

**#UnPaísEnUnaCancha? Football and Nation-
Building in Colombia during the Presidency of Juan
Manuel Santos (2010-2018)**

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Glossary

Adefútbol – Asociación Colombiana de Fútbol, original governing body of football in Colombia, eventually replaced by Dimayor and the FCF.

AUC – Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia.

Bacrim – Shortened form of ‘Bandas criminales’, name for criminal groups that often had paramilitary origins.

Barra – an organized group of fans of a football club.

Barrismo social – the movement of social and community development acts carried out by the *barras* of football clubs in Colombia.

Barrista – a member of a *barra*.

Casa de Nariño – the presidential palace of Colombia.

CLSCCF – Comité Local para la Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol.

CNSCCF – Comisión Nacional para la Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol.

COC – Comité Olímpico Colombiano.

Coldeportes – Departamento Administrativo del Deporte, la Recreación, la Actividad Física y el Aprovechamiento del Tiempo Libre. As of 13 June 2019, Coldeportes became the Ministerio del Deporte.

Colombia Joven - Colombian Administrative Department that administrates matters related to Colombian children and adolescents.

Colombianitos – Colombian NGO.

Comandos Azules – *barra* of Millonarios, a professional football team from Bogotá.

CONMEBOL – Confederación Sudamericana de Fútbol, governing body of football in South America.

Con-Texto Urbano – Colombian NGO and member of the Red Gol y Paz.

Copa América – South American football competition for national teams.

Copa Libertadores – South American club football competition.

Costeño – name for an inhabitant or person originating from the Colombian Caribbean coast.

CTSCCF – Comisión Técnica Nacional de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol.

Deporte Social Comunitario – Section of Coldeportes.

Dimayor – División Mayor del Fútbol Profesional Colombiano, organization responsible for professional football leagues and tournaments in Colombia.

El Dorado – name given to the first years of the Colombian professional league organized by Dimayor, (1949-1954).

ELN – Ejército de Liberación Nacional.

ESDEPAZ – Escuelas Deportivas para la Paz – Coldeportes project for sports schools with an additional focus on SDP, established originally in the departments of Cauca, Chocó, Nariño, Putumayo and Valle del Cauca.

Estratos sociales – classification of social classes in Colombia (between 1-6).

ETCR – Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación (formerly ZVTNs). FARC demobilization and transition camps established after the peace agreement.

FARC – formerly the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, from 27 August 2017 the name changed to the Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común as FARC became a political party following the peace agreement.

FCF - Federación Colombiana de Fútbol, the governing body of football in Colombia, responsible for national mens and womens teams.

FIFA – Fédération Internationale de Football Association, international governing body for world football.

FIMBN – Fundación Juan Manuel Bermúdez Nieto, NGO set up to promote peace and coexistence between Colombian *barras* and barrismo social following the murder of an América fan whose name is commemorated in the foundation name.

Fútbol con Corazón – Colombian NGO, member of the Red Gol y Paz.

GIZ – Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, German government agency for International Development.

Goles en Paz – Project launched in Bogotá to try to end violence between *barras* of Santa Fe and Millonarios.

Golombiao – football-based SDP campaign launched in 2003 by Colombia Joven.

Guardia Albi-Roja Sur – *barra* of Santa Fe, a professional football team from Bogotá.

Holocausto Norte – *barra* of Once Caldas, a professional football team from Manizales.

Los del Sur – *barra* of Nacional, a professional football team from Medellín.

M-19 – Colombian left wing guerrilla group.

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals, a series of eight development goals for the world established by the UN in 2000.

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization.

NVIVO – The qualitative data analysis software package used in Chapter 2 to analysis the speech and tweet data.

PAHD – Programa de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado

Paisa – name for someone coming from the department of Antioquia.

PDD - Plan Decenal del Deporte, la Recreación, la Educación Física y la Actividad física, para el Desarrollo Humano, la Convivencia y la Paz, 2009-2019.

PDSCCF – Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol, 2014-2024.

Poder del Fútbol – Survey carried out as part of the PDSCCF.

Promotores y monitores – sport and recreation coaches employed by Coldeportes to coach and promote sport, physical activity and recreation in the ZVTNs / ETCRs and surrounding local communities.

Red Gol y Paz – NGO network for football-based SDP projects in Colombia, currently comprising 11 member NGO organisations.

Rolo – name for someone coming from Bogotá

SDP – Sport for Development and Peace.

SDP IWG – Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, set up by the UN.

Selección – the national football team, mostly referring to the Colombian national team in this thesis.

Supérate Intercolegiados – Colombian national multisport schools competition.

Tiempo de Juego – Colombian NGO and member of the Red Gol y Paz.

UNOSDP – United Nations Office for Sport for Development and Peace.

Valluno – name for someone originating from the Valle del Cauca

ZVTN – Zonas Veredales Transitorias de Normalización, FARC demobilisation and reintegration camps. The name would change to ETCRs.

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Abstract

This thesis examines how and why Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos deployed football for nation-building during his two terms in office (2010-2018). The Santos presidency will be most remembered for the peace agreement with the FARC. This thesis analyses how football was put to use by the Santos government to support the peace process, and as part of Santos' wider national unity project. It argues that football was put to use for nation-building in a highly strategic, systematic and innovative manner, unrivalled in Colombia's history. Santos recognized football's power and malleability, cognizant of its capacity to transcend existing local, regional and national divisions, and its potential as an instrument to support social development objectives.

This study analyses three elements of Santos' use of football: 1) sport-specific presidential discourse and Twitter broadcasts; 2) football-specific legislation and public policies; 3) government-organized Sport for Development and Peace campaigns. It argues that Santos' rhetoric around football emphasized a message of one sole country together behind the national men's team, made metonymic of a new, peaceful, and united Colombia. Football is positioned as an inclusive space, in contrast to previous representations of national team symbolism, which excluded those contained within the 'Narcolombia' imaginary. This idea of football as a space for inclusion, socialization and encounter was strengthened by the evolution of laws, public policies and campaigns that promoted this power of football. Laws that were originally conceived to take a punitive approach to ending the violence around Colombian football, evolved to privilege negotiation, empowerment of citizenship and supporting pedagogy and development. Finally, football has been central to SDP projects across the national territory, most significantly in the FARC demobilization and transition camps, where football served as a time and space for socialization, reconciliation, mutual recognition, re-identification and reintegration.

Introduction

On 5 July 2014, President Juan Manuel Santos gave his first televised address to the Colombian nation following his re-election on 15 June. After a video of the national anthem, replete with images of Colombia's geographical, demographic, and cultural diversity, national symbols and monuments, Colombians watching across the country saw Santos standing at a lectern with the Colombian national shield prominent, dressed in the national football shirt, in front of a curtain of the national flag. For the next five minutes and twenty seconds, Santos used the important occasion of his first speech in his second term as president to talk about football and how football could benefit the nation. His message was clear:

Invito desde ahora a los que acompañaron nuestras propuestas –pero también a los que votaron por otras opciones o no votaron– a que se unan a la construcción de una paz justa, una paz con verdad, una paz con reconciliación... una paz con unidad. TODO, todo lo podemos lograr si trabajamos –como la Selección Colombia– ¡UNIDOS POR UN PAÍS! Esa es la gran lección que nos dejaron estos colombianos admirables, estos grandes deportistas y grandes seres humanos que nos representaron en el Mundial de Fútbol. (*Presidencia de la República* 5 July 2014).

In this speech, Santos made a strident call for peace and national unity, linking the characteristics, effort and style of the men's national team with those of Colombia and Colombians as a whole. The national team, through Santos' rhetoric, became metonymic of the nation, representative of a brighter future, of what could be achieved with unity of purpose, determination and talent. Peace, unity and football were closely linked.

The Colombian national men's football team had just been knocked out of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, losing 1-2 in the quarterfinals to the hosts. It was the best ever performance by Colombia in the World Cup. In their three previous appearances, Colombia had only reached the second round once, in 1990. The team won the Fair Play award, James Rodríguez was the top scorer of the competition, and his spectacular goal against Uruguay won the FIFA Puskas award for goal of the year. The lead up to the competition coincided with the final stages of the presidential election, and football and peace dominated the political arena. Football fever and optimism gripped the nation, as it was the first time that the national team had qualified for the World Cup since 1998. Santos attempted to translate this positivity and excitement into similar feelings for his political project of peace with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC). Negotiations were ongoing in Havana, Cuba, but the country was divided over the process, and so peace became the defining issue of the election. Both Santos and his principal

rival, Óscar Iván Zuluaga, professed their support for the national team alongside their policy messages as the election and Colombia's first match of the World Cup vs Greece approached. Colombia won the game 3-0 with a confident display of attacking football featuring joyous, coordinated dancing celebrations from the players after each goal. Colombians celebrated this convincing victory, and Santos was duly elected. Though Santos does not mention the impact of the *Selección's* success on his election victory in his autobiography (Santos: 2019), his Director of Communications, Juan Carlos Torres, believed that the victory and national happiness that it engendered, contributed to Santos' victory:

Creo que el buen desempeño de la Selección en el Mundial y el uso de metáforas del deporte en los discursos del Presidente/candidato influyeron, de alguna manera, para que Santos ganara las elecciones en la segunda vuelta y por un margen bastante alto sobre su rival, Oscar Iván Zuluaga (personal interview 14 December 2017).

As will be shown in chapter two, the use of sporting metaphors and football-based sporting nationalism was not limited to the re-election campaign and the 2014 World Cup, but was used on every occasion possible. For example, following his televised speech, Santos reiterated the message and repeated the example of *la Selección* for the nation in the installation of Congress on 20 July 2014, and in the ceremony inaugurating his second term in office on 7 August 2014. In the former he proclaimed:

Esos muchachos nos dieron la lección más grande: que TODO, todo lo podemos lograr si trabajamos ¡UNIDOS POR UN PAÍS! Nos enseñaron que vale la pena soñar porque los sueños podemos volverlos realidad. Nos mostraron que no estamos atados a las cadenas del pasado y que es hora de construir el futuro que queremos y merecemos (*El Universal* 20 July 2014).

This thesis argues and demonstrates that this was a continuous discourse strategy, relying on the moments of excessive patriotism engendered by football success to foster and strengthen emotional and psychological linkages between citizen and nation, in order to gain support for a 'Nueva Colombia' of peace and unity. This strategy was built on the President's understanding, and the population's acceptance, of football's power as a unifying symbol and activity in Colombia, one of very few with the power to override the many divides that have fragmented the nation and impeded the construction of a unified nation-state. However, unlike other times when football nationalism has been deployed by Colombian or other Latin American leaders, this was not solely a rhetorical strategy, nor was it limited to speeches. Football was not used solely as a strategy to gain popular support nor as a political soporific or masking device as has been the case in other examples of sporting nationalism. It was directed to target factors at the heart of Colombia's nation-building problems and national divisions.

This thesis investigates how and why football was deployed by the Santos government towards nation building during his presidency. It analyses the three prongs of the Santos government strategy, namely: 1) presidential rhetoric about football in official speeches and Twitter broadcasts; 2) football-specific legislation and public policies and 3) government organized Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) campaigns. It argues that football was a tool deployed constantly in diverse ways to target and remedy the factors that have destabilized and fragmented the sense of nation in Colombia, and in more deliberate, nuanced and progressive ways than had been attempted before, certainly in Colombia. Football, for instance, was positioned by Santos and his government through rhetoric, legislation and SDP projects to tackle issues such as reducing the violences that have destabilized and fragmented communities across the nation, violences that have had a formative and transformative effect on national, regional, local and individual identities, as well as to reach out to include previously marginalized or excluded groups in the national territory. Football was used for aims such as these not just by Santos and Coldeportes, the administrative department for sport, but by a wide variety of government ministries, administrative departments and agencies, including Colombia Joven, the Ministerior del Interior, the Cancillería, the Agencia para la Reincorporación y Normalización, the Ministerio de Salud y Protección Social and the Unidad para las Víctimas.

The Santos government reliance on and deployment of football for nation building was the most concerted and multi-faceted project so far attempted by politicians in Latin America. Sport, and football in particular, has often served political leaders across Latin America. It has been used as a projection of the nation's modernization by the likes of Médiçi in Brazil, with stadium building projects and the national football team success announcing Brazil's global position, and in Mexico with the hosting of the Olympics and World Cups. It has been used as a soporific to mask internal problems by the Argentinian military junta, and sporting success has been celebrated by a range of political leaders as evidence of a nation moving forward, and as an excuse for a nation to unite behind their sporting ambassadors. Rhetoric has at times been accompanied in different Latin American countries by infrastructure projects, funding for clubs and physical education, but it has not been put to use in such a systematic way as in Colombia to address the causes and effects of national conflict and division, and to build peace in a postconflict state. The Colombian national men's team was projected as a potent symbol of the Colombian collective, and a way in which to include previously excluded members of the territory. Football is a time and space for Colombians to connect or re-connect with the nation, a way in which Colombians can recognize each other in their 'Colombianness', and accept the belonging of other Colombians within the nation. A sense of 'colombianidad' has been difficult to establish in a country of strong regional

identities which have been privileged over national identifications, and polarizing divisions, as will be discussed in detail in the literature review. The men's national football team has often served as the most potent national unifying symbol, positioned by politicians and the media as exemplifying what Colombian characteristics are, and where a representative and recognizable Colombian identity can be found. Football also serves to connect state and citizens, not just psychologically, but also allowing the state to establish a visible presence in vulnerable and marginalized peripheral communities. With football-based SDP projects, the state performs functions in the provision of facilities and opportunities, thereby attempting to activate the citizenship of those in peripheral communities and establish spaces for negotiation between state and citizens. Football was empowered by legislation to this end, to become an institution to support existing bodies and structures to promote good citizenship and values beneficial to the nation-state. Football campaigns could tackle ongoing issues in education, health and gender equity, as well as seeking to reduce involvement in violence and vice and underline the values of teamwork, respect, conflict resolution and coexistence. Football was a central element of peace-building activities, most notably in the FARC demobilization and reintegration camps created after the peace agreement, but also in other vulnerable communities across the Colombian territory. This thesis argues, therefore, that football was put to a much greater and concerted use by Santos for his national unity project than has been seen before in Colombia or elsewhere in the region. His three-pronged football nationalism strategy also demonstrated new methods for strengthening psychological affiliations between citizens, between citizens and the state, and for including previously excluded Colombians into the national 'us'.

The multi-faceted nature of Santos' football for national unity project and its aims requires that this project is very interdisciplinary, straddling as it does fields such as history, politics, sports studies, peace and conflict studies and discourse analysis. This interdisciplinary approach is essential to analyse the various strands of the strategy in detail, in order to evaluate the reasons, methods and aims behind Santos' football nationalism project. Much analysis of sporting nationalism in Latin America has come from either a politico-historical or sociological perspective, but the combination of approaches included in this thesis, as described in the methodology section, is essential to assess how the different strands of Santos' strategy interrelate and address the national issues that were targeted. Analysing this government deployment of football for peace-building and nation-building contributes to and develops a number of burgeoning fields of academic research in addition to the field of study of sporting nationalism in Latin America and the rest of the world. Little has been written, for instance, on Colombia's use of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). There has been research on how

football has contributed to rebuilding community trust, reconciliation and reintegration following conflict in various parts of the world - for example on Football for Peace projects in Israel bringing together Jewish, Bedouin, Arab and Circassian communities (Sugden 2006; Schlenker and Sugden 2011; Schlenker et al. 2013), and the Mathare Youth Sports Association in Kenya (Willis 2000; Coalter 2010; Wamucii 2012) - but little yet on Colombia. This thesis therefore is a timely addition to this body of work. Football was a key element of life in the FARC transition camps following the peace agreement, as chapter four will discuss. Much can be learned about this experience of SDP in the Colombian context, to evaluate and advance the existing projects in Colombia, and to inform and aid the development of future programmes in Colombia and elsewhere. The fact that the project in the transition camps was part of a wider governmental strategy which boosted the role of Coldeportes, the Departamento Administrativo para el Deporte, la Recreación, la Actividad Física y el Aprovechamiento del Tiempo Libre, and in particular the promotion of Deporte Social Comunitario projects in peripheral and vulnerable regions and sectors of Colombia, is also significant. Studies do not always look at the wider scale of SDP projects, tending to focus on specific projects. The national scale and context of how SDP is implemented can be forgotten and is therefore worthy of study in terms of how it contributes to a strategy for the nation as a whole.

This thesis also contributes to understanding how new social media channels, such as Twitter, are deployed by politicians, an area of communications research which is only in its first decade of academic investigation. This thesis is groundbreaking in demonstrating how Twitter, nation-building and sport converges, something yet to have been considered in academia. This phenomenon is analysed here in the Colombian context, investigating how hashtags and aesthetic functions of Twitter, such as the inclusion of photos, images, videos and emojis, contribute to enhancing the affiliative psychological qualities of the message, and thus facilitate the strengthening of the imagined national community. Another field to which this thesis contributes, is that of legislation and public policies in sport. Legislation originally envisioned as a way to counter and prevent violence in professional football (similar legislation exists in Chile and Brazil¹), was developed under the Santos regime to have a social development and nation-building role, empowering and including citizens and stigmatized groups, culminating with the Plan Decenal de Seguridad Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol 2014-2024(PDSCCF). This plan

¹ In Chile, there is Ley 19.327, subsequently modified by Ley 20.620, and In Brazil there is Lei 12.299 of 27 July 2010 that modified Lei 10.671 of 15 May 2003. President Lula's government in Brazil also introduced the Lei de Modernização do Futebol and the Estatuto de Defesa do Torcedor, which are similar to Colombia's Ley 1445, the so-called Ley del Fútbol and Decreto 1007, the Estatuto del Aficionado en Colombia introduced under Santos, but neither have the *barrismo social* and social development aspect that the Colombian legislation contains, as chapter three will discuss.

was described by Juber Ariza, one of the directors of the PDSCCF from the Ministerio del Interior, as 'el único plan que existe en el mundo, en el que el fútbol es una política pública' (personal interview 6 October 2017) and a public policy that ascribes nation-building potential to football. Ariza went on to say:

El gran aporte que hicimos nosotros en la construcción fue convertir el fútbol en una herramienta de transformación social para la convivencia. Y eso es una mirada hacia el futuro, una mirada hacia el país que queremos todos construir, en el que logremos desmontar los obstáculos que impiden que los colombianos podamos vivir en paz, [...] Tiene un contenido político, una visión política, un mensaje político transformador. O sea, el plan no es neutro frente a la realidad del país. Tiene una intencionalidad clara de fortalecer la democracia, de construir ciudadanía, de hacer posible una cultura de tolerancia (personal interview 6 October 2017).

This intention makes the legislation and public policy important to research, as a unique football for nation-building strategy in the continent. In a July 2019 event discussing the state of play, successes and failures of the PDSCCF, Argentine sociologist Pablo Alabarces commented that he was in 'el único país de América Latina que ha desarrollado políticas públicas respecto de la violencia a la seguridad en el fútbol en colaboración y en diálogo' (*Prensa Personería Bogotá* 16 July 2019a). This thesis will analyse how this legislative process developed, its national aims, and offer an initial appraisal of what has been achieved and what difficulties have been encountered with the PDSCCF at the halfway stage of its implementation.

It is also important to clarify the scope and restrictions of this thesis. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the ways in which football has been deployed, the reasons and aims for which it has been used and the content and methods of these various strategies. It does not intend to fully evaluate the effectiveness of the various governmental strategies, though some initial observations are given, particularly relating to the impact of the PDSCCF at the halfway stage of its implementation. Relating to the speeches and tweets, the focus is on the content, frequency and message of the rhetoric, focusing on the production strategies and the strategy behind them relating to Santos' national unity and peace project, and not on attempting to gauge whether the strategy was successful. The response to the speeches and tweets is not considered, for instance, due to the difficulty in surveying those who would have listened to the speeches. It would be more possible to examine responses to tweets, looking, for example, at the quantity of views, likes, and type of replies. This is a potential area for future work. Similarly, the success or otherwise of SDP projects and legislation is not analysed here, as the aim is to evaluate how legislation initially targeted at dealing with violence in Colombian professional football, evolved to have a wider social development role targeting nation-building issues in the PDSCCF.

Regarding the government-based SDP projects, again, the focus of analysis is on the government

strategy that evolved to embrace and roll out the use of football as a development tool, and the extent to which it has been deployed. The aim is to argue that football has been tasked with helping resolve and improve some of the core problems that have blighted Colombia's efforts to knit communities and regions together into a wider national project. There is some evaluation of the PDSCCF and the problems with implementation that it has faced, as well as some responses to key events of the Coldeportes project in the ETCRs. However, as the majority of the interviews conducted were with figures involved with the government-side of the projects and analysis is made of the content of legislation, public policy documents, Coldeportes Strategic Action Plans, the focus of this thesis concentrates on the development, content and reasons for the multi-faceted football strategy rather than its results.

There is no doubt that more work will emerge in the future on sport in the FARC transition camps, the PDSCCF, *barrismo social* projects and Deporte Social Comunitario programmes, for example. Such work will have had the time, money, access and human resources to produce results from ethnographic research, and, therefore, will be able to evaluate the positive and negative features and impact of these projects in greater detail. This is beyond the scope of this particular work. Due to safety and ethical concerns, no visits were undertaken to the FARC camps, although there was the opportunity to meet the Coldeportes *promotores y monitores* who were responsible for the provision of sport and recreation opportunities in these camps and in the local communities around them. It is possible to read and listen to interviews from participants in these projects in newspapers and YouTube videos, for instance, allowing a limited appraisal, but a broader corpus of replies and observation is necessary to draw conclusions on the effectiveness of the project. The same limitations prevent a fuller analysis of the effectiveness and results of *barrismo social* projects, of *Golombiao* (a football for development and peace methodology and project run by the Colombia Joven administrative department, discussed in chapter four), and of other Coldeportes projects run by the Deporte Social Comunitario section. These topics merit future academic attention, though diverse aspects of the phenomenon of *barra* movements have already been the subject of research by a number of Colombian sociologists, such as Villanueva (2013), Gómez Eslava (2011), and Castro Lozano (2010; 2019).

This thesis focuses its scope to analysis of government-based SDP projects. The original intent was to compare and contrast projects organized by the government and by NGOs, particularly those involved in the Gol y Paz network. Several directors of NGOs involved in the network were interviewed during fieldwork, particularly of the Tiempo de Juego organization, and were

extremely helpful and insightful. Several participated in the construction of the PDSCCF. Although NGO projects are not examined in this thesis, much of the methodology employed and short and long-term aims are shared by all those running SDP projects in Colombia, whether these are governmental, NGO, by private companies, or social movements. Esteban Reyes, a director of Tiempo de Juego commented that 'Entre más uno entra a hacer trabajo en comunidades apartadas en distintos lugares de Colombia, encuentra que siempre hay una organización haciendo trabajo social a través de fútbol' (personal interview 19 October 2017). The amount of these football-based SDP projects and their shared objectives of reducing violence, building citizen values and encouraging coexistence, demonstrates, therefore, that football is recognized across Colombia as having a significant developmental role to play. It will be important for research to be undertaken that analyses such projects across the territory, so that lessons can be learned and its contribution to reducing violence and diverse social problems evaluated, for the benefit of future projects in Colombia and elsewhere.

This thesis comprises four chapters, following this introduction and literature review. Chapter one provides a context for football's importance in Colombia, explaining why football has accrued such potential power. Using the framework of Archetti (1999) and Alabarces (2002: 42-43) for the requirements of football's use for sporting nationalism based on the Argentinian context, it analyses how football success was deployed in key moments of Colombia's history. It argues that football was slow to develop as a potent source of nation-building, given the lack of success of the national team in continental and global tournaments, and that its development and national style were stunted by a reliance on foreign players and a sense of inferiority in the Colombian game. It argues that when success did occur in the 1980s and early 1990s, Colombian sporting nationalism was unique in that it positioned Colombia against an 'other' that was Colombia itself, the 'Narcolombia' image of the country caused by its reputation for violence and drug trafficking (Watson 2015: 2018a). The chapter also examines previous occasions when politicians used football for sporting nationalism, as a point of comparison for its instrumentalization under Santos.

Chapter two analyses Santos' football-specific discourse and tweets. Using a corpus of 99 speeches and over a thousand tweets from Santos' personal account, @JuanManSantos, and the official presidency account, @infopresidencia, an adapted form of critical discourse analysis is used to quantitatively and qualitatively examine the content, frequency and development of Santos' message. The results demonstrate that men's football was empowered by Santos constantly, but particularly at the time of football mega events, as a symbol of national unity and

an example of a nation playing for peace. The ritual of a national men's team match became a propitious time and space for developing emotional attachments to the nation, a sense of national positivity and pride, and inclusion of all Colombians via rhetoric and tweet broadcasts. Santos' discourse proposed that the national team represents all Colombians and is representative of a new nation, and he used it to gain support for the peace process, with the result that the national shirt became politicized and a site of contest of contrasting political opinions. The chapter also argues that Twitter for sporting nationalism became increasingly effectively managed and deployed, as Twitter features, such as hashtags and the use of images, videos and emojis, supported and enhanced the emotive and patriotic impact of the political message, and thus facilitated psychological attachments to the nation.

Legislation and public policies are the subject of chapter three, which looks at how football-specific laws, which originated during the previous Uribe government to tackle the problem of violence around professional football matches, evolved during the Santos presidency. The contention of this chapter is that an intention of the legislation passed during the Santos presidency was to cleanse and strengthen football as a potent national symbol. It tried to remove criminal influence that had blighted football during the 1980s and early 1990s, and the violence that had become an all-too visible and regular occurrence in professional football stadia around the country. It argues that legislation during the Santos terms in office moved away from solely focusing on sanctions to deter violence, to encompass preventative and pedagogical measures, having taken into account proposals and actions by *barras bravas* and other bottom-up projects of community building. Uniquely in the continent, laws and the PDSCCF public policy included articles to support, promote and empower football as a tool for community development, committing government and local authorities to support and provide activities and workshops to help reduce the likelihood of violence and criminality originating in *barras* and the often-troubled communities from which *barra* members often emerge. The potential for SDP using football was added to legislation, recognizing the peace-building and nation-building potential of the sport. This chapter pays particular attention to the culmination of this legislative process, the content and implementation so far of the PDSCCF, the public policy that fully articulates and sets aims for how football can benefit the nation, aims that entirely resonate with Santos' discourse about football and nation. This chapter also shows how Santos gave Coldeportes the institutional backing and budget to take on an increasingly significant role, promoting it to an Administrative Department with a seat in the cabinet, and then setting in motion the process for it to become a full ministry.

