1-500-billones-para-la-orinoquia-en-regalias
79 https://www.sgr.gov.co/Qui%C3%A9nesSomos/SobreelSGR.aspx

by the OCADs according to a central Development Plan, which leads to delay the distribution of the royalties, since the SGR system does not define nor does it guide local authorities on how they should request and implement resources. The evaluation of royalties' investment by García-Márquez, (2013) concludes that this situation has produced the concentration of funds in some municipal head towns, because of their better technical and planning capacities, disadvantaging the poorest rural municipalities. Prior to 2012, 80% of the royalties were distributed among the producing territorial entities. According to the Ministry of Finance, between 1995 and 2009, 32.7 billion COP (106.9 billion USD) direct royalties were allocated to departments such as Meta, Casanare, Arauca and Guajira for health projects, potable water, education, etc. Notwithstanding, these municipalities and departments did not give any indication of significant progress in relation to unsatisfied basic needs and social well-being. On the contrary, cases of corruption and embezzlement of funds were added to other types of irregularities and damage to municipal funds.

With the new SGR, the main impact is the allocation of financial resources to municipalities and departments, which had not received them before. Therefore, oil and mining productive departments that used to have the main share of royalties are forced to suspend their investment projects, especially, for health and education. Additionally, those non-productive departments and municipalities that are expecting the equitable distribution of financial sources depend on central governmental decisions and on allocations by the OCAD. Therefore, the new system of distribution of royalties questions the decentralization of the country, since it is organized and managed by the central government. Priorities are set according to the National Development Plan, offering less functions, representativeness, and authority for departments and municipalities. The alleged reason is to avoid corruption, misappropriation and disinvestment. Yet, there is a long-time span until the funds reach their final destination, involving many. Meanwhile, only some productive regions are financially supporting the rest of the country, suffering the environmental and social consequences that generate the exploitation of natural resources. Additionally, mayors and governors have little or no influence on the Central government decisions and processes, as they are can take only sectorial decisions

4.5. Planning perspectives for comprehensive rural development in Colombia

Recent planning perspectives in the country envision novel measures to ensure development of territories and social enclaves to recover the country from internal armed conflict between the government and guerrilla groups (Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017; García, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). As already mentioned, the recent signing of the Peace Treaty and the post-conflict actions are a turning point on the path towards ending the adversities of the armed conflict. Land dispossession and peasant exodus to urban centres, the growth of *latifundios* (large estates) and the concentration of land tenure and land exploitation are some of the core rural historical problems that have menaced peasantry, indigenous groups and grassroots. Post-conflict endeavours require increased planning principles and strategies, in order to advance in a development model to prioritize human well-being and nature sustainability in rural contexts. Therefore, there is an urge to understand the vulnerable conditions of rural population related to unsustainable productivity and to foster comprehensive relationships between urban and rural in order to help balance the development of territories and social segments in a more harmonized way. Accordingly, regarding environmental sustainability, it is essential to comprehend the dimensions of territorial management for geographical articulation, environmental preservation, biodiversity protection and sustainable productivity. Consequently, these issues require the determination of strategic planning actions focused on land use management and distribution, taking into account the articulation of urban

and rural territories and the diversification in productivity (cattle rising, agriculture, ecotourism, and environmental services). As far as communities are concerned, planning actions should empower and educate communities. They should cover appropriate basic services and provide governmental and institutional functioning to strengthen communities, and guarantee a balanced distribution of economic resources and opportunities (Pachón, Molina, 2014; Hernández, 2016; Leiva, 2017)[80]. In this regard, comprehensive rural development should consider the relationship between three main components: firstly, the human being as the centre of development, advocating for its well-being. Secondly, nature management towards environmental sustainability, protection, preservation and rehabilitation[81]. Lastly, planning strategies to transform the extractive development model into harmonious relationships between nature and man, urban/rural limits or enclaves, and production/sustainability in a specific territory, without forgetting the connection with a larger region.

It has been shown that Colombia is a fragmented and segregated country where several local institutions rely entirely on central government policies due to poor regional governances and lack of public policies for prompt implementation in the regions and territories. The Constitution of 1991 established governmental decentralization under the principles of neoliberal capitalistic policies, under strong centralized governments advocating in writing for municipal autonomy. In this sense, oligarchies and political patronage are key factors for corruption at different levels seen in territories and municipalities. Political and administrative disarrays within municipalities are frequent, so that there is lack of coherence and a disregard of social reality and physical complexities when it comes to the implementation of plans. (Duarte, Cotte, 2014; Reyes, 2016; García, 2017). This fosters disarticulation of human and spatial relationships and endangers environmental systems such as watersheds, forests or specific flat lands. In addition, the duplication of functions between Ministries and decentralized offices, and the lack of operability among departments and municipalities pose great pressure over planning issues to resolve tensions and contradictions between various territorial policies and developmental action levels due to a multiplicity of laws, decrees and bureaucracies (Duarte, Cotte, 2014; Machado (b), 2017). Spatial planning and development plans are to be closely interrelated, but unarticulated decision-making and implementation affect the way territories are administered. Partnership arrangements between politicians and private entrepreneurs, the so-called political-entrepreneur partnerships, are common for decision-making to develop diverse projects with specific private interests (engineering, architectural or social), oftentimes oversized for municipal requirements (Vargas, 2010; Palacios, 2012; Duque, 2012; Duarte, Cotte, 2014; Reyes, 2016). In this sense, huge challenges need to be faced in the articulation of planning tools and measures such as the LOOT and LUP with the various planning strategies provided to manage land so as to consider differences in social, economic, environmental and cultural conditions that characterize rural areas and in accordance with the given by land-use policies (UAF, Zidres, PDET, ZRC). Therefore, in the context of rural reconstruction, planning guidelines on land reorganization seems to be a crucial element for the allocation of unproductive vacant or wasted land. In this sense, this is not a mere matter of access to land and its legalization, but it also implies the determination of means of productivity and development of the land itself and the legitimization of a territory for displaced people (victims of the conflict), local communities, and reinserted rebels, as part of a broader population in need for options and opportunities. Consequently, this process seems to involve a conglomerate of instruments for change in terms of political participation as an inclusive and democratic progression to favour protection and social mobilization.

It is an arduous task to understand why social and economic fragmentation and segregation are part of a complex discourse, when a country elaborates and exemplarily performs its function. This chapter repeatedly shows how Colombia with its current Constitution, its Laws, decrees and offices, and with its international participation and approval

80 http://especiales.presidencia.gov.co/Documents/20170620-dejacion-armas/acuerdos/acuerdo-final-ingles.pdf accessed June 20, 2017.

81 This issue is especially enforced by the Colombian Ministry of Environment. Their surveillance oftentimes exceeds normative or practical implementation processes.

of its policies and efforts is considered such a prominent country, but still internally there is so much turmoil and commotion. It seems that all the political and juridical requirements are met; yet, internal affairs are characterized by political disagreements. The breaking point comes after many intends, after many years of striving for the end of the internal Colombian conflict between the government and the guerrillas, between the government and the drug cartels and guerrillas (Reyes, 2016; García, 2017) to start a new peaceful era. As already mentioned, the Post-conflict aims to ensure changes in rurality, for which rural policies have been established to initially amend and implement the reparation of victims with land recovery and tenancy and with rural development. Over the last 7 years, the current government in Office has worked intensively to solve regional and territorial delay and abandonment; yet as per various authors such as Palacios (2011; 2012) Reyes (2016) and the compilation of García (2017), social and economic gaps continue to prevail in various regions and territories. As pointed out by re-known academics, effective legislations for bottom-up resolutions, operational programs and strategic investments encourage territorial partnerships as prevailing mechanisms. A series of implementation problems need to be solved in relation to limited and inequitable technical capacities and economic and administrative resources, due to biased political and social interests.

5. Planning limitations and contradictions in the Casanare region

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... placing economic activity in the context of the whole earth requires attention to the question of scale. Bigger is obviously not better, so the optimum scale of human economy in relation to the total economy becomes basically a question of sustainability. When the effects of the economy on the environment undercut the possibility of its own continuance, the scale is too large.

*John B. Cobb**

*Christian faith and the degradation of creation in ***Simpler Living, Compassionate Life: A Christian Perspective*** by Henri Nouwen, Richard Foster, Cecile Andrews

Casanare, traditional cattle rising

5.1. An overview of Colombia's Orinoquia

Under the current circumstances in Colombia, peace agreements and post-conflict programmes are bound to be set up. There is the tendency towards a more comprehensive development in terms of social production, territorial re-distribution and local development, management and governance (Leiva, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). The country counts with sufficient laws and decrees to administer sectorial policies launched by the Central Government, but there are concrete deficiencies in terms of regional, and local policy making (Vargas, 2010; Reyes, 2016; García (a), 2017; Sánchez, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). Governance arrangements are specifically based on funding, royalties and cash transfers and aim at planning strategies and actions basically intended to improve and expand public infrastructure (roads, public services, schools, housing, and in some sectors commerce and industry) to improve social well-being (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas 2010; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; García (a), 2017; Sánchez, 2017). Thus, deficient central governmental competencies and the lack of information on local factors and necessities obstruct the transfer of systems according to local conditions. Thus, the provision of public goods and services, especially to rural population is dissatisfactory. In part, this poor implementation of public policies is due to overlapping state responsibilities (Ahmed and García-Escribano, 2010) and to complexities of administrative decentralization (Falleti, 2010).

The Colombian Orinoquia bordering with Venezuela and Brazil (Figure 8 and 9) is composed by flatlands and tropical humid forests. The departments of Meta, Casanare, Arauca and Vichada define this territory, each having its own characteristics, cultures and trends. This rural region (Figure 10) has been affected by uncontrolled spatial reconfigurations due to the dynamics of the internal conflict and problems deriving from it, such as social struggles and migration, as well as the influence of transnational production processes including extensive coca crops creating wealth and land abandonment. On the other hand, this territory is protagonist of accelerated economic growth due to governmental support endowing policies for intensive extraction of natural resources and common

Figure 8. Orinoco River Basin
Source: Elaboration on data from Rafael de León y Alberto J. Rodríguez Díaz in "El Orinoco aprovechado y recorrido", 1976.

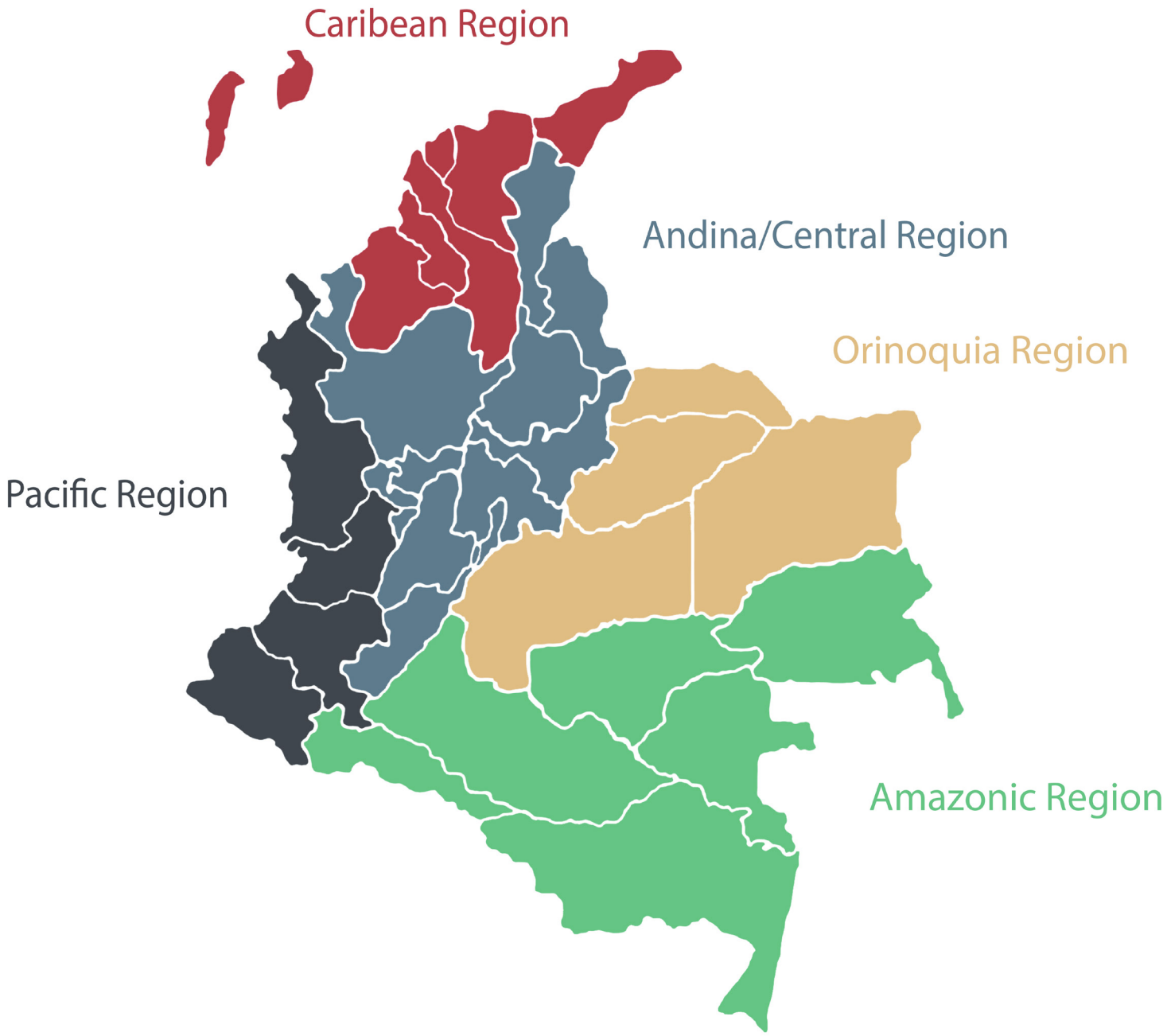

Figure 9. Regions of Colombia
Source: http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-VhW8MDty2TM/UIMPAzS5wHI/AAAAAAAAECs/3T5XrcqNwN4/s1600/MAPA+DE+COLOMBIA+3.jpg

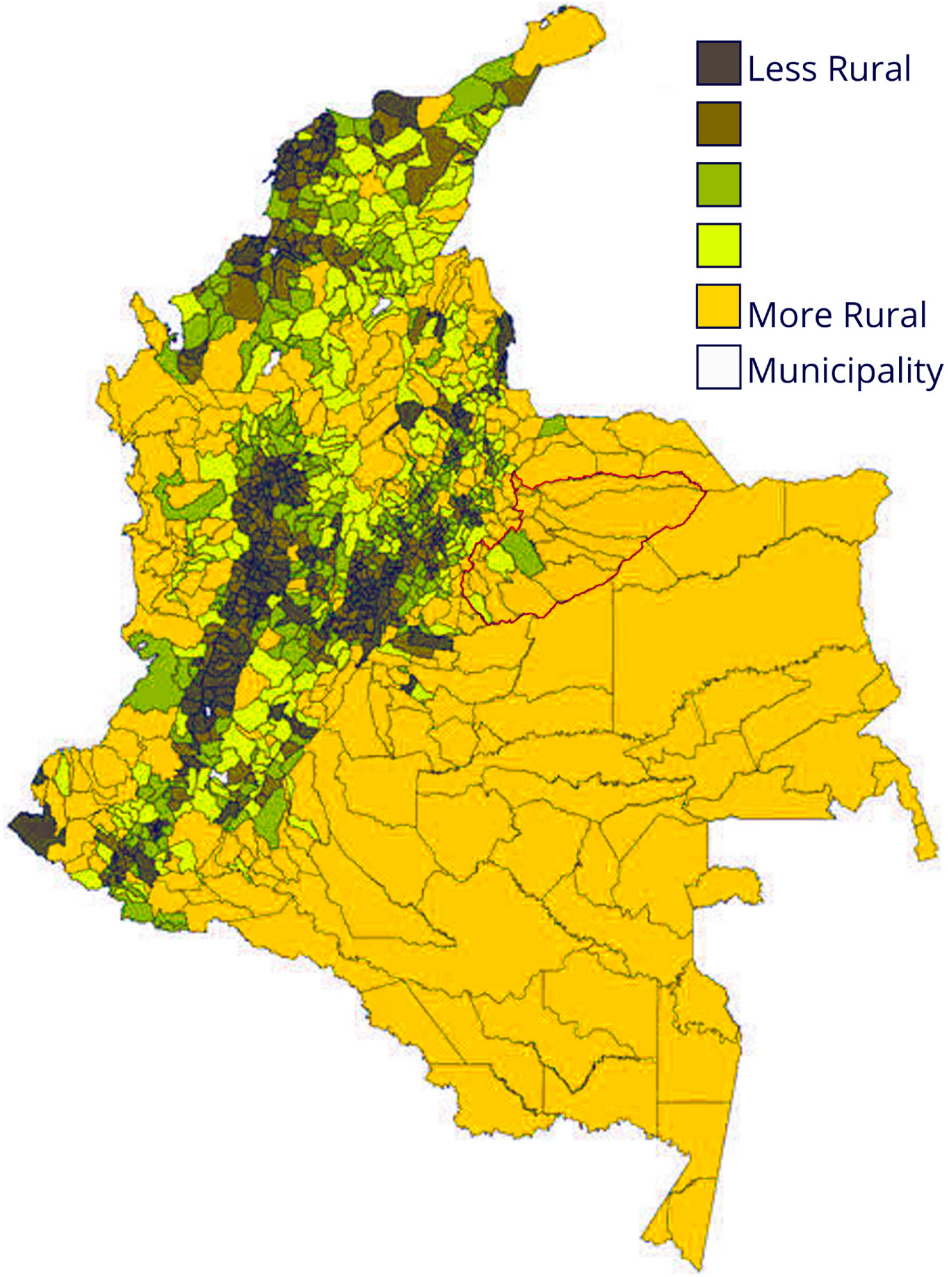

Figure 10. Casanare in the rural Colombia
Source: Magnet, 2016 https://magnet.xataka.com/en-diez-minutos/la-brecha-entre-la-colombia-rural-y-urbana-explicada-a-traves-de-9-graficos

goods (see figure 5, p. 100). This approach incentivizes investment of private entrepreneurs who find in the vastness of humid forests not only great possibilities for productivity and competitiveness, as already mentioned, but also the perfect place to hide coca-leave crops and drug laboratories in fields newly owned by drug cartels (Vargas, 2010; Leiva, 2017).

The vast land of the Orinoquia is either used for illegal actions both of the guerrilla in illegitimate property alteration and of drug cartels leveraging illegal developments within the territory, or as part of alternative agriculture and extensive land exploitation (Sánchez, 2017). These contradictions and pressures make peasants migrate to urban centres to work in legal and illegal enterprises, oftentimes at a large scale. At the same time, other territories have been colonized by displaced communities who also end up using parcels for crops destroying primary forests and marshlands (Sánchez, 2017). These uncontrolled spatial reconfigurations (García, 2017; Sánchez, 2017) can be used to reorient rural development towards sustainable productivity, preservation, conservation and rehabilitation of natural enclaves, and they are potential resources for ethnical and ecological developments and consequently protect tangible and intangible cultures and, foremost, rural areas (Carrizosa, 2012; Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Vargas, 2016).

For the past twenty years, this geo-political region has become the place where large productive projects are undertaken with governmental consent for broad multinational companies to appropriate great extensions of land for oil drilling, agroindustrial and cattle rising purposes, rice and oil palm production, and, more recently, for industrial forestry and rubber plantations (DNP, 2016). Still, this massive production generates over-specialization of the primary sector based on raw materials, energy and agricultural resources, not allowing much room for traditional and small-scale production and service activities (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Pointing out again the importance of the eastern flat lands of Colombia, they contain great energetic and mining potential adding over 40% of the productive lands of the country to revenue. From 1,801,525 hectares for hydrocarbons production in Colombia, 608,865 hectares are located in the Orinoco Basin, which represented 66.5% of the national production at the end of the XX Century. Nevertheless, in spite of the royalties and investments allocated to the region, inequality and social segregation and segmentation result in governmental abandonment and lack of clear governance due to high levels of corruption at regional and territorial levels (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas, 2010; Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014; Reyes, 2016; Lozano, 2017; García, 2017; García (b), 2017; Sánchez, 2017). Evidently, the key issue is that proper management of resources and appropriate governances would help enhance and develop not only the Orinoquia but also Colombia's overall prosperity, as per President Santos' motto during his first presidency 2010-2014[82], which is also part of the vision of a *new rurality* for the post-conflict process.

Furthermore, a fundamental problem is the equilibrium between petroleum exploitation, rice and oil palm plantations and the protection of ecosystems (Carrizosa, 2012; Baptiste, 2017). Extensive productive projects bring massive deforestation, substitution of native flora, disappearance of biodiversity, in addition to the displacement of small family farmers that are forced to sell farmland to large private producers-investors (Vargas, 2010; Sánchez, 2017). Besides, agroindustry and cattle farms dry-out wetlands and/or require forests to be cut down to gain land (Lasso, & al., 2011; Carrizosa, 2012; Castro, 2014; Baptiste, 2017). The Colombian Institute of Hydrology, Meteorology and Environmental Studies (IDEAM) alerted that deforestation between 2010 and 2012 doubled compared to the previous two decades, reaching the destruction of 1,332 hectares per year (Castro, 2014). Consequently, the agricultural frontier expansion, characteristic not only of the Amazon and the Andes foothills but also of the Orinoquia where the most promising economic productive activities in the country are located, including ecotourism and wild ecosystems conservancy. According to the magazine

82 http://www.sipi.siteal.iipe.unesco.org/politicas/257/plan-nacional-de-desarrollo-prosperidad-para-todos

Semana[83] until the late 1990s, the country ranked fourth in the world in terms of the amount of fresh water available per inhabitant. However, due to population growth and the degradation of its ecosystems the country has been relegated to the 24th position. It is estimated that 60% of the hydric resources, rivers, streams, and wetlands of the region have been reduced and contaminated because of the extensive extractive license allocations and due to the lack of environmental control from the National Authority for Environmental Licensing (Autoridad de Licencias Ambientales -ANLA) (Lasso, & al., 2001; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014).

Rephrasing Fournier y Goueset (1999), this rural peripheral enclave, pondered for capitalistic development is an undeveloped land, and because of its resources, it has been abruptly and unintentionally introduced into a global market. This development is set, primarily, over a regional strip along the piedmont and comprises rapid growth of cities such as Villavicencio (Meta) and Yopal (Casanare), which in turn serve as a springboard for agroindustrial settlements and oil extraction. The rest of the vast region of about 230,000 Km^2 covers plains and undulated lands dedicated to diverse types of plantations. Other areas are marshlands that are considered vital ecosystems (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Villegas, 2011; DNP, 2016). The intensive/extensive exploitation of natural resources has changed the socio-politic, economic and cultural relationships given the dynamic of territorial disputes, land concentration and dispossession, including forced eviction of the native population, which endangers intangible heritage (Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Vargas, 2016). The systematic pressure on land possession and use by multinational companies on one side and on the other, of possible non-demobilized guerrilla associated with drug trafficking still causes population displacement (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Land property concentration in the Orinoquia is focused on its uses, control, planning and management and also on its tenancy and exploitation. It constitutes a decisive factor for the future development of the region and its role in the national economic, social and cultural outcomes (DNP, 2016). Its privileged geographical, productive and natural conditions are part of transnational infrastructure projects to define mega-projects of hydroelectric power and river transportation. Other projects concern biodiversity, forest, and water corridors (ecosystems) joined to the Amazon and to the extended Orinoquia region, connecting Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). It becomes clear that long-term strategic visions are fundamental for territorial definition, considering different and holistic scales, thus ecological, social, economic, cultural and political issues are too guarantee growth and well-being as an overall policy as part of a larger landscape (Vargas, 2016; Zasada & al, 2017; Schröder, et al., 2017).