Finally, chapter four examines government SDP projects undertaken during the Santos presidency. It focuses on *Golombiao*, a project of Colombia Joven, and the Coldeportes provision of sport, recreation and physical activity opportunities in the FARC transition camps following the historic peace agreement. It argues that under Santos, SDP projects became a greater priority for Coldeportes, particularly the Deporte Social Comunitario section, and demonstrates this by recourse to the strategic development plans of the administrative department. Given the extra financial backing and institutional role of Coldeportes under Santos, there was an onus on taking sport to peripheral and vulnerable communities in Colombia. Projects and multi-sport events such as the Juegos de la Amazonía y Orinoquia and the Juegos por la Paz del Brazo de Mompo, supported by Coldeportes, have provided evidence of state presence, given opportunities to citizens and created new socialization spaces for community encounter. They also give opportunities to shift the prevailing narrative and imagination of regions with particular moral topographies that place them on the periphery of the nation and lower in the national hierarchy of value. In addition, they are accompanied by pedagogical activities and methodologies for SDP, aiming to create 'good' Colombian citizens. Many projects have at their core strategies to reduce violence and confrontation, bearing in mind that the heterogeneous violences from which Colombia has suffered have fractured communities and impeded nation-building efforts. These campaigns complement and enact the functions and potential that Santos ascribed to football in his rhetoric. In previous moments when football has served political nation-building efforts, concrete actions were lacking to support the rhetoric that emerged at the time of spectacular football success. This chapter particularly focuses on the visual, and arguably important project of football serving for nation-building, during the Santos presidency, namely how football was used in the Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación (ETCR) to where the FARC demobilized following the signing of the peace agreement. Football was a vital bridge for peace building in these camps, providing opportunities for the former guerrillas, local communities and armed forces and police to share their Colombianness at the time of national team matches, as well as facilitate mutual recognition and re-identification processes. The civil war with the FARC has been at the heart of the national divide for over half a century, and this chapter concludes that football provided Santos with a potential space in which to accommodate, or begin to accommodate, those often excluded from the national 'us', those who had been seen by many Colombians as the enemy.

Almost all the Colombians who were interviewed for this thesis, or with whom I spoke informally during the process came up with a version of the following phrase from Juber Ariza: 'todos sabemos que el fútbol es el único elemento que nos une a los colombianos' (personal interview

6 October 2017). The speeches and tweets of Santos encourage and support this view. This thesis, then, analyses how and why this belief has been put into practice during his presidency, and what this says about the potential role for football for a peace-building and nation-building process.

Methodology

This is a highly interdisciplinary thesis, covering a wide range of fields of academic study, given the nature and scope of the topic. In order to understand the phenomenon of football in Colombia and how it has been deployed prior to and especially during the Santos presidency, research and background reading across a range of topics has been required. The aim, through analysis of the presidential rhetoric and tweets, legislation and public policies and SDP methodologies, is to show how these strategies used by the Santos government interrelate and have at their core the intent to deploy football towards Santos' national unity project addressing the causes and consequences of national divisions. The issues of Colombian unity, coexistence and peace are at the heart of each strand of the three-pronged sporting nationalism strategy, and it is important to investigate how these messages were broadcast in discourse, empowered by legislation and public policy, and then put into action through SDP campaigns and methodologies. This approach allows a more detailed and thorough understanding of the rationale, methodology, aims, strategy and complementart nature of the government's overall football for national; unity strategy.

As a result of this interdisciplinary nature and the different aspects of the chapters, it has been necessary to adopt a mixed methods approach to attempt to fully capture, analyse and evaluate the extent to which football was deployed for nation-building in Colombia during the Santos regime, as well as previous instances where it was deployed. Plano Clark and Ivankova define mixed methods research as 'a process of research in which researchers integrate quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis to best understand a research purpose' (2016: 4). This mixed methods approach has a number of benefits which include: helping the researcher to 'reach more justifiable and more complete study conclusions than using quantitative or qualitative methods alone' (Greene and Caracelli 1997; Plano Clark and Ivankova 2016: 5); increase the range and breadth of the results generated, which helps toward creating a greater understanding of the focus of study (Archibald and Gerber 2018: 959; Creswell and Plano Clark 2011; J.C. Greene 2007; Johnson 2015; Johnson and Gray 2010); and allowing a researcher to 'best understand a research problem by capitalizing on their complimentary strengths and differences' (Plano Clark 2017: 305). This particular thesis has been produced using a variety of research methods, such as analysing primary sources from newspapers, magazines, quantitatively and qualitatively analysing presidential speeches and tweets, as well as

conducting a series of semi-structured and unstructured interviews. This has permitted more global, balanced and evidenced opinions and conclusions to be produced with this 'triangulation' of methods. According to Roulston, 'methodological triangulation is often used by researchers to show that they have not merely relied on claims made within interview settings to generate assertions' (2010: 84). Interviews in this particular thesis have been used to support, contest and give personal perspectives to data collected in different ways.

Thesis Structure

A series of choices needed to be made in terms of the scope and focus of the research. In order to best scrutinize and interrogate the rationale, methodology and aims of the Santos government strategy for deploying football for nation-building, the idea of examining what was said, what was written in law and what was actually done using football presented itself as the most appropriate structure to shape the project. This approach facilitated a close analysis of ongoing and evolving rhetorical, legislative and campaign strategies over the course of Santos' two terms in office, allowing a sense of analytical continuity, and the ability to see how these various strategic strands interrelated. Although the mega event of a World Cup often tends to be the central focus of much work on sporting nationalism, this aim of this project was to investigate and interrogate football's use as a continuing tool for national unity and development in Colombia rather than just at the time of the exceptional nationalism generated by a World Cup.

Each section involved a series of decisions of what to research and how. In terms of the analysis of Santos' discourse and tweets that is the focus in chapter two, the decision was taken to focus entirely on the rhetoric produced by Santos, rather than what was said by other leading political figures about football (the directors of Coldeportes or Vice Presidents for example). As president of the country, and therefore as the country's official spokesperson, it felt most instructive to focus on Santos' speeches, and the tweets from his personal account and that of presidency, which serves as his official social media mouthpiece. The official transcripts of Santos' speeches were used for analysis, as reproduced on the *Presidencia de la República* website, which archives all official speeches of the president. Santos was interviewed on television, radio and for the print media on football, but these interventions were not included in the corpus for the coding process, as they were often fragments of larger interviews, were not always direct quotations and were less structured. It felt more indicative to analyse what Santos had prepared to say

during the ceremonial and state occasions when he chose to speak on football, bearing in mind the fact that there would be a clear strategy from him and his communications team.

The legislation and public policies chosen for analysis in chapter three were selected based on the *marco normativo e institucional* section of the Plan Decenal de Seguridad Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol 2014-2024 (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 24-30) which detailed the legislative process which had led to the publication of the PDSCCF. The Plan was the culmination of this series of laws and decrees, and therefore this provided a suitable frame of reference to chart the progression of how laws and public policies had shifted in emphasis from their origin. There was also the opportunity to consult an expert in this area in Colombia, Alirio Amaya, about this process and which laws were pertinent to the area of football and how football could be deployed for nation-building and social development. Amaya was heavily involved in the development of football-specific laws given his experience with projects involving the Bogotá mayor's office and rival fans of the *barras* (organized fan clubs) of Millonarios and Santa Fe, and then as a member of the Comisión Técnica de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol (CTSCCF), working for Coldeportes, and now the Personería de Bogotá.

The choice of SDP projects to analyse presented more choices. The original concept at the time of embarking upon this thesis was to look at football in SDP projects undertaken by the government and NGOs, in order to examine the active use of football for development and peace as a wider process, and compare and contrast methodologies, pedagogy, messages and aims. This was before the signing of the peace agreement and before the inclusion of sport, physical activity and recreation projects in the FARC transition camps, organized by Coldeportes. This project only began in April / May 2017 with the hiring and training of the *promotores y monitores* who would work in the camps and local communities, and this thesis began in September 2016. The Coldeportes project in the ETCRs was an essential project to study, given how sport was aiding the reconstruction, reintegration, and reconciliation process at the heart of Colombia's most emblematic national divide, and as to how Santos was trying to unite the nation. It was a project entirely linked with Santos' rhetoric and his vision for football's unifying and social development role, and put into practice how football could function as a time and space for reconciliation, reintegration and coexistence. Government SDP projects were a rich topic for analysis, particularly after establishing contacts within Coldeportes and Colombia Joven (organizers of the *Golombiao* campaign), to be able to interview department leaders and gain access to strategic plans. Restricting focus to government-led SDP projects meant a tighter focus

on how football was appropriated by the Santos government, rather than examining how football serves a variety of masters and projects, albeit for similar aims.

There are a number of SDP-type projects run by the Colombian government, and not just by Coldeportes. An original intention was to include and examine projects such as the 'Me la juego por las víctimas' campaign (organized by the Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas), the Diplomacia Deportiva y Cultural programme (organized by the Cancillería de Colombia) or projects run by the Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración. The plethora of activities involving football run by these various Ministries, Administrative Departments and government sections emphasizes the extent to which football served the Santos government. As Coldeportes is in charge of sport, recreation, and physical activity and was bolstered by Santos first as an administrative department and then proposed as a full Ministry, the decision was taken to focus on projects originating from a department with sporting interests at its core. Chapter four focuses on analysing the shift in Coldeportes' strategic plans and aims during the Santos government, how the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes was strengthened and developed in order to give increasing importance to the social development role of sport in the country. Coldeportes introduced and implemented an increasing range of programs with a social development focus, such as the Escuelas Deportivas por la Paz (ESDEPAZ) and Supérate Intercolegiados, mentioned in this thesis *en passant*. Coldeportes support for various regional multisport competitions that also have a developmental focus is also discussed as evidence. The main focus in chapter four on how SDP campaigns were used for nation building focuses on Coldeportes activities, with particular attention paid to the sport in the ETCRs projects. *Golombiao* was selected for analysis as being an enduring and established government SDP strategy, based on the original *metodología de fútbol por la paz*. Indeed, Santos visited a *Golombiao* session in Suba, Cundinamarca, on 27 September 2013, and delivered a speech while there on sport and football's role in Colombia for unity, peace and development and so was aware of this SDP methodology and project. In truth, each of the projects mentioned in this paragraph could serve as the subject for extended study.

The fieldwork phase of the project took place in Bogotá from 1 October to 14 December 2017. As the capital city, it provided the most resources and channels to support the various strands of research, in terms of libraries, universities, government ministries and departments, football clubs and SDP projects. In the pre-fieldwork phase, initial contacts for interviews were established with a number of people in Bogotá. As a snowball-type strategy for finding interviewees was the most propitious for this type of project (as interviewees knew and

suggested others for interview involved in the various projects being analysed, and often put me in contact with them), Bogotá offered the best place to be based. In addition, the headquarters of Coldeportes, the Ministerio del Interior and the Procuraduría are all in the capital (all places that were the locations of interviews or meetings).

Speech and Tweet Discourse Analysis Methods

In chapter two, there is a more detailed methodology section about the choices made when selecting the speech and tweet corpus for analysis and the reasons for these decisions, the software used, the process of coding the speeches and tweets, and the queries then run to check the coding process and to qualitatively analyse the content of the speeches and tweets. A brief overview is provided here, however. Quantitative and qualitative analysis was undertaken of the corpus of official speeches and tweets. Statistical content analysis, defined as ‘a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context’ (Krippendorff 1980: 21) was used to draw conclusions about the frequency of certain messages, themes and words. This comprised both inductive analysis, where ‘inferences can be developed by examining empirical data for patterns’ (Roulston 2010: 150) and thematic analysis, which ‘entails some form of data reduction, through applying codes to the data). In terms of qualitative analysis, a number ‘queries’ were run in order to evaluate which nodes appeared together regularly, for example when ‘the national men’s team’ appeared alongside ‘unity’ or ‘peace and coexistence’. I was looking for patterns of content where, when and how often certain messages converged, alongside aesthetic elements such as images or videos, in order to assess what the overall message was and what was the objective of its broadcast. How were emotional affiliations, a sense of ‘Colombianness’ and patriotism being engendered and strengthened with these tweets? These aesthetic add-on elements of Twitter were also a focus of the study, both for quantitative and qualitative analysis. The coding process allowed me to quantify the appearances of photos, gifs, emojis, videos and hashtags, but also to qualitatively assess their content through running queries, in terms of who was shown, what the occasion was, what national symbols were visible, and what messages were also included.

The results of the coding and query process were then triangulated with data from interviews with the likes of Santos’ director of communications Juan Carlos Torres, those who have studied the convergence of football in politics in Colombia, and Colombians who work in the field of football for development and peace, as well as background reading on theory and other studies

on sport and political rhetoric. This triangulation of statistical content analysis, discourse analysis, and information gleaned from interviews and research about the objectives and production of the rhetoric, as well as its reception, allows a much fuller picture to be revealed about the process of how and why football was spoken about as part of Santos' national unity project.

Interviews

Prior to leaving to conduct fieldwork, research ethics approval was gained through the University of Sheffield, adhering to the university's code of practice and guidelines for conducting research and data protection. In addition to safety considerations, most of the stipulations related to conducting interviews. The need to conduct interviews was essential to support the data collected for various sections of the thesis, as well as to provide a greater understanding of the processes, strategies, aims and projects that took place around football during the Santos presidency, as well as opinions of their outcomes. Interviewees were obtained due to their expertise or experience in topics related to the three principal strands of investigation, *viz* Santos' discourse, laws and public policies and SDP campaigns. Interviewees were often heavily involved in the various facets of the government's football strategy, whether the speech content (such as Juan Carlos Torres, Santos' director of communications until September 2017), the legislation process and the PDSCCF (such as Alirio Amaya, Juber Ariza, Ana Arizabaleta and Esteban Reyes) or in the SDP campaigns organized by Colombia Joven and Coldeportes (such as Adriana Rincón, Omar Becerra and the various *promotores y monitores* interviewed). Many interviewees were contacted directly to request their participation, and more were gained through the original interviewees. Some interviews were also gained having participated in events such as the Deporte y Post-conflicto conference organized by the Comité Olímpico Colombiano (COC) on 10-11 October 2017. Indeed, several present, particularly officials from Coldeportes such as the Coldeportes subdirector Dr Afranio Restrepo, offered their support at this event, and they in turn provided further contacts and the opportunity to attend a feedback event with the *promotores y monitores* who were working in the ETCRs.

Regarding the interview process, interviewees were provided in advance with a letter containing information about the thesis and the purpose of the interview (see Appendix 7 for an example – some elements of the letter changed depending on the focus of the interview, eg. SDP projects, the PDSCCF etc). A supporting document clarified the rights of the interviewees, including: their right to stop the interview at any time; to be anonymous if they requested; to not answer

certain questions; their right to see transcripts of the completed interview and make edits or redact sections; their right to have the interview and recording deleted and not be included within the thesis. A form was produced for the interviewee to read and sign confirming their understanding of their rights and the project, and their consent to take part and for their comments to be used in the thesis and potential future publications. Appendix 8 shows the consent form given to the interviewees. This form was produced according to the research ethics and code of practice regarding data protection of the University of Sheffield, and was approved as part of gaining ethical approval for the fieldwork.

Interviews were semi-structured or unstructured. There was not a set list of questions for each interview, though a number of the same questions appeared in various interviews. For instance, those involved with the PDSCCF were asked a number of the same questions about the process, content and implementation of the Plan. In all cases for interviews, questions were prepared and structured before the interview, to ensure that all topics that I wished to cover would be included. All questions allowed for open-ended answers, and expected follow-up questions based on the information provided by the interviewee. As statistical information from the interviewees was not generated, this interview approach was the most-suited to addressing the aims and research questions of the project. Many questions could be categorized as 'narrative inquiry' questions (Bell 2006: 21). Bell refers to Gudmundsdottir (1996) when writing that this 'research method can be described as narrative when data collection, interpretation and writing are considered a "meaning-making" process with similar characteristics to stories' (Bell 2006: 21). I was interested in the stories, experiences and explanations behind the processes being analysed in each section of the thesis, whether this was regarding the laws and public policies, or experiences with SDP projects, for instance. This type of interview had a phenomenological approach, aiming to 'generate detailed and in-depth descriptions of human experiences' (Roulston 2010: 16). Having transcribed the interviews, a phenomenological approach was again applied when analysing them. Roulston refers to Moustakas (1994) who 'begins the process of phenomenological reduction – that is, reducing the data to its essential meaning elements – by identifying "meaning statements" relevant to the object of analysis' (Roulston 2010: 161). Statements of interviewees were triangulated with data obtained from other sources of the topic of the interview. Regarding the PDSCCF, different views about the process and content of the Plan could be gained from the likes of representatives from the Ministerio del Interior and Coldeportes, academics and the NGOs involved with the construction of the plan, and representatives of *barras* and the Fundación Juan Manuel Bermúdez Nieto (FJMNB), who were part of the *Barras Construyendo País* report and have been affected by the laws and PDSCCF.

This allowed me to best analyse the public policy and its aims for how football could address local, regional and national problems in Colombia, recognizing football's potential power in this regard.

Archive work

In Bogotá, research was undertaken regarding the history of use of football for nation building. Archives were consulted in the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia and the Biblioteca Luis Ángel Arango, searching for magazines and newspaper reports related to the most significant periods of football success in Colombia. In chapter one, sources come from *Semana*, an important current affairs and culture magazine of national impact, and *Estadio* and *Afición*, two sports magazines which also had a national reach in the periods of their existence. These publications permitted an understanding of how football success was discussed and presented to the nation, and what questions were being debated about football and nation, from both a current affairs and sport-specific perspective. As the focus was on the Santos period, a wider range of press about the historical periods of football success was not studied in detail. Again, this is an area of potential future research, which could take into account reports from daily national newspapers such as *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador*, or indeed regional newspapers in the main centres of Colombian football, as well as sport magazines such as *Vea Deportes* and *Deporte Gráfico*.

Observation

Due to research ethics and safety concerns, no visits to conduct interviews or observe the Coldeportes sports, recreation and physical activity in the ETCRs were made. However, the opportunity to attend a feedback and evaluation session for the *promotores y monitores* on 23-24 October at the Coldeportes headquarters provided first-hand information about the situation in each ETCR. All the *promotores y monitores* gave presentations about their ETCR, describing the camp, local area and community, the problems faced and solutions found, successes, failures, special activities that took place, and their opinions about the project in general. A number of group activities took place at this event discussing the problems encountered, what steps could be taken to solve them, and what support was needed from Coldeportes. This event was invaluable to gain information from those on the organizational side of the project. A visit was

made to a SDP project run by Tiempo de Juego in the Altos de Cazucá, Soacha to see the *metodología de fútbol por la paz* in action. This visit allowed me to organize interviews with a number of Tiempo de Juego directors and project leaders who had taken part in the construction of the PDSCCF, as well as other leaders of other organizations who are part of the Red Gol y Paz.

Literature Review: Colombia and Problems with Nation-Building

When Santos became President, he faced the same challenge that most Colombian presidents have confronted: the difficulty in marrying the Colombian state with the Colombian nation. Chasteen notes that on gaining independence, countries like Colombia were 'states in search of nationhood' (Chasteen 2003: xviii); for many academics who write on Colombia, this 'need to create an "imagined community" out of a geographical space' (Schlesinger 1987: 222), in which the people that find themselves in Colombian territory feel themselves to be and recognize each other as being Colombian, has yet to be achieved. Livingstone asks whether the task of nation-building has successfully been completed (2003: 60), Pécaut argues that the 'country has not yet been fully constructed as a country (quoted in Palacios 2006: 261), and Lobo suggests that Colombia 'has something of a vexed relationship with its own nation-ness' (2013: 354).

Smith writes that a nation is 'a predominantly spatial or territorial conception. According to this view, nations must possess compact, well-defined territories. People and territory must, as it were, belong to each other' (1991: 9). Colombia has found it difficult to reconcile its people and territory. In terms of space, Colombia struggled to define where it was, given the inaccessibility of much of the terrain notionally under state control after independence, and difficulty in mapping the land. It also suffered losses of territory, most painfully the loss of Panama in 1903. Colombia's vast geography and the difficulty of transport and communication embedded strong regional identities and loyalties that are privileged over nationalist sentiment, impeding a sense of 'Colombianness'. The extent of this regionalism and regional differences in identity, has led to Colombia variously being described as 'a kind of archipelago' (Pearce 1990: 13), a 'country of countries' (Martín-Barbero 1993: 165), or a 'mosaic of isolated regions' (Palacios 2006: 5). Safford and Palacios argue that topographical difficulties have meant that 'Colombia's history has been shaped by its spatial fragmentation' (2002: ix), topographical factors being at the very root of its ongoing problems to build nation, creating heterogeneous identities and cultures that are difficult to accommodate within an all-embracing national identity. As Gustavo Bell, former Colombian Vice President, put it, 'Colombia tiene más geografía que estado' (quoted in Wylie 2013: 25).

Other writers argue that there are two Colombias: an inner, central Colombia, which includes the more urban and developed communities; and an outer Colombia, more rural, less developed

and less included within the nation. This idea of an inner and outer Colombia is a geographical as well as psychological marker, ascribing who and where are 'within' the nation, and who and where are marginalized. The outer Colombia and its inhabitants are on the periphery, in terms of state recognition, presence and provision of citizen rights. This is where anti-state actors dispute state hegemony, where law does not hold, the state is weak or absent, and where vulnerable indigenous or AfroColombian communities tend to live. Kilcullen proposes that Colombia is 'really two countries, or rather one country embedded within another' (2016: 67), and Pearce argues that:

There is a Colombia which is constitutional and legalistic, which boasts all the trappings of a modern polity. This is the Colombia which is often described in the world's press as the most democratic country in Latin America. But there is also a 'real' Colombia of the people where the rule of law barely holds, deprivation and poverty are the norm and democracy is just a word on a historic document (1990: 4-5).

This idea of there being two Colombias is helpful in articulating struggles to create a unified nation, and explains why, as shall be shown in chapter two, Santos was at such pains to regularly tell Colombians that *everyone* supported the national team and the team represented the whole of Colombia. In addition to strong regional identities superceding national identifications, Colombia has been defined by a series of geographical, racial, political, social and economic dichotomies or oppositions that impede the sense of the people feeling like they belonged to the territory and recognizing others as belonging to the same national in-group. These historical dichotomies include urban vs rural, developed vs under-developed, legal vs illegal, Liberal vs Conservative, rich vs poor, white vs non-white and Spanish-speaking vs non Spanish-speaking. The most recent iteration of national polarization, the one which most preoccupied Santos in his national unity project, was the 'Sí' vs 'No' debate regarding the peace talks between the government and the long-time enemies of the state, the FARC and the subsequent plebiscite to ratify the agreement. As shall we shown in chapter two, football was called upon by Santos to mitigate the polarization engendered by the peace process, and in chapters three and four, how football served to bridge long-enduring fissures and create spaces for socialization and integration. Colombia's people, historically, have been a nation divided, with more reasons to pull apart than unify. Indeed, it has often more common for a national 'us' to be identified against a 'them' who also are Colombian. This would be true in the case of how the FARC and other left-wing guerrilla groups such as the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), their supporters and left-wing political groups have been 'othered' and cast as terrorists in political and media rhetoric by the likes of Santos' predecessor, Álvaro Uribe (2002-2010). López de la

Roche used Bajtin's terminology to describe Uribe's style of rhetoric as 'monologic' or monoglossic' (2015: 5), in which there was the constant and reiterated 'producción de un singular "nacionalismo antifariano", relacionado con la definición discursiva de las FARC como el enemigo #1 de los colombianos' (2015: 6). Uribe's was an exclusionary discourse that contrasted sharply with Santos's inclusive rhetoric, including that using football, as will be shown in chapter two. These enduring and embedded oppositions have meant that Colombia lacks a national identity, as Bushnell points out:

It is thus a commonplace to say (with Colombians often saying first and loudest) that the country lacks a true national identity or a proper spirit of nationalism, at least as compared to most of its Latin American neighbours. Indeed hyperbolic nationalism is not common in Colombia; and the national character, if such a thing can be said to exist, is a composite of sometimes contradictory traits (1991: viii).

What have been present are strong regionalist tendencies and strong regional identities that have been a 'determining element in Colombian history and political imagination' (Bolívar, 2018: 583). Given their geographical separation and lack of communication, but also as a consequence of regionally specific political and cultural projects (Appelbaum 2007: 35-41), strong regional identities were developed that persist to this day, which mean that Colombians may often define themselves as *costeños*, *paisas*, *rolos*, *vallunos* etc before being Colombian. These privileged regional identities have impeded a sense of identification with the central state, particularly as certain predominantly white, highland regions, such as Antioquia, saw themselves as being hierarchically superior to other peripheral regions inhabited by blacks and indigenous Colombians. These regional identities have often come into conflict on the football pitch, with clubs being the expression of regional pride. During the golden generation of the late 1980s and early 1990s, there was often the accusation of *rosca paisa* (bias towards players from Antioquia) levelled at coach Francisco Maturana from fans of the Barranquilla, Bogotá and Cali-based teams in particular, arguing that Maturana favoured players from this region. Ingrid Bolívar also shows the relationship between football and regional identity in Antioquia in the 1950s and 1960s. She discusses how footballers found it difficult to reconcile their status as footballers and *antioqueños* given that sport was not seen as an activity in keeping with the industry and endeavour typical of the region (and how the building of the Atanasio Girardot stadium was a matter of regional pride, asserting the predominance of Medellín as a sporting centre in Colombia (2018: 587). Regional identities and considerations are privileged over national ones.