5.2. Specificities of Casanare

The department of Casanare has an extension of 44,460 km^2, which corresponds to 3.91% of Colombia's surface and 17.55% part of the Orinoquia region. It has 19 municipalities: Yopal (its capital), Aguazul, Villanueva, Paz de Ariporo, Monterrey, Sabanalarga, Chámeza, Recetor, Tauramena, Maní, Orocué, Trinidad, San Luis de Palenque, Pore, Tamara, Nunchía, Hato Corozal, Sácama and la Salina (Figure 11). It contains 684 rural sub-divisions and numerous small spread-out settlements that are sometimes difficult to reach. Casanare limits to the West with the Andes mountain chain reaching an altitude of 3,800 m.a.s.l.[84] with an average temperature of 6º C all year round. The foothills are situated between 300 to 1,000 m.a.s.l. The vast flat lands range between 100 and 300 m.a.s.l., and their average temperature is 24 to 27ºC.

There are two seasons of heavy rain (3,500 to 4,500

83 Although Colombia is very rich in freshwater sources, its distribution is very uneven, which means that 21 million Colombians live in areas where there are supply difficulties; 53% of the population has no aqueduct and 82% do not have sewage (Semana, 2014).

84 m.a.s.l. means Meters above sea level.

annual mm) (April-October and November-March) and two dry months (November and March) (Departamento Administrativo de Casanare, 2013). Hydrographically rich, with numerous rivers, streams, marshes, and wetlands, it comprises 2.6% of land for agriculture; 62% for cattle rising, 18% for industrial forestry, and 17.3% is dedicated to other uses (water bodies, and industrial sites), whilst only 0.11% is considered urban (Figure 12) (Gobernación de Casanare, 2015) with an estimated population of 356,479 inhabitants for 2015. The most populated municipality is Yopal with an urban population of 124,497 and a rural population of 15,289 (39% of Casanare total population), which constitute an average of 55.19 inhab/km^2.

Casanare is characterized by prevalent conditions of rural life-styles. It faces a set of issues: such as socio-economic conflicts, emergent human settlements, informal housing agglomeration, poverty, scarce education and health services amidst deep problems concerning guerrilla, drug cartels and civil displacements (Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; Balive, 2012; Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Baptiste, 2017). Since the 1970s the focus of attraction for foreign exploitation practises has changed ancestral economic dynamics of cattle rising and agriculture, introducing new models of labour structures, land usage and ownership besides population dynamics (Devia, 2011). Oil and gas industry prevails as the first income of the department's economy. It generates almost all foreign market exchange followed by rice, livestock and palm oil. Plantain, coffee, yucca (a tuber), pineapple, citrus fruits, rubber, sugarcane, cacao and industrial forestry are smaller industrialized harvests, which have a direct impact over environmental degradation, since there is neither balanced agroindustrial production nor effective protection of natural reserves. Additionally, farmers give little attention to product diversification or other agricultural activities and they receive few financial incentives to do so. Other challenges are limited market distribution, lack of planning, and the absence of mechanisms to promote adequate agricultural growth in harmony with nature preservation. In addition, road systems in rural areas are generally inadequate and badly maintained (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Only 28.3% of the department (1,276,510 hectares) is considered protected strategic ecosystems in areas such as wetlands, swamps, marshes, lakes, rivers, national parks, protected forest reserves, and land for conservation and renovation. Because the national government has not anticipated the role of preservation, protection and rehabilitation of its ecosystems, the civil society has been empowered through environmentalists, academic and scientific groups, who have taken on the task of creating private natural reserves (Figure 13). These declared reserves protect 334,333 hectares corresponding to 7% of the department. There are 15 civil society reserves, from which 6 have been included in the National Parks System of Colombia and the remaining 9 are protected by private groups such as Resnatur[85] (Colciencias, Gobernación de Casanare, & Observatorio Colombiano de Ciencia y Tecnología, 2012) (Figure 14).

Up to the decade of 1980s, the extensive livestock farming was the main economic activity, for which the appropriation of large estates was fundamental. This activity represents a reduction of 90% of land apt for agriculture (Cortés, 2012; FINAGRO, 2013; Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Policy gaps and lack of clear programmatic alignments to promote productive and sustainable growth at territorial levels impair potential synergies for collective work, association, entrepreneurship, micro-enterprise and solidarity economy as possible integration mechanisms (Vargas, 2010; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013). Yet, social, environmental, political and economic dynamics in Casanare evolve independently without definite or clearly envisioned territorial and regional outcomes (Lukomski, et al., 2013; Machado (c), 2017). Additionally, aims for integral rural progress are difficult to be determined as part of the richness and preservation of its biodiversity (Lasso, & al., 2011). As previously noted, livestock farming has been Casanare's tradition; yet the oil boom which began in the 1980's made it one of the main recipients of migrants seeking better wages and opportunities (Figure 15). Despite this, growth alone falls short in solving basic needs for communities, in sectors such as education, health, public services, housing, productive infrastructure, among others.

Based on these general facts, further multidimensional

85 Asociación Red Colombiana de Reservas Naturales de la Sociedad Civil (National Civil Society Network of Colombian Natural Reserves) https://www.resnatur.org.co

Figure 11. Municipalities of Casanare
Source: https://alejandranieto.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/hidrografico.gif

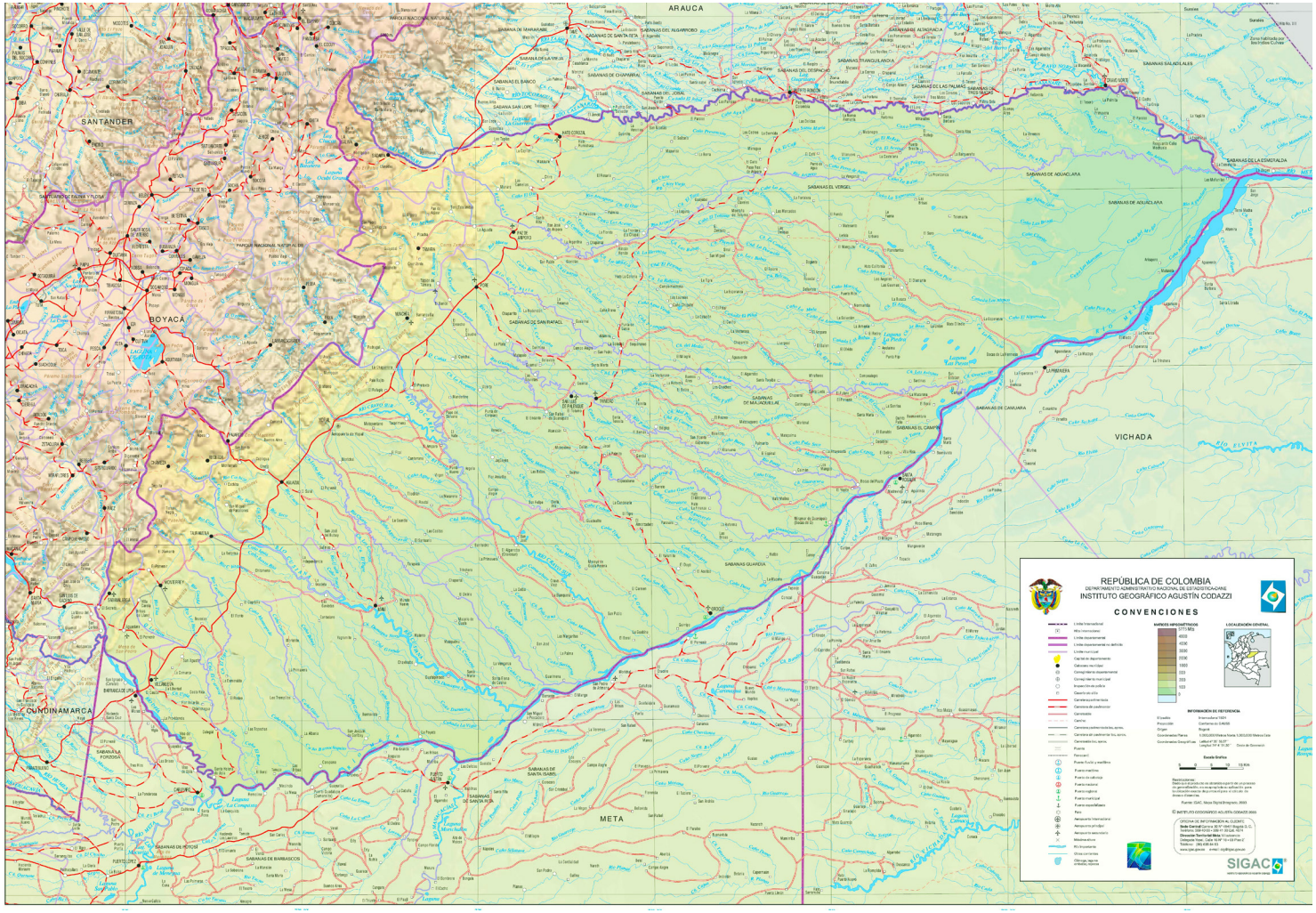

Figure 12. Geographic characteristics of Casanare
Source: Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi - IGAC

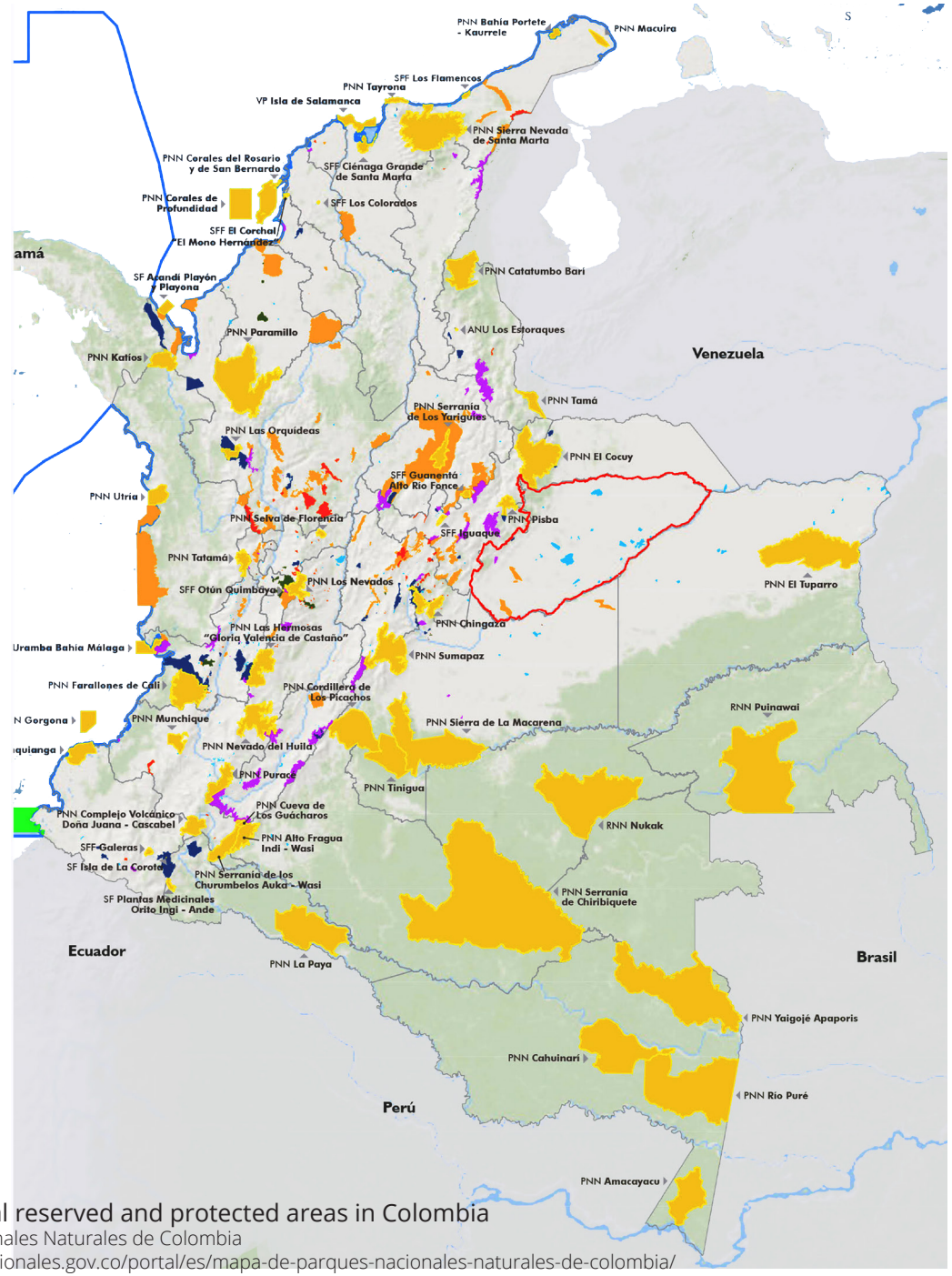

Figure 13. National reserved and protected areas in Colombia
Source: Parques Nacionales Naturales de Colombia
http://www.parquesnacionales.gov.co/portal/es/mapa-de-parques-nacionales-naturales-de-colombia/

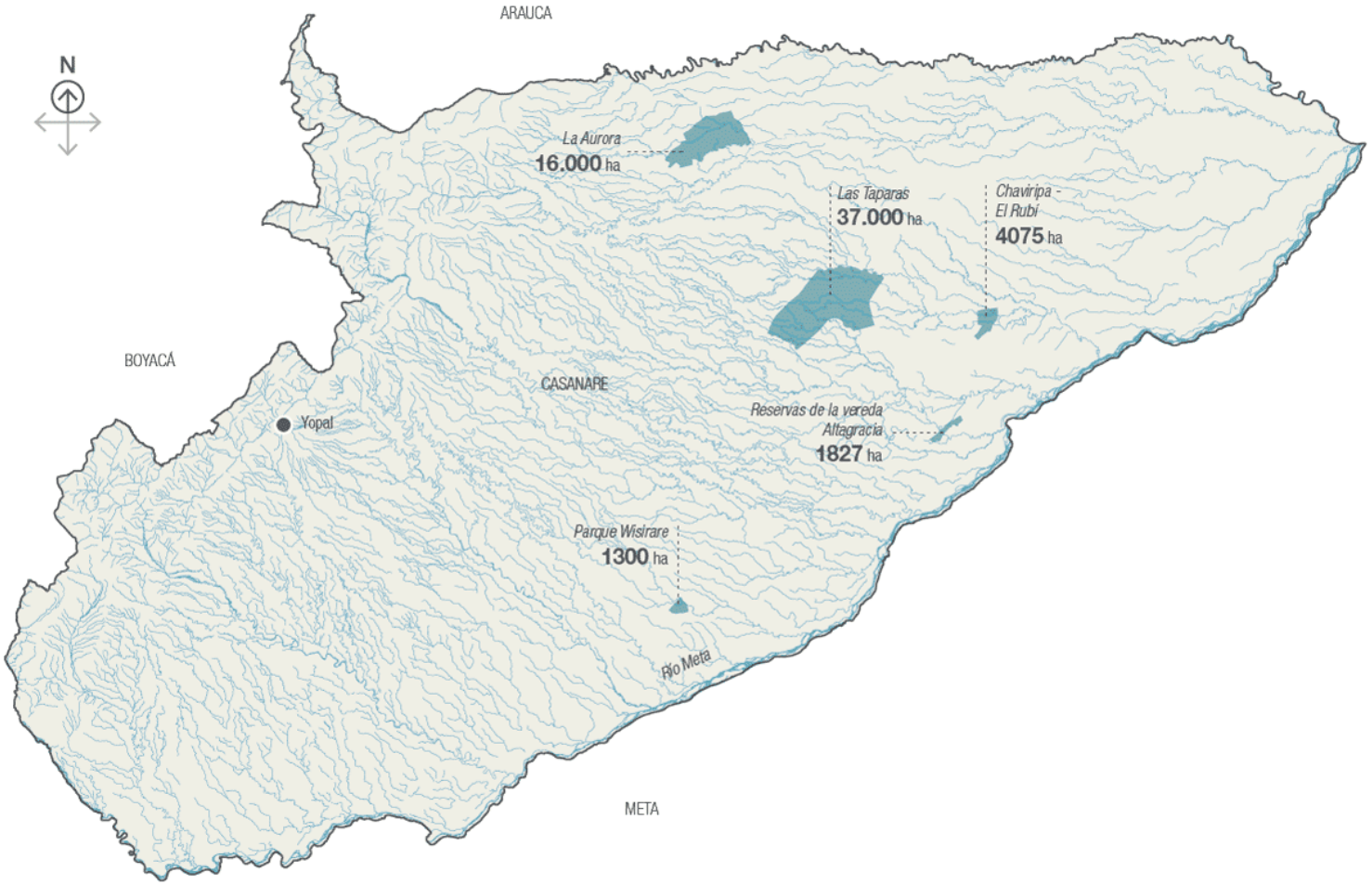

Figure 14. Civil society protected parks in Casanare
Source: Instituto Alexander von Humboldt
http://reporte.humboldt.org.co/biodiversidad/2015/cap3/304.html#seccion3

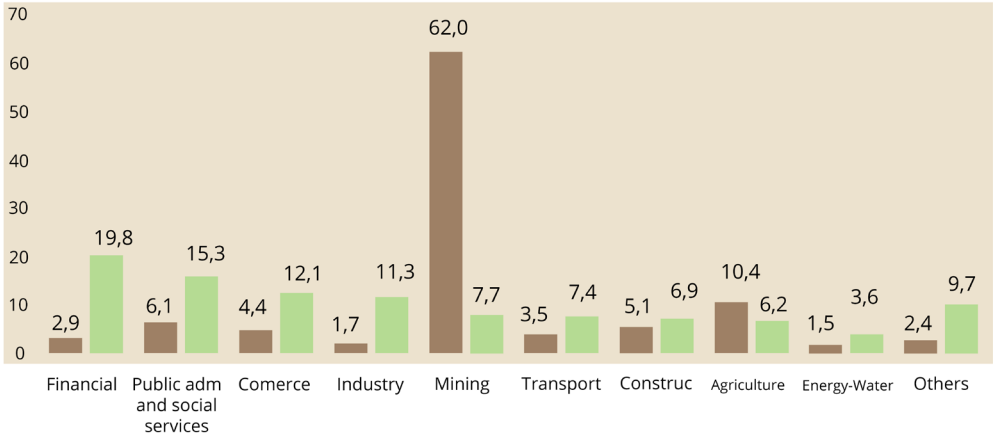

Figure 15. Casanare economic activities
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

analyses of the region's characteristics, territories and places are decisive for the valuation of life quality of local communities (Sen, 2009). Environmental sustainability and the effectiveness of planning policies are to consolidate basic services and opportunities in harmony with nature (preservation and productivity) (Salóm, 2010; Schröder, et al., 2017; Zasada, et al., 2017). Therefore, the case study of Casanare considers as a starting point the contradictory socio-environmental and physic situations regarding asymmetric economic and demographic growth (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Cortés, 2004; Sánchez, 2017). Secondly, it addresses the limitations and challenges of planning policies and strategies, governmental capacities, and community participation. Finally, helps compare distinctive municipal scales as well as urban or rural cores to assess planning policies at local enclaves to fulfil particular community demands and needs, opportunities and benefits (Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013).

5.3. Socio-environmental and physical features: asymmetric economic and demographic growth

5.3.1. Social conflicts and inadequate living conditions

Oil extraction and agroindustry has brought uneven financial, political, social and ecological processes that altogether have fostered a divided territory, both urban and rural (Devia, 2010; Palacios, 2011; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; García-Márquez, 2013; Chaves, Montenegro, & Zambrano, 2014; Reyes, 2016). This has given rise to an emergent working class, mainly composed by young men who started working in operational tasks and are constantly moving within the territory, from one town to

another, according to short-term labour opportunities. Consequently, the rural population has decreased, which affects the farming population. This in turn has had a direct impact on family structure and agricultural labour force (Dureau & Flórez, 2000).

Migration has increased population density in the municipalities near extraction sites along the piedmont[86], where also urban areas have sprawled (Figure 16). An example of the rapid population growth is Yopal, counting 39% of Casanare total population[87]. It has grown between 1951 and 2003 from 3,222 to 86,860 people. High rates of demographic progression have resulted in deteriorated living conditions and an increase of poverty, triggering Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN) indexes (Dureau & Flórez, 2000). According to the DNP, in 2012 the estimated index of UBN for Casanare was 35.55%, from which 26.2% was in the head towns, with 13.62% of the population living in extreme poverty conditions; in rural areas, UBN was 57.3%, with an extreme poverty of 28.8% (Figure 17) (Gobernación de Casanare, 2015). Apparently, the Multidimensional Poverty Index -MPI[88] of Casanare improved from 61% in 2012 to 19.5% in 2015, and a slight increase in economic inequality or concentration of wealth, measured through the Gini index changed from 0.46 to 0.49 (below Colombia's average of 0.53). However, data estimated since the last census 1985–2005[89], does not offer accurate indicators related to poverty and human development. It is important to point out that basic services are below national standards. While the national electricity network covers 98% of the head towns and 77% of the rural areas, Casanare counts only with electricity network within the central and southern region with 100% coverage, including the capital Yopal. Nationally, drinking water supply is 94% in head towns and 47% in rural areas. Casanare's critical scenario delivers 18% of drinking water in rural areas, whilst 27% of its total population does not have access to it (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Sewer services are very poor. Its coverage is only in municipal head towns, and rural areas are not connected to any type of sewage system. A series of scandals of governors and mayors have been related to corruption in the construction of aqueducts and sewage systems.

The above-mentioned turns into more dramatic figures when considering that out of 103,315 households, 34,335 are in quantitative and qualitative deficit. 11,183 households represent quantitative deficit with housing solutions that do not meet the minimum requirements for structural safety and sanity. 9,149 households are concentrated in urban areas and 2,034 households in rural zones. Regarding the qualitative deficit, 23,152 housing units are of pitiable quality. Out of these, 12,471 are in the rural areas and 10,681 in the municipal head towns. Consequently, urban areas have a deficit in housing solutions; while in the rural areas 54% of the population has a deficit that corresponds to poor quality dwellings (Gobernación de Casanare, 2015). Regarding education, illiteracy levels of the population has decreased from 5.1% in 2005 to 3.4% in 2011, corresponding to 6.1% to urban and 15.8% to rural areas. The low scholar levels are higher among women and adolescents than among men. Women often become head of households because of sexual exploitation. Other reasons are the need to work given the poor conditions of the families and violent death of men.