Smith outlined five vital characteristics for national identity: 1) An historic territory or homeland; 2) Common myths and historical memories; 3) A common, mass public culture; 4) Common legal rights and duties for all members; 5) A common economy with territorial mobility for members

(1991: 14). Colombia has problems with each prerequisite. The territory has often been unknown, with frontiers being liminal and contested, and although the national territory and the 'map-as-logo' (Anderson 1991: 175) is now recognized and defined as a symbol, much of the territory has been violently contested between the state and a variety of anti-state actors. This has meant that it has been difficult to imagine the homeland, which Billig sees as being as important when imagining oneself to be a member of the national community (1995: 74). Secondly, national myths and memories are often linked to trauma or tragedy rather than moments of pride and heroism, and are related to oppositional or exclusionary incidents rather than unifying moments. Thirdly, regional differences and identities prevented or problematized a mass public culture, although this is where football offers itself as the most accepted mass popular interest. This power of football in Colombia was investigated by the 'Poder del Fútbol' survey, discussed in chapter three, a document which justified the Santos government and Coldeportes' programmes using football for development and peace. The historical reasons for this power of football will be analysed in chapter one. Fourthly, rights may be enshrined in laws and the Constitution (the latest version was introduced in 1991), but, in practice, they remain on paper as Gabriel García Márquez commented: 'The constitution, the laws... everything in Colombia is magnificent, everything on paper. It has no connection with reality' (quoted in Dennis 2006: 112). Finally, many Colombians have been excluded from the legal community and economy, and have reverted to the black market or the drug trade. The diverse violences of the Colombian conflict have meant that many contested areas are no-go zones, and have caused massive displacement.

These problems explain the weakness of Colombian nationalism, failing Gellner's assertion that the 'political and the national unit should be congruent' (2006: 1). The apparatus of state, including political, legal, juridical and security institutions, may be in place, but the state fails to exercise the monopoly of power and exert its presence over the entirety of the territory, and many Colombians are not minded to include themselves emotionally and psychologically with the state. A long line of presidents has failed to convince Colombians that they were part of 'an imagined political community' (Anderson 1991: 6) with a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (ibid: 7). The elite national project did not deepen to include all inhabitants of the Colombian territory. The political elite has failed to find ways for Colombians to identify each other, as Gellner argues is essential (2006: 7). The need for citizens to imagine and be able to recognize each other means that 'nationalism contains a strong social, psychological dimension' (Billig 1995: 10) which requires an 'affirmative action of people who identify themselves with the nation-state and who adopt this nation-state as theirs' (Grotenhuis 2016: 20). Billig cites Tajfel in saying that 'a nation

will only exist if a body of people feel themselves to be a nation' (1981: 229 in Billig 1995: 66), and Hall adds that 'people are not only legal citizens of a nation, they participate in the *idea* of nation as represented in its national culture' (Hall 1992: 292). Colombians do not always feel Colombian, or if they do, they might have a stronger identity that either relegates their 'Colombianness' to a secondary position (for example, many Colombians identify themselves by their region first and foremost), or might even exclude them from an elite, top-down, or majority in-group definition of 'Colombianness' (such as being a member of the FARC). As Hobsbawm notes, 'we cannot assume that for most people national identification – when it exists – excludes or is always or ever superior to, the remainder of the set of identifications which constitute the social being' (1990: 11). This psychological factor must be appealed to for Colombianness to become the 'endemic condition' that strong nations require, and not either an 'intermittent mood' (Billig 1995: 6) or a secondary identity. This requires traditions to be 'invented' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992) that appeal to a wide national audience, as the constructivist school of researchers, such as Gellner and Hobsbawm, argue is an on-going preoccupation. Myths, traditions and heroes will be selected to mark and define crucial foundational and transformational moments in the nation's history and will be celebrated and commemorated with national days and monuments, but a nation must also adapt to ever-changing circumstances that require the national narrative to be updated or re-invented. The national construct is, therefore, 'a mixture of old and new, of traditional elements and new inventions to build a contextual story of "we"' (Grotenhuis 2016: 26). Hobsbawm points out that national identification 'can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods' (1990: 11), and Hall also emphasises that cultural identity 'is a matter of "becoming" as well as "being"', as identities 'undergo constant transformation. Far from being fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to their own continuous "play" of history, culture and power' (1990: 225). In Santos' Colombia, there was a need to reinvent and project what Colombia could be with an end to the conflict with the FARC that had shaped so much of the national imaginary and narrative since 1964, creating a new Colombian identity that included the FARC and the areas previously under their control. This new national narrative required support from powerful affiliative moments and symbols to override previous privileged identities and imaginaries. For Santos, football, and the national men's team in particular, served as a way of creating a psychological attachment and affiliation that could privilege Colombianness. Football has the emotional appeal, is a mass public cultural practice and interest, and can override, or at least temporarily displace, existing oppositions and identities that otherwise impede the imagination and mutual recognition of being Colombian. This thesis deals with the way in which Santos has sought to

establish this psychological facet required for a successful national project, through patriotic rhetoric about the football team as a national symbol of unity, through empowering the national team shirt as a symbol of inclusion and mutual identification, and through deploying football as a tool for development and peace, promoting desired citizenship values. Since much of Santos' national unity project focused on ending the conflict with the FARC and creating the conditions for peace, being a supporter of the national football team was a propitious site to allow former FARC members into the national in-group, and for other Colombians to accept and recognize them as Colombians. The 2014 World Cup success, when Colombia had their best ever tournament, coincided with Santos's re-election in a campaign dominated by the peace debate, and meant that the national football team, peace and national unity became intertwined.

The Weak State

The difficulties of the Colombian state to forge a national identity are, in the eyes of many, down to the inability to establish hegemony over its territory (Dix 1977: 72; Livingstone 2003: 149; Dennis 2006: 91; Palacios 2006: xiii; LaRosa and Mejía 2012: 61). Hylton blames the state's 'chronic deficit' for its failure to establish its authority and institutions (2006: 11-12), leading to a situation of 'parcellized sovereignty' (ibid: 12) where other anti-state actors effectively wield control or contest it. Richani blames the 'perpetual crises' of state hegemony (2002: 100-101) and 'dysfunction of institutions' (ibid: 15) for the persistence of violence. He is referring to recurring bipartisan conflict between Liberal and Conservative supporters, and to the protracted war involving various guerrilla groups, paramilitaries, drug cartels, *Bandas Criminales* (BACRIM) and state forces. The central state has not been present in many peripheral areas, and authority has traditionally been wielded by regional elites and party chiefs through whom benefits for citizens have been granted in return for support. Both Hylton and Livingstone believe that the Colombian state has never administered the totality of its territory (Hylton 2006: 11-12; Livingstone 2003: 59); issues really came to a head during the presidency of Andrés Pastrana (1998-2002) when he granted the FARC control of the Caguán region before peace talks. This concession, in addition to the power of paramilitary organizations such as the Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) in the Magdalena Medio and elsewhere, meant that the nation-state was debilitated:

Esta distribución del territorio nacional pone en jaque el mapa político del país, produciendo el efecto de una nación que se desintegra y de un Estado que pierde la soberanía frente al dominio del territorio. Durante el gobierno de Andrés Pastrana, la

discordia entre los grupos guerrilleros, la instauración de leyes particulares de los grupos guerrilleros en las zonas bajo su control y el antagonismo de los mismos con el gobierno hacía pensar a los colombianos que la división política del país podría cambiar y dar paso a tres naciones diferentes: la República de Colombia, la República del Cauca y la República del Magdalena Medio (Suárez 2008: 413).

Hegemony across the Colombian territory has long been contested. Following Independence, factions soon developed with differing versions of how they envisaged Nueva Granada's development. By the 1840s, these factions had crystalized into the Liberal and Conservative parties. These two parties became the first, and most important, national institutions capable of creating linkages across regions, class and race, and would dominate Colombian politics for the next 150 years (Pearce 1990: 119; Wilde 1978: 35; Hoskin 1998: 50; Bushnell 1991: 94). Members of the elite sided with one party or another, and then in their private fiefdoms enlisted cross-class and multi-ethnic support from those who relied on them for services and livelihoods. In this way, political loyalties and dependencies were established down party lines, creating enduring chains of clientelism and patronage. The two parties were both responsible for nation building, but also for exacerbating and embedding national fissures. As the parties built support across different classes, regions and races, they helped to foster inclusivity and common identities developed. Conversely, the bipartisan and highly factionalized nature of these identities also led to regular conflict. LaRosa and Mejía argue that 'Colombian nation building is therefore tied to political partisanship. Having either a Liberal or Conservative political affiliation formed an essential part of what it meant to be Colombian' (2012: 61). Hylton agrees: 'citizenship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Colombia did not entail a sense of common belonging within the nation, represented by central government, but rather an exclusive membership in one of two political parties' (2006: 12). These bipartisan rivalries would lead to a series of civil wars, including the Thousand Days' War (1899-1902), culminating with the savagery of *La Violencia*, following the assassination of Liberal politician Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. The strength of opposition and bouts of violence between the two parties meant that enduring 'hereditary hatreds' (Bushnell 1991: 182) became embedded and complicated national unity, as well as meaning that violence became memorable as a national myth. Conflicts within the nation were more memorable than against a neighbouring nation complicating the consolidation of a national 'us' and against an external 'other', and entrenching differing versions of a national 'us' in often-violent opposition. Hobsbawm argues that 'there is no more effective way of bonding together the disparate sections of restless peoples than to unite them against outsiders' (1990: 91); unfortunately, Colombian citizens were urged to fight against each other, most traumatically in the national memory in *La Violencia*. Many others have found themselves to be trapped in the crossfire, where admitting any allegiance can be fatal.

When Liberal and Conservative elites managed to work together, it was often to preserve their own class interests when confronted by rising social movements. These 'conversations among gentlemen' (Wilde, 1978) or 'consociational pacts' (Hartlyn 1989: 308) when elites from both parties worked together managed to restrict political access to other classes and political movements more than any other Latin American nation, and to ensure that in Colombia, nation-building remained an elite project. Subordinate groups were subsumed through 'networks of patronage and clientelism' (Hylton 2006: 12) and following civil war violence, the same elites remained in power. Colombian elites have rarely had the interests of subordinate classes in mind and this 'extraordinary consensus within the Colombian elite' (Livingstone 2003: 96) has excluded subordinate classes and suppressed lower class mobilizations (Pearce 1990: 10; Uprimny, 2001: 41; Dennis 2006: 93; Hylton 2006: 4). This exclusion not only contributed to the loss of legitimacy of state institutions given their lack of representativeness, but also to a growing dissatisfaction and antipathy towards democratic processes. The *Frente Nacional* years (1958-1974), when Liberal and Conservatives took turns in government, further excluded the working and rural classes, and led to left wing movements turning to violence with the emergence of groups such as the ELN, the FARC and the M-19. From *La Violencia* onwards, the state continued 'to demonstrate that it is incapable of providing basic public goods: defence, security and justice' (Bejarano 2001: 70). The army proved unable to defeat guerrilla forces, drug cartels forced the state to cave in on policy, and paramilitary forces were created to fill the void of the state and protect landowners and businesses from 'subversives.' A climate of seemingly unchecked violence and impunity reigned in certain areas, destabilizing any semblance of government strength. Palacios argues that 'in a country of *de facto* powers, the police, the judiciary, and the electoral system are façades' (2006: 264), and this compromises the legitimacy of the state, and, therefore, the semblance of nation. Colombia falls into Gellner's category of a state which 'lack[s] either the will or the means to enforce their monopoly of legitimate violence, and which, nonetheless, remain[s], in many respects, recognizable "states"' (2006: 3-4), and it therefore struggles to establish nation given this lack of hegemony. Gellner (2006) and Hobsbawm (1990) both argue that the nation can only originate in a situation where the state is able to establish its authority and power over the citizens and the territory. Billig writes that 'the battle for nationhood is a battle for hegemony, by which a part claims to speak for the whole nation and to represent the national essence' (1995: 27). In Colombia, many regions were effectively not under state jurisdiction and the FARC took up state responsibilities of building infrastructure, supplying security and services (Richani 2002: 77 and 80; Hylton 2006: 88). In these 'governance voids' (Koonings and Kruijt 1999: 12), the state was not speaking to the entire

nation, contrasting national projects were being articulated, and evidence of state failure, and national disconnect and fragmentation were all too obvious.

Colombia vs Narcolombia: A History of Violence

The weak state, opposition between Liberals and Conservatives, and failure to deepen the national project has frequently found expression in conflict, to the extent that Colombia became synonymous with violence, criminality and insecurity. Billig suggests that the 'major test [of nationhood] is international, for the nation will seek recognition from established nations' (1995: 85), and in the global gaze, the heterogeneity of violences, challenges to the state by a variety of actors, and notoriety of drug cartels compromised the integrity of the Colombian state and nation. I term this image of Colombia as 'Narcolombia', and it will be argued in chapter one that Colombia has often played against this 'Narcolombia' 'other' when attempting to establish a national identity around football (Watson 2015; 2018a). The football team is positioned as playing to demonstrate a 'Nueva Colombia' trying to cleanse its former image and build a new nation brand. Chapter two will show how Santos used the *La Selección* for this purpose. Violence has become an almost indelible aspect of the Colombian identity, and all living Colombians will have experienced its impact. Incidents of shocking and spectacular violence, such as the army storming the Palacio de Justicia on 6 November 1985, the assassination of presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán on 18 August 1989, the bombing of the Avianca flight 203, and tales of massacres by the FARC, such as Bojayá, or paramilitaries, such as La Mapiripán, have become defining moments in the national memory. In Colombia, 'memory as trauma weighs as heavily as memory as heroic celebration' (Sánchez in introduction to Hylton 2006: xvi).

Some historians see Colombia's *La Violencia* period as a starting point for Modern Colombia. It is the root of many of the nation's political and social fractures, a period of sustained cruelty, murder, revenge and trauma that has left an inexpungible stain on the nation's collective memory. *La Violencia* was a watershed moment when new narratives 'told in national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture' (Hall 1992: 293) took root and became national memories and sources of collective identification. The multiple narratives of Colombia's violences have 'given violence the features of a myth as if it were part of the country's natural landscape or an unavoidable natural disaster' (Dennis 2006: 91) and become a point of mutual recognition. I concur with Uprimny who argues that 'Modern Colombia starts with a negative myth of the Violence, a myth that results in the depoliticization of Colombian life, in the distrust

of politics (which itself is a symptom of violence), in the precariousness of collective action' (2001: 46). This founding myth was 'an ever-present background of Colombian life and culture. Its interpretation and symbolism ran through all musings about the past and present' (Palacios 2006, 136).

National events such as *La Violencia* are central to nation building processes. They are too momentous to ignore, and they determine the way in which a nation recovers and rebuilds. Violence, according to Feldman, is formative and impacts on 'the development of individual and collective identities' (Feldman cited in Hume 2006: 81). As violence has been a regular feature of the histories of Latin American states, the likes of Koonings and Kruijt (1999) and Arias and Goldstein (2010) see violence as fundamental to the construction of the nation-state. Violence therefore has become institutionalized, a constant feature of what is expected in social and political life, a like-for-like reaction to violence already perpetrated and embedded in a nominally democratic system or to restrict democracy in the 'interests' of the nation as a whole. Those with political and economic power resort to it, as do those without power who would challenge or seize it. Consequently, the plural nature of violence, or *violences*, has a deep and lasting impact on individual and collective identities. If national identity is the 'continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements' (Smith: 2004, quoted in Dennis 2006: 91), then the continuous reproduction and memories and myths of violences have come to constitute a significant element of Colombia's national identity. Violence has intruded into football as well, and created myths that have complicated football's use as a symbol of a new Colombia. Chapter one discusses how the *El Dorado* era was used to pacify tensions after the murder of Gaitán and obscure rural violence, as well as the impact of the 'narcofootball' era of the 1980s and early 1990s and the murder of defender Andrés Escobar after the 1994 World Cup, all occasions where football was put in opposition to national violence. Chapter three examines the legislation and public policies that sought to reduce the fan violence phenomenon in Colombian professional football. It argues that one benefit of legislation such as the Ley del Fútbol of 2011 was to cleanse football so that it could be more successfully used as a symbol of a Colombia distancing itself from its 'Narcolombia' past.

Violence has become the default option in lieu of state failure. It is a daily event; individuals and groups may experience it directly or hear of it via daily interactions or the media. The result is a 'routinization of violence' (Koonings and Kruijt 1999: 23), violence becoming banal (Pécaut 1999:

142). On this point, Restrepo writes of a 'culture of social indifference' towards violence (2001: 98) and of how 'the majority of the Colombian population has become accustomed to viewing human rights violations as endemic occurrences or as natural disasters, as normal as landslides or earthquakes' (ibid: 96). The multiple violences have a formative and transformative impact upon identities. Not only is violence 'a machine that demolishes ethnic and community identities' (Sánchez 2001: 6) but it also reconfigures them in the aftermath. *La Violencia* is the source of this. Meertens states that 'its cruel penetration into the most intimate spheres of the peasant family generated a reproduction of violence in personal histories. Sons and daughters of the Violence changed violence into an inevitable evil, into a way of life' (2001: 154). For men, violence became a method of problem solving, of enrichment, of establishing masculinity, both privately and socially. Women's lives, too, are transformed by violence. They may experience rape, aggression that punishes them for alleged crimes or supposed complicity in subversive action, domestic violence, suffer the loss of family, and then undergo displacement. These potential multifaceted violences may disconnect them from an established social network and identity. With the continuing violence, these identities and gender expectations become more embedded, which has significant implications for the construction of more positive communal and national identities. Pearce, in her introduction to Livingstone's book, warns that a major concern for the country is the damage done to 'socialization spaces', at levels from family upwards (2003: 21). The impact of diverse violences is what Santos had to mitigate in order to articulate and embed a new national identity in which the experience of peace displaces the experience of violence, and in which the national 'brand' of Colombia is framed around the idea of it being a postconflict nation. As will be shown, football, through government-organized SDP programmes, has served in this capacity as a space and practice to engender new practices, promote coexistence, reintegration, conflict resolution, and prevent recruitment into criminal gangs or anti-state organizations, or be lured into criminality and vice. Football was deployed to create the socialization spaces necessary for community rebuilding, a necessary building block for the wider task of nation-building.

The fact that violence was so associated with peripheral areas of the country contributed to embedded and enduring 'hierarchies of value' (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996: 79) in the nation. Colombian regions are imbued with certain reputations and values and are hierarchized, linked to historic dichotomies. These dichotomies include civilization-barbarism, legality-illegality, inclusion-exclusion, educated-ignorant, white-non-white, and rich-poor. Ramírez gives the example of regions where violence and illegality are particularly significant, such as Putumayo, Caquetá, Guaviare and southwestern Meta, as being seen by both government and citizens as

places 'abandoned by the state', as 'forgotten' regions, 'outside the pole of "development"' (2010: 86). Regions in the Colombian Amazon and Pacific Coast, described by Serje as 'el revés de la nación' (2005), have accrued a negative image in the national imagination. These departments, long associated with the jungle and narratives of savagery and barbarism, have become the zone of the guerrilla and the drug trafficker, as Wylie discusses (2013). This adds to their moral topography (Taussig 1987: 253), their 'terrain of reputation' (Wade 1995: 51), or, as Radcliffe and Westwood describe it, their 'imaginative geography' (1996: 112), dictating how they are perceived in the national imagination. Wade adds that:

This cultural geography is not a neutral cultural construction but derives from dominant ideologies and discourses that have a hegemonic status since they are propagated by the most powerful classes and regions of the country. The moral topography is not just a mental map but "a mosaic of articulated differences in which heaven and hell, virtue and corruption, caste and class distinctions and the mnemonic function of landscape in sustaining collective memory" are inscribed (Taussig 1980b: 220)', (Wade 1995: 52).

Race is part of this moral topography of Colombia's periphery, and is intrinsically bound up in Colombia's regional hierarchy of values, with AfroColombians and indigenous Colombians associated with these peripheral regions. Certain areas in Colombia are certainly racialized (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996: 27) and derogatory racial stereotypes are thus linked with terrorist or criminal activity. These areas are where the violence is often most present and where citizenship and inclusion within the nation is most precarious and delegitimized, and thus their inclusion within the nation is further jeopardized. They have not been recognized as being part of the national 'us' due to their race, but also where they are from, based on the territories being associated with guerrilla subversion or drug trafficking. Returning again to the task confronting Santos, the difficulty was to shift these prevailing narratives, not only changing how the regions and people are perceived, but also to change the relationship in how those regions and people perceive the state. As shall be discussed, football was positioned to aid this process; through rhetoric footballers are linked to representing the whole of Colombia, and football programmes, opportunities and facilities were taken to vulnerable and peripheral communities. Football provides a space for AfroColombians to represent the nation, and for Santos to recognize their contribution to Colombia, as shall be discussed in chapter two.

Essentially, Santos' national unity project is intrinsically linked to the peace process. Peace-building was at the centre of nation-building for Colombia under Santos, given the national fragmentation and exclusion caused by the internal conflict and wider social impact. Santos saw it necessary to tackle the fragile relationship between state and nation, and to try to build trust between state institutions, citizens and previously excluded or anti-state groups. Grotenhuis

argues that this interrelation between citizen and state, with both parties 'fulfil[ling] their obligations' towards each other and committing towards 'build[ing] up a stable society (2016: 63-64), is needed to address national fragility, and stresses that 'the process of fostering meaningful social relations and social capital based on trust is part of a nation-building strategy' (ibid: 97). Peace-building measures are therefore essential as a first step towards nation-building. Peace-building was introduced in 1992 by the UN, and is defined as 'a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development' (United Nations Peacebuilding Fund website).

As will be shown, football has been positioned through rhetoric, Twitter use, legislation and public policy to be a strong tool in peace-building, and therefore nation-building strategies. It has been deployed in a series of SDP projects, predominantly, but not exclusively, run through the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes, el Departamento Administrativo del Deporte, la Recreación, la Actividad Física y el Aprovechamiento del Tiempo Libre. The most important of these projects took place in the FARC demobilization and transition camps, as will be discussed in chapter four. As was stated in the introduction, that football should be tasked by Santos in such a multifaceted and strategic way for assisting with such an embedded and complex situation of national fragmentation in Colombia, makes it an important process to study. Such a deliberate and wide-ranging approach to using football has not happened in Colombia previously.

Football Nationalism

The impact of sport, and football particularly, for national projects has become increasingly validated by academics. Hobsbawm states that 'international sport became [...] an expression of national struggle, and sportsmen representing their nation or state, primary expressions of their imagined communities' an occasion when 'even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation [...] The imagined community seems more real as a team of eleven named people' (1990: 143). It is a perfect occasion to distinguish the national 'us' from a foreign 'them', because 'the national boundaries generated by football and the ways in which they are transgressed offer a symbolic space into which people can insert themselves and where their identities can be called up not only as individuals but also as part of the collective subject of the nation' (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996: 97). A national football team succeeding on a global

stage is a source of national pride, and an assertion of national strength to its own citizens and in the international arena.

In Latin America, football has permitted nations to assert their position on the global stage better than any other medium, part of the reason why football enjoys special significance and detonates such passion on the continent. Goldblatt proposes that 'in Latin America, the nation primarily confronted the world as its football team, and in this sphere the continent could compete and excel like in no other' (2008: 266). This was especially significant in the first third of the twentieth century as these former colonies sought to modernize, establish statehood and national identity, and assert an international presence. Victories by Uruguay in the Olympics in 1924 and 1928 and then hosting and winning the first World Cup in 1930 helped to locate the previously unheralded country on the world map (Campomar 2014: 103-104). The continent has provided the world with arguably the sport's three greatest ever players (Pelé, Maradona and Messi), and Latin American nations have won the World Cup on nine of the twenty-one occasions that it has been held, as well as hosting the tournament in 1930 (Uruguay), 1950 (Brazil), 1962 (Chile), 1970 (Mexico), 1978 (Argentina), 1986 (Mexico again after Colombia pulled out as hosts), and 2014 (Brazil). In many Latin American countries, football has become a fundamental aspect of its history and source of national, regional and local identities, being a greater source of cohesion and expression than usual agents of nation-building. Football, alongside *telenovelas*, have become important ways in which the nation can imagine itself (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996: 86) as well as providing a means of understanding between different classes and sectors of society (Bonilla 2000: 184).

Football is the most played and watched sport in the continent. Television audiences for football matches regularly gain the highest audience ratings. For example, in Colombia, according to the 'Rating Colombia' website, the Colombia vs England second round World Cup match in 2018 gained an audience rating of 35.2, the highest television audience of any programme in Colombia. The most watched single episode of a television programme was 26.9 for the debut episode of *Escobar, El Patron del Mal* in 2012. The ten most-watched football matches all have higher audience ratings than any other programme (*Rating Colombia*, 'Records de sintonía en la televisión colombiana'). Egan Bernal's victory in the Tour de France on 28 July 2019, arguably Colombia's greatest ever sporting victory in a sport, cycling, which is extremely popular in Colombia, had an audience rating of 9.8 (*Rating Colombia*, 28 July 2019). This compares to a rating of 16.8 for a relatively meaningless friendly match between Colombia and Ecuador on 19 November 2019 (*Rating Colombia*, 19 November 2019). Football is understood as being the

sport which most successfully manages to cross class, ethnic, gender, religious and regional lines, although conversely it also has the potential to reveal or magnify those lines. The first line of the presentation of the Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia makes this understanding of the power of football in Colombia clear: 'El fútbol es la actividad que nos integra, cohesión y transforma. No hay otro deporte que nos identifique más como nación, nos una sin distingos políticos, raza, condición sexual o religión' (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 13). The ubiquity of football as a social practice, in the media and in daily discourse, means that we can contemplate a kind of 'sportivization' (Elias and Dunning 1985) and particularly 'footballization' of society (Alabarces 2000: 16; Bromberger 2001: 18). Sport has become fundamental as not only a source of entertainment, play, exercise and profit, but also as a means of social development and cohesion, as a way of hegemonic forces to cement their dominance, and of counter-hegemonic efforts to contest this control. Sport's entrenchment in society across the globe makes it a valuable and rich topic, in terms of how it affects and is affected by the temporal and spatial social and political factors where it is practised and consumed. Giulianotti argues persuasively that:

Football in any setting provides us with a kind of cultural map, a metaphorical representation, which enhances our understanding of that society ... its cultural centrality in most societies means that football carries a heavy political and symbolic significance, to the extent that the game can contribute fundamentally to the social actions, practical philosophies and cultural identities of many, many people (Giulianotti 1999: xii).

This impact and cultural centrality is why it can be mined and deployed towards strengthening psychological ties between citizen and nation. Chapters three and four will discuss the Poder del Fútbol survey commissioned by the Santos government to discuss football's impact in Colombia, a survey that studied and proved football's importance in Colombia and which led to the potentially ground-breaking Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol public policy (PDSCCF), discussed in depth in chapter three.