86 DNP, 2015: Territorial characterization sheets (Fichas de Caracterización Territorial).

87 By 2015 Yopal's 74.15% of population was urban (264,314 inhab) and 25.9% rural (92,165 inhab), followed by Villanueva with an urban population of 20,509 and 3,350 rural; Aguazul with an urban population of 29,160 and 9,370 rural. These are the most populated head towns as well as the closer ones to oil extraction sites.

88 MPI analyses five basic conditions: education, childhood and youth, health, work, housing and basic services. National Planning Department – DNP, based on the Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative (OPHI).

89 Unfortunately, Casanare does not have updated statistics; therefore, population data is projected by the DANE (National Administrative Department of Statistics) based on the last census of 2005 up to 2020. https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/demografia-y-poblacion/proyecciones-de-poblacion

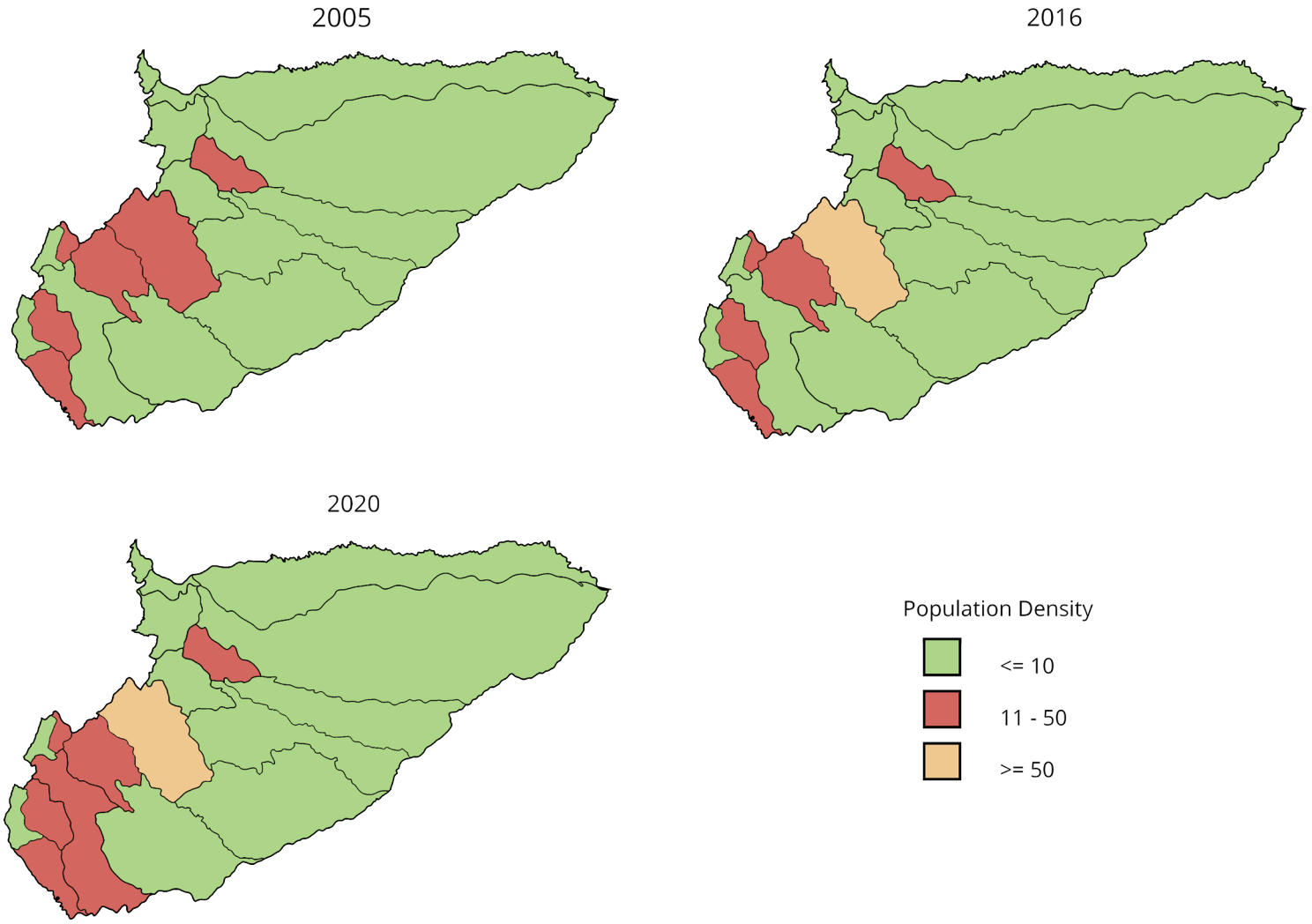

Figure 16. Population density in Casanare
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

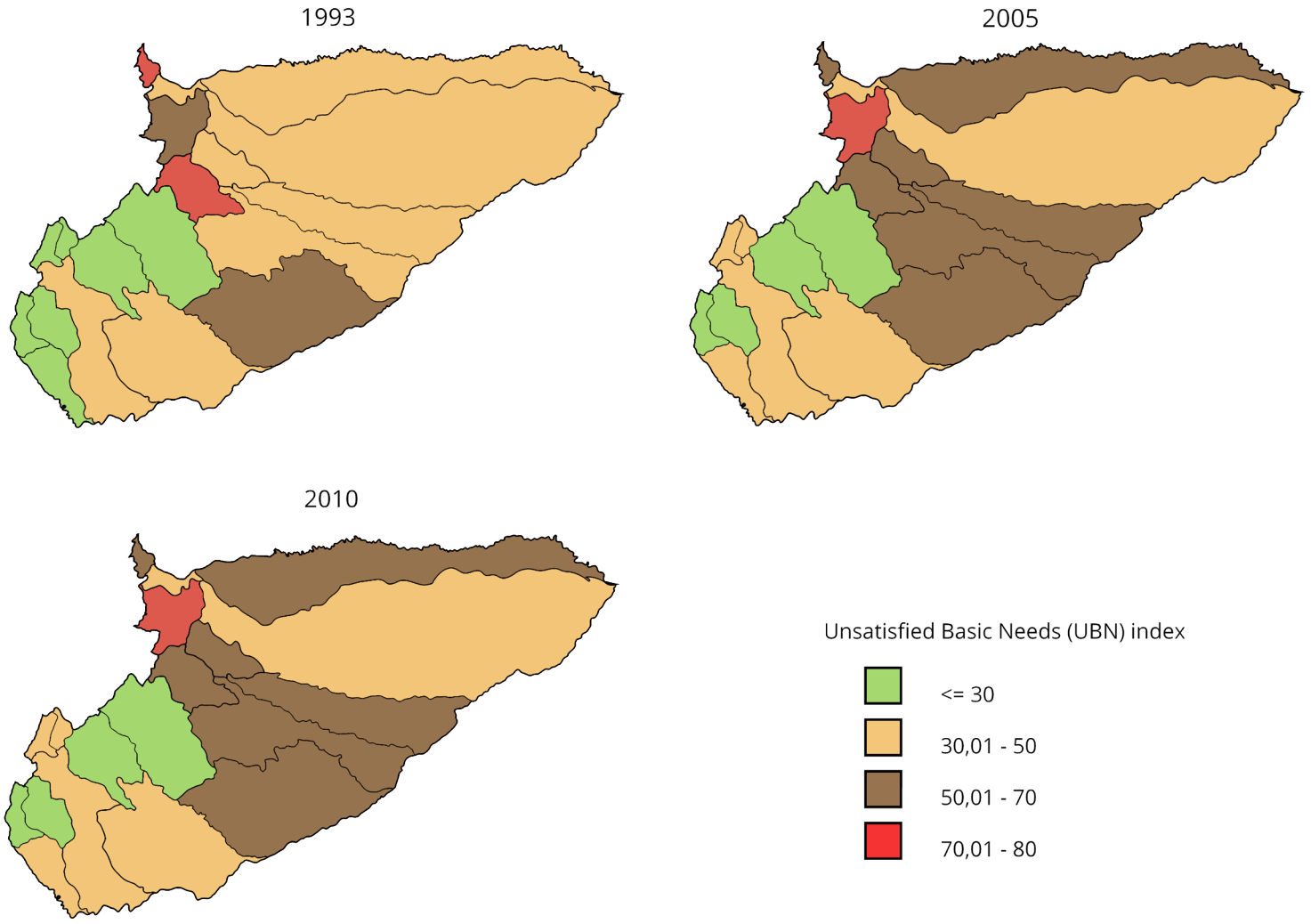

Figure 17. Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN) index
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

Rural housing

Public space in Orocué

Urban housing

Rural farm housing

5.3.2. Productivity and nature risks

Colombia became an important source of natural non-renewable resources such as petroleum, salt, coal, and gas. It has also become the fourth largest producer of oil palm in the world and the largest in Latin America. Specifically, Casanare's internationalization via widespread oil production sites, multinational biofuel companies and agroindustry has brought foreign funds supposed to be invested with the involvement of central government policies (royalties) and inter-ministerial initiatives. Besides, local mega-infrastructure subcontractors support the construction of dams, pipelines, etc. for their own service (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas, 2010; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Casanare's GDP factor comes also from cattle rising with 1,891,034 bovine heads for meat and milk production, and it is the main source of employment for unskilled workers (Gobernación de Casanare, 2015). Although it is one of the main economic and employment sources in the region, livestock does not contribute as expected to the incomes of the department because of the costs of recessive infrastructure (slaughter houses, roads). There is an urgent need for water supply from deep wells, health control, genetic improvement of native bovine species, and the construction of modernized slaughterhouses, a fairground and a specialized market[90]. Contradictory to the economic growth, it is estimated that 60% of the hydric resources, rivers, streams, and wetlands of Casanare have been reduced and contaminated because of the extensive extractive license allocations and due to lack of environmental control from the Autoridad de Licencias Ambientales -ANLA (National Authority for Environmental Licensing) (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014).

5.3.2.1. Agroindustry

Biologist Liliana Dávalos states that "Colombia's wilds are becoming a giant plantation so we can have cheap soap; [...] the flat plains of Colombia – natural grasslands interspersed with forests – have giant rivers that may be a kilometre wide, yet still have no name [...} This is a part of the world at the interface with the Amazonian forest, and it has been transformed by mechanized farming. Each farm is hundreds of thousands of hectares, or sometimes millions, and they are being turned into plantations of oil palm [...]"[91].

Biofuel expansion significantly boosts as a result of the government's tax exemptions and funding of productive projects to replace illicit crops. According to the magazine *Portafolio* (2014), African palm creates 6% of agricultural GDP and generates 110,000 direct and indirect jobs. Also, Agro-fuel became a governmental programme favouring land market dynamics and allowing flexibility to exploit natural and indigenous reserve. State wastelands have been allocated so as to attract international investments related to Free Trade Agreements as part of international cooperation for agricultural industrialization and alternatives for coca leaf substitution (Vargas, 2010). Large private companies like the sugar cane industry Manuelita and GPC Group, as well as the State oil company Ecopetrol have so far received benefits from governmental initiatives for extensive monocrops in the so-called "Orinoquia's Revival" (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Consequently, at the beginning of 2010, transnational companies specialized in agro-fuel, possessed 150,000 hectares in the region. By that time, 4 million hectares were used across Colombia for this type of crops. It is projected that 10 million hectares could be used for African palm, which can make Colombia a biodiesel leader country compared to Brazil in the South American context.

The largest planting area of oil palm in Colombia is located in Casanare. By 2012 the municipalities of Orocué, Maní, Villanueva y Turamena had over 4,000-planted hectares.

90 Recently, cattle imported from Venezuela have infected Colombia's livestock, thus generating a difficult sanitary situation.

91 https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg22730330-100-cocaine-is-bad-for-colombias-forests-but-big-farming-is-worse/

Between 2008 and 2013, Casanare was the sixth largest producer in the country with 15,000 cultivated hectares reaching 30,000 hectares in the municipalities of Maní and Orocué. Over the last 4 years Maní accounts up to 400.000 new planted hectares (Figure 18 and 19). According to Fedepalma[92], so far, the experience is such that small and medium companies of palm farmers have successfully made alliances to sell the fruit to larger ones, indicating that last year's oil palm production in Colombia reached 1,041,000 tons, meaning an average growth rate of 6.5% for the last five years, with an additional 11% increase (Vargas, 2010; Fedepalma, 2017; Portafolio, 2014). Fedepalma argues that unlike in Malaysia, Colombia palm groves are environmentally respectful with forests, allowing oil palm to be most efficient concerning land use. The federation also sustains that African palm is highly inclusive and sustainable. Agribusiness includes small and medium investors generating well-being and quality employment (Fedepalma, n.d). Additionally to African palm, biofuel production includes plantations of sugar cane. Since 2011, 233,905 hectares have been dedicated to the production of ethanol (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014).

Although agro-fuels are a profitable business, deforestation to dedicate land-use for African palm groves does more damage than the coca industry. Satellite images of the Colombian eastern plains between 2002 and 2007 show that the environmental damage caused by the mechanization of agriculture and the massive cultivation of African palm destroyed 35,121 square kilometres of forest, which is equivalent to two and a half times the island of Jamaica (McGregor, 2015). According to the World Rainforest Movement, these plantations modify the structure and composition of soils and the abundance of fauna and flora species in the primary forests (Carrizosa, 2012; Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Incidentally, interviewed plantation workers in San Luis de Palenque and in Orocué, as part of site visits for this research, explained that when palm plantations are well managed, as well as coffee, citrus and sugarcane, there is high favourable biodiversity. To demonstrate this, environmental authorities have productive companies conduct scientific studies to demonstrate low impacts on nature in order to renew exploitation licences. Water treatment, biodiversity inventories, soil quality, and the use of agrochemicals are monitored. However, such research results are not controlled by neutral third parties. Debates with communities and media claim these studies on this issue do not take place. Pro-plantation scholars monitor impacts within the limits of plantations, without considering the impact of agricultural activities on the region and on social organization. Studies do not include social indicators regarding housing and basic services to explore whether living conditions of workers or peasants living nearby have been degraded. Local communities and environmentalists argue that the large extensions of mono-crops interrupt ecosystems, dry-out the land, contaminate water sources and spoil land quality. Endangered food security at local scales for communities is another consequence of the change of land-use and property generated by these extensive mono-crops. Locals condemn palm monoculture because it is oblivious to their traditions consisting on subsistence farming based on rice, fruits, and tubers.

In addition, local actors, peasants, indigenous people, environmentalists, journalists, and government authorities centre the debate on accelerated labour growth, which impacts urban expansion, creating scattered unplanned settlements close to the plantations. According to testimonies of local workers of plantations in Maní, 3 workers (1 direct employee and 2 indirect transitory workers) are needed to harvest 10 hectares of oil palm, so that, an average-size plantation of 4,000 hectares brings to the site 400 workers, some of them with their families who settle in temporal or informal enclaves. Additionally, government authorities claim that the economic profits coming from palm and sugar productive industries are not subject to royalties. Therefore, earnings are for private entrepreneurs, who are only obliged to taxation, which sometimes are not paid because of exemptions or evasion. Therefore, municipal budgets are insufficient to overcome new population needs. Subsidies, tax exemptions, credits with low interest rates can be explained by the so called

92 The National Federation of Oil Palm Growers (La Federación Nacional de Cultivadores de Palma de Aceite -Fedepalma) supports palm growers defending their interests and supporting them for the competitiveness of agroindustry.

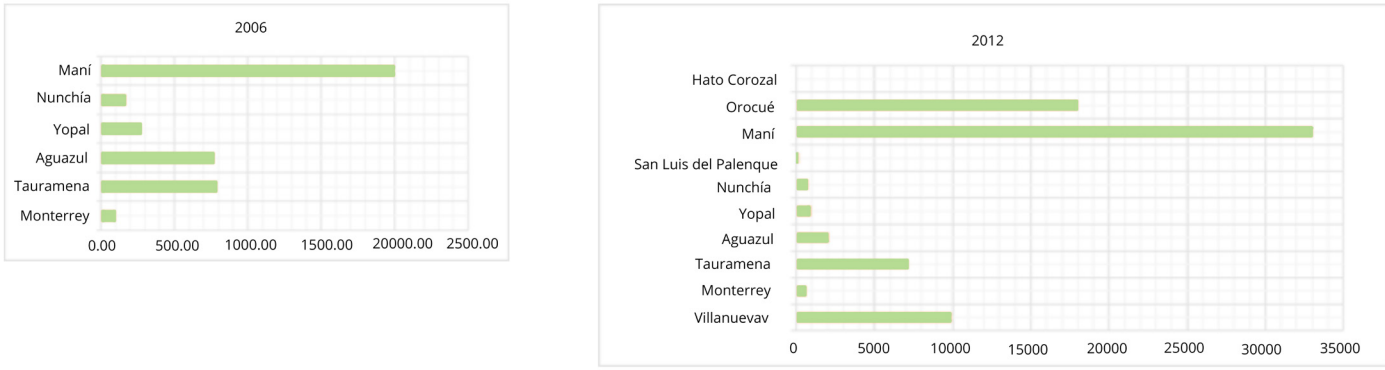

Figure 18. African palm plantation growth in Casanare(hectares), 2006-2012
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

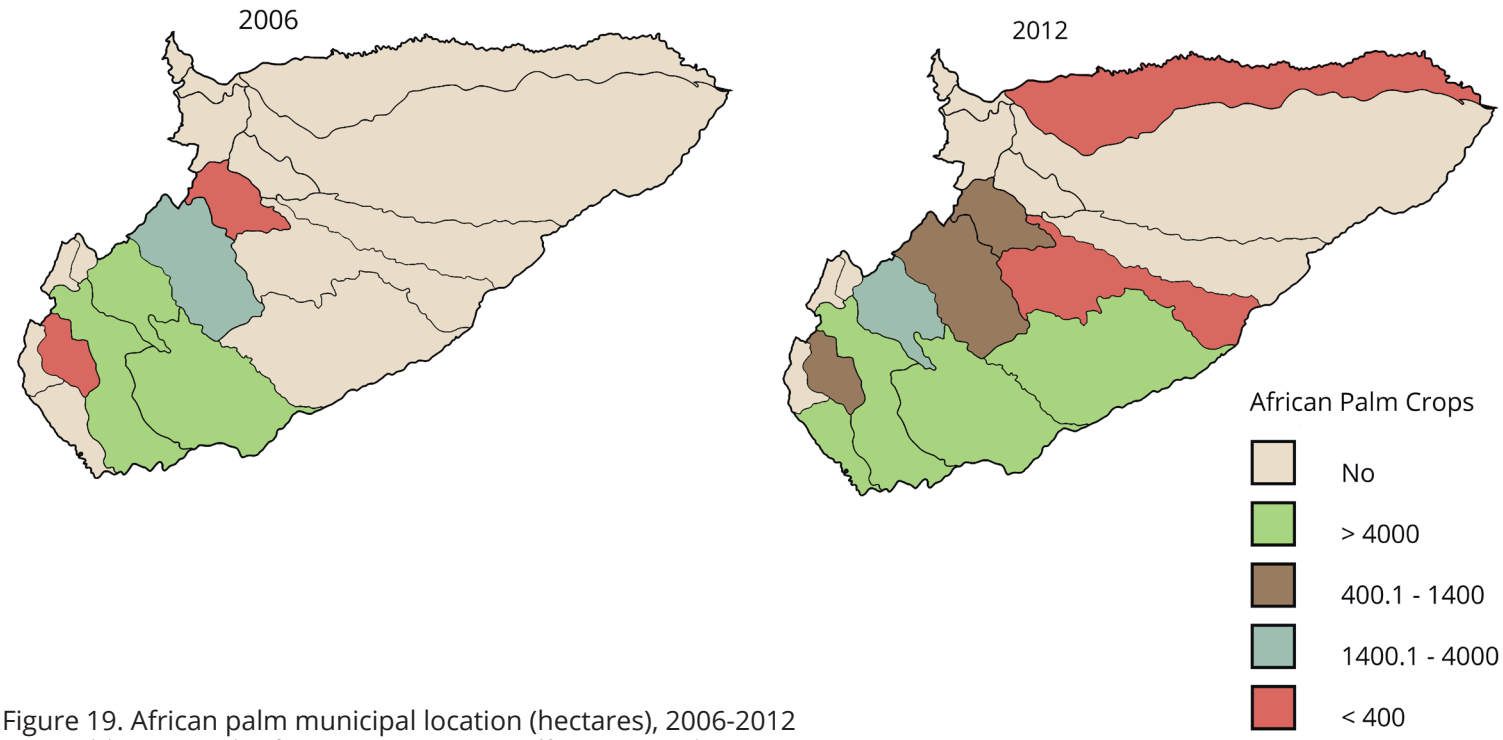

Figure 19. African palm municipal location (hectares), 2006-2012
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

Workers' transitionary housing

Collection and transportation

Water drainage system

Harvest process

"incentive for rural capitalization"[93] as part of Orinoquia's Revival programme, which benefits private agroindustrial projects counting on specific state resources. With 2.7% of its total area of Casanare's total area equivalent to 196,349 hectares dedicated to agricultural activities, Casanare ranks the second largest producer of rice in the country. Its floodplains are one of the largest wetland systems in Colombia, being transformed into extensive paddy fields of which one part is irrigated and others are rain-fed. Part of this prosperity was set in 2015 as a State program known as *Colombia Siembra* (Colombia Sows), in contradiction to the governments' program *Colombia Sostenible* (Sustainable Colombia) and to the Ministry of Environment initiatives luring large investors to extractive modalities that have damaged forests, wetlands and biodiversity by now dried-out and destroyed[94] (Baptiste, 2017).

5.3.2.2. Oil industry

Since the 1990's, National Development Plans are funded on the oil industry. Thus, exploration and exploitation areas have notably increased, especially over the last decade. Local, regional and national economic dependence on extraction of raw materials or commodities with no added value such as oil have significantly augmented. The central government encourages exploitation by public and private partnerships and by trans-national corporations such as B.P. (now Equión), Hocol, AlangeEnergy, Exxon Mobile, Meta Petroleum and Cepcolsa, among some (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Most of the extraction areas (polygons) are located along Casanare's piedmont favoured by better connectivity to towns and intermediate cities and to the country's road and pipeline networks (Figure 20). With the proliferation of extractive wells, colonization dynamics have also extended in the piedmont increasing population growth and public services requirements, as rural life styles in the region have abruptly changed (Vargas & Leon 2016). The cited authors claim that between the years 2006 to 2010 (corresponding to the second term in office of president Alvaro Uribe Velez) more than 350 environmental licenses were issued. This figure decreases during Juan Manuel Santos' presidency to 150 licenses, which relates to 60% of Casanare's potential oil exploitation areas. These facts evidence a disarticulated vision and implementation between environmental contracts and local spatial planning for integral development goals due to the influence of sectorial interests that only envisage the country's short-term economic vision, basically tied to presidential four-year mandates.