Giulianotti suggests that 'football is one of the great cultural institutions, like education and the mass media, which shapes and cements national identities throughout the world' (Giulianotti 1999: 23). He is correct, but omits one crucial detail: Bromberger argues that football 'es posiblemente el único elemento de una cultura mundial *masculina* entendida por todos y que transgrede la diversidad de regiones y generaciones' (Bromberger 2001: 17, italics mine). The invented tradition of the masculine nature of football is important to highlight as a cultural institution. Though women in football both as spectators and participants have become more

prevalent, football has primarily been a signifier of masculine identities and promoted masculine notions of play and practice, and has been exploited in masculine-framed notions of nation-building. This thesis examines if Santos' version of sporting nationalism maintained this masculine dominance. It evaluates whether the presidential discourse around football for nation-building was restricted to the men's national team, or whether the national women's team were similarly presented as metonymic for the new united and peaceful nation that Santos projected. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of presidential speeches and Twitter broadcasts in Chapter 2 offers evidence of how the men's and women's national teams differed in their usefulness for Santos' national unity project, and the different ways in which they were spoken about. Chapters 3 and 4 also look at the gender dimension of football as an activity for nation-building, in terms of how legislation and public policies have articulated and defined a role for football as a tool for community and social development, citizen inclusion and peace-building. These chapters examine how professional and recreational football were empowered to have a developmental impact and whether women's football was envisioned in the same way as men's football in this role.

There has been a lack of thorough analysis of speech for football nationalism in previous work on Latin American football, and Twitter use for football nationalism has only been referred to in passing and is yet to have been analysed in detail. The tendency when examining football nationalism in Latin America has been to focus on keynote speeches at the time of significant football success rather than examining the constancy of the message throughout a presidency or regime (see, for example, Roldán (2007) and Alabarces (2009), discussing the military junta and the World Cup in Argentina in 1978, or Villena Fiengo (2015) on presidential reactions to Costa Rica and the World Cup in 2002). This thesis differs in this regard, providing a comprehensive analysis of Santos's football-related discourse and how the newer phenomenon of Twitter was exploited for creating emotional attachments with the nation. In addition, nation-building processes around football in Latin American have often focused on the impact of the male professional game and how this has been deployed towards the public as consumers of the football spectacle. Colombia's attempt to empower professional and recreational football for social development through legislation is a departure and a novel approach to sporting nationalism on the continent, and merits critical attention. Laws, policies, campaigns and deeds add substance to words and speeches that may only have a temporary emotional charge and impact. Colombian government policies such as the PDSCCF, the culmination of a series of laws that at first simply sought to tackle violence around men's professional matches and eventually would be broadened to embrace and promote Sport for Development and Peace ideals and

activities, as well as citizenship values, have put football to a much greater use towards a national unity project than has been in evidence before. Most importantly, the discourse, policies and campaigns involving football took place at a critical juncture in Colombia's history, as Santos negotiated with the FARC to end the longest-lasting internal conflict on the continent, and football was used as a peace-building device after the peace agreement was signed. Santos' strategy of football-based sporting nationalism was thus a much more wide ranging and enduring one, with football in Colombia tasked with being much more than simply a symbolic and psychological device to create an emotional affiliation with the nation. This is why this strategy merits academic attention.

Football as Ritual

Several writers stress football's ritualistic qualities as a reason for its popularity and social and political significance, in addition to its power to engender a source of *communitas*. This leads to its potential manipulation as a potent detonator of identities at all levels (national, regional, and communal). Any sport, as Archetti notes, is 'a ritual and a game at the same time, and is, as such, a cultural construction that makes symbolic communication among its participants possible' (Archetti 1998: 93), no doubt including fans as 'participants' alongside the players. The football ritual, occurring in a place considered sacred, whether the shrine-like urban stadium (Bromberger 1995: 307; Bar-On 2017: 189) or the local club, puts into conflict, remembers and updates the identities uniting the home team (the 'we' group, the sacred, the heroes), against the away team (the 'them' group, the profane, the enemy) (Oliven and Damo 2000: 11). Bromberger goes into most detail about football's ritualistic qualities (Bromberger 1995: 306-309), which Giulianotti has summarised:

First, games occur in "particular spatial configurations" (the stadium); playing fields possess sacred qualities, and stadiums generate intense emotional states. Second, as in religious ceremonies, spectators are spatially organised according to power, with political leaders and other VIPS in full view. Third, football has critical temporal and rhythmic affinities as matches, cup finals and championship seasons follow a regular calendar. Fourth, role distribution is ceremonial; football supporters, while specially robed, engage in intensive ritual acts. Fifth, football has its own organizational framework, from local to global level. Sixth, the football match ritual possesses a sequential order: pre-match preparations, the warm-up period, player entry on to the field, playing the game according to set procedures, and the game's conclusion, followed by supporter exit. Seventh, the football ritual generates *communitas*, a 'communion of

minds', as strangers come to share common purposes, identities and causes (Giulianotti 2005: 3-4).

It is worth stressing several of these ritualistic components in order to explain football's source as a generator of identities. The fact that there is a 'ruptura con la cotidianidad' (Ramírez 2003: 110), a temporal and spatial break from routine activities, grants the match a special status, and allows members of society who are separated during the 'everyday' (due to location of work or residence, or down class, religious or ethnic lines, for instance) to unite for a common purpose. This echoes with Billig's identification of the importance of national ceremonies, 'occasions when ordinary routines are suspended as the state celebrates itself. Then, sentiments of patriotic emotion, which the rest of the year have to be kept far from the business of ordinary life, can surge forth' (1995: 44). National team football victories become times of national celebration, and are times when a feeling of national pride and unity can be remembered. The paraphernalia that is worn and carried to the game (football shirts, scarves, hats, banners and flags for example) is central to the need to be included and to be recognized within the 'in group'. The individual, by wearing the team colours and symbols, not only recognizes and identifies himself or herself at this ritual, but also is doing so in order to be recognized by others, both those with whom he or she is claiming affinity or membership, but also in opposition to members of other teams. These team colours and symbols, the emblem of the identities at play, whether local, regional or national (Antezana 2003: 92), have the power to transcend previously divisive factors.

In national team games there are also numerous rituals which celebrate the nation and portray it as sacred: the playing and singing of the national anthem, attendance of political leaders and dignitaries, the presence of flags and so on. These national rituals and symbols, coupled with the presence of the national team as the nation's representatives on the metaphorical field of battle, and the spectators' presence, songs and displays which proclaim their belonging to the nation, 'ritualize national solidarity' (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009: 23) in an extremely potent manner. The mass media selects and shows these national demonstrations to the domestic and international audience, reinforcing the power and message of the ritual. Football, therefore, becomes a privileged arena for society to see itself, a stage where identities and social tensions can be displayed, reflected, reproduced, composed, recomposed and even challenged (Alabarces 2000: 18; Villena Fiengo 2003: 29). National football matches become a funder of 'exceptional nationalism' (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009: 58), ripe for political exploitation. Santos certainly made the most of any occasion when the national men's team were in action, imbuing these moments of exceptional nationalism and collective emotional attachment with

the nation with repeated messages of national unity, peace, and football's values and benefits for Colombia. A men's national team match in Colombia is a ritual that convokes the majority of the population. It is a time when Colombia is arguably at its most united as the nation follows the fortunes of the team, and thus is when the nation is at its most ripe for messages about what the nation could be as a collective. This thesis analyses how and why Santos exploited the national ritual of the national men's team football match by analysing the discourse produced and transmitted at these occasions. Santos imbued these matches with a specific meaning and significance, making the football shirt and related symbols redolent of messages of unity and peace. Chapter four also examines how and why the national men's team matches served as a time and space for integration and re-identification in the FARC demobilization camps, where previously opposing forces were brought together and football loyalties to the *Selección* were tied to reconciliation and reintegration processes. In terms of the rituals around professional football matches and football as a practice recreationally, chapter three explores efforts to reduce the violence and other problems in these occasions. Football *barras* (organized fan groups) have developed their own rituals for identification, and legislation has been tasked with ensuring violence does not erupt as a result of a clash of identities, as well as attempting to promote practices which bring opposing groups together. Chapter three also analyses how the phenomenon of *barrismo social* has become a social development product of the *barra* community and how this became a part of government legislation.

Requirements for Football Nationalism

Following the introduction and growth of football in Latin America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it became a vehicle for the creation of a national imagined community that could eventually include whites, mestizos and blacks, and integrate immigrants to the country and those who had migrated from rural areas to the urban metropolis. This responded to ongoing debates across the continent about the state and composition of the nation, a century after independence. Archetti (1995) and Alabarces (2002: 42-43) propose a sequence of processes for sporting nationalism to be constructed, based around the Argentinian experience, but which is also useful to apply elsewhere. Firstly, a process of *criollización* must occur, rites of passage that facilitate and explain the transition from football being a British game to an Argentine one. This will combine economic, social and cultural factors removing external influence and elements and replacing them with domestic ones, including the

'vernacularisation' (Giulianotti 2007: 40) of the rules and administration of the game, and the mass media convincing the public of this process of naturalization of the sport. Secondly, notable success must be achieved, ideally on a continental or global level, and thirdly the footballers responsible for this success must be extolled and praised as part of this epic story of national triumph. Most heroes previously celebrated in Latin American nations were either heroes of the struggles for independence, or those from literature, not always as accessible to the masses. Archetti notes that 'a nation needs heroes, even in times of peace, and sport provides them' (1998: 97). Finally, there must be a mode of differentiation between a national 'us' and an external 'them'. This should be achieved through a national style of play, usually 'más narrado que vivido' (Alabarces 2002: 43), but a style that allows the nation to be recognizable and recognized, both by a domestic audience as well as by the 'other'. Bromberger explains that this style is 'part of a collective imaginary' as 'the style does not always correspond to the way the players really play, but rather to a stereotyped image, rooted in tradition, that the collectivity holds up to itself and wishes to present to others' (Bromberger 1995: 303). The style will have been articulated widely and extolled in the press. In a game 'rooted in binary oppositions' (Giulianotti 1999: 9), the national team must be distinct from an 'other', the team embodying the nation in a form of dress (the shirt being the nation's uniform), with style based on accepted stereotypical and agreed characteristics, products of lived experiences or promoted by the press, that is different from the opponent. A geographical, political or historic rivalry will also contribute potently to the difference between the 'we' group' and the 'other'. Everything about the team should ideally represent 'what we are' as well as 'what we are not'.

The contention of this thesis is that Colombia is unusual in that its primary 'other' is Colombia itself. Colombia's football style since the late 1980s is articulated by desired feelings of unity, happiness and a tropical carnivalesque style, that seek to erase or obscure domestic and external stereotypes of the country as being violent, criminal and riven with divisions. Colombia's football style is defined against its own troubled image; Colombia not only plays against other nations, but is also playing against how the country perceives itself and is perceived. Chapter one will develop this idea, as well as how Colombia's football-based nationalism developed around the four essential ingredients proposed by Archetti and Alabarces, providing a context and comparison for Santos' sporting nationalism project.

For Archetti's proposal of four stages towards the successful deployment of sporting nationalism to occur, other conditions must already be in place. The game must be a mass popular activity, widely practised, mediated and received or spectated across the national territory for the

success and heroes to fully resonate. Success achieved in minority sports that receive little media coverage, played only in certain spaces, by certain social classes, are unlikely to create potent inclusive narratives of nation. This is where football functions extremely powerfully as a detonator of nationalism. As a sport that is easy to play, requiring little in the way of equipment and being easily adaptable to numbers and the space available, and being played or spectated by all classes and all groups, football is a mass popular practice. It is also hugely reported, firstly by newspapers, then specialist newspapers and magazines, and then by radio, television and the internet. This form of nationalism does not differ from other ways of generating nationalism that require a recognized and representative entity of the nation that is widely publicized or reported. Although newspapers and print capitalism in Colombia did not have the impact that Anderson (1991) suggested given transport and communication problems as well as high rates of illiteracy, radio certainly helped to foster a greater sense of belonging to a nation and connect disparate parts of Colombia. Sport was a key part of this. Rendall (2002: 77) and Quitián (2013: 33) have shown how radio commentaries of the Vuelta a Colombia bicycle race from the 1950s onwards helped Colombians imagine their country (albeit a partial or selective idea of the Colombian nation, as the race only travelled through certain connected areas of the Colombian interior)², and the same was true of the football of the *El Dorado* period of Colombian professional football (1949-1954).³ Cyclists could be imagined racing from town to town, and football teams from different cities also connected the country by playing against each other. Both sporting spectacles were also used to distract Colombians from La Violencia and pacify bipartisan political rivalries by the Rojas Pinilla government, as shall be discussed in chapter one.

Political Use of Football in Latin America

This thesis adds to a body of work that examines how politicians have deployed football towards their projects. Much research on football in Latin America focuses on how it has been employed by politicians for a range of purposes, for validation of a regime or populist leader, or as a form of ‘football as political soporific’ (Benedetti cited in Mason 1995: 61). Football has often been derided as being the new opium of the masses, attempting to entertain and distract the masses

² The first Vuelta a Colombia in 1951, for instance, only passed through the departments of Cundinamarca, Tolima, Viejo Caldas and Valle del Cauca, and included representative teams from seven departments, Antioquia, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Nariño, Santander, Tolima, and Valle del Cauca.

³ Only 5 cities were represented in the first profession league in 1948, Barranquilla, Bogotá, Cali, Manizales, Medellín, though Universidad (from Bogotá) played their home games in Pereira. Teams from Bucaramanga and Pereira joined in 1949, a team from Cúcuta first played in 1950 and Armenia and Santa Marta had teams in the league in 1951.

from social problems. Villena Fiengo sums up this ideological criticism of football as follows: 'el deporte cumple funciones ideológicas de los sectores populares en los valores éticos y estéticos burgueses, propios del capitalismo competitivo' (Villena Fiengo 2003: 22). Sebreli argues that the bread and circus of organized sport 'ha sido usado por el poder político como compensación simbólica de las miserias de la vida cotidiana' (Sebreli 2005: 155). He also criticizes how elites and nationalist authoritarian governments have manipulated football in order to indoctrinate youth and the masses in socially appropriate and approved behaviour, in removing dissent, in sterilizing the workers' spirit and homogenizing culture. Football supporters, according to Sebreli, are pacified and lose their identity and footballers become commodified, serving as little more than products in a capitalist international system that exploits them. In South American football there are many examples that illustrate Sebreli's point. Giulianotti and Robertson relate how Getúlio Vargas in Brazil and Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina 'institutionalized the political manipulation of football' (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009: 17) and various articles have been dedicated to football's power as a propaganda tool following national victories in World Cups during the military dictatorships in Brazil and Argentina (see, for example, Lever 1988; Archetti 2006).

Where Sebreli and others who argue that football is solely the opium of the masses err is that football is not simply at the behest of hegemonic forces. It is a tool that can be and is used by counter-hegemonic forces, and examples abound of football being a contested site and tool. Bar-On says that 'soccer goals have more often been scored on behalf of the dominant soccer continents, nations, clubs and social classes' (Bar-On 2017: 193), but there are many examples of when 'clubs, stadia, competitions, have acted as powerful catalysts for protest, by awakening rather than anaesthetizing political consciousness' (Bromberger 1995: 295). The 'Y va a caer' songs against the General Pinochet regime in Chile is just one example of stadium protest (Nadel 2015: 141), and the wearing of football shirts in anti-government protests in Argentina (Alabarces 2007: 94) shows how football can be reclaimed as the people's game, rather than that of the hegemonic forces. Lahud Guedes described this capacity of football, calling it a 'zero institution' (1977), a kind of empty container of potential that can be filled with any message and manoeuvred towards that particular cause. In the case of Santos, football has been 'filled' with a message of how it can serve towards national unity. What is different in the case of his deployment of football is that the rhetoric was backed up with legislation, public policies and campaigns, translating the words into deeds. It was a concerted and constant strategy exploiting new communication channels such as Twitter, not limited to discourse at the time of a major

victory, but constantly in play and used as an activity to directly address the fractures at the heart of national division as part of the peace process.

Women's Football and Nation

A problem with football serving for sporting nationalism is that it tends to be defined in masculine terms. Billig writes that 'the sports pages are predominantly read by men for pleasure' (1995: 11), with sport replacing war as a source of pride in national victory against an external enemy. Archetti wrote that 'football... produces an overlap of practical and symbolic constructions of national characteristics, national values and national pride and sorrow. The national will thus come to be perceived as "naturally" masculine. Women excluded from an active participation in this site of national construction can, however, "identify" themselves with the "team as nation"' (Archetti 1994: 236). Archetti seems to preclude a women's football team from being able to represent the nation in the same way.

Giulianotti suggests that football is 'undergoing varying degrees of feminisation' (Giulianotti 1999: xi), with women not only participating more as players, but also as spectators, officials, commentators, journalists and as owners and directors of clubs. It is not easy for women to enter the football arena, traditionally a 'ciudad sin mujeres' (Sebreli 2005: 259). As Binello *et al* note, women in football present a rupture in a very male-dominated and defined world; they are a 'foreign' presence and it is necessary to define them (Binello *et al* 2000: 34). They have to answer questions about their ability, their sexuality and womanliness, and are often compared in terms of masculine exploits, skills and physicality, as well as female stereotypes and roles (Clarke and Clarke 1982: 67). In Latin America, with football often being an integral part of nation-building and the construction of local, regional and national identities, the lack of women as part of this football narrative meant that women were not included within this concept of identity construction. Though women's football was played in Latin America after the game's introduction to the continent, Nadel describes it as an 'antinational' game (Nadel 2014: 210; 2015: 46). Women's football was not included in physical education curricula as concerns were raised about the health and reproductive capacity of women playing football. Their role as mothers of the nation's sons could be harmed if they played, and thus women's football was a threat to the nation's future. President Getúlio Vargas banned women's football in Brazil in 1941 for this reason. Although this ban has been lifted, the stereotypes of women playing football still present formidable obstacles to be overcome in traditional *machista* societies, even if the

opportunities for women to play are greater. The first female football heroes are starting to emerge, particularly in Brazil with Marta's exploits in the 2016 Olympics, as well the founding of professional leagues, such as in Colombia in 2017, where teams have been set up around existing men's teams and games played before men's league matches at the same stadiums. There is at least the potential for nation construction around football to be framed in terms where women are more included, which will require the women's game to have greater media exposure, which depends on commercial interest. As will be shown, the vast majority of Santos' nation-building rhetoric was based around men's football; the women's national team are not bestowed with similar powers to unite the nation. Women's football in Colombia struggles to overcome the identities associated with women in Latin American culture and society. Men's football is still the principal way in which the nation battles against its foreign (and domestic) opponents for national pride, and which the population is called to unite behind and imagine itself as a national collective.

Conclusion

Although football clearly has problems as a detonator of national identities and fomenting a national collective, its strongest feature is that it is a concrete and visual evidence of national or local success of a victory against opposition. It can, therefore, generate feelings of patriotic pride and a linkage between nation and individual, and also help a sense of imagined national community and recognition in the simultaneity of celebration. The opposition is not always the opponent on the other side of the pitch; a victory can also be deployed against other internal struggles, or towards the validation of a national project. This thesis will examine how victories for the national team, and football in general, were used by Santos in a battle against national disunity, in a struggle to integrate vulnerable or excluded groups around Colombia, in an on-going effort to convince Colombians of the benefits of peace. The Colombian national team was positioned as the representation of a Colombia playing together, rather than against its own internal enemies. National victories matter when state institutions and traditional nation-building sources lack credibility, are devalued or polarize social opinion. As Biriotti del Burgo asserts, 'it is simply a political fact. Football wins support in Latin America' (1995: 64). Football victories, though temporary, have a strong psychological charge and can be exploited by the likes of Santos to connect citizens as the bubble of patriotic pride lasts. As football is a 'símbolo con una alta plasticidad hermanéutica' (Bromberger 2001: 33), offering a number of useful

characteristics, it can be mined towards a variety of projects. Santos saw in football the best way to connect Colombians, football being the common culture best placed to override, or at least assuage, the embedded oppositions that have constantly undermined the national project. Historically, 'the majority of Colombians are not conscious of being part of a single people, called upon to share a common inescapable destiny' (Restrepo 2001: 98), and share a common national sense of imposed national fate, and a deep suspicion and lack of confidence in projects that purport to mobilize them towards a desired national goal. This was the problem confronting Santos, the problem of convincing Colombians of the possibility of peace, as well as persuading Colombians to accept their former enemies as fellow members of the national community. He needed to demonstrate that the state could reach out and be present in areas where its hegemony has been either fragile or non-existent, and provide its citizens with the rights that it owes them, in order to build the sense of trust that has been sorely absent. This attempt by Santos to unite the two Colombias through the peace agreement is an example of the on-going endeavour of building nation and adapting to new political and social processes. This particular process, competing against embedded past myths and identities, needs its own foundational myths and collective memories to succeed. It is through sporting nationalism that Santos found some of these heroic moments necessary to support his national unity project, but also empowered football as an activity to address directly factors that fracture communities and lessen state and nation loyalties.

Chapter 1: 'El fútbol es el único elemento que nos une': A History of Football Nationalism in Colombia

Introduction: Football for 'encuentros nacionales'

This chapter explores how and why football in Colombia emerged as a nation-building device at specific junctures where football success and significant national moments converged, setting the background for analysing how and why President Santos employed football during his two terms in office. It examines what football was used for, what the limitations and problems were with its use, and how the nation was imagined and constructed *en clave de fútbol*. It discusses Colombian experiences of football-based sporting nationalism, engaging with Archetti's analysis of how sporting nationalism was fomented in the Argentine context, focussing particularly on the four conditions that he and Alabarces consider fundamental for sporting nationalism to flourish. The Argentina comparison is a useful example to compare and contrast, given the significant study of the relationship between football and nation in this country, and theories that discuss the relationship between sport, identity and nation-building. Argentinian football, too, has often served as a model or 'father' for Colombian football, something to be learned from and ideally surpassed; the Colombian situation, however, differs in various ways. This chapter argues that Colombia's search for its own footballing style and identity that could be deployed effectively towards a nation-building project around the symbolism of the men's national football team is contrasted to an 'other' that is Colombia itself, this other being the 'Narcolombia' of violence, corruption, drugs, trauma and criminality. This chapter demonstrates how this opposition against the 'Narcolombia' 'other' emerged in a football context, and how the national team was positioned against it. Before Santos, Colombian football struggled to 'defeat' this 'other' and function successfully for uniting the nation. Later chapters will discuss how Santos has used a more strategic and multi-dimensional approach to employ football towards nation-building, involving legislation, speech and Twitter use and Sport for Development and Peace projects.

Football in Colombia has emerged as one of very few cultural phenomena with the capacity to transcend the multiple embedded factors that have problematized the construction of nation and a national identity. As discussed previously, due to geographical conditions and historical processes, a series of divisive factors such as regionalism, race, political identity and class, allied to a weak state that has struggled to create a hegemonic presence across the Colombian

territory, have led to Colombia and 'Colombianness' being defined by inherent and inherited differences rather than shared experiences and 'oneness'. However, many in Colombia recognize football, and specifically the national team, as possessing the power to unite Colombians. As stated in the introduction, almost everyone that was interviewed during fieldwork in Colombia made a comment along these lines about football. It is a much-repeated assumed truism in Colombia, said by politicians, the media and fans alike. However, this view of football has been 'proved' during the Santos presidency. In the *Poder del Fútbol* survey commissioned by the Ministerio del Interior, football's unifying power was seen as the leading reason why football is important in Colombia (Ministerio del Interior 2014b: 23). This survey showed that 94% think that football is either important or very important (ibid: 22), with the national team understood as being a symbol of integration by 96% (ibid: 42). It is this recognition that allows football to serve a political project in Colombia, particularly one that aims to bring the nation together and aid the peace process as Santos attempted. It is why the national team became a tool to try to include all Colombians in Santos' narrative of 'un solo equipo' (Quitíán and Watson, 2017) as the World Cup in 2014 and the peace talks in Havana with the FARC converged. It is also why football subsequently became a key element in reintegration and reconciliation processes in the FARC demobilization camps after the signing of the peace agreement, as chapter four will demonstrate. As traditional nation-building institutions and symbols have lost power in Colombia, football, or more specifically, men's football, is a mass practice and cultural phenomenon that can function in this void, alongside other cultural practices which may fulfil a unifying role, such as music, *telenovelas*, festivals and beauty contests (Zuluaga 2005: 19). Though traditionally a masculine domain with women relegated to the role of spectators, wives and mothers rather than practitioners, football is a place for 'encuentros nacionales' as opposed to 'desencuentros nacionales'; a space and time where horizontal comradeships and shared experiences are created that can be applied towards a nation-building project, at micro, meso and macro levels. Football is an escape from a troubled social reality, a space and activity that can override division and trauma through play or spectatorship. Despite this power, political elites before Santos had only employed Colombian football intermittently towards a nation-building objective, and then either through sporadic and largely symbolic, empty discourse unsupported by concrete policy or actions. When success occurred in Colombian football, it was deployed predominantly as a pacifying or masking device, tasked with symbolically hiding or healing national problems far beyond its scope to address without necessary support through legislation, public policy or investment.

Football's Unifying Power in Colombia

Andrés Dávila Ladrón de Guevara has articulated how football occupies a role usually undertaken by traditional or institutional nation-building devices, which in Colombia are lacking, have failed or are devalued (1994; 2003; 2006). According to him, football has become 'el eje condensador de adhesiones y arraigos detrás de los cuales se nutre el sentimiento nacionalista' (1994: 23) in a country which is 'una nación huérfana de símbolos, instituciones e ídolos que cristalicen las identidades colectivas y que sirvan de sedimento en la construcción de nación' (Dávila Ladrón de Guevara and Londoño 2003: 123). Other national myths, founding moments and institutions are associated with enduring hatreds and therefore tied to national tragedy and disgrace rather than triumph and pride, thereby generating feelings ranging from apathy to fear and hatred. Football, and the national team in particular, occupies a 'middle zone' between hard and banal forms of nationalism, and feeds off both types of processes to become a potent generator of loyalties, identities and myths. Football is located:

[...] en un lugar intermedio que, a veces, se alimenta de los procesos "duros" de construcción de Nación, a través de las circunstancias y momentos, de procesos (en algunos casos), en los cuales un seleccionado nacional libera, conquista o reconquista, supera una histórica dependencia, indica cómo liberar, romper, cambiar. Momentos, situaciones, circunstancias, procesos, en que la selección nacional y el fútbol reemplazan lo que fuerzas políticas y sociales no han logrado resolver [...] en ese lugar intermedio, permanentemente se nutre de los factores banales y triviales con su condición profunda, estructurante pero relativamente invisible e inasible, en la cual un director técnico o un jugador ídolo amalgaman todo aquello que se quiere ser. Y el fútbol y la selección lo hacen a través de la generación de narrativas y discursos que proponen acerca de la Nación, lo nacional y la identidad nacional (Dávila Ladrón de Guevara 2006: 103).