Arguments against the large amount of exploitation licences issued in Casanare were also raised by declarations expressed during academic workshops where the community as well as environmental activists and human rights NGOs participated. Questions arose on the role environmental agencies have over territorial approaches on productivity, conservation, and sustainable development, since policies have been centred on environmental management that benefits private entrepreneurial projects against the overall communal interests and affecting the surrounding landscapes. Direct negative effects go beyond the delimitation of areas, withholding management plans for palliative treatments related to specific problems of environmental contamination or damages that might occur. Participants of the academic debates claimed that policies have only tried to seize conflicts on ecological distribution without exploring the complexity of social relations between local, national and international actors, making them ineffective instruments and without an integral dimensioning on the affected environment. Therefore, local communities and NGOs argue that conflicts are mainly derived from institutional failing, weak governance of local and regional authorities and the lack of integration concerning environmental and sectorial policies with municipal land-use plans and development, in addition to high levels of political interests and corruption. In short problems of planning, land use control and side effects of economic exploitation of natural resources hinder development and impact negatively on human well-being

93 The Incentive to Rural Capitalization - ICR - is an economic benefit given to a person individually, or through an associative scheme or integration of farmers who are small or medium producers. The investment aims at modernization, competitiveness and sustainability of agricultural production.

94 https://www.elespectador.com/noticias/medio-ambiente/arroceros-y-ambientalistas-se-reuniran-para-evaluar-impacto-de-este-cultivo-articulo-689928 April 19, 2017

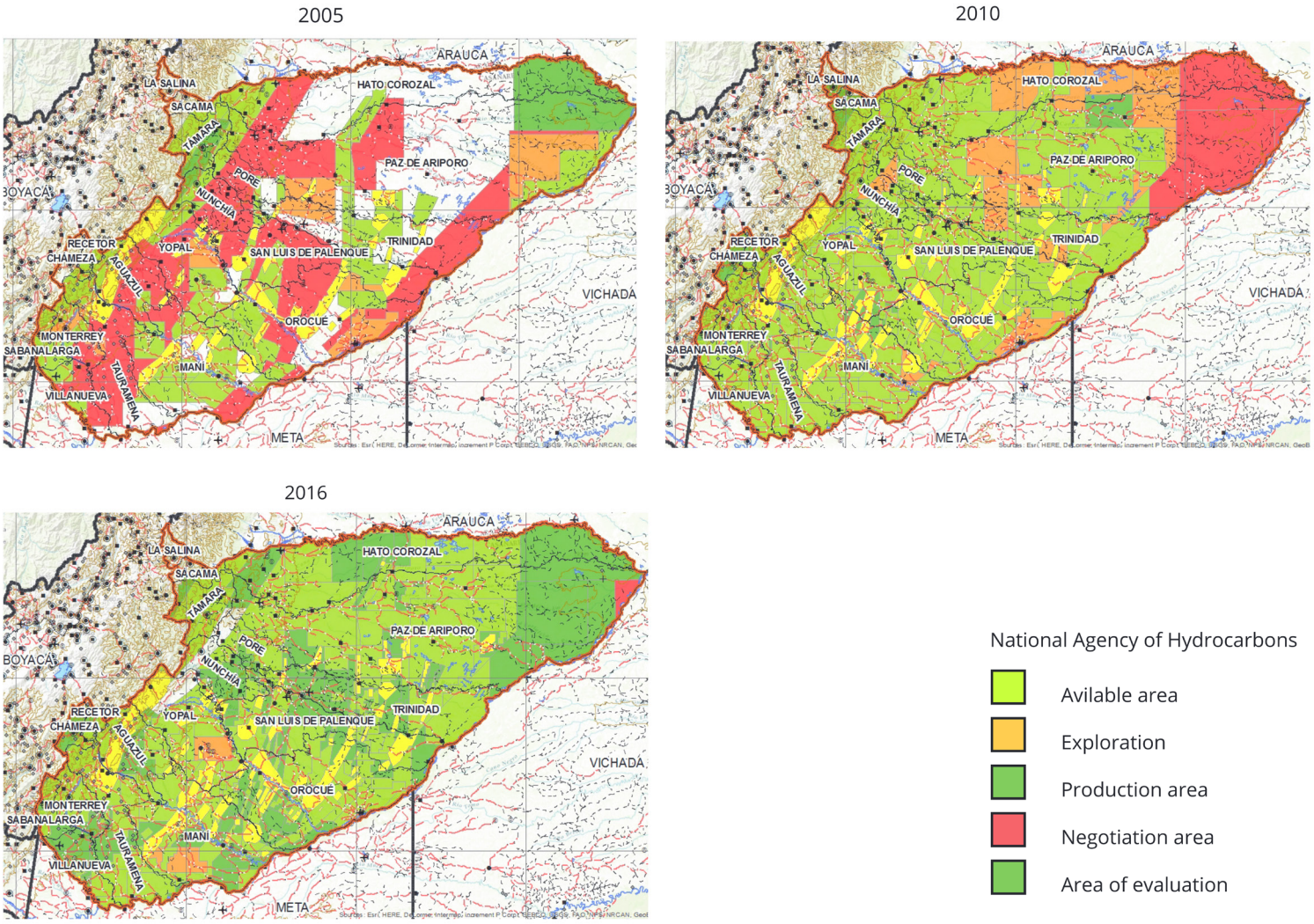

Figure 20. National Agency of Hydrocarbons, oil industry licencing growth in Casanare, 2005-2016
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

and environmental conservation (Carrizosa, 2012; Vargas, 2016; Hernández, 2017).

Social actors discussed control on exploitation of oil and gas by private, governmental and political interests and multinational powers over a territory that belongs to current and ancestral communities. The inclusion of indigenous reserves[95] in the oil extraction polygons (Figure 21) causes great impact on traditional culture and living conditions, since the indigenous groups have no access to the jungle and forests that have always been their source for nourishment, medicines, and spirituality (Rivera, 1935; Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Lasso, & al., 2001; Carrizosa, 2012; Vargas, 2016). The continuous demands of indigenous groups that have called the attention of humanitarian organizations like the United Nations Human Rights have not had any effects on governmental authorities, who prioritize economic profits from land exploitation.

The extraction projects and management have generated conflictive labour conditions and dynamics. Human rights related to wages, labour stability, and compliance on payment of food and transportation subsidies have been violated. (Gobernación de Casanare, 2015). Additionally, actions have been taken against peasant groups and union workers, resulting in forced eviction and disappearances of local civic leaders and labourers (Sánchez, 2017). More recently, oil price reduction has caused unemployment and less investment within the region (Reyes, 2016; Leiva, 2017; García (b), 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

Furthermore, seismic[96] exploration brings to the region other impacting effects: installation of platforms, wells, ponds, pipelines. This results in depletion of water sources, air contamination because of gas combustion, oil spill pollution, which altogether affect ecosystems and nature. It is evident that Colombia depends on Casanare's oil production, so that the country's main interest is on exploitation rather than favouring sustainable projects or diversification processes including manufacturing, agriculture, tourism, industry, etc. Recently, the state petroleum enterprise Ecopetrol encouraged fracking[97], since this technique allows to multiply national hydrocarbon reserves, thus increasing the level of royalties and letting additional income tax collection strengthening the fiscal situation. The company's economic justification for fracking is that it would allow Colombia to find between 5 and 8 billion barrels in new reserves. This figure would mean extending self-sufficiency for a period of between 25 to 40 years. Ecopetrol argues that fracking technology has significantly evolved to minimize environmental damages and has become more efficient (Dinero, 2017). However, environmental sectors debate that fracking involves high impacts on nature, risks on water sources, high water expenditure, and increased seismicity. According to the Government Accountability Office (GAO), the amount of water used in a well varies according to the geology of the reservoir, but in non-conventional processes, it is usually between 19 and 46 million liters per well (an Olympic pool has approximately 2.5 million). Since 2015, there are 13 contracts for exploration using fracking technology in Colombia (Semana, 2016)

95 Based on Casanare's population census, 1.46% corresponds to indigenous groups. There were 960 indigenous families with 4,632 inhabitants in year 2010, and 704 families with 4,942 members of 11 ethnicities in year 2012. Approximately 5.536 indigenous people live in 159,510 hectares in 10 reserves. These ethnic tribes are Kuiba (2.204 inhab), Sikuani (444 inhab), Mjasivware (416 inhab), Amorua (178 inhab), Tsirapu (163 inhab) and Salivas, the largest indigenous group of the region (1.668).

96 "Seismic exploration is the search for subsurface deposits of crude oil, natural gas and minerals by the recording, processing, and interpretation of artificially induced shock waves in the earth. Seismic waves reflect and refract off subsurface rock formations and travel back to acoustic receivers called geophones. The travel times (measured in milliseconds) of the returned seismic energy, integrated with existing borehole well information, aid geoscientists in estimating the structure (folding and faulting) and stratigraphy (rock type, depositional environment, and fluid content) of subsurface formations, and determine the location of prospective drilling targets" accessed June 30,2018 https://bnkpetroleum.com/operations/technical-description/seismic-exploration

97 Fracking was developed with the objective of extracting hydrocarbons that have been trapped in rocky formations with low porosities and permeability, which make it practically impossible to extract resources by conventional means. The procedure involves breaking or drilling the rock for releasing the hydrocarbons to bring them to the surface. https://energyeducation.ca/encyclopedia/Hydraulic_fracturing accessed June 30, 2018.

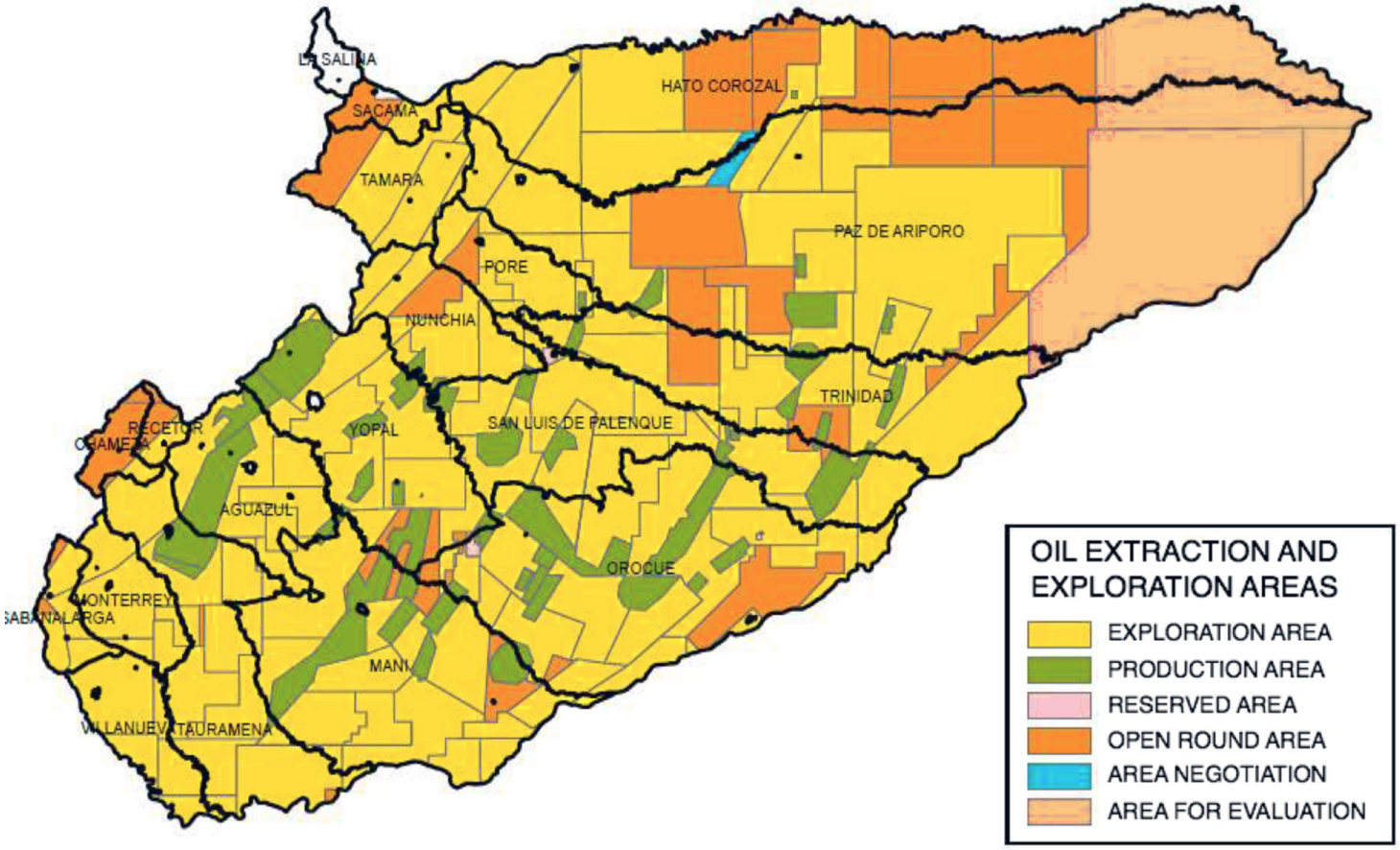

Figure 21. Oil extraction and exploration areas in Casanare (polygons), 2010
Source: Sistema Integral de Información, Gobernación del Casanare

Oil extraction site, Orocué

Oil polution, Orocué

Landscape alteration by the oil industry, Yopal

Infrastructure impacts from oil transportation, Yopal

5.3.3. Global and community awareness on oil exploitation conflicts

As far as environmental problems are concerned, Colombia ranks first place in the continent and second place in the world. The Global Atlas of Environmental Justice, funded by the European Union, registers 1,000 significant conflicts, of which the country has 72. Only India, with 102, surpasses it[98]. Mining is the main source of nature destruction. In fact, the country's economic growth has been at the expense of the destruction of part of the immense natural wealth that Colombia has (Semana, 2014). From the beginning of the Twenty-first century, 63% of the environmental conflicts were created by the increase of handing-out mining titles. These went from 2,000 to 8,000 entitlements used at exploitation sites regardless natural reserve parks, wetlands, and moorlands. 94% of these entitlements lack environmental approvals. Ecological conflicts are also closely related to the country's internal war, since illegal mining and crops have been financial sources for guerrillas and paramilitary groups (Vargas, 2010; PNUD, 2011; Reyes, 2016; García (a), 2017). Casanare, despite its great importance in land conservation, is one of the least safeguarded departments by the National System of Protected Areas. 19% of its territory is being relentlessly transformed.

Lastly, the on-going social distress has pushed community and farmers to joining in organized social groups and becoming vigorous actors in making visible the negative effects of megaprojects such as oil extraction, construction of large infrastructure projects, agroindustrial emplacements as well as of violent operations within the region due to coca-leaf extraction. The risks for local and regional food safety as means for these groups to maintain their sovereignty is evident. Additionally, indigenous groups have assumed active roles denouncing the violation of international agreements that protect their collective and individual rights. They have demanded human guarantees at work and in political matters and also the protection of the indigenous reserves from oil exploitation and agroindustrial-licensed properties. These organized groups together with urban community councils have been promoters of forums, blockages, strikes, and juridical complaints. These criticisms show the need for territorial understanding at local level, focusing on concrete differences, since some enclaves are more favourable for massive productivity whilst others may cause more impacts on social well-being and nature sustainability (Vargas 2010; Leiva, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017; García (a), 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

5.4. Development plans and spatial planning in Casanare

5.4.1. Land-use Plans and planning instruments

Colombia's decentralization process envisions municipalities to operate under laws and decrees to manage and plan their territories. Different hierarchical regulations like the Departmental Development Plans (DDP), Municipal Development Plans (MDP), Land-use Plans (LUP) and specific sectorial policies[99] define land management based on funding for specific projects according to planning strategies and goals at distinctive territorial levels (Vargas, 2010; León, 2011). Accordingly, Casanare's planning decisions are taken at three different governmental levels.

The highest level pertains to central legislature rules, based on the national interest for housing, city and territory development; on budget and finance; environment; commerce, industry and tourism; education; health and social protection; environment and sustainable

98 Other countries that have major environmental degradation are Brazil and Nigeria with 58 conflicts; Ecuador, 48; Turkey, 45; Spain, 35 and the United States, 34 (Semana, 2014).

99 It includes housing, education, basic services, sanitation, commerce, industry, defence, planning, budget participation, and environment, among other sectors.

development; culture; transportation; justice and defence in accordance to the National Development Plan defined by the President's Office and the National Department of Planning –DNP.

At the regional level, Casanare's Governor, the planning office and the Departmental Council define the DDP (Departmental Development Plans), which has to be approved together with the environmental authority, i.e. Corporinoquia and the Departmental Assembly. The department and its Planning Council have the task to coordinate Casanare's 19 municipalities with very limited autonomy, budget, and usually, very poor technical knowledge or governance awareness and having instable and corrupt governors in power. Political will is not accountable (Duque, 2015; Pretelt, 2013; De la Torre, 2017; García (b), 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

At the local level, the Mayor, in accordance with the planning office, gives approvals within the Municipal Council planning frameworks and its regulatory decrees. According to the prevalence of the national sectorial guidelines, municipalities have three instruments to operationalize their future development processes: the governmental program, MDP and LUP. These must not only be consistent with each other, but according to the National Planning System they must respond to principles of complementarity, subsidiarity, associative cooperation and competence between territorial levels. However, this planning system contains too many conditions. It becomes unmanageable and presents many administrative hurdles in all fronts.

Moreover, LUPs in Casanare, as in most parts of Colombia, are established on urban expansion and zoning classification within municipal administrative limits. Additionally, land-use for rural areas is submitted to national sectorial regulations that permit mining exploitation, since the subsoil is state owned. For this reason, private landowners are subject to economic compensations in order to get access to oil exploration and exploitation. Given the limed municipal government actions to manage the territory at regional scales, the LOOT (Organic Law for Territorial Planning) opens a new legal and administrative possibility to assemble and integrate planning strategies. Consequently, Mayors and planning offices opt to join efforts with neighbouring municipalities to define shared projects and to apply jointly to the Royalty General System for higher allocation of funds. Yet, the results of municipal associations (Contract Plans) have not had a positive effect for the people's well-being nor for the environmental sustainability of the territory. The lack of technical capacities, corruption and short-term government visions have resulted in isolated, unfinished, useless and obsolete projects, most of them very costly and inadequately efficient. Although, the LOOT acts at regional scale to favour articulated and comprehensive large-scale projects, the law limits its implementation to a governmental structure, which is focused on decision-making bodies for fiscal and royalties' allocation. Therefore, its narrow perspective and limited territorial management actions are subject to the prevalence of sectorial priorities which are not in dialogue with contextual realities of social, physical and environmental resources and needs.

5.4.2. Planning instruments for land allocation and restitution

Responding to the first goal of the Peace Treaty for rebuilding rural Colombia, the National Land Agency (Agencia Nacional de Tierras –ANT) has prioritized Casanare for land allocation and securitization of state land to peasants by titling agriculture land and facilitating financial support. Concurring media and community debates, delimitation of Family Farming Units (UAF) have been delineated within 11 municipalities by slow and unclear processes that have been criticized by communities because of questionable criteria for their allocation[100]. Contradictory to this, the Ministry of Agriculture has confirmed that Casanare will not have land restitution by means of Reserved Land for Peasants (ZRC). According to the National Land Agency (ANT) during the first semester of 2017, 2,670 vacant-land applications were received from civilians. Although allocation is in process, state land still has problems of illegal

100 Local media http://prensalibrecasanare.com/casanare/25937-agencia-nacional-de-tierras-se-comprometiu-en-descongestionar-titulaciun-de-baldnos-en-casanare.html

occupancy, which worsens the situation of land availability to support this peasant-productivity program. Regarding the implementation of Zones of Interest for Economic and Social Rural Development (Zidres) in the department, the debate is centred on the allocation of land to promote remote areas where development will be targeted, allocating 80% of state land (Figure 22); meanwhile, many of the farmers have been waiting for years for land titling[101]. Moreover, communities reject these special zones destined for associative productive projects, because in the long run they will benefit large agribusinesses rather than small or medium peasants' groups. There will be concessions, leased or delivered as vacant or untitled land to large national and multinational companies who supposedly do have the ability to increase competitiveness and land exploitation, as proposed by the Government. For example, if a large national or foreign agroindustry is awarded with thousands of hectares of land, it could associate a small peasant community/family with less than ten hectares, in order to legalize their lands. In such cases, additional incentives will be received from the government.

Given the profitable oil extraction and agroindustry projects, land value has changed according to the introduction of these developments within the territory. Therefore, the southeastern part of the department has the most valuable land prices; thus, there is more pressure to define and maintain land ownership (Figure 23). On the contrary, in the northern and western part, road connection and services are limited; population density is less than 10 inhab/km^2, and the higher Unsatisfied Basic Needs index is 50 – 70. Cadastral and land property information of Casanare is outdated and incomplete: from 19 municipalities, only 3 have an up-to-date cadastre and 16 have inaccurate information, as old as 10 to 20 years. These facts of uncertain land ownership and isolation, added to the fact that central government intends to allocate the northern territories to Zidres, evidences the urgent need for strategic and comprehensive development plans at local and regional levels for land management, sustainable productivity, nature protection and community well-being.