Football is thus a more tangible and less conflictive meeting place for Colombians to recognize each other and imagine themselves as a collective, as a national 'us' represented by eleven footballers. It manages this without the national team being entirely representative of its regions and citizens. Fernández L'Hoeste argues that the Colombia national team has a 'squad with players from all corners of the country', which provides 'an ideal template for the celebration of the idea of nation in the language of the state' (2015: 87). This is an exaggeration, as a more careful study of the origins of Colombian national team players will testify; nearly a third of Colombian departments have never produced an international player (Watson, 2015: Appendix 1). Indigenous Colombians compete as a separate, national team.⁴ Additionally, the national

⁴ The Colombian indigenous national team were runners up in the 2015 Copa América Indígena hosted in Chile (*El País*, 25 July 2015). The fact that a specific tournament is necessary for indigenous communities to be able to represent their nation raises questions about their integration within the nation if their representative football requires a separate category.

team has long been a masculine construct with women being absent from this national imagining. A Colombian national women's team did not emerge until the late 1990s.⁵ Women's participation in Colombian football until then had been as spectators at grounds or as part of the spectacle in the roles of beauty queens involved in ceremonial kick offs or cheerleaders. Until recent (limited) televised appearances in World Cups, Olympics and South American championships, Colombian women footballers have not been visualized or imagined as representing the nation.

Despite these exceptions, football is a symbolic meeting place for Colombians. Jiménez Duzán also describes football as a place of national encounter: 'en un país tan desigual, donde cada estrato vive aparte del otro, donde las oportunidades de encuentro entre unos y otros son prácticamente inexistentes, el fútbol nos hizo ese milagro... como si el fútbol pudiera darnos lo que los políticos no han logrado' (cited in Larraín 2015: 194). This encounter happens through play, spectating or imagining. Football, crucially, also serves as a palliative or 'válvula de escape' (Jiménez Garcés 2014: 86) from pressures, traumas, and violences that have also become formative of national identity given the heterogeneity and banality of violence in Colombia (Pécaut 1999). It is escapism from a Colombian reality, but as it is a collective escapism, it is formative of national comradeship and togetherness as Dávila Ladrón de Guevara and Londoño argue: it is 'una acción que se lleva a cabo como si estuviera por fuera de la vida corriente' and creates 'una realidad alterna' (2003: 126) from daily individual and communal feelings of powerlessness, fear, frustration, tension and trauma. Indeed, football has been employed specifically by elites both as a diversionary tactic to hide unpleasant national realities with the sporting circus entertaining the masses, and as a palliative or mask for national disaster. When success has occurred in Colombian football, first infrequently from Colombian football's professionalization in 1948 until the 1990s, when more regular success arrived, football has also been (over?)celebrated as a source of national pride, a vindication that Colombia is not all 'bad'. In these moments, 'el deporte terminó convirtiéndose en elemento aglutinante, en símbolo de la identidad nacional y en motivo de orgullos para un pueblo golpeado por la corrupción, la violencia, los pocos ricos y los muchos pobres, y la humillación en los aeropuertos del resto del mundo' (Ramos Valencia 1998: 12). We could speculate whether in any other Latin American country football has been tasked with symbolically uniting a country so inherently divided, where the significant 'other' could well be the self-same country, that Colombia that is both domestically and internationally tarnished with the seemingly indelible stain of violence, drug trafficking, corruption and internal conflict with significant and enduring anti-state actors. When

⁵ A Colombian women's national team first played in the Copa Suramericana in 1998.

Colombia plays, it not only plays against the opposing team on the pitch, but also against that negative 'Narcolombia', trying to score metaphorical goals to improve the country's national image (Watson 2015; 2018a). The Colombian national team is tasked with presenting a different face of the nation to the world and to Colombians. It is usual for the nation's football team to have the 'other' of a different nation, often based upon a geographical or historical rivalry. The matches are about a clear identification of 'who we are' against 'who we are not'. In Colombia's case, when they play against anyone, and even more so in the global glare of the football mega event, it is also a battle of showing 'how we want to be perceived' vs 'how we are perceived as being'. From the 1940s when Colombia first played international matches until the 1980s, this was initially a question of hierarchy and an inferiority complex in relation to the continental powers of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. When Colombia was notorious as the drug capital of the world in the 1980s and 1990s, that image of violence and drugs was the 'other' being fought against on the football pitch. Colombia's style and quality of football needed to overcome an 'other' based on the perception of others and its own citizens of inferiority and notoriety.

Arguably, what makes Colombian football most successful in creating national togetherness is that football seems to belong to the nation. Jaramillo Racines argues:

El símbolo o la identidad de la Selección Colombia ya no le pertenece a nadie. Es una identidad general. Todo el país está identificado con su selección de fútbol...la Selección Colombia se mueve por sí sola, y mueve sentimientos a diferentes niveles de la sociedad sin tener en cuenta diferencias de estratos religiosos, económicos, políticos, en fin, todas esas identidades hechizas que se dan alrededor del fútbol (personal interview).

The national team has not been associated with sources of national division nor has it been overly politicized (the issue of Santos' problematic politicization of the shirt will be discussed in chapter two). It was tarnished as a national symbol due to links with the drug cartels in the 1980s and the murder of national team defender Andrés Escobar following his own goal against the USA in Colombia's dismal showing in the 1994 World Cup. How the Santos government has tried to cleanse and strengthen the national team's image to remove any lingering associations with the 'other' 'Narcolombia' will be discussed in chapters two (with regards to his rhetoric) and three (considering laws such as Law 1445 of 2011).

The Requirements for Sporting Nationalism

Archetti and Alabarces, when considering the needs for sporting nationalism to flourish in the Argentine setting, establish four factors to be essential for success: 1) the '*criollización*' of the

game; 2) significant sporting success; 3) sporting heroes that are part of the foundation of the national sporting myth and 4) a practice of differentiation of 'us' vs an 'other', often defined by a national style of play, whether real or imagined (Archetti 1999; Alabarces 2002: 42-43). This formula is only applied to the men's game and not women's football; women are not present in this construction of sporting nationalism, and in *Masculinidades*, Archetti rarely considers how women can be included or imagined as being part of the nation through football. This model for sporting nationalism based on the Argentine experience has been applied to other Latin American football scenarios around the promotion of sporting nationalism, particularly where football has emanated outwards from the capital, where sporting successes have arrived earlier than they did in Colombia, where a style was established and articulated in opposed to a British 'other' and where significant national discussions took place around those integrating the national team, both in racial terms and of European migrants. Colombia has a very different process. Whereas Argentine football is largely a history of football in Buenos Aires (Archetti 1999: 9) and thus a vision of football as being a way to 'see' and 'define' a masculine concept of Argentine nationhood is almost entirely based on the capital, the history of Colombian football is that of competing regional centres; no city has dominated.⁶ If there is a spiritual 'centre' for Colombian football, it is Barranquilla rather than the capital Bogotá. It is in Barranquilla where the *Selección* has played home matches since 1989, the city that seemed to have the strongest claim for where football was first played in Colombia, and where the first national Colombian football federation, Adefútbol, was based. Barranquilla, associated with carnival and Caribbean lifestyle, is also more propitious for positive imaginings of Colombia. Much as how Colombia is frequently described as a country of regions and regionalisms, so Colombian football has the same issue, of trying to create a national team, and a national footballing style and identity based on diverse parts and styles related to existing and embedded regional characteristics, both real and imagined. Competing regional identities, both politically and on the football field, have constantly been in play as the nation and national team are discussed. Another key aspect of difference to contrast with Archetti's arguments and the Argentinian context is that European migration at the end of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth to Colombia was insignificant. Colombia's struggle was to integrate its own citizens from different Colombian regions rather than those from abroad.

⁶ Teams from eleven different cities have won the Colombian first division, with teams from three other cities having finished as runners up. Alan Gilbert (2007) illustrates how only Brazil of South American countries has a similar spread of league championships won by teams from different cities and how the capital has tended to dominate elsewhere.

The Multiple Births of Colombian Football

Ávila Palacios (2012), Santos Molano (2005) and Jaramillo Racines (2010) pinpoint 1892 as the first time football in Colombia is reported with Colonel Henry Rowan Lemly, from the USA, introducing football at the Escuela Militar in Bogotá. However, football in Colombia does not have a single founding myth, and no one city is responsible for the spread of the game. As Galvis Ramírez (2008), Jaramillo Racines (2010), Zuluaga (2005) and Watson (2018b) all show, Colombian football had multiple births; Bogotá, Barranquilla, Santa Marta and Pasto all claim that the origins of the nation's football are to be found there at the end of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century. Due to weak transport and communication links and local cities influencing their regions more than the nation's capital, a different method of football's diffusion as a game occurred, gaining strength in different cities and regions separately before teams from these different locales began to meet and compete. It could thus be surmised that without a sense of control from one single point of origin dictating the game's development - the first Colombian football federation, Adefútbol (la Asociación Colombiana de Fútbol), was not founded until 1924, and in Caribbean coastal Barranquilla, rather than Bogotá - different identities, rules, forms of practice, and structures in the various regions could hinder, rather than facilitate, a national form of organizing and playing the game. This complicated the 'creolizing' of football, and hence problematized its use for defining the nation through a style of unified, recognized and codified practice.

Football as a meeting place for the nation was slow to develop, therefore. Zuluaga describes the first three decades of the twentieth century as a gradual process of football providing opportunities for classes and regions to 'discover' each other: 'en la primera década de práctica del balompié en Colombia, el fútbol posibilitó intercambio entre pobladores de las mismas clases. En la siguiente, intercambio entre ciudades y regiones, y en la tercera década del siglo, empezaba a posibilitar intercambio entre naciones vecinas' (Zuluaga 2005: 87). Football also began to gain official recognition. Galvis Ramírez tells of Colombian President Carlos E. Restrepo (1910-1914) awarding a trophy for a quadrangular tournament between Bogotá teams on the Día de la Raza in 1911 (Galvis Ramírez 2008: 15-16), and President Rafael Reyes and Prince Jaime de Borbón from Spain attending the final of a 'national' tournament only featuring teams from the capital in 1920 (Galvis Ramírez 2008: 22). Football was linked to national celebrations, as matches featured in celebrations of the Día de la Raza, anniversaries of Colombian Independence and the Battle of Boyacá (Zuluaga 2005: 45). Sport in the 1920s contributed to the national debate around modernization and the 'degeneración de la raza' (Quitián Roldán 2013:

30) with a growing acceptance of sport's importance for national hygiene, education, healthy entertainment, combatting a sedentary lifestyle, improving the race and beauty (Hernández Acosta 2013: 58). These national discussions led to the passing of Law 80 in 1925, described by Ruiz as 'el primer intento de formular un proyecto político nacional en torno al deporte' (2010: 24) and eventually to the organization of the first Juegos Olímpicos Nacionales in Cali in December 1928. Hernández Acosta considers these games to be vital for the 'interrelación e integración de las diferentes regiones del país' (2013: 49), and Jaramillo Racines supports this view, stating that the games were 'la caracterización de un encuentro nacional en el cual, digamos, reivindicaban la vocación de un país que quería vivir unido, integrado y simbólicamente el fútbol en cierta manera representaba esa integración nacional' (personal interview 3 November 2017). Football was one of the sports played in these games and featured twelve teams, from the departments of Atlántico, Antioquia, Bolívar, Boyacá, Caldas, Cundinamarca, Huila, Magdalena, Norte de Santander, Santander, Tolima and Valle del Cauca. According to Galvis Ramírez, football 'fue el deporte de mayor aceptación y el que acaparó la atención del público y de los medios de comunicación, que llegaron a considerarlo casi como la única disciplina importante' (2008: 25). It would be nearly another decade though until FIFA recognized Adefútbol in 1937 and not until 1945 that Colombia sent a team to the South American championships. The first official championship had taken place nearly thirty years previously in 1916. The Colombian teams sent in 1945, 1947 and 1949 predominantly consisted of players from Barranquilla, home of Adefútbol, and were criticized for not being representative of the nation as a whole. Poor results and performances confirmed that Colombia, alongside Bolivia and Ecuador, were substantially inferior to the likes of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru and Chile, as was summarized in several articles in the sports magazine *Estadio* after the 1947. Commentes included 'los colistas tienen mucho que aprender para poder entereverarse con el resto del pelotón futbolero de América' (*Estadio*, Num.4, 1947: 4) and 'los chicos, Bolivia, Ecuador y Colombia, poco han aprendido. Su juego es completamente rudimentario' (*Estadio*, Num.5, 1948: 3).

El Dorado: First International Football Recognition

The success that is necessary for sporting nationalism, according to Archetti and Alabarces, first occurred in Colombia between 1948-1954, a period now known as *El Dorado*. This was the first time that Colombian football made a substantial impact on the world game, though little about

the league could be said to be Colombian. This first Colombian national professional league was formed in 1948, shortly after the murder of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán on the 9th April and the shocking outbreak of bipartisan national violence that led to *La Violencia*. As Qutián and Urrea Beltrán describe, ‘marcó un antes y después no sólo para el fútbol como para la patria’ (2016: 166), a founding moment where football in Colombia became a recognized national pastime and spectacle as well as a symbolic founding moment for prolonged national violence. The need and possibility for football to counteract national violence emerged at this moment, a demand that would be revisited in other moments of Colombian footballing success, particularly from 1985-1994. Since *El Dorado*, and given the ongoing conflicts in Colombia that included *La Violencia*, the internal civil war between state, various guerrilla groups and paramilitaries, and the battle against drug cartels, football has been asked to provide some sense of relief from violence and a semblance of unity when success has occurred.

After the assassination of Gaitán and given the subsequent horrific violence, the government needed to find ways to reduce political tension, particularly in urban areas. The creation of the professional football league run by a newly formed organization, the Bogotá-based Dimayor, which quickly came into conflict with Barranquilla-based Adefútbol, was therefore helped and hastened by the government of Mariano Ospina Pérez (1946-1950). There are differing versions of the extent to which President Ospina assisted Dimayor. One of the key figures of Dimayor, Alfonso Senior, at times downplayed the role of government, claiming that it only supported the league by allowing stadium hire⁷ and emphatically denied there being a relation between the outbreak of violence and the league being rushed into operation with government urging (Ramos 1998: 54). However, Zuluaga quotes Senior as saying that the government fast-tracked player contracts and travel visas to help new imports arrive as quickly as possible in 1950 ‘cuando la situación política era tan horrible’ (Zuluaga 2005: 55-56). Senior does admit that the government had a keen interest in how football could calm tensions, commenting that the President asked for a football match after the murder of the brother of Liberal leader Darío Echandía in October 1949, as well as asking for professional football to be taken to Tunja where there was considerable political turmoil (Ramos 1998: 55). A newspaper report of a social event involving President Ospina and Alfonso Senior after a match between Millonarios and Libertad apparently led President Ospina to ask Senior ‘se le sería posible establecer sucursales en Boyacá o los Santanderes’ (*Semana*, 26 February 1949: 32). Jaramillo Racines shows that stadiums were effective areas for the Ospina government to get messages across, given that there could be up

⁷ In Colombia, the stadiums belong to the government, departments or local municipalities. The Palmaseca stadium of Deportivo Cali is the only one currently owned by the club itself.

to 90,000 spectators each Sunday watching football. He cites a letter from the government to Dimayor in September 1949 asking for the following actions to be carried out in the stadiums on that particular weekend, possibly the first instance of football being linked to peace in the country:

Primero: Que las entidades de acción cívica nacional y la Sociedad de Amor por Bogotá, han pasado a esta entidad, solicitud de apoyo a su campaña pro-paz y concordia nacional, resuelve: "Artículo primero: "Ordenar a los clubes afiliados, que el próximo domingo 11 de septiembre de 1949, durante la celebración de los partidos de fútbol, se guarde un minuto de silencio. "Artículo segundo: "Solicitar a los públicos que asistan a dichos partidos, que durante el minuto de silencio se agiten pañuelos blancos y que al terminar éste, se lance el siguiente grito: 'Paz, concordia y patria'. "Artículo tercero: "Solicitar a los clubes locales, en la propaganda correspondiente a los partidos del domingo venidero, se adicione la siguiente frase: ¡Paz más concordia, igual patria! (cited in Jaramillo Racines 2011: 123).

Football was deliberately employed as a pacifying device during *El Dorado* (Uribe 1976: 9; Zuluaga 2005: 157; Quitián 2013 2013b; Campomar 2014: 207). The very un-Colombian nature of the football matches, given the influx of so many foreign players who were neutral to the Colombian political turmoil, meant that neither party could benefit. Victories of teams were never victories for the Conservatives or Liberals, as the foreign players were outside of the Colombian political partisanship struggle and native players had very little impact. Instead, as Quitián and Urrea Beltrán argue, the presence of neutral Argentinians, Uruguayans etc, provided a civilizing effect: 'si bien esos atletas no intervenían en la confrontación política sí intervenían en la disputa por la legitimación de los valores éticos y estéticos de la sociedad, en la implantación desde el nivel simbólico de la modernidad' (2016: 167).

The press at the time were also conscious of the civilizing and calming effect of football; *Estadio* was always keen to stress the values of sportsmanship, fair play, good behaviour from fans and football's positive effect for society. They noted that the government could do more however:

Es preferible el fanatismo deportivo, que encauza sanamente las pasiones, al político, que las degenera creando odios peligrosos. Y si debemos admitir que esto es cierto no podemos creer que un gobierno que ha declarado enfáticamente su interés en calmar los odios entre los colombianos, no apoye más el medio más eficaz para lograrlo, que es el deporte (*Estadio*, Num. 54, 20 May 1950: 2).

This is one area that Santos has certainly taken advantage of some sixty years later, portraying football as a place for encounter and socialization first and foremost. As shall be shown in the following chapters, using football as an agent of education towards civic values of coexistence

has been espoused through legislation, rhetoric, and most importantly, through specific programmes and campaigns.

The Colombian professional league from 1948-1954 was a golden period of Colombian club football rather than national team football, particularly as FIFA banned the Colombian team from competing internationally. It was a sporting spectacle of foreign entertainers rather than a time where Colombian football emerged. If anything, it reinforced regional identities rather than a national identity as club teams became the pride of their city, and rival teams fought for acclaim within the city. Colombia was merely the location for a Latin American (and to a lesser extent, European) cast of football stars to entertain a Colombian public, first in urban areas and then increasingly throughout the country as radio and the press focused on the sport. Football coverage flourished as censorship laws limited political discussion after the events of the *Bogotazo* and the ensuing murders of Liberal and Conservative supporters across Colombia. The new league took advantage of players' strikes in Argentina and Uruguay to sign some of the most famous players of the day, already known in Colombia given the continental reach of *El Gráfico* magazine (seen by Archetti as so important for Argentine sporting nationalism), ignoring previous contracts the players had. Millonarios began the process by signing Adolfo Pedernera, a move which was a national sensation and led to football talk and transfers hitting the front pages of newspapers and magazines and, quickly, most of the clubs in the league filling their teams with foreign players.⁸ Over 60% of the players in the 1951 league came from abroad (Campomar 2014: 209; Worswick 2012: 21). There was a tendency for players from the same country to play at the same club; Deportivo Cali were a team of Peruvians, Millonarios and Santa Fe both opted for mostly Argentinians, Pereira chose Paraguayans and Cúcuta fielded mostly Uruguayans. Only Atlético Municipal from Medellín (later Atlético Nacional) would resist the tendency and field a team entirely of Colombians. Although the *El Dorado* era put Colombian football on the world map, it was not Colombian in nature; the mythical team of this era, the Millonarios team known as *El Ballet Azul*, featuring the likes of Pedernera, Néstor Rossi and Alfredo Di Stefano, only featured two Colombians. Archetti cites the 1913 Racing team as where *fútbol criollo* takes over from British football as the British surnames in Argentine football were replaced by those of Spanish and Italian origin (Archetti: 59), but the Millonarios team cannot

⁸ *Semana* magazine, a news magazine that had previously dedicated very little attention to sport, originally gave very little attention to the new professional league, but by the end of the first tournament in 1948 there are regular articles, with Colombian 'Chonto' Gaviria on the cover on 4 December 1948. In the following two years, football coverage is substantial, with Efraín 'el Caimán' Sánchez, Adolfo Pedernera, managers Carlos Aldabe and Adolfo Magallanes, Charlie Mountford and Neil Franklin, and Francisco Zuluaga and Carlos Arango all being featured on the cover.

carry the same national representative symbolism. Great *Colombian* football, or defined Colombian sporting identities, did not emerge with this team or league.

The 'Creolization' of Colombian Football and the Search for Footballing Identity

This issue of making football Colombian, or the 'creolization' of football, was an experience undergone earlier in Argentina. When Archetti discussed the importance of the creolization of football in Argentina, he showed how football moved from being a sport dominated by British names and style of play to being replaced by Argentinian names and a style of play described by the likes of *El Gráfico* journalists Borocotó and Chantecler as being *criollo* or *rioplatense*. The issues at play in the Argentinian case also involve how Italian and Spanish migrants were assimilated into a style of football that was Argentinian and not British. Borocotó argued for these Latin migrants becoming Argentinian due to simple contact with the geographical and cultural milieu, whereas Chantecler argues for more of a 'cultural melting pot' creating a hybridized form of football, superior to what goes before, which becomes Argentinian (Archetti 1999: 66-70). The style of play of club teams and the national team as a result became imagined as Argentinian and very distinct to Argentina's 'other', the British, and particularly English, style of football. The Colombian situation is considerably different. As had been mentioned above, foreign stars, particularly from Argentina and Uruguay, dominated the *El Dorado* league. Although these *rioplatense* stars attracted and dazzled the crowds and heightening the standard of play, the absence of 'Colombianness' from the football spectacle became a point of concern. There was an acceptance in the press that these foreign players were necessary to teach football and to help develop an improved Colombian game, but worries grew at the lack of tangible initiatives from either Dimayor, Adefútbol or the newly professional clubs to sow the seeds for Colombian football to take over in due time from the imported footballers. The government did little to help the sport in itself grow at grassroots level or improve infrastructure significantly. Another consequence was that the *criollos* in Colombian football, put in opposition to the imports, were all Colombians. It is worth stressing here, that the term *criollo* when it was used in the sports sections of newspapers and in sport magazines did refer to all native-born Colombians, irrespective of region or race. *Estadio* frequently refers to how many *criollos* were playing, if the *criollos* had played particularly well in opposition to the imports, how best to protect and improve *criollo* footballers, and the benefits for the *criollo* game. Some examples follow:

Los criollos no solamente tenemos que aprender a jugar mejor futbol, y para esto son indispensables los extranjeros... (*Estadio* 9 July 1949: 12).

Los criollos dan ejemplo (headline) (*Estadio* 16 July 1949: 10).

La undécima fecha del campeonato marcó un triunfo casi total para el fútbol nacional, ya que en la mayoría de los encuentros que se jugaron en las diferentes plazas futboleras los jugadores criollos estuvieron mejores que los importados (*Estadio* 23 July 1949: 8).

Todo esto ha traído serias consecuencias. La primera de ellas ha sido el desalojamiento paulatino de los jugadores criollos que, a juicio de los engegucidos dirigentes, no producen la misma exitosa taquilla que los extranjeros. Esto no sería tan grave si esos clubes se preocuparan siquiera por la formación de elementos criollos, que, en un futuro, defendieran sus colores sin necesidad de acudir a los costosos importados (*Estadio* 10 September 1949: 2).

Regional differences and regional identities, so dominant in Colombia's fractured national construct, for once disappear. This situation of the dominance of imported players did, however, help Colombian footballers become symbolically united against the imported 'others' who were dominating the league, cutting across regional divisions and rivalries. Colombian footballers and Colombian football in general needed support. However, economic and entertainment prerogatives outweighed the development of Colombian football and footballers.

The Colombian league achieved notoriety, and was seen as being a 'pirate' league by foreign football organizations and Argentinian and Uruguayan clubs whose striking players had ignored their contracts to go and play for higher wages in Colombian teams. Uribe describes the process as 'el tráfico de humanos' (1976: 9), and with considerable literary flourishes describes the pirated, false nature of the football that diverted attention from the atrocities of *La Violencia* in the countryside:

Ese fútbol prestado, maquillado, de ropaje arlequinesco, disolvente, pirata, de legado negativo, camaelón, plagado de defectos y de taras, desviacionista y tergiversador, todo lo que se le atribuye en enjuiciamientos de buen y mal humor, sirvió de escudo, de trinchera, de refugio y acaso de escape a una nación que marchaba, cegada, al holocausto colectivo (Uribe 1976: 9).

FIFA banned Colombia and Colombian clubs from international competition until the Pact of Lima of 1951 agreed that players should return to their original clubs in 1954. It is, therefore, difficult to categorize *El Dorado* as a moment of Colombian success; there were great teams, great players and a great spectacle, but no great sense of 'Colombianness' involved. The national game, Colombia's *nuestro fútbol*, was being stunted by the lack of opportunities for Colombian players. Peláez argues that *El Dorado* 'se aplastó el derecho de un país a crecer futbolísticamente' (1976: 9), as does Galvis Ramírez: 'para unos fue una leyenda inolvidable y para otros una completa farsa porque frenó el avance de este deporte en el país' (2008: 48).

Instead, *El Dorado* served as a period for the press to consider the paucity of Colombian sport in relation to more established Latin American powers and the opportunity to use sport to enhance the nation and its citizens. *Estadio* articulated the significance of football and nation in its pages, not only in terms of economic success and entertaining the public, but also as a chance to boost the fortunes of Colombia and Colombians. In an editorial, Gonzalo Rueda Caro wrote:

Comprendimos que las esferas directivas del país, debían aprovechar el horizonte de entusiasmos deportivos que ha abierto la División Mayor del Fútbol Colombiano (que, entre paréntesis, es la máxima realización colombiana de los últimos años), para propagar técnicamente el deporte en todos los rincones de Colombia y en esta forma convertir a nuestro país en una verdadera democracia, donde cada ciudadano no tenga sólo el derecho de votar, (precaria derecho cuando se cumple por mandato ajeno) sino principalmente el derecho a ser sano, el derecho a encontrar por el camino de la vida, la amena distracción, la alegre y noble educación que proporciona el deporte a un pueblo cuando a éste se le enseña en su verdadero sentido (*Estadio* 27 August 1949: 2).

Sport was seen as an important way of 'haciendo patria', and articulated as such in this magazine. As football was not demonstrably progressing from being a spectator sport with commercial benefit for the owners to one that was developing the game via the creation of age group teams for instance, more and better stadia, training facilities and grounds across the country, or improving the Colombian *raza*, *Estadio* generated the argument that the nation was not benefitting from the *El Dorado* period and an opportunity for sport to benefit the country was being squandered. The government and club owners were just using the league as a diversionary tactic and pacifying device against political unrest, and as a chance to make money. There was no national aim for Colombian citizens. Here are quotes from 1949, 1950 and 1951 from *Estadio* that discuss the failure to make the football league Colombian, to benefit the nation and show the ongoing preoccupation with the issue:

Es absolutamente necesario adelantar una campaña para hacer ver la gravedad que realmente tiene el problema de las importaciones de jugadores. Indudablemente, ellos nos están mostrando cómo se juega al fútbol, pero tenemos la nítida sensación de que muy poco se está haciendo para que esas magníficas demostraciones se traduzcan en fines prácticos para el deporte nativo. Tras de la cortina brillante de profesionalismo, estamos dejando injustamente abandonados a nuestros hombres (*Estadio* 20 August 1949: 2).

No queremos, y creemos haberlo dicho suficiente número de veces, hacer una campaña patrioterista. Pero estamos seguros de que nuestro porvenir en la materia se basa en la creación del futbolista nacional y vemos alarmados que las entidades más pudientes de nuestro profesionalismo se niegan a darle la oportunidad de surgir (*Estadio* 15 April 1950: 2).

El fútbol profesional se ha impuesto en Colombia, se ha hecho respetar en el mundo y ha transformado la fisonomía deportiva del país. Debemos ahora poner todo el empeño por

crear un fútbol nuestro, tarea paga y que seguramente estará llena de alternativas y de muchos sinsabores, pero que, si no se inicia inmediatamente, quedará muy difícil luego recoger los frutos de las experiencias adquiridas en los años que llevamos de profesionalismo. Y si no sabemos sacar provecho de los millones de pesos invertidos en crear una afición, un espectáculo y un nombre mundial para el fútbol colombiano, para formar un verdadero y genuino deporte nacional, entonces sí que nos podríamos preguntar con amargura, lo que desde hace muchos años los gratuitos enemigos del movimiento profesional, están esperando que se convierta en interrogante general: “Y EL PROFESIONALISMO, ¿PARA QUÉ?” (*Estadio* 31 March 1951: 3).

Clearly apparent in these quotes is the continental footballing hierarchy and sense of footballing inferiority that Colombian journalists such as those in *Estadio* highlight to their readers.

Colombian football was not as advanced in its development as the likes of Argentina and Uruguay, and the standard of play was considerably lower. Colombians were aware of the longer and more successful football history of the nations from the Southern Cone, with Olympic gold medals, World Cup victories and final appearances for Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil.

The *El Dorado* period embedded a sense of Colombian footballing inferiority and its low rank in the continental hierarchy, as well as a requirement for entertainment and high quality to be vital when envisioning how football should be played. The spectacle was a primary concern as football matches were society occasions. There were often events prior to the football including women's football matches, a first example of women's football in the public gaze, but these were one off curiosities rather than a launch pad for women's teams. A match between Santa Fe and Millonarios took place before the men's game, with Santa Fe winning 17-5 (*Estadio* 16 July 1949: 31). Later that year there was a short match between Deportivo Cali and Boca Juniors before the men's teams played (*Estadio* 27 October 1949: 16-17). *Semana* reported that it featured two beauty queen candidates for the Valle del Cauca, Carmen Elisa Arango and Clarita Dominguez (*Semana* 29 October 1949: 30). *Semana* also reports a match between two women's teams in Barranquilla, Estrellas Galesas and Sirenas del Caribe; the aim of the game was to 'atraer de nuevo al público tradicionalmente futbolista de Barranquilla'. Details show that it was thought that changes were necessary to allow football to be played by women, revealing prevailing attitudes about women and sport: 'La práctica femenina de un deporte brusco como el fútbol, exige la reducción del campo de juego, para limitar el esfuerzo físico que puede rendir una mujer' (*Semana* 27 August, 1949, 27). An association between football and female beauty was present during *El Dorado* and would become an enduring relationship. Regional and national beauty queens often took ceremonial kick-offs and were photographed with star players, a tradition that has continued to this day of associating beautiful women fans with

football through advertising, placing beauty before ability as a desired characteristic for women representing the nation.⁹

For the professional league spectacle to succeed, matches depended on the presence of foreign players, not the Colombian footballers who were relegated to the substitute's bench. They lacked the skills and experience of the foreign stars and did not appeal to the paying public. Campaigns in favour of the *futbolista criollo* and the need to develop Colombian football by *Estadio* were ignored in favour of economic returns. In addition to this enduring sense of footballing inferiority, diverse footballing influences became linked with different regions, which complicated the search for a national style of football. Argentina, from where most of the foreign stars in *El Dorado* came, became Colombia's 'father' in football terms and the measurement of how Colombian football was progressing. Argentina was the model for Colombian's football, and therefore, Argentina became Colombia's football 'other', as Quitián describes:

Argentina fue fundamental en la constitución de nuestra identidad futbolística...se fue tornando en "el otro". De ser parte del nosotros, por convivir entre nosotros y actuar para nosotros, sin crear recelo por el papel neutral ... fueron desplazándose al rol de "otros": de rivales a vencer, en la perspectiva freudiana del hijo que se emancipa del padre, del alumno que supera al maestro (Quitian 2017: 84).

The influence of Argentinian players in the league meant that the style that Argentinian footballers played was to be imitated and learned from. Argentine influence, in particular, so dominated Colombian football that it became extremely difficult to displace in the search for a Colombian style and identity that could be then deployed towards effective sporting nationalism. Additionally, due to the spectacle of *El Dorado* and the football played by the foreign stars, the need for a Colombian style had to include entertainment. It would not be enough to win by defensive tactics or 'mechanical' play, as good football became inseparably linked to the need for the public to be entertained. Colombian football had to be successful and better than Argentinian football, or at least on a similar level, and it also had to feel different to Argentinian football, to have something recognizably distinct and original that would distinguish it from their 'other' and be a source of Colombian pride. The added complication is that with a country with very strong regionalism and regional identities, this would be very hard to achieve,

⁹ It is still easy to find articles about women footballers' beauty in Colombia. A quick search of 'jugadoras más bonitas de la liga profesional colombiana' on 5 August 2019, for example, included the following links on the first page: 'Calidosas y hermosas: las mujeres bellas del fútbol colombiano' (*Futbolred.com*, 3 August 2019), 'Las jugadoras más bonitas de la Selección Colombia' (*Futboleto.com*, 23 July 2015), and 'Las bellas jugadoras de la Liga Femenina de Fútbol' (*La Opinión*, 31 January 2017).

to be able to define what a Colombian style of football on the pitch actually was that could evoke a shared sense of pride, recognition and identity. The national team could possibly achieve this task, but, up to this point, the national team had not been constituted by players from various parts of the nation, selected on merit, and had been banned from playing by FIFA due to *El Dorado*.

The Search for Success, 1954-1985

After this 'non-Colombian' Colombian golden age of club football, national football success only occurred in isolated moments, and a footballing slogan and myth of 'jugar como nunca y perder como siempre' (Dávila and Arteaga 1991: 175) became engrained. The *El Dorado* league, despite demonstrating the superiority of imported football over local football, had at least ensured that football became the most important and mediatized team sport in the country, although other sporting successes, such as in boxing with Antonio 'Kid Pambelé' Cervantes and in cycling with the likes of Martín 'Cochise' Rodríguez did establish those sports as significant for Colombia; the national print press, sporting magazines and radio shows discussed Colombian inferiority on the football field in comparison to the likes of Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina. Radio in particular - in Colombia radio was much more widespread and accessible than the national printed press that Benedict Anderson (1991) sees as having a key role in nation-building - was fundamental for citizens to learn more about the country and its regions through the broadcasting of football matches: 'el sistema de cadena de emisoras no solo ha servido para conectar al momento las gentes de la caribeña ciudad de Barranquilla con la sureña de Pasto, sino para que el deporte, y en especial el fútbol, se convierta en instrumento de unidad de una nación de naciones' (Ramos 1998: 168). Live broadcasts, debates, and news programmes all helped create imaginary links for Colombians around shared sporting moments.

Governments had done little to promote football beyond rhetoric. During *El Dorado*, *Estadio* regularly attacked government failures to build stadiums and sports facilities nationwide (*Estadio* 24 September 1949: 2) and the lack of sport programmes in public education (*Estadio* 1 October 1949: 2). In the 1960s, these problems had not disappeared, with *Afición* criticising the government in their weekly magazine. They highlighted issues such as failing to resolve disputes over the national team and management of football between Adefútbol and Dimayor (*Afición*

22-28 November 1961: 1) and not funding national delegations to help prepare for and travel to continental and international sporting tournaments (*Afición* 30 May-3 June 1962: 5).

Colombia managed to qualify for the 1962 World Cup in Chile and drew 4-4 with the great Soviet Union, a draw that quickly gained mythic status as a national triumph. It was linked to capitalist versus communist considerations by the then President Guillermo Valencia (1962-1966) who said ‘es un triunfo de la democracia sobre el totalitarismo’ (*GolCaracol.com* 18 March 2013), and had added significance for the country given the fears growing of communist influence within Colombia about the independent communist ‘repúblicas’ formed in the aftermath of *La Violencia*. It can be seen as the first moment when communists are excluded from the national ‘us’ in relation to imaginaries of the nation around football (Watson 2018c). They would not be readmitted until Santos began talking about FARC also being supporters of the national team, as discussed in chapter two. The match against the USSR also featured the first, and to date only, goal scored directly from a corner in a World Cup by Marcos Coll, against the famous Soviet goalkeeper Lev Yashin. This goal, regularly repeated on Colombian television programmes about World Cups ever since, and the feat of coming back from 0-3 and 1-4 down meant that the 1962 team gained hero status in the country, despite losing their other matches. At this moment ‘fútbol e identidad nacional empezaban a coquetear’ (Rozo Rondón 2014: 31), given that this ‘victory’ was gained on an international stage against an acknowledged world and footballing power, and against an ‘enemy’ political system and doctrine. It worked as a source of national pride because it was a Colombian team made up of players from nine different clubs. The coach, Adolfo Pedernera, was Argentinian, however, and that influence remained. There had, in fact, been questions about whether Colombia should even compete in the 1962 World Cup, given the fear of the national team being humiliated by stronger opposition, and the negative impact this would have for the pride of the nation. The sports magazine *Afición*¹⁰ regularly wrote editorials about the significance of the tournament for Colombia and what failure could mean, revealing a sporting inferiority complex: ‘Sinceramente confesamos, que somos los “benjamines”, los “Cenicientos”, y los “Débiles” y pocas posibilidades nos dan en la gran justa mundial’ (*Afición* 31 January – 6 February 1962: 36). They pointed to the lack of organized preparation for the tournament potentially betraying the nation: ‘A trabajar. A formar la selección nacional... O nos preparamos y trabajamos firmemente por la selección nacional o renunciamos, antes que ir a hacer ridículo’ (*Afición* 22-28 June 1961: 6). Football and nation are explicitly united by *Afición*, much as it was by *Estadio* during the *El Dorado* period. Following the 4-4 draw, *Afición* again

¹⁰ It is worth noting that *Afición*, first a weekly sports newspaper and then a sports magazine, clearly associated the importance of sport with building the nation and national issues. The subline of the title was ‘haciendo deporte hacemos patria’, which underlines this concern and viewpoint of the editors.

gave national importance to the victory, arguing that the team had done more for the nation than its politicians, particularly considering government failures to provide infrastructure and funding:

No es poca cosa, no es solamente un asunto deportivo, como lo ve en más de alguna ocasión los gobernantes, es algo de tal envergadura, de tanta resonancia, que seguramente el triunfo de Colombia, conquistado en Arica, refluirá en todos los espacios económicos del país, a que nuestro café será más conocido y cotizado [...] LOOR a los 22 hombres que pusieron muy en alto nuestra bandera deportiva y un abrazo fraternal para los Colombianos que hacen Patria por intermedio del deporte de limosna, con las uñas, ante la indiferencia de nuestros Gobernantes. LOOR a los héroes de Arica, verdaderos triunfadores de la Política Internacional de Colombia porque han sido unos reales embajadores, han refrendado su actuación con un triunfo de perfiles incalculables y de una resonancia vital para el futuro de Colombia (*Afición* 6-12 June 1962: 1).

The national significance here attributed to the draw-as-victory in the press, at the same time removing any political responsibility for the result, confirms the sense that football was something for all Colombians, not owned by the State, something that transcended previous divisions and could be celebrated as a national moment. It also suggested a platform upon which Colombia could finally appear on a global stage. *Afición's* reaction may be hyperbolic, but we can get a sense of the value that the Colombian press, and, by extension, their readers, attributed to a first successful result by footballing representatives in a major tournament.

A runners-up position in the 1975 Copa América was the only other national team achievement to which the country could point. There was also the embarrassment of having to give up the hosting of the 1986 World Cup, the only country to relinquish the honour. President Misael Pastrana in 1974 had lobbied FIFA hard to win the hosting rights, but President Belisario Betancur gave up this right in a short speech in 1982. He blamed FIFA's extravagant demands for hotels, transport, communications and stadium facilities and argued that 'El Mundial debía servir a Colombia, y no Colombia a la multinacional del Mundial' (*El País* 27 October 1982), but it was also true that successive governments had failed to prepare for the games and invest in the necessary infrastructure. FIFA was also nervous about the security of the tournament given guerrilla attacks and drug cartel activity.

A Golden Generation in the Darkest Years - 1985-1994: The Genesis of the Colombian Style

The mid-1980s finally saw Colombian club and national teams gaining significant international victories due to a style of football defined and recognized as being Colombian. Previously, dour, defensive tactics that sought to minimize defeats, or win by counter attacking had characterized them, and clubs still recruited foreign players to fill the most important positions in the team. Jaramillo Racines remembered that national team coach, César López Fretes, from Paraguay, saw Colombian teams still struggling to express their own football identity, and Colombian footballers being imitative rather than instinctive:

Yo recuerdo la frase de López Fretes, que fue técnico de la Selección Colombia en los años 60 y que estuvo muy metido, digamos, en la problemática del fútbol colombiano...él dice 'el jugador colombiano para mi entender es un jugador que es imitativo', o sea, ¿qué hacía el jugador colombiano? Fijarse en lo que hacían jugadores extranjeros, ¿sí?, pero no creía en lo que podía dar personalmente. O sea, no creía en sus propias capacidades (Jaramillo Racines, personal interview 3 November 2017).

Indeed, a policy of nationalization of foreign players was pursued to strengthen the national side, and a reliance on foreign coaches persisted as the Colombian Football Federation tried to establish a football school that could lead to success, leaning on outside influences rather than trusting in itself. Francisco Maturana, the coach most associated with creating and articulating the eventual Colombian style of football when it did emerge, stressed the need to have faith in their own game in his 1990 biography and also when interviewed: 'We've always wanted to bring foreigners into our game: Argentinians, Yugoslavs, Brazilians, and Europeans, and in always looking at others, we ignored ourselves' (Worswick 2016). This importing of football knowhow is indicative of a continuing negative self-image, an acceptance of their hierarchical position and embedded footballing inferiority. There was little attempt to create a hybrid new style that could be Colombian, a fusion of learning from South American and European schools of football as well as 'Colombian' characteristics somehow gained by kids playing street and waste-ground football, a Colombian version of the mythical *pibe del potrero* upon which Argentinian notions of football style are based (Archetti 1999: 180-185). The emphasis was on imitation rather than innovation, and 'creolization' had yet to occur.

The lack of identity of Colombian football remained a concern until the 1980s, a constant search hindered by perpetually looking outwards for foreign influences to improve national football. The shirt of the Colombian national team is a case in point in the search for a Colombian football

identity. It was not until Ochoa Uribe's team in the 1980s that the national kit adopted the colours of the national flag. Before then, Colombia had played in variety of colours and designs (as can be seen below), the changes often copying the colours of other successful teams.



(picture from 'Historia de las camisetas de la Selección Colombia, *Diario Noticias 24 Horas* 12 February 2015, <<http://diarionoticias24horas.blogspot.co.uk/2015/02/historia-de-las-camisetas-de-la.html>>)

In 1937, Colombia wore a light blue and white shirt, copying the colours of Uruguay and Argentina, the white kit of 1945 seems based on the Real Madrid shirt, the dark blue kit of the 1962 World Cup copied the Millonarios shirts, and then in the 1970s Colombia wore a *zapote* coloured shirt that evoked the Netherlands shirt. The emphasis with all these shirts is imitation; rather than producing a shirt that evoked Colombianness, much like the style of football being played. These shirt choices evidence that the search for *nuestro fútbol* was ongoing, as Peláez forlornly wrote:

'NUESTRO FÚTBOL está en una etapa aún de identificación. La presencia de técnicos de diferente escuela y pensamiento, ha sembrado dudas acerca de lo más conveniente... en NUESTRO FÚTBOL, hay aún mucho empirismo, improvisación y solamente una unificación de criterios permitiría ubicar exactamente un verdadero patrón o escala. Hemos querido imitar tantas cosas, que por momentos lucimos perdidos.' (1976: 6)

The change to the yellow, red and blue kit coincided with the 1985 under-19 team coached by Luis Alfonso Marroquín that performed above expectations in the South American Championships in Paraguay. Minor success, a national aesthetic, style of kit and play, and press

praise converged at an ideal time. The nation was reeling from the trauma of the volcanic eruption that destroyed the town of Armero, the M-19 taking hostages in the Palacio de Justicia and the subsequent brutal re-taking of the building by the army,¹¹ as well as the impact of the drug cartels upon national violence, criminality, the weakening of the state and its institutions and the country's global image. Marroquin's team provided a breath of fresh air and optimism for the country by winning with a freer and more attacking style of play, playing in the colours of the national flag. Most Colombian football experts see it as the moment when a Colombian football style emerged, one that fulfilled the desire for spectacle, skill and attacking play. Arias argues that 'la gente se identificó con un estilo de juego que podía llamarse "fútbol colombiano". Esta selección... fue algo así como el manual de instrucciones de lo que debe ser el fútbol de Colombia. Rápido y preciso, desbordado por la imaginación y el talento de las individualidades' (Arias 1991: 60). Peláez links this football team, the style that was being articulated and discussed by coach, fans and media as awakening a dormant sense of sporting nationalism, commenting 'se veía algo en concordancia con los colores de la bandera y una vía clara para comenzar sobre todo en la masa infanto-juvenil en despertar el nacionalismo. Nos faltaba identificación y era un paso importante' (Peláez 1994: 82).

This first flourish was built upon by Francisco Maturana with the full national team, first with 3rd place in the Copa América in 1987, then with a 1-1 draw against England at Wembley in 1988,¹² and subsequently qualifying for the 1990 and 1994 World Cups. Maturana also managed Atlético Nacional to win the 1989 Copa Libertadores (a first triumph for a Colombian side in this competition), with a team entirely of Colombian players, who played an attractive passing style of football. In the 1990 World Cup, Colombia drew 1-1 with eventual winners West Germany thanks to a last-minute goal from Freddy Rincón (another draw being portrayed as a victory), before losing in the last 16. The result against West Germany and qualifying for the last 16 in their first World Cup for 28 years gave Colombians a sense that Colombian football had finally arrived on a global level and could compete with the best in the world, as Arias wrote:

¹¹ Football during this event once again served as a masking device, as the Millonarios vs Unión Magdalena match was televised rather than showing what was happening at the Palacio de Justicia. There are several articles and documentaries that look back on the events of 6 November 1985, such as by journalist Alejandro Pino Calad (*Gol Caracol* 5 November 2015) and by *El Espectador* (6 November 2017)

¹² This was only a friendly match, but as it was against the founding fathers of football in the 'temple' of Wembley, these conditions allowed the game to achieve a potent status of national achievement. Another draw against England in 1995 also became historic and added to the legend of Colombian football's flair, as goalkeeper René Higuita performed a remarkable 'scorpion kick' when saving an errant goal-bound cross-cum-shot.

La historia reciente, a pesar del traspíe de la Copa América de 1989 [...] no resiste comparaciones. Las cifras y las imágenes hablan por sí solas. Atrás han quedado los años aciagos de derrotas humillantes y vergüenzas internacionales. El fútbol colombiano, por fin, ha logrado consolidar una imagen y, lo que es más importante, una identidad perdurable (Arias 1991: 51).

Qualification for the 1994 World Cup was earned with a 5-0 thrashing of Argentina in Buenos Aires on 5 September 1993. This remarkable result, a footballing parricide, was a triumphant moment for the nation as a whole, as Rozo Rondón explains:

Hito nacional, no solo por la grandeza del hecho y la preocupación porque eso grande permanezca en el tiempo, sino también por la alta carga de “colombianidad” que este hecho porta intrínsecamente, porque aquí no fueron los once del campo de juego, vestidos de pantalones cortos y medias largas quienes ganaron; no, aquí fue todo un país quien ganó: *ganamos*. Dado dicho triunfo, no fue al equipo de jugadores colombianos en el Monumental a quienes, resignados, los argentinos aplaudieron incluyendo a Maradona; no, fue a todos los colombianos a quienes *nos aplaudieron*. Los once de la cancha vestidos del tricolor, por 90 minutos, representan la nación y lo nacional. Allí la frontera entre los jugadores como *otros* y los espectadores como *nosotros* se difumina, jugadores y espectadores somos *nosotros*, jugadores y espectadores, *somos* Colombia (2014: 31).

This victory was significant for many reasons: it was achieved in a style that was perceived to be Colombian;¹³ a historical sense of inferiority and hierarchy was spectacularly overcome, particularly as Diego Maradona had invoked Argentina’s historical supremacy in an interview before the game; and it was a chance for Colombians to celebrate a national triumph after years of negative press about drug trafficking, violence, corruption and a state at conflict with guerrilla movements and paramilitaries. The magnitude of this victory, ‘el episodio más glorioso del fútbol colombiano’ (Galvis Ramírez 2008: 161), was soon sharply contrasted with Colombia’s greatest football disaster, as Colombia, crashed out of the 1994 World Cup in the USA in the first round having lost 1-2 to the hosts. An own goal by Andrés Escobar contributed to the defeat and a week or so later, Escobar was murdered. The population, desperate for success and overly confident, experienced both the exit from the World Cup and Escobar’s murder as national tragedies. Escobar’s murder, stories of death threats to Maturana and several players during the tournament, and revelations of links to drug cartels (see, for example, Araújo Vélez 1995), meant that the memory of this golden generation that had provided such hope for the nation were tarnished.

¹³ Or, at least, by the Colombians and Colombian press. In *Masculinities*, written from the Argentinian perspective of enduring a national tragedy in the 5-0 defeat, both Eduardo Archetti and his friend Juancho see the trauma as being significant as Argentinians had taught Colombians to play, and now had been thrashed by a team playing the Argentinian style better than they could (1999: 177). The Colombian pupils/sons had beaten their master/father.

When Maturana became the national team coach, he built on the rising sense of *colombianidad* in the football team engendered by Marroquin's work by articulating the aspects that made it Colombian. Maturana spoke of integrating recognized regional characteristics into the *Selección* and its football style, applying some of Colombia's 'moral topography' (Wade 1995: 51) to the symbolism of the National team, creating strength out of different constituent parts, and finding worth in regional, and, more problematically, racial stereotypes. In an interview before the 1994 World Cup, when the style and link between team and nation was well established, he outlined the regional components that created the national whole:

[Leonel] Álvarez and Gabriel Gómez are midfielders from Antioquia, a region of hardworking, disciplined people – and they're the ones who have to keep things under control. The fantasy I leave to Asprilla, Rincón, Valderrama – people from Cali and the coast. Those people are always partying; they're harder to discipline. They take care of the creative part (Price, *Sports Illustrated* 23 May 1994).

There are problems with this imagining of the football team representing the nation, as many parts of the nation are not included. It further embedded characteristics of the black player as creative but undisciplined, capable only of fulfilling certain team roles. There is no role for the capital, for indigenous communities, for many of the peripheral areas of Colombia, though white, mestizo and Afro-Colombian communities are imagined as united within this construct. There is also the question of areas that were *de facto* FARC strongholds, where the government exercised little or no presence. These, too, are not referred to and so it can be argued that Maturana's imagining of the nation within the football team is limited, limiting and unrepresentative (Watson 2015: 53-54). Maturana also articulated how the national football team could create a national community of supporters through football success being an escape valve from the shadow of shame of Colombia's drug reputation, as well as to give cause for optimism and relief from daily traumas related to violence. He said "'Colombia needed this...This country has suffered a lot... Soccer helps relieve the pain'" (Price, *Sports Illustrated* 23 May 1994). The style of play and approach of the team was part of this imagining of a nation needing to have fun. Visibilizing the more festive, joyful characteristics of Colombians present in the football played on the pitch was also essential for the national symbolism of the football team. This could be seen not just in the often carefree approach of emblematic goalkeeper René Higuita, regularly escaping from his penalty area to dribble the ball away from danger, or the flair and speed of the likes of Faustino Asprilla and Freddy Rincón, as well as the creative mastery of Carlos Valderrama. 'El Pibe' Valderrama and players such as Higuita, Álvarez, and Escobar all had very distinctive *melena* style haircuts that provided a point of cultural reference, as well as symbolically linking supporters and the team with the sale of blonde Afro Valderrama-

style wigs worn by the fans.¹⁴ Dávila Ladrón de Guevara summarizes Maturana's construct of the national team as follows:

En términos futbolísticos la propuesta era, a la vez, moderna y lírica, científica y lúdica: en realidad una síntesis inesperada pero convincente: ganar, pero jugando bien; obtener resultados, pero sin renunciar a divertirse y divertir; lograr triunfos, títulos, epopeyas futbolísticas, pero sin perder una identidad, un estilo, una imagen de lo que debe ser el juego del fútbol, y en particular el fútbol de Colombia, en cuanto espectáculo generador de manifestaciones estéticas (1994: 23).