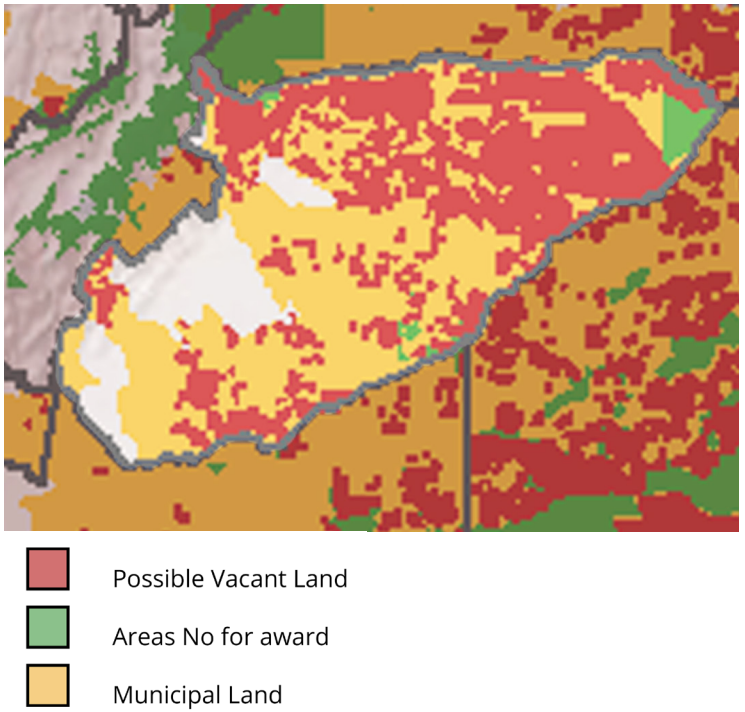

Figure 22. Vacant land in Casanare (State land)
Source: La Silla Vacía

101 Corporación de comunicaciones Trochando sin Fronteras https://trochandosinfronteras.info/rechazo-campesino-las-zidres-casanare/

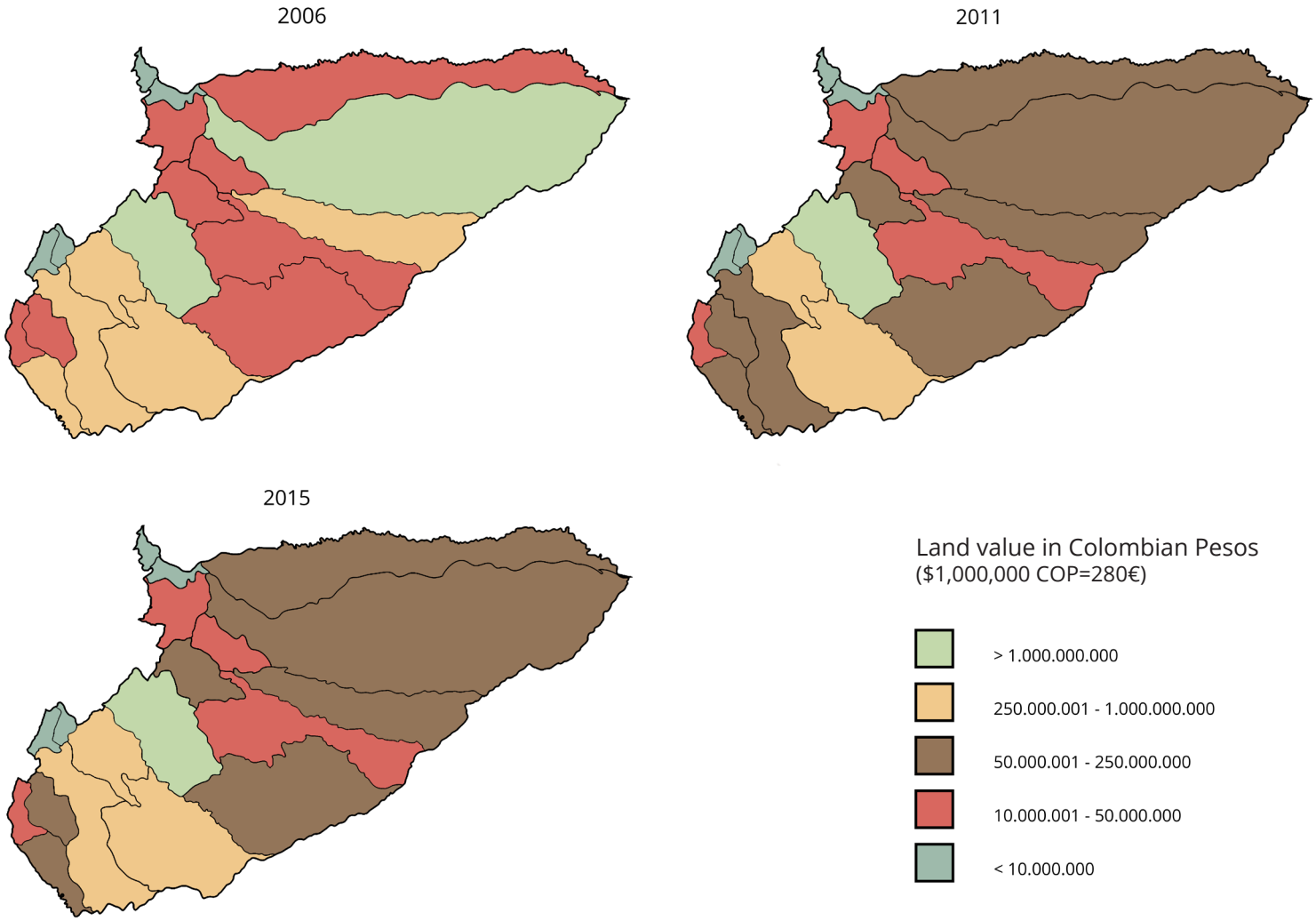

Figure 23. Land value, 2006-2015
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

5.4.3. Royalty investment

Significant assignment of royalties in Casanare favours urban areas with the construction of infrastructure (roads, public services, health and educational facilities). Low-income and social housing and some rural housing, mainly in the towns and villages close to head towns are also planned (Devia, 2010). Enclaves closer to oil producing sites have better basic services as the result of private spending and royaltiy investment, while rural municipalities are abandoned. The same oil companies invest directly as part of social commitments with the communities derived from the oil and gas contracts signed with the NHA (National Hydrocarbons Agency)[102] as part of social compensation and comprehensive social management benefiting small communes within the range of polygons.

These projects never add up to what corruption, unscrupulous governance and stringent procedures for approval regulate for development and management (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas, 2010; Duque, 2015; García (b), 2017; Sánchez, 2017). Bureaucracy, corruption and lack of execution are some of the causes for poor results of financial resource investments and distribution inside the region (Duque, 2015). Inadequate execution is a frequent panorama. Between 2014 and 2015, the monitoring body of the SGR visited 1,331 projects in-progress, all of them with implementation problems due to lack of long-term functionality, insufficient technical support, abandonment and deviation of resources, and isolated efforts of local governments who do not search for association processes in order to obtain comprehensive impact on local systems (water treatment plants, transportation systems, slaughterhouses, markets, and good-distribution centres, etc.). Efforts to support rural communities in need for infrastructure and basic social services are insufficient. (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014).

According to Colombia's Constitution, general welfare and the improvement of quality of life of the population should be the objective of public policies. The fundaments are the prompt solution of unsatisfied needs for health, education, environmental sanitation and drinking water. For these purposes, the Nation and territorial entities foster plans for social spending as the priority over any other allocation. Therefore, territorial distribution of public social expenditures takes into account the number of people with unsatisfied basic needs, population census as well as towards fiscal and administrative efficiency. During the oil boom period between 1985 and 2001, the source of direct royalties became the most important income within the budget structure of Casanare, generating a high dependence on them, yet the lack of auditing and more general local governmental instability cause the underuse of approved expenditures thus cracking state finances. According to the SGR in 2015, of 346 approved projects in Casanare, 69 were allocated for transportation, 55 to mining and energy, and 42 for housing. Such efforts targeted welfare and well-being, yet only 9 were for health and social protection programmes, 17 for specific social inclusion and reconciliation undertakings, and 5 for science and technology projects. 21 received small amounts of resources for environment and sustainable development.

Regarding the destination of royalties allocated to oil producing territories, the criteria for royalty investments, as established by law to improve indicators related to infant mortality, health, education, drinking water and sewerage, are unclear, as how they actually contribute to social security. For the royalties allocated to non-producer regions, resources are given for energy, transportation, environment and mining. However, the impact of the investment has been very low, since health and education have received precarious financial resources. The use of royalties has been deficient in many cases, although in recent years, the amount of royalties has increased; yet investments have not generated expected impacts, as they have definitively not improved the quality of life of local communities. Considering chronological data of royalty investment, the municipalities that are more dependent, as shown in the map (Figure 24) (red), are Orocué, San Luis de Palenque (in the centre of the department), and Támara (in the foothills of the Andes), where there are no diversified productive projects. In the second group of municipalities (brown) the road system and communication are poor, and

102 http://www.anh.gov.co/en-us/la-anh/paginas/historia.aspx

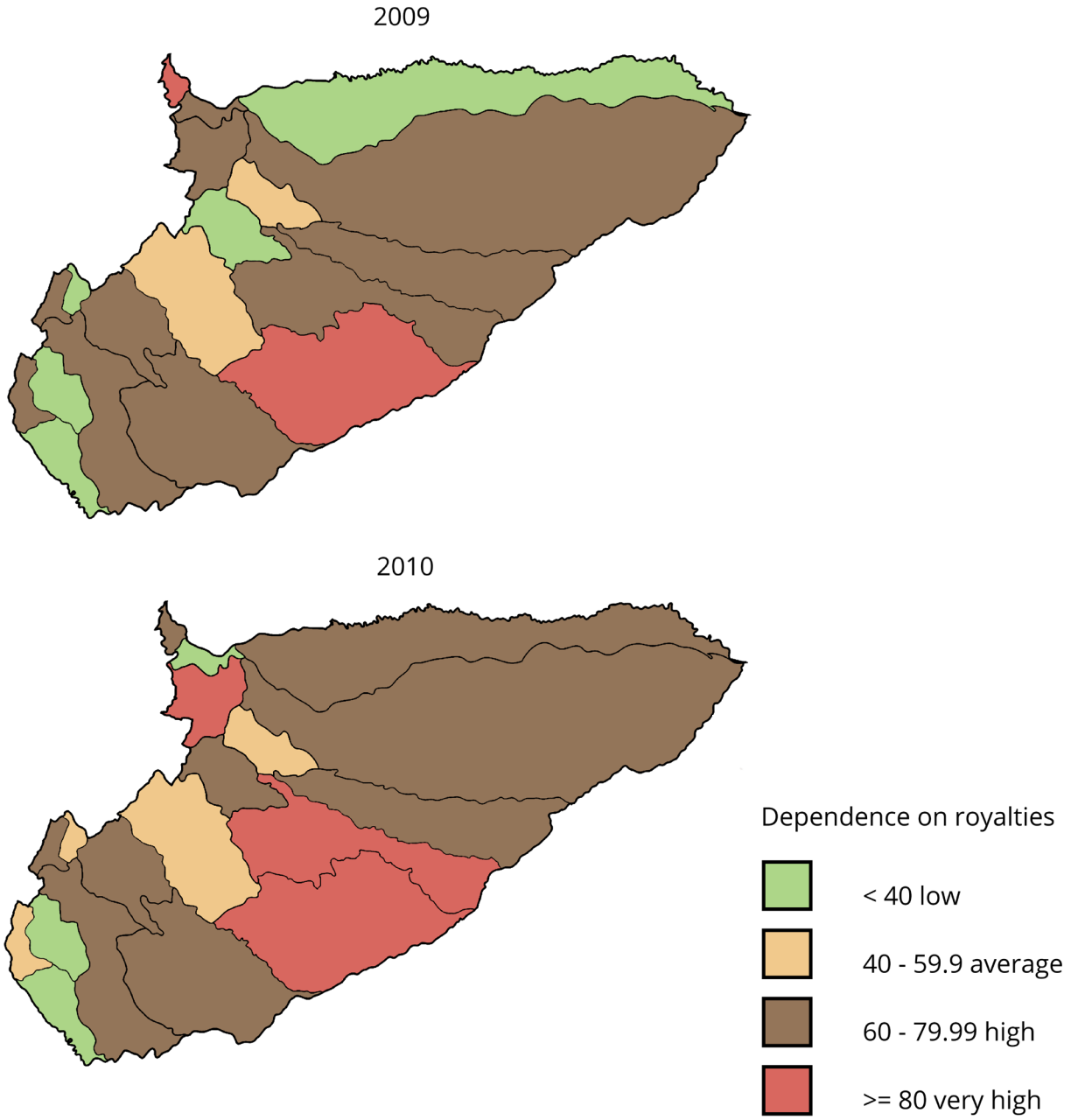

Figure 24. Municipal dependence on royalties, 2009-2010
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

economy is based on cattle rising. Yet, in some cases the allocation of royalties and the institutional framework for their management have resulted in inequitable distribution at territorial level, hindering the promotion of a balanced development. Paradoxically, those municipalities that receive more royalties given their larger population like Yopal, Monterey, Villanueva and Aguazul, are the ones that have more ways to gain economic resources deriving from other sources different from the oil industry, and consequently they are less dependent on royalty allocations.

Poor governance and high levels of corruption characterize Casanare. The department is within the group of territorial entities with more frequent cases of corruption among other Colombian departments. From 13 governors who have taken Office, only 3 have finished their mandates and have not been involved in corruption or illicit actions. The other governors have been dismissed and some sentenced to jail, because of their linkage to illegal guerrilla or paramilitary groups and corruption networks. The large flows of royalties and the weak institutional presence in governmental offices, at departmental and municipal levels, have been the main reasons for poor management, lack of governance and lack of knowledge to socially asses needs. Projected plans end in corruption and create cost overruns (Duque, 2015). Poorly handled governmental institutions and the diversion of royalties to private and illicit hands have generated detrimental basic sanitation and service programs or projects. Additionally, socio-political conflicts have held up participatory processes of local peasant and indigenous groups trying to work bottom-up in order to supervise investments for their own sake. In the development of the fiscal control of royalties, the most relevant problems that have affected efficiency, effectiveness and economy in the investment by territorial entities are: the excessive concentration of resources in a few territorial entities, planning deficiency and low technical capacity of the territorial entities, the atomization of resources in small projects without regional vision, the inefficiency on the FNR allocation, controlling and monitoring difficulties in real time, and the diversion to other sectors of resources destined to health, education, drinking water and sewage (Julio, 2012).

5.5. Options and contrasts between Yopal and Orocué in the urban/rural continuum

Assessing local planning policies as well as understanding particular community demands and needs, opportunities and benefits entails crossreferencing multiple factors affecting outcomes within policy and governance management (Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013). In turn, opposite territories reveal diverse development degrees according to adequate or failed distribution of opportunities and provisions. This cross-reference and comparison helps realize if and how urban/rural divides manifest themselves. The extent to which grassroots participation affects decision-making and the degree of cooperation for territorial and social cohesion are essential overall criteria to consolidate and articulate institutional capacities for welfare. (Leiva, 2017; Vargas, 2016; García (b), 2017; Hernández, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017; Sánchez, 2017). Although people's lack of education and understanding makes "bottom-up" policies difficult to implement, participation make communities and societal bases more aware of their rights and their responsibilities, especially when corruption is jeopardizing the options for a better future (Hernández, 2017).

The main objectives of Casanare Department Development Plan for 2016-2019[103] are to secure the department, articulating police, judicial groups and citizens. The second objective is to improve the region's economy based on public and private partnerships and inter-sectorial coordination to execute associative entrepreneurial projects, which are expected to generate employment and economic activities that are alternative to petroleum industry. Hence, investment projects are associated to the existing road infrastructure developed by the oil producing areas; 1,300,000 hectares are financially supported for unexploited land that is apt for agriculture, favouring agroindustry plantations. Projects also aim to enhance the uniqueness and riches of the cultural

103 Plan de Desarrollo "Casanare con Paso Firme" 2016-2019 https://www.casanare.gov.co/?idcategoria=45390

heritage of the Llanos and to link the region to the two axes of the 4G[104] route national system via Villavicencio-Yopal-El Secreto-El Sisga (Bogotá Plateau) (Figure 25). Therefore, Casanare's vision for 2026 is to become the main economic region of the Orinoquia in sectors such as agroindustry and tourism, strengthening technological innovations, traditional identity, environmental preservation, health and education, and high standards of security (Colciencias et al., 2012).

Figure 25. Casanare projected road system
Source: INVIAS

According to the social, environmental, physical and economic analysis of Casanare, and considering the potentialities territorial management has for its functionality within a given territory, the neighbouring municipalities of Yopal and Orocué (Figure 26) are selected to show their inequitable circumstances. Both municipalities are part of the flat land of the Cravo Sur basin, from the northern foothill Southeast towards the Meta River, sharing similar geographical characteristics such as wetlands in most of the territory. Yopal is set as part of the piedmont axe tied to Villavicencio and Bogotá as one of the most important commercial strips of the Eastern Colombian flatlands. Its history is tied to oil and cattle rising and is therefore considered one of the most important growing regions.

Orocué has a far more dramatic and legendary history, as it used to be one of the most important river ports in the nineteenth century connecting the Meta river region -an isolated rich and wetland forestry- to the world via Venezuela. The two municipalities are interconnected by a precariously secondary road linking their head towns. Local interrupted roads tie villages and oil industry and agroindustrial sites. River transportation has been the main means of access to other regions, although it is a very costly and insufficient private service (Figure 27).

Orocué and Yopal, besides Aguazul, are the main producers of oil and gas in the region. Therefore, they have higher investments and rights to obtain Royalties and additional funding, (by means of leveraging) since they show positive outcomes for solving basic needs, services and welfare for overall communities. Although Orocué is the largest producer of oil and gas, Yopal receives more royalties since allocation is done to larger population settlements and where there should be better technical capacities to determine investment projects. Budget allocation does not take into account local preferences and needs but rather they correspond to fixed allocation requirements to boost mining projects (transportation and energy) or assets for environmental preservation and primary needs not explicitly required (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas 2010; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; García (a), 2017, Sánchez, 2017). Basically, the royalty allocation problems are due to lack of technical and managerial capacities of the municipal governments that act according to short-term administration plans and deter social, economic and environmental conditions. Besides, there is little understanding of the territory as a whole and at different levels. The lack of systematic information on territorial characteristics, vocations and disparities obstructs the creation of opportunities to be offered to local communities (Julio, 2012). (Figures 28, 29 and 30)

104 Colombia's 4th Generation Toll Road Program

Figure 26. Yopal and Orocué location
Source: https://alejandranieto.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/hidrografico.gif

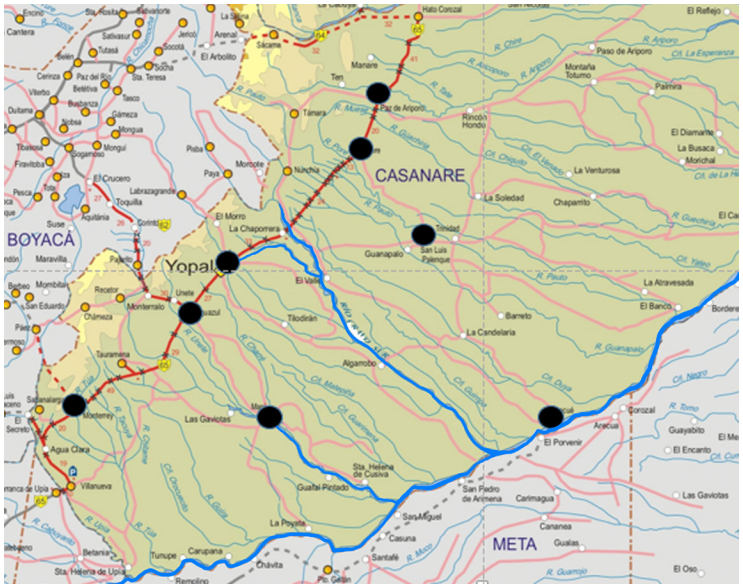

Figure 27. Piedmont road and Meta River fluvial connectivity
Source: Elaboration on data from Instituto Nacional de Vías -INVIAS

Regarding Yopal and Orocué, Municipal Development Plans (MDP) and Land-use Plans (LUP) focus development strategies on Royalty-based projects and on additional funding for their urban expansion programs. According statistical projections of DANE, the main challenges met in Yopal for 2017 concern the need to reach the necessary economic growth for a massive population reaching 146,202 inhabitants (89% urban population) mainly composed by immigrants coming from all over the country, whilst there is a decrease in its ethnic population (indigenous and Afro-descendants) of 1.47% (population of 1,528 inhabitants). Significant financial resources come from oil industry (45.6%), in contrast to 2.69% of agriculture. Other activities are construction and financial and commercial services. According to the national municipal categorization, Yopal corresponds to Category2[105], which allows for additional allocations of resources according to their number of inhabitants and their people's income. However, Yopal received royalties in 2017 of Twelve Million Euro and additional Thirty Million Euro from General System for General System of Transfers (Sistema General

105 Ley 617 de 2000 classifies Colombia's 1,122 municipalities into categories from 1 to 6 according to their number of inhabitants and their people's income (Ingresos Corrientes de Libre Destinación –ICLD), being category 1 the highest ICLD and category 6 the lowest with less inhabitats. Accordingly, the Nation's Sistema General de Participaciones (General System of Transfers) allocates fiscal resources for public services.
Special category: > 500,000 inhabitants and > 400.000 SMLM (minimum monthly legal wage = 220.6 Euros)
Category 1: 100,001 to 500,000 inhabitants and 100,000 to 400.000 SMLM
Category 2: 50,001 to 100,000 inhabitants and 50,000 to 100.000 SMLM
Category 3: 30,001 to 50,000 inhabitants and 30,000 to 50.000 SMLM
Category 4: 20,001 to 30,000 inhabitants and 25,000 to 30.000 SMLM
Category 5: 10,001 to 20,000 inhabitants and 15,000 to 25.000 SMLM
Category 6: <10,000 inhabitants and <15,000 SMLM
http://www2.igac.gov.co/igac_web/normograma_files/LEY6172000.pdf retrieved November 19, 2017
http://www.banrep.org/docum/Lectura_finanzas/pdf/dtser_205.pdf retrieved November 16, 2017

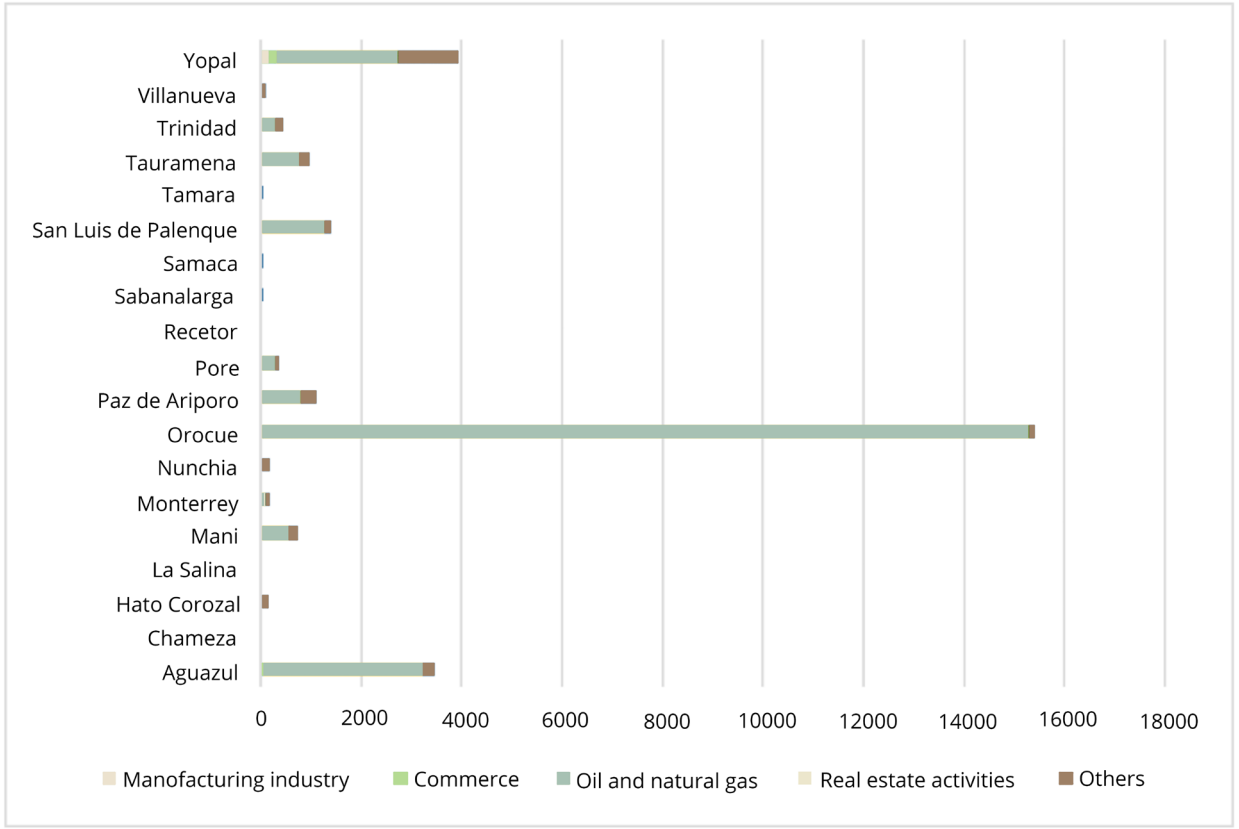

Figure 28. Casanare municipal economic activities (million COP)
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

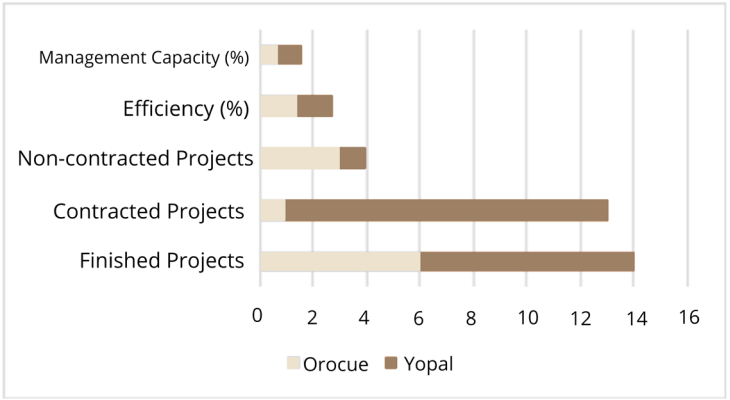

Figure 29. Comparative projects performance financed with royalty's allocation in Yopal and Orocué)
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

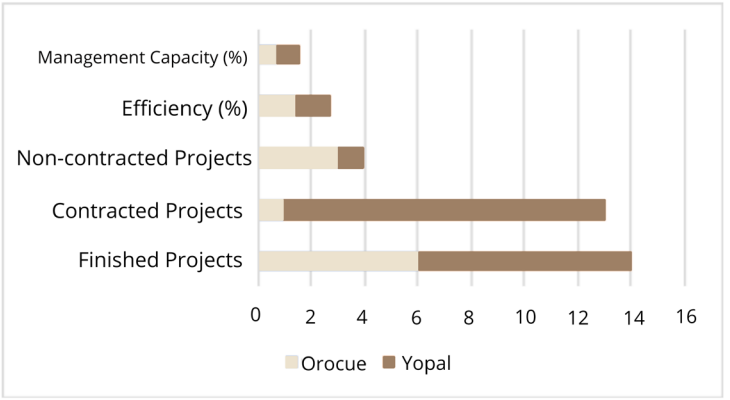

Figure 30. Comparative environment and agriculture resources (hectares)
Source: Elaboration on data from IGAC - Instituto Geográfico Agustin Codazzi

de Participación -SGP), which supposedly were invested in distinct projects: 71% on education, 19% health, 3.5% drinking water and the rest for children and indigenous welfare, which altogether do not produce important impact on life quality given their limited coverage of basic services like drinking water, health, and education. Other important aspects of Yopal's municipality are the strategic ecosystems in the wetlands that add up to 36.67% of its territory; hence 60% of the municipality is used for forestry, 31% for agricultural crops and 9% for other productive activities.

The MDP perspective for Yopal recognizes that it is a young city that requires planning actions to improve urban mobility, drinking water, optimal and efficient public services, health care and education. In addition, because of its fast-growing economy and population, its goals are to define strategies for welfare and inclusion of different social groups settled in vast poor and informal urban and rural terrains. To achieve these goals, Yopal's MDP for 2016-2019[106] defines five main principles (and slogans) to become the *Yopal Empresarial* (Entrepreneurial Yopal):

- *Yopal city-region*: Development of local strategic productive projects with regional impact.
- Competitiveness: Improve indicators of life-quality and human development.
- Security: Restitution rights to conflict victims and for peace building.
- *Organized and sustainable Yopal:* Cravo Sur River[107]: kindness rather than its threat.

Currently, imminent challenges in Yopal, especially unrestrained city growth due to high migratory and economic dynamics, urge to strengthen the nation-region interconnection system as well as to address specific tasks such as resuming the construction of the aqueduct system interrupted since 2011 because of corruption (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Academic and technical approaches are being adopted by different universities, inter-institutional research centres, and governmental authorities in order to understand the city-region problematic situations based on scientific and governance knowledge built from collaborative work with NGOs and local communities. According to academic researchers of CIHDEP[108], Yopal's main issues are that MDP has to consider the emergent informal and peripheral urban settlements that constitute new misery belts generating divides between urban and rural territories. Thus, government decisions should foresee urban expansion that trespasses the rural border in accordance with the spatial transformation of cultural and political effects to foster productive and social growth (Sánchez, 2017; Cuesta, et al., 2018). Articulated relationships between urban and rural boundaries are to be built considering environmental structures and according to sustainable principles, envisioning social production of the habitat in conjunction to explicit territorial relations. Regional development between neighbouring cities in the foothills responds to their heterogeneous local characteristics (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Lukomski, et al., 2013). As in more general formulations of dual economy theories (Vollrath, 2009; Allesøe, 2015), urban cores view the coexistence of commercial sectors alongside traditional assets (Molina, et al., 2017), which in the specific case of the Andean piedmont strengthens transformation in favour of commercial entrepreneurship (DNP, 2016), holding up the development of different levels of productivity in rural enclaves. In this sense, large-scale activities (oil and gas exploitation, rice, oil palm crop, soya bean, rubber plantations, forestry, cattle) are promoted mainly around Paz de Ariporo, San Luis de Palenque, Trinidad and the plains of Orocué, leading to high property values and low employment (Allesøe, 2015). On the contrary, smaller production of agricultural goods (fruit, vegetables, cotton, diaries), which in turn can be processed in the urban centres, is neglected (Yopal, Aguazul, Villanueva

106 Plan de Desarrollo Municipal de Yopal 2016-2019 "Una bendición para Yopal" Yopal Empresarial. Ciudad Región con Rio: Joven Justa y Todos Trabajando" http://www.yopal-casanare.gov.co/alcaldia/mision-y-vision

107 The urban Yopal is localted along the Cravo Sur River, declared as a high-risk flooding area according to the Ministry of Environment. Works and protection measures must be implemented, and the houses that are in a high-risk zone must be identified in order to have the relocation roadmap to be worked by the municipality. http://www.minambiente.gov.co/index.php/noticias-minambiente/2787-minambiente-y-fondo-de-adaptacion-evaluan-acciones-de-prevencion-ante-temporada-de-lluvias April 12, 2017 Plan Departamental de Gestión de Riesgo de Desastre de Casanare http://repositorio.gestiondelriesgo.gov.co/bitstream/handle/20.500.11762/444/PDGR%20Casanare.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

108 Research Centre Habitat Development and Peace (Centro de Investigación Hábitat Desarrollo y Paz -CIHDEP), Universidad de La Salle

and Villavicencio, Acacias, Tame, etc.). Some of these cities have functioned as collecting centres for years but, sectorial polices do not envision regional or territorial strengthening at such smaller scales. Instead, private transnational investments are prioritized, since they are less demanding and less risky (Vargas, 2010; Molina, et al., 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

In contrast to Yopal, Orocué is an isolated territory, which used to be more than a century ago the entrance of European merchandises coming from the Atlantic Sea via the Orinoco River and then to the inner flatlands of Colombia trough the Meta River. Nowadays it is temporally connected to other regions by unpaved roads during the dry season or still through the Meta River by very costly private fleets for fluvial transportation[109]. Orocué's predominant assets are derived from nature and rural cultural traditions. Immersed in a crucial ecosystem along the Meta River, it constitutes to 92.04% (435.931 Ha) of wetland[110]. Its predominant rural life-style is evident also in the urban contexts, although 36.2% of its 8,309 population is rural (2.3% of the Casanare has a density of 1.74% inhb/km^2), and 63.8% is considered urban as the settled head town encompasses dispersed housing where the rural traditional living and productive conditions of indigenous ethnicities still exist. Moreover, a significant number of ethnic groups preserve ancestral values, 1,838 people (22% of Orocué's total population) live in 8 indigenous reserves[111]. Orocué was classified under Category 5 in 2017[112]. The SGR allocated Seven Million Euro to the city and the SGP some additional Two Million Euro, of which only 48.8% corresponds to basic service projects, 3.27% to indigenous communities and the remaining amounts are assigned for general purposes.

Orocué's MDP goal for 2016-2020[113] is to attract national and international public and private enterprises to develop the eco-touristic sector in order to improve the well-being of local communities through fiscal benefits. Thus, the main objectives are targeted to education, health, sports, recreation, and cultural programs and facilities. Access to housing and basic services and endeavours to strengthen the family as unity are also considered. Accordingly, the Development Plan envisions *de-petrolization* of its economy shifting to profitable activities associated to people's experiential activities in relation to nature and culture. Therefore, governmental projects are defined to protect water bodies, declare natural reserves, and educate communities on nature intervention and its risks. However, according to testimonies from the communities, governmental projects are disassociated and do not respond to local needs and heritage values. Thus, academic contributions of universities and scientific groups to the communities have helped natives to gain awareness, by means of hikes and landscape observation, of the value of their identities and imaginaries. Additionally, the close relations to local communities favour identifying small entrepreneurial activities that convey rural an urban production in contrast to environmental and social impacts of extractive projects. For example, Orocué has about 1,789 indigenous people from the Sálibas ethnic group (occupying 38,740 hectares of an indigenous reserve) who claim for government's recognition of its language, art, crafts and family traditions to be taught and perpetuated in schools.

From the academic point of view the valuation of Orocué's territorial assets[114] was used to find potential alternatives for its development, in relation to its tangible and intangible cultural values such as landscape, culture, ancestral roots, and literary itineraries based on the rural-life depicted in the novel The Vortex (Rivera)[115]. In Orocué, the proximity to the Meta River and its geography can be seen as crucial assets to articulate rural and urban contexts and to link the regional context to the inter-municipal, departmental and

109 http://www.semana.com/entretenimiento/articulo/la-misma-voragine/81496-3

110 DNP Terridata from Alexander von Humboldt Institute

111 DNP Terridata from DANE statistics. https://terridata.dnp.gov.co/#/perfiles

112 DNP Terridata from DANE data

113 Plan de Desarrollo Municipal PDM, Municipio de Orocué http://www.orocue-casanare.gov.co/Transparencia/PlaneacionGestionyControl/PDM%202016%20-%201.pdf

114 Observatorio Urbano Habitat, Universidad de La Salle, 5 Workshop U + P, Memoria Viva, Municipio de Orocué. http://observatoriourbano0.wixsite.com/5workshopup

115 La vorágine (1924; The Vortex), written by the Colombian poet Jose Eustasio Rivera, is a powerful novel of adventure and social protest and denunciation of the exploitation of the rubber gatherers in the upper Amazon jungle (Orinoquia). It is considered by many critics to be the best of many South American novels with jungle settings.

national context. On the other hand, extractive activities were associated to environmental and social breakdowns. Orocué's reality of oil extraction wells, refineries, the increasing number of hectares of African palm plantations and the structure of large land tenure contrasts with other grassroots opportunities of development. Royalty investments coming from the SGR for projects that favour the urban head town for atomized projects for aqueduct, street paving, parks, and sports facilities, as well as to improve some rural roads have little or no connection to the development of grassroots rural communities[116]. These disarticulated strategies and projects contradict the goals of the Development Plan for sustainability and well-being of local communities. The territorial vocation at different scales is not sufficiently considered as micro-territories that are integrated with a broader region.

5.6. Learnings for future planning and decision-making for Casanare's transformation

There are several points that can be derived from the case of urban and rural development in Casanare. In the first place, the difficulties for the state of Colombia to build an alternative for rural development are evident. In this regard, evidences from the literature reviewed and the analysis on the department's political, social and economic conditions, unveil development goals that favour the economic model of extraction and massive agribusiness, which engrosses the national GDP. Casanare has a leading position in the national economy because of its contribution to the energetic sector with the production of hydrocarbons and biofuels. With the government's consent, sectorial policies support massive production, which generates over-specialization of the primary sector based on raw materials, energy and agroindustry resources, without sustaining traditional and small-scale productive activities and without supporting rural local communities via planning and direct interventions (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Government policies endorse asymmetric economic and population growth in the region, which result in a divide between urban and rural conditions (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Cortés, 2004). The intensive/extensive exploitation of natural resources has changed the socio-political, economic and cultural relationships within the territory. Land concentration and dispossession are the results of the dominion of multinational and large national companies over land control (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Consequently, diversifying activities that promote medium and small economies are almost absent because of lack of financial incentives, distribution markets and short, middle or long term planning strategies, and mechanisms to sponsor alternative agricultural growth in harmony with nature preservation and peasants' capacities (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014).

Historically the department of Casanare is an important receptor of oil-production royalties. Municipalities rely on these financial resources to accomplish their development plans. The distribution of royalties is transferred through planning and action strategies that target the overall requirements to improve and expand public infrastructure (roads, public services, schools, housing), to support extraction/exploitation projects for medium and small industries, and promote social and economic restoration of these industrial sites (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas 2010; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; García (a), 2017; Sánchez, 2017). However, the Central Government administers these resources according the SGR to departments and municipalities with lack of knowledge over regional and local consents (Vargas, 2010). Thus, central governmental decisions on royalties allocation are not effective when it comes to improving the provision of public goods and services to the most needed regions to better opportunities and capabilities.

116 Informe de rendición de cuentas OCAD-Orocué (accountability report from the Collegiate Administrative and Decision Bodies) http://www.orocue-casanare.gov.co/Transparencia/SistemaRegalias/INFORME%20DE%20RENDIDCION%20DE%20CUENTAS%20SEGUNDO%20SEMESTRE%202017.pdf

The analysis has highlighted the role of planning policies in rural development and how government decision-making has acted in favouring or limiting community well-being and nature sustainability in Casanare. Here, municipal and regional governments have differential capacities to face these challenges, as well as the policy effects to fulfil particular community demands and needs, opportunities and benefits (Devia Acosta, 2010; Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013). Urban-oriented policies and decisions have favoured better life conditions in urban areas in the piedmont providing major coverage of housing quality, basic services, education and health facilities, while rural areas in the northeastern region are poorly connected and insufficiently served with electricity, education and health. They have almost no access to drinking water. Additionally, governmental planning authorities assign major budgets for oil and agroindustry investment, allowing for better access to services, transportation and labour opportunities in surrounding areas.

These disparities show that productive, as well as social, environmental, political and economic dynamics in Casanare evolve independently, without definite or clear territorial and regional consequences (Lukomski, et al., 2013; Machado (c), 2017). The case study exhibits the need to articulate inter-sectorial and inter-ministerial policies (agriculture/productivity, commerce, mobility/transportation, housing/sanitation, education, health, as well as environmental, budgetary and cultural programmes) with multi-level governmental development plans and authorities. Comprehensive development decisions that take into account multidimensional aspects of communities may help to build up communal well-being in harmony with nature's sustainability. This would allow for a holistic regulation and implementation of favourable and critical issues related to the labour system such as fair wages, human rights, land titling, economic productivity among other aspects that spatial planning cannot directly support. In view of the conflictive situations and the shortcomings in spatial planning policies and strategies in Casanare, development goals should be transformed for long-term perspectives to reorder and manage the territory's opportunities for development. Therefore, spatial planning should be part of wide development program that can address multidimensional aspects of community well-being and nature's sustainability

Casanare has potential alternatives for rural development based on its natural and social assets (tangible and intangible) in order to contribute firstly to local and regional economies and then to the national economy. Thus, the state economy should encompass the *human scale development* for socio-economic progress of communities favouring productive options different from exploitation models with large-scale controlled production and extraction. Thus, productivity at various scales in planning programmes, should be based on a social agreement between governmental institutions and communities in order to build and develop strategic actions in the short, medium and long term for the sustainability of natural and social assets and cultural expressions. This explains the UNESCO last-year decision of including *Cantos de trabajo de los llanos de Colombia y Venezuela* (work songs from Colombian-Venezuelan flatlands) on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Safeguard:

> *"Colombian-Venezuelan llano work songs are a practice of vocal communication consisting of tunes sung individually, a capella, on the themes of herding and milking. The practice emerged from the close relationship between human communities and cattle and horses and is in harmony with the environmental conditions and the dynamics of nature, forming part of the traditional animal husbandry system of the Llanos. Transmitted orally from childhood, the songs are repositories of the individual and collective stories of the llaneros. Llano work songs have been gradually affected by economic, political and social processes that, modifying the llanero cultural universe, have significantly weakened the practice."* [117]

Likewise, the regional environmental agency Corporinoquia[118] explains ecosystems preservation as the basis for development. Hence, spatial planning should prioritize environmental conservation based on ecological

117 Llanero is the native inhabitant of the flatlands of the Orinoquia region (llano). https://ich.unesco.org/en/USL/colombian-venezuelan-llano-work-songs-01285

118 Corporación Autónoma Regional de la Orinoquia, environmental authority and administrator of natural resources, manages sustainable development, guaranteeing the supply of environmental goods and services through prevention, protection and conservation actions for the region.

structures and its functioning to support economic activities. The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), supports communities to achieve clean productivity in the environmental management for agriculture and agroindustry (Rudas, et al., 2007), in order to achieve resilience, generate science-based knowledge and strengthen capacities between local people and institutions in order to preserve nature and influence policy-making: The Union recommends:

- Working at different levels from local to global, and engaging different stakeholders
- Implementing participatory approaches by including the contributions of local people from the very beginning of the projects by involving them in project design, implementation and monitoring through consultation meetings, and vulnerability and capacity assessment workshops.
- Integrating livelihood improvement strategies with ecosystem-based interventions
- Including peer-to-peer learning opportunities between local people through exchange visits
- Encouraging early and constant collaboration with research institutions
- Building on existing relationships with local networks and institutions
- Organizing frequent events such as training workshops and field visits for training
- Linking training programmes and education with policy advocacy (Monty, Murti, Miththapala, & Buyck, 2017, p. viii)

Hence, the challenge is to articulate spatial planning policies with development goals that revalue indigenous and peasants and their relationship with nature, incorporating grassroots participation, fostering technical training, and supporting associability and alliances through public-private alliances, peasant-entrepreneur dealings, and inter-municipal partnerships beyond political boundaries for territorial management and functionality. Innovative decisions may influence land control and management, redistribution, conservation and protection, as well as restitution and its uses. Therefore, spatial planning should define strategies for protecting natural reserves, define land uses for small and medium diversified activities and limit exploitation sites that constitute natural connecting structures (biodiversity corridors). Planning should foresee settlement expansion to respond to counteract labour growth in the oil and agroindustries. Thus, environmental and sustainable conditions plus the alleviation of environmental and urbanization impacts should encompass spatial strategies for rural/urban and rural articulations.

Increasing action of grassroots participation supported by academic institutions and NGOs and their recognized role in the arena of the national and international debate demonstrate that organized social groups are speaking up against development problems and negative effects of oil extraction, agroindustrial projects, and land control. They are advocating for the rights of indigenous groups and of displaced people and peasant communities. They are creating conscience about environmental protection, conservation and recovery of ecosystems taking into account cultural beliefs (Vargas 2010; Leiva, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017; Sánchez, 2017). These facts may demonstrate variances in institutional will to officially incorporate community decision–making in policy design and implementation. In this regard, academic and non-governmental support may be decisive to favour community participation, to meet specific needs and to foresee policy transformation.

6. A policy framework for planning recommendations to reorient rural development in times of peacebuilding in Colombia

Contents

6.1. Policy objectives

6.2. Planning policy design, assessment and reform

6.3. Planning debates under Colombia’s perspective: towards a new rurality

"La lucha más importante está, como siempre, en lo básico: en el territorio, en la tierra, en quiénes deciden lo que se puede hacer, dentro de ciertos territorios, con el agua, el aire y la tierra."

"The most important struggle is, as always, in the basics: in the territory, in the land, in those who decide what can be done within certain territories, with water, air and land."

*Héctor Abad Faciolince**

*http://m.eltiempo.com/vida/medio-ambiente/analisis-del-escritor-hector-abad-faciolince-sobre-el-medio-ambiente-en-colombia-249092

This research faced controversial assessments on Colombia's governance and public policy-making as well as regional, territorial and municipal management. It reveals how historically *squirearchy* has benefited from sectorial policies and how extraction and productive enterprises have perpetuated the subjection of *campesinos* in a country that up to the first quarter of the XX Century was 70% agricultural, and currently 94% of its territory is defined as rural (Castro, 2014).

For the last sixty years, the country has led a war against guerrilla groups and drug cartels pushing out peasants towards peripheral urban enclaves and consequently increasing social and economic segregation and territorial fragmentation. Under consideration of the events around the signing of the Peace Treaty in 2016 and of the options envisaged during the current Post-conflict process, this research studied literature to review key historical events over the last 80 years and to analyse governmental policies, peace covenants, post-conflict actions and social arrangements. Therefore, this work considers a state of the art of historical, political and economic conflicts over rural land and assesses planning systems, in order to advance on resolution principles as well as on public policies, governance and operational engagements to reorient planning toward development alternatives for rural communities.

The covenants of Colombia's Peace Treaty and the Post-conflict process established political agendas to address 6 different topics. Some priorities related within the required legal, operational and societal procedures focus on rural development and land tenure and redistribution. One can interpret the initial agreements in line with criteria of *new rurality*, as these involve "the conditions to ensure the health and well-being of the rural population and, in doing so, the agreements contribute to guarantee non-repetition of the conflict and to the construction of a stable and long-lasting peace"[119]. As land ownership and land use are among the main issues of the conflict and its resolution, new policy proposals are based on the "Land Fund (Fondo de Tierras) for the free distribution of land to rural people deprived

119 www.acuerdofinal.com.co

of land, or who own insufficient land". Funding, loans, subsidies, cadastre and infrastructure are to be fostered as "comprehensive access measures to enhance the effective use of land [...] and the creation of favourable conditions for productivity and overall well-being (roadways, irrigation, healthcare, education, housing, market access)"[120]. Although so far these excerpts are mere intentions derived from the Peace Treaty, they seem to be crucial for reorienting planning and development policies in rural areas in current times. Such possible solutions should counteract the negative effects of the national development model that sponsors the exploitation of raw materials, favouring private and political powers over nature and land, thus generating and maintaining prevalent inequitable conditions between urban and rural populations.