The press had an important role in convincing the public of the Colombian nature of Maturana's imagination of the *Selección*. The weekly news magazine *Semana* reported the birth of the Colombian style of football from the Copa América 1987 onwards, and particularly when qualification for the 1990 World Cup in Italy was gained. Some quotes that indicate this recognition and pride in a football that truly belonged to the nation and could push Colombia into the top positions of the continental – and perhaps even global - hierarchy follow:

Maturana se convirtió en el mejor intérprete del fútbol colombiano y en símbolo de la transformación del balompié nacional... [La Copa América 1987] mostró por primera vez un fútbol auténticamente colombiano, que llevó al país a ingresar al grupo de los grandes de Suramérica (*Semana* 5 April 1988: 52).

Cuarenta años después de la implantación del fútbol profesional en Colombia, se tiene la mejor de todas las oportunidades para afianzar un fútbol propio, un fútbol colombiano. Según el técnico argentino César Luis Menotti, el fútbol de un país debe ser fiel reflejo de su idiosincrasia. Si esto es verdad, Colombia está empezando a tener el suyo: alegre, agresivo y dispuesto al sacrificio (*Semana* 24-30 May 1988: 49).

Esta es la Selección Colombia más representativa en la historia del fútbol nacional. Por primera vez se habla de un fútbol auténticamente colombiano, por primera vez el talento se impone a la rudeza y por primera vez el equipo colombiano no es el convidado de piedra (*Semana* 15 August 1989, 97).

The style articulated by both Maturana and the press did not present a Colombian football as opposed to an Argentinian 'other'. The 'other' is now the worst of Colombia, the Colombia seen in reports of drug cartel-related violence and the resultant fear, suffering and misery. There is an attempted construction of a 'real' or desired Colombia obscured by perpetual violence and the dominance of negative reporting in domestic and international press. The Colombian nation that

¹⁴ Valderrama, arguably still the greatest ever Colombian footballer, and certainly the most recognizable on a global stage due to his trademark blonde, frizzy afro hairstyle, was always and is still known as 'El Pibe', a term more often associated with Argentinian footballers. The idea of 'el pibe' and 'el potrero' is a key way Borocotó in *El Gráfico* imagined the origins of the Argentinian football style, young boys playing on wastegrounds. It is another nod to Argentinian influence on Colombian football that Valderrama's natural languid, creative, style of play is commemorated with the 'Pibe' nickname.

the national football team symbolizes is that happy, festive and united Colombia and Colombians that have been trying to break out and rise from a lowly position in the continental hierarchy, both in football and political terms. A significant choice of words in the above quotes is the use of 'un fútbol auténticamente colombiano'; whether or not the style of football played is authentic or not is a moot point, as how can you ascribe what authentic Colombian characteristics should be? Who decides this and how far back do you go to decide what is truly authentic, particularly as any Colombian identity itself is hard to pin down, and is, like any Latin American nation, a hybrid culture in any case, a mix of indigenous, colonial Hispanic and African slave influences (García Canclini 1989: 71)? García Canclini, when discussing government policy on culture and deciding what art is 'authentic', argues that there are two problems with deciding what can be authentic to the nation:

Idealiza algún momento del pasado y lo propone como paradigma sociocultural del presente, decide que todos los testimonios atribuidos son auténticos y guardan por eso un poder estético, religioso o mágico insustituible [...] Olvida que toda cultura es resultado de una selección y una combinación, siempre renovada, de sus fuentes. Dicho de otro modo: es producto de una puesta en escena, en la que se elige y se adapta lo que se va a representar, de acuerdo con lo que los receptores pueden escuchar, ver y comprender (187).

In this particular scenario, the description of an 'authentic' Colombian football style is simply attributing characteristics that the press (and supporters) idealize, and then linking these to desired, positive features of the nation as a counterpoint to the negativity of previous features of Colombian football (inferior, defensive, unimaginative, depending on foreign influence) and Colombia itself (Narcolumbia, violence, disunity, corruption etc). The style is a mixture of positive regional attributes leading to a positive and new whole, gaining strength from diversity, but particularly celebrating happy, festive and hard-working features. The press has chosen to see this particular type of football played by Maturana's team as 'auténticamente colombiano' because it brought together football traits that Colombians had been wanting to see in their own side from football experiences and memories going back to the El Dorado period: success, spectacle, attacking football, and a lack of inferiority. This style was placed in opposition to how Colombia was regularly portrayed and negatively imagined in the news.

This idealized portrayal of the nation was not limited to football; the musical styles of the Caribbean coast such as *porro*, *cumbia* and *vallenato* from the 1940s onwards became more representative of Colombia (Wade 1998: 2000). Although these Caribbean coastal styles of music could be linked to regional stereotypes and moral topographies of blackness,

licentiousness, backwardness and laziness, they were also modern, happy and celebratory. As a counterpoint to a national reputation for violence, this type of imagery was a more positive face to present to the world, and therefore Colombia began to tropicalize itself through these Caribbean genres of music that were deployed to be more representative of a positive national identity. Blanco Arboleda states that Colombia 'es un país que coloca un gran énfasis entre sus imaginarios colectivos sobre la alegría, la rumba la fiesta y el baile. Así, la alegría se convierte en pieza fundamental dentro del mecano que es su identidad nacional' (2009: 105). The Selección Colombia also became tropicalized. Not only did Maturana move the national matches to Barranquilla, but television adverts for these matches, particularly those by main sponsors, the beer company Bavaria, portrayed a very carnivalesque type of football celebration, combining footballers, beer, music, dancing and celebrating Colombians. On the Caracol television channel coverage, when Colombia scored, the goal would be celebrated with a salsa music jingle. Another common jingle on Caracol coverage was 'Sí, Sí, Colombia, Sí, Sí, Caribe',¹⁵ a clear expression associating Colombia with a Caribbean image rather than an Andean or Amazonian one for instance. In this way, through the juxtaposition of location, music, televised imagery and the articulation in the press of what the identity of what the team was and represented, a positive, happy, festive, Caribbean style was imposed upon the football team in the national imagination.

Colombia vs Narcolombia

As a consequence of this combination of symbols, the national team and their style of football transcended the purely sporting domain, to be employed as an example for how Colombia could overcome its problems. However, it portrayed an imaginary, idealized notion against an unpleasant reality that could not be removed by the temporary and fragile bubble of football success. Jaramillo Racines discussed this situation of how football came to be an example for the nation in other spheres of daily life; however, the problem of football representing a positive image of the nation was built on unstable ground, given how drug money had invaded the football arena, as well as football success being temporary and, therefore, precarious:

¹⁵ A good place to hear these two jingles, that played after a Colombian goal, and the 'Sí, sí, Colombia, sí, sí, Caribe' jingle can be heard on the goal highlights of the Caracol Coverage of the Colombia 5 Argentina 0 match with narration by William Vinasco: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i2gHnS85x14> [accessed 20 March 2018]

En el comienzo fue el mensaje en el fútbol y posteriormente trascendió el mismo fútbol. Entonces ya se pensó hablar en la política, en otras esferas de la vida del país. Se empezó a hablar de que ... de la identidad, de la importancia de nuestros valores, de la importancia de tener un fútbol propio, de tener un país que fuera autónomo, en fin, que fuera dueño de su estilo, en fin, a través de sus logros, un poco la filosofía de llegar al éxito hay que trabajar, hay que ser muy consagrados en las distintas actividades de la vida. Esa filosofía se fue, digamos, expandiendo a otros sectores de la vida del país. Y se generó una especie de identidad y de reconocimiento del ser nacional frente a su gran símbolo que era la Selección Nacional. Y eso lo personificó en gran medida Pacho Francisco Maturana [...] Fue una construcción de un país a través de un imaginario. El imaginario era el fútbol y el fútbol de Maturana que practicaba la Selección Colombia, que de pronto estaba muy encumbrado, muy encumbrado ante la realidad del país. El país vivía otra realidad. Era un imaginario. Un imaginario, o sea el deber ser, ¿sí? Era como debía ser el hombre colombiano. Eran los valores que se podían rescatar. Pero la realidad en Colombia era otra, o sea la realidad que se vivía era otra, la realidad de violencia, la realidad de que los equipos de fútbol estaban hasta los tuétanos y permeados por los dineros del narcotráfico, la violencia seguía en perpetua, o sea el colombiano utilizaba prácticamente la Selección de fútbol como un escape. Era un escape. La clasificación a los Mundiales de Italia fue un escape (personal interview 3 November 2017).

From these comments, we can see that Colombia's 'other' in this form of sporting nationalism was Colombia itself. It was important to try to prove that through football Colombia could be seen as something different from how it had been forced to see itself through daily experiences and narratives of the impact of the drug trade and enduring national conflict. The government of President César Gaviria tried to present an alternative reality to itself and the world through its football team. The 5-0 against Argentina in September 1993 was supposed to be the final launch-pad for this national representation, a mirror for the nation; a team that had risen through adversity, much as the nation was doing, to find success through hard work, unity and a sense of happiness and enjoyment. However, this representation was already tainted, as one of Pablo Escobar's former henchmen, Jhon Jairo 'Popeye Velásquez' commented in *The Two Escobars* documentary: 'President Gaviria paid a ton of money to clean Colombia's image. Back then cleaning Colombia's image was like when you have gonorrhoea and throw alcohol on your cock, but the gonorrhoea is strong and it's inside... President Gaviria threw his money away. Back then, *nobody* could fix Colombia's image (Zimbalist and Zimbalist 2010)

One of the problems about the success gained by Colombian clubs and the national team in this period from 1985-1994 and how it was applied to portraying a different aspect of Colombia, was that it was achieved with drug cartel influence. This is without doubt the aspect of Colombian football that has received most attention from journalists and historians. There is not the room to discuss the details of cartel involvement here (see the likes of Taylor 1998; Quitián 2007; Araújo Vélez 2013; or *The Two Escobars* documentary by the Zimbalist brothers as just several

examples where this issue is explored), but, crucially, this cartel influence presented major problems when football was charged with giving a positive face for the nation. Dávila Ladrón de Guevara argues that, despite cartel links, the team played in a style contradictory to a 'win at all costs' image associated with the drug business:

Había una diferencia entre el fútbol que jugábamos y el narcotráfico; pero visto después, claramente el narcotráfico estaba dentro de eso; eran los dueños de los jugadores, los jugadores los tenían deudas, digamos que el fútbol colombiano estaba totalmente narcotizado. ¿Sí? Pero, sin embargo, pues, el equipo jugaba otra cosa, y algo que nosotros nunca habíamos vivido. Entonces, es interesantísima la contradicción, ¿sí? Que es un fútbol muy bonito, es un fútbol muy agradable en un entorno totalmente violento y tremendo (personal interview 12 December 2017).

However, the Colombian national team was asked by President Gaviria to represent the nation fighting against the scourge of drug trafficking and all the associated problems it brought to Colombia. It was supposed to represent the 'ideal' Colombia, against a Colombian 'reality', the nation vs the narcos, Colombia vs Narcolombia, but it had been infested with the same virus that the nation was trying to cure. How, therefore, could the National team fight against this Narcolombia 'other' when it had been corrupted by the cartels too? Gaviria gave a speech following the 5-0 victory over Argentina, when he awarded the players the Order of Merit and Maturana the Order of Boyacá (the highest award given to Colombians), in which he explicitly linked the victory and efforts of the players with a new future for Colombia away from the negative image constructed by narco-trafficking:

Colombia entera tiene de nuevo la oportunidad de dejar muy en alto nuestra bandera. Ustedes han demostrado en qué consiste el nuevo país. Ustedes le han abierto la puerta al futuro. Ustedes, en fin, han demostrado que el trabajo honesto basta y sobra para lograr las metas, por más difíciles que parezcan (*El Tiempo* 7 September 1993).

This was part of an advertising campaign trying 'to mend the country's image abroad and stoke a sense of nationalism at home through Colombia's participation in the 1994 World Cup' (Fattal, 2018: 59). Not only did this ring hollow as celebrations turned violent, leading to dozens of deaths in the capital alone, but revelations about the team in the international press before the 1994 World Cup (see Price 1994, for example), the team's failure in the tournament alongside latterly confirmed rumours of death threats to the players and manager, and Andrés Escobar's murder, meant that the national team lost this symbolic ability to lead Colombia forward into a new peaceful and cartel-free era. This tarnished symbol would need to be cleansed before it could be used for sporting nationalism again. The 2011 Ley 1445, the so-called 'Ley del Fútbol', would be the method used by Santos to attempt to ensure that football would be a cleaner symbol for his football for national unity project, as will be discussed in chapter 3.

The national press, too, had stressed the symbolic importance for the nation of Colombia's appearance in the World Cups of 1990 and 1994. Qualification was a moment of collective hope, a nationally shared reason to escape internal tragedy, turmoil and international notoriety caused by the drug cartels. The 1990 campaign was such a success because 'más allá del aspecto deportivo...por primera vez en mucho tiempo, se habló de Colombia en la prensa internacional por algo diferente de la droga. Se mostró una nueva cara, gracias al deporte' (*Semana* 26 June 1990: 58). Later, in the same article, this importance was stressed again: 'Colombia ha estado entre los grandes. Maturana y sus muchachos no sólo le han dado una esperanza al país, sino que han enseñado la otra cara de Colombia que hacía rato no tenía motivos de orgullo para mostrar a nivel internacional.' (*Semana* 26 June 1990: 61). *Semana* would continue to emphasize the importance of the national-team-as-national-palliative and as the sole positive representation of Colombia, a place where Colombia and Colombians could find national pride. Following the 5-0 against Argentina, *Semana's* cover read '¡Gracias Muchachos! En medio de la oscuridad de la violencia, la selección Colombia brinda un rayo de luz con la clasificación al Mundial de Fútbol' (*Semana* 7-14 September 1993: cover). The result was attributed epic properties, transcending the sporting arena to pass into the national arena, and highlighting the struggle between Colombia and Narcolombia:

Para un pueblo que ha estado tristemente acostumbrado a las malas noticias – secuestros, carros bomba, magnicidios, corrupción – un triunfo como el del domingo es mucho más que un éxito deportivo. Es el éxito de todo un país que se niega a sucumbir ante tanta adversidad, y que, por medio de una hazaña, como la lograda en el estadio de River, recupera la confianza (*Semana* 7-14 September 1993: special supplement ii).

The football team, through a victory of such magnitude, were, according to press coverage, capable of achieving what the state and its institutions could not accomplish. The dismal early exit in the World Cup in 1994 was thus magnified as another national tragedy as the football team failed in its task to provide hope and the much yearned for national pride. Instead, Colombia disgraced itself as news of Andrés Escobar's death spread around the world. *Semana* demonstrated that the World Cup disaster was not just a sporting moment, but a national disaster:

Más allá del fracaso deportivo – algo que difícilmente se borrará de la mente de varias generaciones de colombianos - hay algo que va a ser muy complicado de curar: la frustración colectiva de todo un país. De un país agobiado por los conflictos y los problemas que sintió, por primera vez, el derecho a tener una ilusión (*Semana* 28 June 1994: 100).

The failure of successive governments to protect a potential prize asset for the state in football in the 1980s meant that the achievements on the field from 1985-1994 (arguably stretching to

1998 as being the last qualification to a World Cup before 2014) failed to be built upon. Despite the words of President Gaviria after the 5-0 win and other public proclamations by politicians as the golden generation won games, the reality was that state policy had had little to do with advances in Colombian football. Colombian football as a potential source for sporting nationalism had emerged due to coaches such as Marroquín and Maturana finding a way to build on lessons slowly learned by a succession of foreign coaches and football schools and trusting in a more attacking style of football. Any funding for football projects at club or grassroots level unfortunately had more to do with cartel money-laundering than state programmes, funding or policies. Colombia had had the chance to tackle this drug money poisoning of Colombian club football after Minister of Justice Rodrigo Lara Bonilla had warned that the cartels had taken over many league clubs, but due to his assassination, or lack of interest, complicity, or simply incompetence, the government failed to act. *Semana* argued this very point in 1989, the year that the league would be cancelled following the murder of referee Álvaro Ortega:

Lo que queda claro es que el Estado, hasta ahora, no le había puesto al cuidado al fútbol nacional. A raíz de las denuncias del entonces Ministro de Justicia, Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, sobre la existencia de dineros provenientes del narcotráfico en el fútbol profesional, se tomaron varias medidas, pero nadie se preocupó por vigilar su cumplimiento (*Semana* 24 January 1989: 55).

Despite Lara Bonilla's worries, nothing was done to deal with the issue.

The stain of drug trafficking influence, the murder of Andrés Escobar and the dismal performance in the 1994 World Cup threatened to create a black hole in Colombian football. Escobar's death in particular could be added to the list of national tragedies, another traumatic and enduring collective national memory (Larraín 2015: 193), being very symbolic of a talented, hard-working Colombian murdered for one mistake, or being in the wrong place at the wrong time. There was a risk that the national football team would become another failed and tarnished national symbol following such spectacular failure when so many hopes were founded upon it, both for a people used to violence, suffering and hardship, and for a nation trying to create a new image for itself.

Indeed, Colombian football entered a period of decline following the 1994 World Cup and Escobar murder, with football becoming embroiled with much of the corruption and violence that was present in the country. Colombia did qualify for the 1998 World Cup but was knocked out in the first round. The phenomenon of *barras bravas* and fan violence emerged in the 1990s (Villanueva Bustos 2013: 95), meaning that football started to become a security issue in the

same way as other violence linked to gangs and street crime. FARC bomb attacks and the kidnapping of the Vice President of the Federación Colombia de Fútbol Hernán Mejía Campuzano jeopardized Colombia's hosting of the 2001 Copa América. It seemed to many that the tournament only went ahead due to FARC promises not to target the event, and sponsor demands, rather than government guarantees. Colombia at least did win the tournament, still their only major tournament victory, but it was devalued due to Argentina's withdrawal and Brazil sending a weakened side due to security fears. Nonetheless, Colombians and the press saw it as a national triumph that transcended sport. *Semana* again wrote '¡Gracias Muchachos! Por fin algo bueno' on its cover (*Semana* 30 July 2001).¹⁶ In the corresponding article, once more, *Semana* stresses the national nature of the triumph, and one that is of Colombians and for Colombians, and has been achieved despite the failings of traditional nation-builders:

El público colombiano muy rápidamente pasó a un estado de euforia, sin duda alentado por esta nueva versión 2001 del "sí se puede" del Belisario Betancur de 1982. El país comenzó a asumir la Copa como una fiesta, un carnaval, a llenar los estadios de banderas tricolores. El torneo se convirtió en una especie de ceremonia, de ritual, como si algo mucho más profundo que los símbolos patrios y las habituales frases gastadas hubieran convocado a la gente e hicieran sentir que la Copa sí era de ellos, de todos (*Semana* 30 July 2001: 28-29).

Despite this victory, Colombian football was soon tarnished again as further links between football clubs and organized crime and paramilitary organisations had been exposed.¹⁷ These problems with football as a clean and inclusive image allied to Colombian football entering the doldrums on the pitch, failing to qualify for the World Cup between 1998 and 2014, meant that Colombian football as a potent national symbol was at risk of being as tarnished and inoperative as other national symbols. The 2001 Copa América win was an island of momentary success, and the Maturana school of coaching and ideas became devalued over the years as the *Selección* failed to produce results consistently. A growing trend for players to leave the Colombian league for Brazil, Argentina and then Europe meant that the Colombian league became devalued and players became deterritorialized to some extent. Ties between player, country, club, city and region were complicated, though individual successes abroad carried some sense of national

¹⁶ An interesting observation is that for the cover photograph, *Semana* have chosen a picture of only the team celebrating. President Andrés Pastrana, who was part of the delegation for awarding the trophy and who made a point of being seen celebrating and hugging the players, is not in the photo. Once again, this is a triumph achieved despite politics – it is a national victory, earned by the Colombian people and for the Colombian people, not a political triumph. During this match, Pastrana is wearing a Colombian football shirt with 'Colombia Campeón' on the front and his full name on the back. Images of Pastrana during the final can be seen in the video 'Celebración Colombia campeón de la Copa América – 29 julio del 2001' on Pastrana's own YouTube channel - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MIhJFqNqAU&feature=youtu.be>

¹⁷ see for instance the *Semana* article on paramilitary money in football, 'El dossier del fútbol' (*Semana*, 27 November 2010)

pride despite them being achieved for a European club rather than Colombia. The construct built by Maturana and the press of a representative, national style of football, clearly evoking the nation, fell into disrepair as Dávila Ladrón de Guevara comments: 'Es como si lo vivido de 1985/7 a 2001 y lo construido, en términos de Nación, se hubiese ido por un hueco negro que nos deja sin memoria, sin referente, sin un imaginario válido y propositivo de aquello que llegó a conmocionarnos como país y como sociedad' (Dávila Ladrón de Guevara 2006: 109). It would not be until the successful qualification for the 2014 World Cup in Brazil that national unifying sentiments could be engendered through football, and Santos took this opportunity fully.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how and why football has gained such unifying significance in Colombia and the historical processes that have led the national team in particular to accrue such potential as a nation-building symbol for the country where other symbols have lost such power. When there have been football successes on an international stage achieved by the national team, football has been deployed by Presidents to try and mask ongoing national problems and present an alternative and more positive face of the country than the reality would suggest. However, successive governments were more preoccupied with football's pacifying and entertainment qualities to reduce national tension than as a potential way of mobilizing the masses or using football's unifying qualities for a national project. Rather than funding potential success, politicians were content to wait for victories to occur and then jump on the bandwagon, as Ramos writes: 'los políticos sólo se acuerdan del fútbol a la hora de las flores y los presentes para mejorar la imagen' (1998: 117). Ramos bemoans the fact that football's unifying potential has never been deployed by Colombian politicians for national and social development: 'el fútbol y la cultura están ahí, esperando que alguien los utilice para educar a la gente – el balompié de Colombia es, en sí mismo, una expresión multicultural y pluriétnica' (ibid: 204). Businesses and companies had long seen football's potential to advertise their product¹⁸ but 'a los políticos colombianos no se les ocurre ninguna campaña para utilizar como instrumento de desarrollo un deporte que en verdad es lo que más integra al país' (Ramos: 205). Football was only employed through hollow words celebrating national triumph and not

¹⁸ The most infamous example of this was the beer giant Bavaria sponsoring the national team, and whenever someone scored a goal, if they celebrated by raising one finger in the air as seen on the Bavaria beer commercial, the player would receive more money. The team benefitted from this by all celebrating the goals together with their fingers raised. The likes of Araújo Vélez are extremely critical of the national team's celebration being capitalised in this manner (2013).

accompanied by concrete actions. President Santos's government and policies towards football would mark a significant point of departure for more deliberate, strategic instrumentalization of football, particularly as a key element of reconciliation in the FARC demobilization camps following the signing of the peace agreement.

Football has been seen as an effective way for the country to unite towards a common goal and tackle national problems that stigmatize the nation in the gaze of both its own citizens and that of the international community, although it was only deployed through rhetoric. Colombian football has been placed through political and media discourse to confront an 'other' that is Colombia itself (Narcolombia) when it is deployed for sporting nationalism. In order to be most effective in being able to unite the country against Narcolombia, Colombia had to develop its own style of football that could be recognized as such by press and citizens. This style of football, to counteract the Narcolombia image and an embedded sense of football inferiority given Colombian football's late development compared to Southern Cone countries, and particularly Argentina, had to be built around positive characteristics as well as uniting stereotypes from around the country to mitigate regional divisions. The problem with the 'authentic' Colombian style promoted by Maturana and the press in the late 1980s and 1990s was that the image was, to some extent, incomplete, failing to include the whole nation in the articulation of the style and symbolism of the team. However, we can argue that despite this absence of certain geographical regions and identities, as well as women and indigenous groups particularly, the desire for national triumph in football after years of failure and underachievement was sufficient for this golden age of Colombian football to have sufficient weight to transcend the sporting sphere and unify a nation desperate for relief from a shared culture of experiencing violence and trauma. More problematically, it had also been corrupted by the very problems against which it was symbolically opposed, with governments failing or unable to take effective action against first cartel and then paramilitary money and influence over clubs. The murder of Andrés Escobar became a very symbolic defeat of the hopes and dreams of the more positive Colombia that it had been positioned to fight for. As a result, for football to be deployed effectively as a means for nation building, it was clear that the national team as a symbol would have to be cleaned and protected, and that political rhetorical gestures celebrating success were as transitory as the momentary bubble of euphoria that football triumph generates. These are the lessons that Santos had to understand when looking to football to support his nation-building attempts and peace with the FARC policy. There was at least a memory and myth of football being positioned as a symbol and agent of peace which could be returned to, mined and strengthened given the growing global movement of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). A number of such projects

using football to counteract violence and promote social values had already been established in the country. Football's popularity in Colombia, a symbol untainted at least by political machinations, would mean it could still serve as a unifying symbol should national team success occur.

When Santos assumed the presidency in 2010, this was the football landscape that confronted him: a national team that had failed to qualify for successive World Cups in 2002, 2006 and 2010; a national league shorn of the nation's best players with falling attendances due to a lack of quality and increased incidence of fan-related violence; a lingering shadow of criminal influence and corruption upon both national and club football; a disappearance of the Colombian style articulated by Maturana; and a new generation of players that had gained some successes in Europe but had failed to replace the great personalities of the golden generation of Valderrama, Asprilla, Higuita *et al* in the national colours. Women's football was yet to appear and impact on the national imagination. Over the next eight years, however, football success would re-emerge, both masculine and feminine, and contrary to previous moments of brief glory, President Santos would have a more concrete strategy of how football could best be employed as a vehicle towards national unity, social development, coexistence and his project of peace with the FARC. This strategy would consist of tackling specific issues through legislation, campaigns and public policy, a deliberate use of football and sport in public discourse and increasingly in social media interventions, particularly on Twitter, as well as through giving Coldeportes a greater role, budget and influence in government than it had previously enjoyed. Specific ways in which football could be employed towards community, local, city-wide, regional and national projects would be developed. Football's quality as a national, multicultural and pluriethnic passion, pastime and practice, arguably Colombia's most potent and unifying national symbol, would finally be more strategically deployed towards a more purposeful than rhetorical form of nation-building.