To address these national challenges in rural and regional development, this research is built upon theoretical approaches on spatial and human development, *new rurality* and political ecology. Similar situations in other parts of the world are described here in order to provide references and to develop a framework for the analysis of some of the limitations and contradictions of spatial planning with reference to rural communities, welfare and the distribution of royalties derived from the exploitation of natural resources. Thus, this concluding chapter addresses planning issues and policy-design measures based on the evidence of the region of Casanare, taking also into consideration the situation of other rural areas in Colombia within the context of current times of peacebuilding.

Based on the case of Casanare, this research envisions possible solutions at two different levels: first, general concepts for reorienting policy objectives; second, more specific principles for policy-design, assessment and reformulation in favour of environmental sustainability and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities between rural and urban contexts according to power relation, nature protection, governmental cooperation and public/private partnerships, as well as governmental measures and access to technology and capacity-building. Finally, it reflects innovative findings in line with current national and international debates on the understanding of *rurality* in relation to community welfare and environmental sustainability, with particular reference to the role of the State and spatial planning to achieve comprehensive rural development. Hence, this dissertation provides orientation principles for policy-transformation in Colombia that can also be applicable in other international contexts.

6.1. Policy objectives

Colombia's planning evolution throughout times shows that its policy objectives do not reach consensual definitions for the term rural, as exemplified in the case of Casanare, where massive exploitation of nature and urban-oriented spatial planning policies are drivers of development. Nevertheless, on paper, planning development agendas relate to individual and collective bottom-up processes and to the preservation of ecosystems associated to tangible and intangible values as part of cultural and natural assets for communal well-being and environmental sustainability (Chaves, Montenegro & Zambrano, 2014; Vargas, 2016; Molina et al, 2017). In this sense, in order to redirect current policy objectives towards more balanced urban/rural development, theoretical advances on human development in relation to nature have been provided to envisage concrete local contexts. The proposal is based on findings from both the reviewed international examples of nature exploitation and the analysis of the case study of Casanare regarding social, economic and governmental challenges, opportunities and potentialities for regional and rural development. Development alternatives are proposed on the basis of realities and data in a given territory. The aim is to draw up recommendations for differential policies to avoid territorial inequities and fragmentation as well as to delineate small and diversified productive projects for enhancing local capabilities and opportunities. Community participation is a core factor in governance processes to enhance human-centred development, for which the

120 ibid

assistance of academia, ONGs and media actors has been crucial in the acquisition of knowledge about local communities and in raising awareness about their realities and needs.

The theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 2 provides a set of values that need to be promoted in the current phase of policy reform in accordance to the post-conflict governance, which should consider as main focus the well-being of rural people in relation to their land. Accordingly, Sen's (2009) key concept of *capabilities approach* considers existing and future political-economic circumstances to comply life quality as an important input for state policies focussing on social, environmental, cultural and legal aspects among other characteristics in given contexts. Nussbaum's (2011) advances on *human development* provide a set of values considering living conditions in terms of available opportunities for each person and not in terms of the average well-being of an entire territory. In turn, Gudynas and Acosta's (2011) concept of *good life* entails a kind of human development that respects nature and is oriented towards the fulfilment of basic needs of nourishment, healthy environment, drinking water, communications, education, housing, heath, and energy supply. As seen in Casanare, these conditions are more evident in the urban core of the region, namely Yopal, because it has better service provision, access to labour and market systems, education and health. In the peripheral areas of Casanare, such as in the northeastern municipalities, the conditions are evidently worse as depicted in chapter 5, and the opportunities for development are much more restricted. This is due not only to a longstanding structure of land property. It has also been affected by the distribution of royalties from the extraction of natural resources in terms of planning and financing of infrastructures and of the provision of basic services as well as by a systematic exploitation of rural labour. Additionally, and according to Gudynas (2015) and Acosta (2011), *harmonious coexistence* values nature in opposition to current development models. This concept evokes the knowledge and beliefs of indigenous communities, who value nature as a common good. Finally, the concept of *human scale development* by Max-Neef, Elizalde, & Hopenhayn (2010) helps to comprehend the improvement of life quality, the fulfilment of human needs, and self-reliance and organic articulation in given contexts. Thus, people are envisaged as protagonists of their own future, since each one is capable of tracing their own path. In view of the above, it is imperative to set measures to implement organized and sustainable governmental and economic policies so as to provide socio-cultural and environmental quality services to protect both people's rights and nature.

Planning objectives for a complex territory, as is the Casanare region, should address and focus on scalar and differential development alternatives, which lead specific individuals and communal or social leaders to build social tissue and awareness on environmental sustainability. For example, the territory's special favourable characteristics like the presence of ethnic groups, its remarkable diversity in nature and cultural values, its water resources and forest richness represent a great potential for people's capabilities and opportunities under adequate power structures to develop economic, social, political and institutional relationships based on the respect of cultural identities. As was noted in the chapter 5 on Casanare, the expansion of agroindustrial monocrops and of oil extraction has aggravated problems such as socio-economic conflicts, emergent human settlements, informal housing agglomeration, poverty, and the lack of or poor quality of education and health services. Such adverse conditions have detrimental effects not only on the well-being of the communities but also on the territory. The valuable efforts of NGOs, civil groups and communities envision a more integral development centred on the human being and nature, which encourages awareness and respectfulness. Such endeavours often bring into being differentiated development models to be applied in conflict resolution or in the newer transitional zones for access and productivity of rural land (Zidres, UAF, PDET, ZRC). These experiences show the importance of strengthening social structures and of boosting opportunities for community development as part of different emerging tendencies across the country. Colombia's social and natural diversity and richness, as revealed in the case of Casanare, if linked to the prevalent rural life-style and territorial multidimensionality, is essential to articulate, protect and sustain tangible and intangible assets as well as its rootedness and identities. Peasantry and indigenous groups help generate rural development trends and liaisons between local community-

public associative deals, considering bottom-up discussions, propositions and actions to solve asymmetries.

Differential development alternatives should refer to rural small-scale projects in areas such as agro and eco-tourism, traditional farming production of plantain, coffee, yucca, pineapple, citrus fruits and cacao as well as pisciculture may be part of a broader perspective that corroborates even more the strategic role and specificities of regional development. Casanare's particular advantages and characteristics within its 19 municipalities reveal the need for differential development policies and strategies. Lured by its rich and available land, in one part of the region, there are entrepreneurs that have established farmlands and specialized clusters including oil and gas exploitation, cattle rising, rice, African palm, industrial forests and rubber plantations[121]. These places are normally well established with privately upheld infrastructures, and they count with greater royalty allocation for providing services to peasants of nearby towns. The department facilitates commensurate communication and infrastructure along the piedmont to facilitate the delivery of products to other regions of the country. The piedmont is considered as one of the main sources of agricultural goods in Colombia[122]. In contrast, in the eastern region of the department, for example in Orocué, which is isolated and has precarious service provision, other projects target natural preservation. Despite the absence of governmental actions, thanks to the strong participation of NGOs, specific ventures for forest conservation and the protection of endangered species (flora and fauna) have fostered regional potentialities, thus achieving municipal and departmental goals that should be achieved by means of spatial planning regulations (LUPs) and development programmes (DDP and MDP). Other acting organizations have also supported local communities in their search for authentic development, specifically with regard to issues concerning sovereignty, gender, and environmental governance within their territories[123]. Municipalities and their small settlements base their development on surrounding extraction projects or in natural enclaves. However, under the present circumstances, they do not count at all with autonomy to enhance their capabilities, and they do not receive the economic support of royalties, so they lack conditions to achieve sustainability (Leiva, 2017; Sánchez, 2017).

A larger picture of scalar and differential development implies planning processes to value and favour societal participation where the development of capabilities is part of governance, management, so as to achieve common objectives among institutions or agencies and actors (peasants or indigenous groups). This, in turn, legitimizes actors to satisfy human needs according to their context and target family and community entrepreneurial economics, for example by means of agricultural production. This would contribute to national and regional food security, assuring autonomous and sustainable food resources. The policy debates considered in this dissertation reveal that rural development requires democratic processes and political will to enhance human-centred development and community empowerment. More specifically in Casanare increasing actions of grassroots participation have created awareness in both civil and governmental authorities. Universities and research groups, civil-rights and environmental activists, as well as local media have become actors for building community knowledge, for decision making and for creating debate spaces at local, national and international levels on issues of spatial reorganization for societal improvement by clarifying the importance of territorial sustainability, landscape protection and socioeconomic transformations. Thus, options for social and economic growth in urban, rural and *rur-uban* enclaves need to be specified. Social claims have also contributed to evidence corruption and irregular governmental procedures, whose eradication can be achieved with active societal participation and private-public associative cooperation enhancing the rights over development and boosting the construction of territorial enclaves in Colombia (González, Guzmán & Barrera, 2016; Hernández, 2017; Leiva, 2017).

The international examples studied in chapter 3 show that organized claims from indigenous groups and traditional

121 http://cccasanare.co/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Por-que-invertir-en-Casanare-2016.pdf
122 http://www.corpoica.org.co/noticias/generales/yopal/
123 http://www.fundacionpalmaritocasanare.org/; http://www.abccolombia.org/; https://www.violetastereo.com/wp/la-ong-canadian-human-rights-international-organization-presencia-casanare/

local communities can have significant influence over state inactions regarding the effects of intensive/extensive exploitation of natural resources and environmental degradation. Community interventions in Brazil and Mexico advocate for alternative economic growth, improvement of labour conditions, access to financial aid, and claim for service quality and environmental sustainability. Furthermore, civil and NGO groups uncover violations in land rights and autonomy and denounce detriment of food security and degradation of nature. Family farming movements in the region of Western São Paulo compel governmental authorities to modify state policies for an agrarian reform and to exert control over the expansion of agroindustrial plantations. The academia has also played an important role in the cases of Brazil, Malaysia and Mexico both for community training and for defining governmental intervention priorities. These examples confirm that in comprehensive regional planning, people's involvement can help structure linkages between government and communities, between rural and urban enclaves, thus, reorienting spatial organization by consensual decision-making to define decisive factors to strengthen industrial or commercial progress taking at the same time special care of natural reserves, aiming at the well-being of local people, and strengthening communities and their territories as part of an overall economic sustainability.

In conclusion, new spatial, economic and policy definitions can help promote, alter and favour transformations for territorial and habitat management as key factors for land preservation, conservation and suitable use. Reforms in governance and decision-making are crucial for favouring social inclusion (of ethnic groups, reinserted ex combatants, war victims) for peacebuilding and to overcome the most significant requirements of vulnerable communities to access opportunities for better quality of life, basic services and economic sustainability in rural territories. Spatial policy should transform its objectives to act according to specific places and involved actors considering explicit regional and territorial development requirements as part of reconciliation processes. A change in the paradigm of Colombian history as explained in Chapter 4 should imply programmes, overseen by NGOs to combat social conflicts by means of forgiveness, welfare and the development of a *new rurality*. This is part of what is being introduced in the region of Orinoquia and as part of the North-South cooperation under the supervision of the warrants of the Peace Treaty. Land tenure and land development, education and progress are seen as an overall focus by researchers and supervisory entities for strategic development (González, Guzmán & Barrera, 2016; Hernández, 2016; Leiva, 2017).

6.2. Planning policy design, assessment and reform

Comprehensive planning policy recommendations based on Casanare's governmental, economic, social and environmental conditions shall address unbalanced and disarticulated regional and local developments considering territorial fragmentation, rural and urban divides, and inequitable distribution of resources and opportunities. Thus, by facing structural problems behind such hindrances for development, policies should start off from the neo conceptions of *rurality* presented in chapter 2, not only as a source for economic assets acquired from extractive and extensive industries, agriculture and farming but also as a means for sustainability and equitable development. Conceiving *rurality* as a human-modified realm, new organizational relations and functionalities will favour small and medium communal production as counterparts of large extraction sites for the development of resilient territories. Specifically, among large extensions of extractive locations, gallery forests define enclaves where small and medium farmlands can be destined to agriculture and where urban growth control also can help protect these landscapes and its fauna and flora. Casanare, being a landscape rich in environmental and cultural systems, has an enormous potential for social mobility and for regional and spatial networking within and beyond peripheral areas and between the urban and rural.

Accordingly, national and municipal development plans and ordinance strategies, which are state boosted by the hydrocarbons and biofuels industries, should not depend only on the redistribution of royalties from nature exploitation to meet basic social needs and economic competitiveness. The case of Casanare has shown how current social and environmental difficulties have been increased by the inequitable distribution of financial resource due to differential municipal powers over resource allocation, which worsen urban/rural divides and have marginalized some municipalities from investing budgets for development (Molina, et al., 2017). On the other hand, Casanare has also shown how dependence on large scale production to finance planning actions has affected well-being and sustainable productivity because of unregulated changes on social and employment structures, land use and ownership, and ecosystems. Therefore, some principles for reforming planning should be considered. First of all, power relations among governmental and political authorities, local communities, and entrepreneurial sectors are to be redefined and actions need to be articulated for decision-making and for balancing resource distribution and investment, access to productive land and ownership, and welfare opportunities in rural contexts at different scales. They must consider bottom-up and place-based relations and should not be solely derived from sectorial decisions, which in the long term increase social and territorial disparities (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Rosales, 2007; Gudynas, 2009; Serje, 2010; Palacio, 2010; Alimonda, 2011). Secondly, sustainability is the appropriate framework for strategic spatial planning towards land reorganisation and redefinition of uses to control exploitation in harmony with nature and biodiversity focusing on preservation and alternative productive activities with low-environmental impacts. Thirdly, strategies for public and community partnerships supported by political will for multilevel governmental articulation are fundamental commitments to change planning objectives and actions for appropriate, effective, and accountable development policies (González, Guzmán & Barrera, 2016; Hernández, 2016; Leiva, 2017). Fourthly, the transversal requirements for Colombia's renewal have to be supported by educational systems for capacity-building, allowing access to technology, innovation, technical knowledge and governance abilities for progress[124]. With these principles in mind, concrete actions in specific regions can be accomplished (Columbia University, 2011; Lozano, 2017; Machado, 2017; De la Torre, 2017).

With regard to the first principle, power relations have defined the concentration of resources in Casanare. Municipalities rich in oil production and agroindustry have access to greater financial resources thanks to the goals of the central government to boost economic growth with profits from the region. The private sector (multinationals and Colombian companies), political parties, unscrupulous government officials and large land and entrepreneurial owners influence the allocation of loans and profit from tax exceptions and financial grants to benefit their interests. Southwestern municipalities in Casanare demonstrate the concentration of resources with better infrastructure and basic services provision thanks to the presence of productive industries. Some municipalities like Villanueva, Aguazul and Yopal count on better opportunities and more resources, since their development plans (MDP) mainly depend on public-private investments and because the distribution of royalties can be surveyed according to the General System for Royalty (SGR), so that the effectiveness of projects is improved, generating a positive social change. As discussed in the previous chapter, Casanare offers better services and opportunities in urbanized areas closer to oil camps and agroindustrial plantations by means of social and environmental compensation. On the other hand, municipalities highly dependent on allocation of royalties for their own sustainability to supply basic services and to increase its productive infrastructure (northeastern regions) are richer in biodiversity and cultural assets, even though there is less institutional presence to heighten these assets for alternative development. The distribution of royalties according to the SGR depends on the central planning authorities (National Planning Department) and collegial bodies under sectorial guidelines, which have limited knowledge about regional and territorial conditions and an absence of local consensus about the definition of needs and potentialities (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Vargas

124 https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rural-development-2014-2020_en accessed January 20, 2018.

2010; Cáceres, Pardo, & Torres, 2013; García (a), 2017; Sánchez, 2017; García (b), 2017). There is the need to define projects for Casanare's municipalities, technical capacities to define projects for royalty application in differential ways, so that resource distribution is dispersed and inequitable, which leaves some regions in isolation and in weaker position. The lack of technical and monitoring support also results in disjointed projects without a territorial vision. Resources destined to health, education, drinking water and sewage are diverted to other sectors as well as to support new extractive sites (Julio, 2012). This is also due to poor community involvement and the lack of a strong and unifying spatial vision for development. The analysis of Casanare shows that royalties in 2017 added up EU60.1 billion of which EU11.8 billion went missing from governmental budgets and others became useless structures[125] due to inappropriate public investments and governance. The power structure is centralized in Yopal, a growing city[126] and a centre for politicians to favour their own interests and electoral profit. Corruption moves funds deriving from royalties, from drug cartels and from political entrepreneurs engaged in agricultural and oil and gas industries. State and municipal budgets benefit private investors and politicians, leaving most of the rural population without water, sewage, educational facilities[127] etc., as documented in Chapter 5. Thus, although the region has one of the highest per capita GDP of the whole country[128] peripheral municipalities are some of the less developed and isolated in Colombia.

Unequal power relations are also evident on the concentration of landownership. The present analysis shows that Colombia's main option is the recovery of its rural condition improving land usage and distribution. Current governmental efforts target land restitution, a victims' right to have their property returned when it was stripped or abandoned because of the armed conflict. In this context, Law 1448 de 2011[129] is being enforced to reallocate land to victims and displaced landowners as part of an agrarian reform for equitable opportunities in the process of the peacebuilding. With this purpose in mind, governmental spatial planning instruments such as the Areas of Interest for Rural, Economic and Social Development (Zidres), the Peasant Reserve Zones (ZRC), the Agricultural Family Units (UAF) and the Territorial-based Approach Program (PDET) tend to widely apply state assistance for rural productivity, territorial ordinance, infrastructure coverage and social integration. However, these planning instruments are centrally administrated by ministries or national agencies, and in most cases, they do not meet community needs and aspirations. Chapter 4 explains that some of these planning strategies are disarticulated from department and municipal development plans (MDP) and land-use plans (LUP) and mainly favours big producers instead of small farmers. Additionally, land restitution and redistribution are taking place in isolated enclaves far from urban centres, which continue to face administrative hurdles in the search for governmental support because of adverse welfare conditions such as inadequate road systems, limited access to distribution markets and poor basic services.

Social, environmental, political and economic dynamics in Casanare seem to evolve independently at different paths and under different development perspectives. Although Casanare maintains a steady economic growth due to the extractive model, rural and urban divides have gradually increased the gap between life conditions and access to public services, education, health, and transportation. Territorial disparities, fragmentation and concentration of resources are mainly given by different power relations derived from the use of natural resources and land and by unequal powers over the distribution of financial resources. The impact of royalties investment on municipalities for rural and regional development has been very small mainly because of low grassroots participation, lack of technical planning capacities and short-term development vision and almost no governmental presence on the territories. Thus, government multilevel articulation is fundamental

125 https://www.semana.com/economia/articulo/meta-y-casanare-corrupcion-con-dinero-de-regalias/512804

126 DANE estimates a population of 295,353 inhabitants and a growth for 2020 of 31% https://www.dane.gov.co/files/.../poblacion/...2020/Casanare.xls

127 https://www.semana.com/foros-semana/articulo/casanare-con-problematicas-de-agua-infraestructura-y-desarrollo-agricola/493245

128 https://www.las2orillas.co/casanare-el-ingobernable/

129 Law 1448 de 2011 http://www.secretariasenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley_1448_2011.html

for decision-making; the role of local authorities and communities in the royalty distribution bodies is essential to identify unsatisfied basic needs and opportunities for social well-being according to their realities and context. NGOs and academia play and important role for improving local authority, technical capacities and community empowerment for projection, definition of actions, and control. Thus, with the intent of reframing planning policies for rural development, the concept of political ecology helps understand the uneven power over nature. It helps to recognize who controls, manipulates and distributes environmental benefits and how this can lead to social, physical, and ecological deterioration for others. Consequently, decision-making should be a comprehensive process that includes community, productive sectors, government and political actors to contribute to develop political capacity and empowerment for a concerted participation in planning processes that favour sustainable productive models and the protection of nature and land. In the context of Latin America, specifically in Colombia, including cultural, spiritual, sacred, and symbolic realms and the consciousness of nature abundance and environmental fragility will give insight on the political and social power relations to prioritize welfare and protection of nature as values prevailing over economic and political interests (Alimonda, 2011; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Heynen, et al. 2006; Serje, 2010). In sum, as foundations to provide guidance for spatial planning, grassroots participation and place-based relations can be deployed to handle situations of unequal political and social powers, which in the long term favour equitable access to resources, opportunities and land.

The second principle, regarding the protection of natural assets and the control over extensive productive land can be explained by considering the effects in the Casanare region, since it has become one of the most important providers of national GDP from non-renewable resources. With the government's consent, sectorial policies now support massive exploitation without sustaining traditional and small-scale productive activities by local communities (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). These government policies foster contradictory social, environmental, and physical conditions, favouring economic and population growth in the region in disjointed manners (Dureau & Flórez, 2000; Cortés, 2004). Thus, the department's natural richness (rivers, streams, wetlands, forest and biodiversity) and its diversity of socio-cultural values (indigenous groups, rural life-style, traditional communities) have been affected by indiscriminate allocation of oil and gas exploration and exploitation licences as well as by agroindustrial extensive plantations scattered across the department (Estrada, Moreno, & Ordóñez, 2014). Due to the fact that subsoil exploitation rights are state-owned, extraction polygons are allocated within natural protected areas and indigenous reserves in detriment of tangible and intangible assets. Social and ecological conflicts are also closely related to the country's internal war, since illegal mining and crops expand at a faster pace than the government can react to. Therefore, Casanare, one of the least safeguarded departments by the National System of Protected Areas, accounts 19% of its territory as being relentlessly transformed (Vargas, 2010; PNUD, 2011; Reyes, 2016; García (a), 2017).

As the case of Casanare shows, national and international private extraction companies and their social and infrastructure projects are not involved in the development areas other than the zones of extraction. To counteract these negative effects, planning policies need to advance in the declaration of natural reserves for the protection of biodiversity[130]. Strict controls and zoning definition for extensive/intensive land use should assure the preservation, protection and rehabilitation of land. The aim is to achieve a balance between the exploitation of natural resources across the rural/urban enclaves and the accomplishment of sustainable and recovery processes. Therefore, a new interpretation of the rural landscape should favour land-use and productive diversification, from the human scale to large production industries providing wider options for basic service provision and welfare (Schröder, et al., 2017; Zasada, et al, 2017). The specific case of Casanare allows exploring how social well-being as well as economic growth can be strengthened from small scale (indigenous villages or peasant agro, bio and cultural tourism) to larger scale projects (oil extraction wells, agroindustrial plantation,

130 https://es.mongabay.com/2018/05/reservas-de-la-sociedad-civil-conservacion-en-la-orinoquia/

pipelines, highways and other mega-projects) along overall environmental strips or axes from regional to local, from the built to the unbuilt. Green corridors (forests, riparian vegetation stipes, water bodies, parks, swamps) that favour biodiversity continuum are to balance production sites in harmony with available environmental resources. These strategies help to establish complex networking between natural resources and infrastructural systems, centralities and open agricultural and recreational lands, encompassing natural conservation, rehabilitation, and declaration of natural parks; water management; flora and fauna conservation by protecting a natural continuum to preserve eco-systems (Schröder, et al., 2017; Zasada, et al, 2017). The criteria of scientists and NGOs depicted in chapter 2 focus on natural systems to help shift scales linking territories to specific sites for long-term sustainability so as to favour flexibility to frame urban networking at regional levels (Shane, 2005; Gouverneur, 2015; Hernández, 2016; Molina, et al., 2017). This in turn, shall address urban-growth and infrastructure to equitably service communities. In the case of Casanare, from regional to local enclaves, natural structures are to be managed as part of a larger biodiversity system, and at the same time agricultural development in the flat lands is to be regulated. Damaged enclaves due to extensive exploitation (mining, oil, agricultural plantations) can turn into important resources for redevelopment by being administered or rehabilitated to gain eco-diverse and sustainable developments to balance off massive production or to become at least buffer zones where biodiversity is used but non-coerced for or by degradation per se. A specific example of this kind of development is the region along the strip Aguaclara- San Pedro de Upia-Villanueva, where small private enterprises have managed a combination of rubber plantations, industrial forestry, palm oil and smaller crops as an interesting agroindustrial district where mitigation processes have protected watersheds and gallery forests along rivers.

Therefore, the exploration of alternative spatial structures within the territory, considering successions of settlements and natural grids can be crucial aspects to assimilate rural and nature productivity different scales, which are not visible on vast territories, far apart from large urban areas, which is the case in many territories within Latin America (Lukomski et al., 2013; Viganò, 2014; Gouverneur, 2015; Zasada & al, 2017). Since exploitation of nature, economic growth and urban expansion have affected regions, displacing rural communities and transforming traditional lifestyle, loss of abundant resources has diminished tangible and intangible assets (nature and culture). The cases studied in Casanare, as well as in Mexico and Malaysia, have shown how indigenous-sacred territories and nature-reserved areas have been alienated in order to permit and boost agroindustries and mining. These planning decisions have caused detriment on biodiversity and ancestries. Thus, in terms of rural sustainability, communal traditions are the base for productive diversification, since they comprehend the equilibrium between land and nature usage, protection of ecosystems and population-settlement growth. Therefore, there is an urgent need of planning policies to address unregulated land-use changes and nature obliteration by environmentally unsustainable productive activities that need to be prevented. Additionally, planning guidelines for administering migratory population dynamics and for controlling intense urbanization of unplanned settlements in rural areas need to be established (Lozano, 2007; Rosales, 2007; Panadero, 2010; Rosales, Brenner, & Mendoza, 2012; De la Torre, 2017; Molina, et al., 2017). This leads to discover distinctive forms of innovative organizational structures and functions of land-use interactions, logistics and infrastructure coordination, services provision, population mobility, social networks and diversification of land uses (Pérez, 2001; Cortés, 2004; Pérez, 2004; Molina, 2010; Pillet, Cañizares, & Ruíz, 2010; Schröder, et al., 2017).

The third principle corresponds to the governmental and political will to favour multilevel policy harmonization and government articulation, public and community partnerships, and inter-municipal cooperation. The reviewed literature and the cases analysed have evidenced land management and economic policies at different scales, such as national, departmental and municipal levels favouring productive interests at central and or international levels, rather than boosting local potentialities and capacities, changing land use, occupation and ownership, which are the main factors in detriment of small or medium agricultural lots, which in turn has resulted in massive exodus of peasants, thus causing informal urbanization. Policy harmonization

and governmental articulation can be explained by the divergent approaches and scopes of planning policies and governments. Municipal land-use plans (LUPs) aim to define territorial use, occupation and service coverage under autonomous jurisdictions with emphasis on urban ordinances at metropolitan, city-region and town scales. These plans prioritize the protection of environmental systems, conservation of built heritage values (urban and architectural) and regulation of urban growth. At a regional scale, the main goal of LOOT is to overcome territorial fragmentation assembling planning strategies through inter-municipal integration and cooperation by articulating shared projects for providing public services, preserving environmental systems and developing productive and social structures. It also promotes sustainability through greater political, economic and fiscal capacities to support regional and municipal governmental entities. In theory, LUPs and the LOOT are to favour territorial and community improvement at rural and regional territories; however, political and administrative disarrays between municipal and departmental planning policies and authorities are frequent because of incoherence or duplication of functions. But even though inter-sectorial policies consider rural and urban territories as the ground for planning strategies and for economic growth, the implementation of the territorial ordinance plans (LUPs and LOOT) result in fact in an urban expansion that favours private interests due to land value increase and to prompt investment returns. Consequently, urban expansion goes beyond city borders and expands into agricultural and natural territories (Segrelles, 2010; Vásquez, 2017; Sánchez 2017). Additionally, the prevalence of national and sectorial policies, multiple laws and bureaucratic procedures affect the implementation of development and ordinance plans. Thus, the scope of spatial planning policies and instruments cannot directly address issues like financial support, land titling, marketing for comprehensive regional and rural development, which requires multisectorial and multilevel articulation for a holistic approach to decision-making. As explained before, from the studied cases it can be learned that unequal municipal and departmental governmental capacities affect regional and rural comprehensive developments.

In terms of inter-municipal cooperation, Casanare MDPs and LUPs of Yopal and Orocué foresee ambitious goals, which involve holistic and comprehensive strategies for regional progress. Primarily based on the piedmont axe composed by large cities such as Acacias-Villavicencio-Yopal-Tame-Arauca mark out an economic strip together with smaller towns such as Cumaral-Paratebueno-Villanueva-Monterrey-Tauramena-Aguazul-Pore-Hato Corozal and Saravena (see figures 25, 26, and 27 pp. 153 and 154), where oil, crops and cattle are being gathered and transported either within the region or to the inner land, either by means of oil pipelines or by air or land transportation. Next, it derives criteria from Colombia's City System (DNP, 2013) that foresees MDP's to target competitive city-regions as part of broader planning structures allowing diverse strategic productive projects with an overall impact to develop strips going to the seaports on the Colombian Atlantic or Pacific coasts. This in turn, targets the importance of MDP's focusing on royalty-based projects, which clearly are more profitable projects for the country's economy. The regional goal of Yopal-Orocué is to benefit from its natural and cultural richness by promoting eco-tourism, which requires prioritising actions to recognize biological and ancestral structures, to protect ecosystems and to declare natural reserves, mainly the latter considering its special natural richness. According to both scenarios, it is expected that diverse departmental authorities jointly work to effectively coordinate inter-sectorial and inter-municipal plans to achieve regional actions between neighbouring cities. In Orocué, cooperative strategies are fundamental to coordinate planning objectives and actions among municipalities sharing ethnic and eco systems threatened by large-scale activities (oil and gas exploitation, rice, oil palm crop, soya bean, rubber plantations, forestry, cattle) as well as deforestation. Some of these interventions are initiatives that come from governmental and regional corporations (public, private and ONGs) working independently in different sustainable projects[131]. On the contrary, small-

131 Corpochivor; Corporinoquia; Corpoboyacá; CAR; Cormacarena are some of the regional corporations that influence the development of the Orinoquia Region. There are the Northern and the Amazonas corporations as well. https://www.cornare.gov.co/Estrategico/estructura-corporaciones.pdf. See https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Eduardo_Wills/publication/265077456_LA_MEJOR_ORINOQUIA_QUE_PODEMOS_CONSTRUIR_Elementos_para_la_Sostenibilidad_Ambiental_del_Desarrollo/links/55522b3a08ae980ca606aa9f/LA-MEJOR-ORINOQUIA-QUE-PODEMOS-CONSTRUIR-Elementos-para-la-Sostenibilidad-Ambiental-del-Desarrollo.pdf

scale production of agricultural goods, which in turn can be processed and traded in the urban cores on the piedmont and in the flat lands are neglected in the support of sectoral polices.

These strategies accompanied by spatial interventions at regional levels to link inter-municipal and public-private ventures (definition, implementation, and management)[132] respond to economies of scale for public investments and accountability to find answers and solutions to basic needs. Synergies may foster guidelines to encounter cohesion and cooperation in order to balance inequitable development of different territories. To counteract weaknesses in Casanare, associative efforts for project investments boost welfare and alternative productivity and improve mobility infrastructure (roads and fluvial transportation), commercialization (markets, goods collection centres), and transformation of goods (slaughterhouse, industries) as well as services provision (aqueducts, water treatment plants, eclectic systems, housing, schools, health centres). Some of these leading undertakings need to be based on private–public associations that include community actions to protect nature and culture, to implement basic services, and to guarantee control over the accomplishment of specific projects. Thus, by merging public, community and private actors together as power groups, regional goals may be achieved from bottom up. In this regard, public-private and inter-municipal joint efforts should revise and redefine territorial limits according to ethnic, linguistic, and cultural factors sometimes trespassing virtual administrative and political borders that can lead to alternatives for economic and socio-spatial transformations for an overall betterment of a specified territory.

Regarding policy coherence of different territorial and governmental levels, Colombia's planning and development policies presently target regional progress with the perspective of post-conflict peacebuilding for social reconciliation by means of transitional processes (Reyes, 2016; Hernández, 2016; García (b), 2017). Although Casanare participates in the governmental land distribution program, local authorities (Governor and Mayors) have no jurisdictional authority to exert influence over their development plans for land allocation to displaced and landless people. Regulatory ministries, national agencies, departments, and municipalities should articulately manage functional and operational balance of governmental policies for the purpose of land distribution and restitution, so that process implementation actually achieves overall well-being and societal equity. The case study of Casanare shows that the aims of the above mentioned regulations pertaining adequate land vocation and satisfaction of communal needs and aspirations within territories are not being met. Instead, due to both narrow planning perspectives of municipality and departmental authorities and to administrative disarticulation and overlapping agendas, efforts and resources are diverted or misused in bureaucratic and fiscal issues, rather than being used to foster territorial and social cohesion.

The fourth principle addresses capacity-building, which involves education as the pillar to access technology, innovation, technical knowledge and governance abilities for the progress of communities and the authorities. In addition, political capacity to gain access to market placement of products, funding or loans (collective and individual favourable loans, tax exceptions, and royalty allocation for medium and small projects) become desirable supports for communities for the betterment of diversified alternatives for economic sustainability and welfare. International organizations and academia have been decisive for community empowerment and the betterment of governmental technical knowledge and access to information of specific regions. They promote the enforcement of communal capacities and authorities in decision-making to help reorient both development interventions and the control and distribution of resources. Casanare, like the cases of Brazil, Mexico and Malaysia, has shown how the involvement of international organizations (ONGs) have enforced the scrutinising of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Academia and civil society groups have researched on environmental and human progress and development alternatives and also have helped compel multidimensional data and cartographies. International cooperation has also played an important

132 Based on the Colombian Constitution of 1991 and the Territorial Land-use Law of 1997.

role by offering technical and financial support from governmental agencies as well as empowering communities in order to influence policy transformation.

Ultimately, Colombia suffers from a lack of progression or scaled planning processes because of scarce knowledge about its territories and potentialities. The case study of Casanare demonstrates that governmental authorities have limited and outdated information about their regions. Such information is fundamental to foresee long-term development models and to define strategic plans for comprehensive rural development. Municipalities need qualitative and quantitative information supported by multidimensional statistics in order to count with the necessary information about specific characteristics of their population and the existing economic dynamics, as well as with an inventory of their ecosystems, among the indicators that since the last census of 2005 have been projected as estimated factors for current decision-making. Particularly, cadastral information is essential to define vacant land records, ownership legitimacy and eligibility for land distribution as part of a *new rurality*[133]. Although the country has undertaken a rural census in 2016, information on Casanare and its analysis is still scarce in terms of demographic growth, mobility, education, cultural and other social characteristics that determine basic needs and opportunities[134] for its population. And, of foremost importance is an environmental characterization of impacted ecosystems in order to define strategies to mitigate damages, as well as to upgrade conservation and preservation of natural resources. For communities and government authorities to have access to relevant knowledge and capacities, joined efforts of private educational institutions have made fundamental contributions to the enforcement of technological and innovation programmes[135] lead by the government of Casanare and some of its municipalities. For example, the Universities of Unitropico and La Salle have been working extensively in educational projects for rural productive and management ventures.

133 https://www.casanare.gov.co/?idcategoria=33044
134 http://cccasanare.co/?s=crecimiento+economico
135 https://www.casanare.gov.co/

6.3. Planning debates under Colombia's perspective: towards a new rurality

The outcomes of this research conceal new debates to reach consensus on rural conceptions and the alternatives and perspectives of planning policies for *new ruralities*. In this regard, reflexion on the role played by government policy to define wider planning programmes to achieve comprehensive rural development is required under the schemes of societal assent for specific program advancements and completions. Accordingly, government authorities, scholars, and civil organizations within national and international contexts may analyse the extent to which spatial planning and wider planning programmes favour nature sustainability and social well-being aimed at protections and conversions of socio-cultural and environmental approaches. These debates can be approached from the following perspectives: First, the understanding and consensus of rural development (from the local to the global); second, the role of the State or of local governments in rural development; and third, spatial planning to contribute to a comprehensive rural development.

In the first place, as mentioned previously, the current use and purpose of the rural, which does not have a conceptual consensus, poses grave threats for social and environmental conditions in the world. The economic model based on the exploitation of raw resources in some regions of the Global South, sponsors national governments and supports global tendencies for economic growth. Since there are no accords on the balance of development models for a global social well-being and environmental protection, academics and researchers from different fields, communities, government agencies and the media should invest efforts to discuss power relations over natural abundant resources, as in the case of Latin America. Thus, revising national and global economic interests and policies to redefine productive models in the world, the case study of Casanare reveals profound changes in the rural caused by urbanization

and economic planning policies that undermine the territory. Relationships not only between territory and community, between natural landscapes, its resources and its human settlements but also between communal and governmental institutions are fundamental aspects that should be analysed as a whole in diverse scenarios in order to trace policy principles and planning strategies for rural development. It is the understanding of *the rural* and the effects of countries whose economies are based on the extractive model that can enlighten planning policies for small, medium and large-scale productive alternatives for comprehensive development from local to global.

Planning actions derive into functional interventions based on the understanding and consensual processes to foster development. Accurate diagnosis, pragmatic analysis and short, mid and long-term programmes are to transform rural regions, territories and local entities onto dynamic entities where social, political, economic and cultural aspects are targeted. Recurrent criteria such as bottom-up empowerment understanding basic societal needs are to strengthen short term and small scale growth and progress. This has to be adopted from the borders or limits between the urban and the rural. The urban flow cannot expand itself indiscriminately into the rural land. The rural realm must be seen as the sustainable land where natural and native forestry, hydric systems, as well as flora and fauna are preserved to sustain modified enclaves that have become more and more unsustainable, ultimately affecting the environmental and social structures. Rural also means to leverage extraction systems with middle and small-scale agriculture and to adopt adequate systems of land use to prevent its damage or exhaustion.

Second, it is utmost important to reassess the role of the State primacy whose sectorial policies act and dictate over regional and municipal development plans and territorial regulations favouring the economic model and the management of land to foster natural resource exploitation. Therefore, the role of State policies to sponsor the importance of rural enclaves as means of preservation, production and sustainability should promote balanced exploitation models, for which environmental consciousness should be encouraged. Accordingly, valuing the role of grassroots participation for scalar and differential development models to reorient governmental priorities for spatial ordinances fosters specific choices for equitable land ownership, use and distribution, which is basically Colombia's necessity to address land-tenure, land restitution and land development during the current post conflict times. Therefore, development policies target well-being and value local communities, realities and capabilities in relation to territory and nature as sources for opportunities and productive alternatives. Territories should be defined beyond the state administrative and governmental boundaries to associate regions as milestones for the harmonization of social, ecologic and economic relationships, so that particular territorial characterizations serve as a starting point to shift policy objectives for scalar developmental guidelines. The conformation of regions according to ecological and cultural systems can be envisaged based on a perspective of regional and territorial boundaries that operate and control networks and systems at diverse scales. This will benefit small scale self-sustainability in family-based economy; it will, in turn, enhance the development of middle entrepreneurships for agroindustry supporting territories and regions, as is the case in the piedmont, where minor industries have flourished with the production, collection and commercialization of goods such as dairy products, coffee, fruits and their derivates, etc.. At larger scales, extraction is required (oil palm, E&P, mining, rice, cattle), as these items boost economies and are required for more massive markets. The above principles focus on urban-rural, rural-urban and rural-rural relationships, considering the enhancement production alternatives for economic and social growth for sustainable development of both small farmlands and large agricultural industries going from the human scale development (agriculture for food security and alimentary sovereignty) to the intensive-extensive production.

Thirdly, regarding the extent spatial planning comprehensibly act in rural development policies, environmental, socio-cultural, political and economic aspects need to be considered in a wider development programme. Comprehensive development decisions reflect multidimensional aspects of communities in need of holistic regulations and implementations of favourable and critical

issues related to the labour system such as fair wages, human rights, land titling, and economic productivity among other aspects that spatial planning cannot directly support. The success of development polices and governance depends to a great extent on the consideration of concrete situations and limitations in spatial planning policies and strategies, on the multilevel governmental and policy harmonization and on the inclusion of community empowerment and participation. Thus, in short, mid and long-term perspectives and actions it is necessary to prioritize the ordinance and management of not only the territories but also their resources and potentialities. Hence, the challenge is to articulate spatial planning policies with development goals incorporating grassroots participation, fostering technical training, and supporting associability and alliances through public-private, peasant-entrepreneur, and inter-municipal partnerships for territorial ordinance and functionality for regional territorial autonomy. Since municipal and regional governments and communities have differential capacities to face rural development challenges, acting organizations (ONGs, academia, community groups, entrepreneurs) should aim at building knowledge and awareness towards development priorities and concurrent options, including means for societal change. The specificities of contextual economic, social, and environmental aspects to circumscribe complementarities of the urban/rural continuum can thus be measured. An overview of nature and of established human settlements within boundaries is also provided so as to contribute to an equitable distribution of resources among communities in different contexts with innovative organizational structures, functions and environmental sustainability.

These debates set the priorities for given planning strategies for comprehensive short, medium- and long-term rural development policies according to local needs and potentialities. To face the challenges of this dichotomy between exploitation and conservation, and between large production and community-scale productions, planning policies need to be designed so as to balance these diverged goals. The State plays an important role in supporting and fostering economic diversification from the extraction and exploitation models up to the protection of natural and social values. Political and social will and commitment is indispensable for policy-making concerning regulatory and technical support as tools that guarantee democratic and human development rights. Not less important is the base of societal change supported by scholar input to help in the implementation of and the trust in these programmes.

Lastly, the case study of Casanare reveals profound changes in the rural that have not been evident neither in planning policies in Colombia, nor in international debates. Relationships between territory and community, between natural landscape, its resources and human settlements and between communal and governmental institutions are fundamental aspects that aid in diverse scenarios to trace policy principles and planning strategies for rural development. Furthermore, Casanare shows economic options regarding its ecosystem and cultural richness opening alternatives for economic and environmental sustainability, such as eco and cultural tourism, environmental services and agriculture diversification. Having provided diverse analyses, based on the consideration of determining historical processes and of the turning point of Colombia's history, possible options and opportunities for development and planning criteria have been proposed in this research. Accordingly, urgent spatial planning actions should involve the recognition and definition of ecological systems that should be preserved and rehabilitated. Also potential areas for small, medium and large production sites in accordance to traditional and ethnic territories need to be established. These territorial ordinances will define land restitution and distribution responding to community needs and land vocation. In this way partnerships, public/private, and inter-municipal cooperation can take place in order to define comprehensive strategies and action for territorial cohesion and equitable production. Encompassing these actions, the departmental authority, according to the options given by the LOOT, should articulate regional and municipal DP, LUP and land distribution instruments (Zidres, ZRC, UAF, and PDET) for resource equitable allocation, strategic investment, basic need coverage, according to bottom-up perspectives, opportunities and aspirations. The transformation of planning objectives that prioritize community well-being and environmental sustainability is the key to set up spatial strategies within given territorial enclaves - seen as smaller scale units - where development models can be changed and

adjusted to implement adequate practices for *new rurality.* Future studies may address further planning guidelines and more detailed projects and actions to favour different yet complementary vocations of natural resource exploitation and ecosystem protection. Multiple and diverse challenges need to be met by sectoral and local policy articulation to protect a wide ethnic and cultural diversity. Complex social systems and social relations need to be explored in human settlements with great contrasts, bearing in mind scattered small nodes, isolated enclaves, as well as external contexts pursuing dissimilar interests. The case study of Casanare can be significant for other international contexts to set up land management guidelines and other planning regulations and ordinances to achieve cohesive land reforms.

"Almost half of the population of the world lives in rural regions and mostly in a state of poverty. Such inequalities in human development have been one of the primary reasons for unrest and, in some parts of the world, even violence."

*Abdul Kalam**

*Former Indian President A.P. J. Abdul Kalam interview on Eradicating Poverty, January 9, 2012. Retrived from https://blogs.wsj.com/indiarealtime/2012/01/09/qa-former-president-kalam-on-eradicating-poverty/

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Annex

Questions for semi-structured interviews:

General questions for all interviewed people:

- Are you and your family from Casanare?
- Why did you come to live in Casanare?
- Do you think life has changed in the region over the last 20 years? How?
- Which are the values you think characterizes this region and its communities?
- Do you or members of your family have good labour options?

Questions for community (peasants, indigenous and workers) actors:

- What do you do for a living?
- Do you work in your own property? Do you work in agriculture or cattle farming?
- Do you work for petroleum or oil palm companies? Do you live close to or inside an industrial site?
- Do you have school and health care services close to your community? For your children? And transportation for them?
- What do you think about the municipality and state projects? Do they cover your basic needs of health, education, water, and electricity?
- How safe do you feel in this community? In this territory?
- Are your cultural beliefs in danger to disappear or change?

Questions for government and political authorities:

- What do you expect to achieve in the four years in office? Which projects are you planning to execute?
- Which are the main values that characterize this region and its communities?
- Do you discuss development projects with neighbouring municipalities and with involved communities?
- Which projects are currently under construction? Which is the impact on the community?
- How have head towns and villages evolved with new productive programmes? Which are these new trends?
- How do you envision your village expansion?
- Which is the current relationship between urban and rural enclaves? Are you promoting rural development?
- Which are the main problems when addressing LOOT? Or LUP implementation?
- What do you think will happen in the region if the oil extraction diminishes and there are not royalties for project investment?
- Does the municipality count with updated demographic, economic, geographic and cadastral information? How old is this information? And how accurate is it in order to pursue new projects?

Questions for workers, oil palm plantations and petroleum industry:

- How many hectares and people are involved in this planation or oil site?
- Where do workers come from? Where do they live? Do you have inner-site housing or services for workers and their families?
- Which are the main values that characterize this region and its communities?
- Where do you take water from?

Questions for professionals (environmentalists, media, teachers, merchants):

- Which are the main impacts of the oil extraction and extensive monocrops on the land and its communities? Do you feel there is development in the region?
- How have life and cultural traditions changed over the last two decades?
- How has the employment structure changed in the last two decades?
- Do the extractive and agricultural industries require environmental controls and certifications? Who enforces this?
- Which are the main values that characterizes this region and its communities?
- Which is the current relationship between urban and rural enclaves? Are you promoting rural development?
- Do you know who promotes environmental protection in the region? If so, are you in agreement with the processes?

The wetlands in Casanare, photo by William Pasuy