Chapter 2: '#VamosColombia': *Futbolización* of Colombia and Nation-Building by Santos through Speeches and Tweets

Introduction: Santos and his Vision for Sport

Santos' two terms in office saw sport given a more significant dimension than it had previously enjoyed. It was a particularly successful period in terms of individual and collective achievements for Colombian men and women on the world sporting stage. Colombia won eight medals (one gold, three silver and four bronze) at the 2012 Olympic Games in London and another eight (three gold, two silver and three bronze) at the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. Prior to these Olympics, Colombia had only won twelve medals in total since the country first participated in the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles, and only one gold. In the Juegos Bolivarianos, Colombia topped the medal table for the first time ever since the games began in 1938, in both Trujillo, Peru, in 2013 and in Santa Marta in 2017. There were record medal hauls in the Juegos Panamericanos in Guadalajara (84) in 2011 and Toronto (72) in 2015, the previous best medal total being 47. In football, Colombia hosted its first major global tournament in 2011, the U20 World Cup, and then in 2014 the national men's team reached the quarterfinals in the World Cup in Brazil, before losing to the hosts. This was the team's best ever performance in the World Cup, and for a brief period Colombia were ranked third in the FIFA rankings. They also qualified for the 2018 World Cup in Russia, but lost to England in the second round. The national women's football team also emerged, being runners-up in the Copa América in 2010 and 2014, and performing creditably in the World Cup in 2015. Colombian cyclists such as Nairo Quintana, Rigoberto Urán and Mariana Pajón also had major successes on the track, road and BMX course, triumphs that were celebrated in a country with a proud history of cycling and passion for the sport.¹⁹

It is difficult to argue that all this success can be attributed to policies and support from the Santos presidency; Santos certainly increased the budget for Coldeportes, as Table 1 demonstrates below; in October 2017 Santos stated that 'El presupuesto del deporte lo hemos triplicado. En el gobierno anterior, acumulado, se invirtieron 700 mil millones de pesos. Nosotros entre el 2011 y el 2017 hemos invertido 2,6 billones de pesos' (*Presidencia de la República* 19 October 2017), and his supporters will point to the effect that this greater investment had on

¹⁹ Matt Rendall in his book *Kings of the Mountain* (2012) and David Quitián (2013 and doctoral thesis) have discussed the importance of cycling for nation building in Colombia.

sporting success. In answers supplied from the office of the Coldeportes Subdirector Afranio Restrepo,²⁰ they state that ‘este ha sido el gobierno que mayor compromiso y desarrollo del deporte ha generado’ (personal communication 31 January 2018). They also underline the increased social transformation role for sport, stating that ‘hay una mayor apuesta por el deporte como herramienta de conciliación y resocialización debido a que se abrió una oportunidad histórica de transformación social’ and that ‘el deporte como herramienta de convivencia y paz es significativo para la actual administración.’ It is, of course, unsurprising that Coldeportes should state this, but it does mark a defined stance for sport given the focus of the Santos presidency and political reality, seeing sporting success and its social potential as a potentially powerful tool for national unification.

Table 1: Coldeportes Budget 2010-2018

Year	Budget	Increase / decrease on previous year
2010 (Decreto 4996)	142,593,319,181 pesos	
2011 (Decreto 4803)	145,817,414,686 pesos	+ 3,224,095,505 pesos
2012 (Decreto 4790)	248,123,313,894 pesos	+ 102,305,899,208 pesos
2013 (Decreto 2715)	334,888,914,916 pesos	+ 86,765,601,022 pesos
2014 (Decreto 3036)	356,320,043,772 pesos	+ 21,431,128,856 pesos
2015 (Decreto 2710)	487,849,303,300 pesos	+ 131,529,259,528 pesos
2016 (Decreto 2550)	414,191,325,274 pesos	-73,657,978,026 pesos
2017 (Decreto 2170)	398,858,817,800 pesos	-15,332,507,474 pesos
2018 (Decreto 2236)	550,632,814,726 pesos	+ 151,773,996,926 pesos

(All figures from Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público, Bogotá)

Santos determined the role that sport and football would have to play from the start of his presidency, and knew how to make political use of the sporting success that occurred during his eight years in charge, whether his government was directly responsible for it or not. This is why we see budget increases supported with regular discourse on the benefits of sport for the nation, legislation and public policies aiming to strengthen sport for national benefit and sport for development and peace projects targeting previously marginalized and vulnerable areas.

During the Santos presidency, we therefore see a three-pronged strategy of using sport to support his national unity project, a strategy comprising 1) regular discourse and tweets; 2)

²⁰ I had a meeting with Dr Afranio Restrepo hoping to interview him about Coldeportes and their programmes. He asked me to supply him with the questions I wished to ask, and several weeks later, his office sent me detailed replies.

legislation and public policies (discussed in chapter three) and 3) SDP campaigns (the subject of chapter four). Football was the principal sporting vessel for Santos' sporting nationalism. Santos was quick to show an appreciation for football's potential for being a space and time allowing for local, regional and national encounters, a generator of peace and social transformation and activation of citizenship. Alejandro Villanueva, who was part of the consultancy team for the Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol (henceforth referred to as the PDSCCF and analysed in chapter three), agrees that Santos sought to take advantage of football's popularity and convening power in the country, saying 'desde que llegó a su primer gobierno sí tuvo muy claro que el deporte y el fútbol entró en un proceso de politicización muy propio de su estilo de gobierno' (personal interview), referring to Santos' discourse that constantly emphasized the aim of a more united and peaceful Colombia. Santos, throughout his presidency, made every effort to visibilize himself as a football fan, attending training sessions with the national men's and women's teams (see *La Vanguardia*, 10 October 2011 and *El País*, 31 May 2011), and wearing the national shirt on numerous occasions, particularly during the World Cup in 2014. In this way, he included himself within the nation as a fan rather than as a politician, though also potentially jeopardizing the national shirt as a unifying national symbol given the political polarization in the country over the peace process with the FARC. Regarding Santos' football interest, his former head of communications Juan Carlos Torres said 'no es una persona realmente fanática pero sí es alguien aficionado al fútbol. Y al nivel de gobierno, él se planteó desde el principio dar un apoyo muy grande al deporte en general en Colombia, y también al fútbol en particular. Y esto ocurrió prácticamente desde el comienzo de su gobierno' (personal interview 14 December 2017).

This chapter discusses the *deportización* and, in particular, the *futbolización* (Bromberger 2001: 18) of Colombian politics through speech and Twitter use. Torres believes that 'Santos puede ser el Presidente que más ha mencionado temas de deporte o de fútbol en sus discursos, estadísticamente hablando' (personal interview 14 December 2017). This chapter analyses the frequency, content and political aims of the sport-specific speeches delivered during his Presidency and the tweets from Santos' personal Twitter account (@JuanManSantos) and of the Presidencia de la República de Colombia account (@infopresidencia). It demonstrates that football and the *Selección* have been regularly and deliberately deployed through these discourse events (Fairclough 1995) to gain national support for Santos' political goals. These discourse events have regularly coincided with mega-events such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics, as well as competitions that Colombia hosted from 2010-2018. Santos' goals included to earn support and approval for the peace negotiations with the FARC and subsequent

management of post-agreement Colombia, alongside a reduction of violence and culture of violence; the creation of a more unified country with greater self-esteem; and an attempt to improve Colombia's image or 'nation brand' as a much safer post-conflict nation that would welcome tourism and foreign investment. The convenient sporting success of a record number of Colombian teams and athletes enabled Santos to legitimize his government's actions, justify and empower the role of sport and football towards national and social improvement and then deploy athletes as role models, ambassadors and examples towards furthering his political aims. How this was attempted will be examined through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of these public speeches and Twitter broadcasts, also discussing the '*aestheticization*' of the discourse event. It will be argued that the spoken (heard) and written (seen) word has been strengthened with a bombardment of national symbols designed to link support for sport with support for the President, and, by extension, the nation's advancement. International football matches, already important national occasions where the nation can imagine itself as a collective unit supporting the *Selección*, were more politically charged, and became contested sites for contrasting versions of nation and its identity.

Football and the national men's team above all, 'se ha convertido en un instrumento de movilización y de motivación para la gente para lograr cosas importantes' (Jaramillo Racines personal interview 3 November 2017). National team and national progress were conjoined. Pastor notes 'los galardones futbolísticos han tenido un estrecho vínculo con dos procesos que fueron avanzando en paralelo: uno deportivo, liderado por Pékerman [José Nestor Pékerman, the coach of the national team] y otro político, liderado por el presidente Santos' (2018: 68). The *Selección* was positioned and empowered by Santos through speeches as a metonym for Colombia. The national team, therefore, became a presentation card for the nation, at the forefront of a country creating a new, peaceful destiny under Santos and articulated as such by him, a potent source of furthering a new identity. Villanueva describes this process:

Santos sí vendió la idea que los discursos del fútbol y los discursos de deportes generan unidad nacional [...] O sea, deporte e identidad; usted las mezcla, y tiene un discurso político que trasciende y es coherente, y parece coherente y parece fuerte (personal interview 7 October 2017).

This chapter, then, argues that football was an essential part of President Santos' communication strategy towards nation-building, an opinion with which Torres agrees. When asked if football had helped towards Santos' nation-building project, he answered

Sin duda. Ha sido un elemento importante en la comunicación del gobierno para fomentar valores que el gobierno quiere impulsar en los colombianos, como la unidad, como la

solidaridad, como la disciplina, como el valor del talento y del esfuerzo personal, y también del trabajo en equipo (personal interview 14 December 2017).

Previous work on Santos' sporting discourse

Latin American politicians have long extolled the virtues of their national football team and, through speeches following significant success, linked these virtues with their own political project. However, studies tend to focus only on the speeches delivered at the moment of victory, or when the mega-event begins and the global eye is concentrated on the host nation. Less research focuses on sporting nationalism through discourse when there has been a constant association of sporting performance with national representations. The process of analysing speeches has been facilitated as there are now video cameras and recorders at every appearance by a national leader. Recordings can be instantly uploaded²¹ or transcribed and publicised on press, official or unofficial websites.²² Given the immediacy of information, there is an increased need for politicians to broadcast their message through a variety of means, and bypass traditional media outlets that may edit or adapt their message.

Regarding Santos' rhetoric more generally, López de la Roche notes the contrast between President Álvaro Uribe's monologic, strident anti-FARC rhetoric that divided Colombia into either supporters of Uribe's democratic security policy or supporters of the FARC, and Santos' rhetoric which 'significó un importante e inesperado replanteamiento de la política y del discurso político hegemónicos en los últimos años en Colombia' (2015: 10). López de la Roche highlights words from Santos' speech celebrating his first presidential election victory on 20 June 2011 to highlight a new discourse of national unity and attempts at repairing national divisions and polarization: 'soy y seré el presidente de la unidad nacional', 'demos la vuelta a la página de los odios', 'No más confrontaciones inútiles, no más divisiones' (ibid: 10). López de la Roche also argues that in the first two years of the peace talks, Santos lacked a persuasive communication strategy to gain the support of Colombians for the process (ibid: 23). This chapter will argue that he found in football a channel to strengthen his communications about the peace process, a propitious site to gain support for his national unity project and the peace negotiations.

²¹ The 'Presidencia de la República – Colombia' channel (<https://www.youtube.com/user/SIGCOLOMBIA>) records and posts speeches and visits in the 'El Presidente Hoy' section of the channel for example.

²² Speeches by Santos were transcribed and published on the Presidencia de la República website in the Sala de Prensa section, with the audio and video also available (<http://es.presidencia.gov.co/Paginas/HomePrensa.aspx>). The speeches of the Santos presidencies are now archived, but, at the time of writing, still on the site.

Academics have commented on how Santos deployed the *Selección* before and during the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, footballizing the presidential election in which he sought re-election against Óscar Iván Zuluaga. Villanueva and Rodríguez-Melendro demonstrate how ‘Santos empleó varios imaginarios populares, como la unidad, la identidad y la fortaleza, excusado en las victorias del combinado nacional. De acuerdo con el presidente, la SNC [Selección Nacional de Colombia] representaba el sentido de nacionalidad’ (2015: 125). Qutián (2014) believes that, through discourse, Santos instrumentalized the team around the idea of it representing ‘un solo pueblo’. Roa Vargas and Salcedo Rodríguez argue that the *Selección* ‘fue capaz de revitalizar un sentimiento nacional realmente identificable debido a que sirvió como elemento de comunión de la gente, sin importar divisiones regionales y de clase’ (2014: 46) and how the team was ‘aprovechada y manejada por los medios, élites políticas y grupos económicos con la creación de un imaginario publicitario’ (ibid: 46), but only briefly refer to Santos. They state that Santos ‘buscaba afanosamente mostrar su apoyo a la Selección y por medio de metáforas relacionarlo con el apoyo a los diálogos con las FARC como una sola causa política de su gobierno’ (ibid: 50) and mention the constant use of the first person plural in tweets and speeches, “‘nuestro país”, “nuestra selección”, “nuestra paz” (ibid: 50).

More detailed analyses of how Santos has spoken of the nation and football can be found in university dissertations by Baquero (2016) and Prada (2017). Baquero discusses Santos’ ‘Operación Mandela’, the attempt by Santos through ‘governabilidad deportiva’ (2016: 14) to maintain power and gain legitimacy through capitalizing on the popularity of the *Selección*, comparing his policies with those of Mandela around the 1995 rugby World Cup. Arguing that Santos was ‘incapaz de conectarse con el pueblo’ (ibid: 28), Baquero focuses on how the team was deployed as part of the re-election campaign in 2014. An interview with Santos’ campaign manager, Ángel Becassino, reveals the strategy of using football metaphors such as the need for Santos to have a ‘segundo tiempo’ so that the nation can ‘win’, as the ‘first half’ (his first four-year term) is only for setting up the ‘game’. Baquero sees Santos’ ‘governabilidad deportiva’ as a method to stay in power, rather than a nation-building process. Prada, on the other hand, quantitatively assesses and categorizes the actual speech content. Prada uses the categories ‘Deporte, Unidad, Ejemplificación, Cambio Cultural, Legitimación, Pacificación, Idea de País, Promesa, Metáfora, Persuasión y Supresión’ (2017: 61) to classify speech content, then gives examples to relate to Santos’ political project. He concludes that ‘Juan Manuel Santos capitalizó políticamente el deporte en su discurso, tanto para legitimarse, promulgar una idea de país, como para procurar unir a la sociedad colombiana y persuadir sectores discrepantes políticamente u olvidados socialmente’ (74). Like Baquero, Prada only uses speeches as a source,

ignoring the rich terrain of Twitter. Twitter has a greater and more immediate reach than speeches, and therefore merits inclusion when analysing presidential discourse. Prada's categories are a useful way of categorising discourse content; however, this study proposes that speech content can be categorized into three categories: 1) legitimation; 2) justification of and empowering sport for the nation; and 3) deployment. With Twitter, we also see an information and reaction category. Not only was Twitter ignored by Baquero and Prada, they do not consider the aestheticization of the discourse event, the empowering of football symbols, the significance of location and event as well as the timing of the discourse.

Studying how Twitter has been utilized by Santos provides an original insight into how the discourse of sporting nationalism functions. Twitter use has yet to have been contemplated in this field. Using Zappavigna's discussion of how 'ambient affiliation' (2011; 2012) is created through hashtags, the concept will be broadened to examine how Twitter can create an imagined national community, employing not only hashtags but emojis, pictures and videos to enhance the affiliative effects of the message.

Public Discourse, 'Narratives of the Nation' and Football

Politicians need to find ways for the 'loudness' of their message about actions and policies to be magnified. Being heard and seen has been facilitated as technology has developed, with radio and television allowing politicians to 'speak softly to millions, using an intimate rhetoric quite new to political oratory' (Billig 1995: 96; Jamieson 1988). The internet and social media present new channels, challenging 'official' or established sources of information and, therefore, provide alternative versions of hegemonic 'narratives of the nation' (Hall 1992: 293). The speed and scope of communication have been transformed (Castells 2011; Ausserhofer and Maireder 2013: 291) and so media strategies have adapted to demonstrate that the political leader is leading the debate or shaping the reaction. Discourse remains crucial for the success of a political project: 'Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language use reproduces or transforms society and culture, including power relations' (Titscher et al. 2000: 146). Presidents are in a privileged position to have a transformative or constructive effect upon society and culture, and are best placed to articulate narratives that give meaning to the nation and its identity. It is important, according to Hall, that citizens who imagine themselves to be a part of the national imagined community are connected through these narratives (1992: 293); it

is through football that Santos has sought to gain support for his national narrative. The negotiations with the FARC and subsequent reconciliation and reintegration process led to national polarization, and so the metaphor of 'un solo país', best represented by *la Selección*, was deployed to accommodate and include former combatants within an acceptable concept of the nation for uncertain citizens. The idea is that everyone supports the national team, even former guerrillas, so this is a shared point of encounter and understanding. It can then be projected onto different realities, including building a nation. Gellner argues that 'two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating' and 'two men are of the same nation if and only if they *recognize* each other as belonging to the same nation' (2006: 6-7); in the Colombian scenario, FARC have often been imagined as being 'outside' the nation, or as part of the 'other' 'Narcolombia'. However, if they are included within the nation as fans of the *Selección*, then it establishes a potential space for recognition and acceptance. It is not an all-embracing nor unproblematic site to begin construction of a sense of horizontal comradeship, but at least it is the foundation enabling a 'fantasy of incorporation' (Hall 1996: 3).

Football helped Santos find a wider range of recipients for political messages. Tweets can be retweeted and reproduced in newspapers, radio and television programmes, allowing Santos to access the sports news rather than solely the political sections. Billig writes 'sport does not confine itself to the playing field and its marked territory in the newspapers. It intrudes upon political discourse' (2005: 123); Rozo Rondón (2016) shows that in Colombia, sporting mega-events become lead headlines, displacing major current affairs. The reverse is also true, with political discourse invading the sports sections. Santos frequently gave interviews after attending Colombia matches; added to comments on the match, he adroitly included political messages that then appeared in the sports sections in the media. His statements after Colombia's 2-0 victory against Uruguay in the 2014 World Cup are one example:

Toda Colombia está apoyando a nuestra Selección, toda Colombia se siente orgullosa de nuestra Selección, porque nuestra Selección nos está mostrando un camino: que cuando se piensa en grande y se actúa en grande, se logran los objetivos. Y eso es lo que esta Selección nos está diciendo a todos los colombianos (*Presidencia de la República* 28 June 2014).

Santos had watched the game with Naval Academy cadets, and spoke wearing the Colombian football shirt, surrounded by cadets also wearing football shirts as well as naval caps. His discourse of unity ('toda Colombia' repeated and 'todos los colombianos') and the team

exemplifying a nation working together was reinforced with national symbols and the support of a national institution.²³ The military, often a devalued institution given human rights abuses accusations during the conflict and in particular following the so-called 'Falsos Positivos' scandal²⁴ here also gets a symbolic boost as the young cadets (less likely to be tarnished by previous military actions) are associated with the football team.

National ceremonies and rituals are accepted as being significant events for the celebrating and remembering of unifying characteristics and shared history, identity and culture of a nation (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996: 14; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983: 11-12; Smith 1991: 16; Gellner 2006: 56). International football matches serve as modern national ceremonies, which are more regular than annual national rituals, and may have more convening power. Gellner argues that 'a modern streamlined, on-wheels high culture celebrates itself in song and dance, which it borrows (stylizing it in the process) from a folk culture which it fondly believes itself to be perpetuating, defending and reaffirming' (2006: 56-7). Football matches can be added to song and dance as a way of celebrating nation; indeed, song and dance are heavily involved when the nation is celebrated *en clave de fútbol*. Not only are there chants by the fans but also jingles during football radio and television transmissions eventually become embedded as part of the football culture. The 'Sí sí Colombia, sí sí Caribe' sting played after goals were scored in the 1980s and 1990s and the dance celebrations of the national team in the 2014 and 2018 World Cups aid with identity construction, particularly the more positive, festive and tropical image that Santos offers as representative of the 'new' Colombia. At the time of important international matches, daily routine is displaced by the excitement and celebration of the match. The nation celebrates itself, patriotic emotion can be unleashed and national symbols are at their most prevalent and potent as flags appear everywhere (Billig 1995: 44). In many ways, with football, the national shirt supplements the flag; in Colombia, the national shirt is widely worn daily, as well as during moments of exceptional nationalism and political and social events, as shall be discussed later. Through the football shirt, the nation is flagged, reminders of the nation are omnipresent and patriotic messages prevail in resultant discourse, accentuating 'flattering stereotypes of themselves' (Billig: 66). These moments are a fertile terrain for the political leader

²³ One of the largest Colombian channels, Caracol, broadcast a segment on Santos' reaction which can be seen here as an example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTcceKxBTYE> The *Presidencia de la República* also uploaded the speech in a news article which can be seen here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bi9Gnxpe9GE>

²⁴ The 'False Positives' scandal saw members of the military luring poor or mentally impaired civilians to work in rural or peripheral areas of the country, where they were killed and then presented as members of the FARC or ELN killed in combat by the army. The first evidence of this ploy by the military came to light in 2008, when Santos was still Minister of Defence. Reports have estimated that there may have been over 3,000 innocent victims of the army (Human Rights Watch 2015).

to shape the celebration through discourse, deploying the patriotism and collective identity established by the national team as an identifying factor (Loureiro Cornelsen 2018: 16), 'officializing' and explaining the victory as the national spokesperson.

Methodology

This study looks at the message broadcasted, and not at the response. The focus lies in examining the linguistic content of speeches and tweets, the aesthetics around the 'discursive event' (Fairclough 1995; Titscher et al. 2000: 148) and how the content aims to build nation. A discursive event is defined as an 'instance of language use, analysed as text, discursive practice, social practice' (Titscher et al 2000: 148). For the purposes of this study, critical discourse analysis, proposed by Fairclough (2000), has been adapted. Titscher et al. describe Fairclough's method of textual analysis as being 'based on the three components, description, interpretation and explanation. Linguistic properties are described, the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice and the text is interpreted, and the relationship between discursive and social practice is described' (2000: 153). Hence, the speeches by Santos with a sporting focus, as well as the tweets from the @JuanManSantos and @infopresidencia accounts were examined qualitatively and quantitatively for linguistic content, categorizing the content into thematic and linguistic 'nodes'; images, such as photos and emojis, from tweets were also copied into NVIVO and coded according to the themes they included. Videos embedded in a tweet were transcribed and then coded. The results are discussed and then explained as to how the content applies to Santos' political strategy for nation-building.

The speeches used to form the corpus were taken from transcripts of speeches given by Santos during his two mandates as President. The transcripts come from the Presidencia de la República de Colombia website. Speeches that were specifically related in their titles to all sports were chosen to form the corpus, not just football-specific speeches. In a number of these speeches Santos speaks about other topics, but the title has determined that sport is the core focus, or the occasion is primarily sport-related. There are other speeches when sport was referred to, either in passing, or reacting to recent victories or events, but the decision was taken not to include these speeches, as there was a sizeable corpus of speeches already to analyse. Only speeches from the Presidencia website have been analysed; Santos has spoken about sport on other occasions, whether in radio or television interviews, or on the campaign trail, but these have not been included. These decisions left a body of 99 speeches to be analysed. The speeches that

formed the corpus for study are detailed in Appendix 1.

Regarding Twitter, both the Juan Manuel Santos and the Presidency account were selected for analysis, given their official status and where the President's messages were broadcasted. At the end of his Presidency, there had been over 17,600 tweets from the @JuanManSantos account, and over 92,000 from the @infopresidencia account. Santos joined Twitter in August 2009, but only tweets from when he became President have been analysed. When he was succeeded by Duque, he had 5.29 million followers; this figure had increased substantially since the start of his presidency. According to *Dinero* (3 October 2012), Santos at the time had 756,363 followers. On June 7 2016, this figure had risen to 4,435,782 (*El Colombiano*), and on 31 May 2017, Santos had 4,849,724 followers (*CNN Latinoamérica*). Santos was one of the Latin American leaders with most followers, second only to Mexico's Peña Nieto in 2016. This sizeable increase in followers explains why Twitter has become an important method of communicating, why strategies have been designed to make most effective use of it, and why, therefore, it merits academic attention. Given the huge amount of tweets to search through, more criteria were used about which tweets would be selected for analysis. Tweets about individual athletes from non-football sports were not included; this eliminated many tweets during the Olympics and Paralympics in 2012 and 2016, the various multi-sports events in which Colombian athletes have participated, such as the Juegos Panamericanos and the Juegos Bolivarianos, as well as the regular achievements of cyclists, athletes, boxers, tennis players and others. All football-related tweets were of course included (club and international, male and female, at all age groups and also *fútbol sala*), as were tweets about multi-sports events where football is included. Tweets about legislation and sports policy (including campaigns, budget, infrastructure projects etc.) were included, as were those where the virtues of sport in general were extolled. Tweets were searched via the Twitter API platform, month by month. This was a painstaking process, and some relevant tweets may have been missed. However, specific word searches are less reliable, and such searches would not be guaranteed to include all of the useful tweets. The eventual result was a total of 1048 tweets that were analysed, 540 from @infopresidencia, 508 from @JuanManSantos. A number of tweets from the @infopresidencia account in particular are repeated, (often regarding forthcoming events, campaigns, and adverts, but they have all been included and coded each time they were published. The date and time of each tweet included in the corpus can be found in Appendix 2.

The NVIVO software program was used to analyse the speeches and tweets. NVIVO allows a researcher to store, organize, import and retrieve a variety of data of different types, including

text, image, audio, video and web content. The researcher can ask complex questions of stored data, search data thoroughly, run queries to assess word frequency, word and theme association, look at relationships between sources, assess patterns according to classification and categorization of sources and produce tables and graphics to demonstrate results. One NVIVO project file was used for the speeches and another for the tweets. Each relevant speech or tweet was copied into a document in NVIVO and put into folders according to the year it was released. The date (and time in the case of tweets) was also used in the title of each document to help classifying and sorting. Then, a series of 'nodes' were created according to the themes and language expected to appear as recurring elements and content of the speeches and tweets. We can describe a 'node' as a catching point or a folder where all references to the same word, or the same theme are stored. Several nodes had sub-nodes within them, and other nodes were added during the coding process as new trends and tendencies were observed. All the node categories for the speeches and tweets can be seen in Appendices 3 and 4. The next step was to highlight relevant words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, images, emojis and videos and link them to these nodes. This step is the 'coding' process. In some cases, exact words or phrases were coded to nodes, for example any version of 'nuestro' was coded to the 'nuestro use' node, or specific mentions of 'todo el país' or 'toda Colombia' were coded to those nodes. Different versions of a word or synonyms would also be coded to the same node; for example, 'feliz', 'felicidad', 'alegría', 'alegre', 'estoy muy contento', etc would all be coded to the 'Happiness' node. Not all nodes are related to exact phrases but phrases or sentences are coded to them when those particular meanings are conveyed. Longer phrases or sentences could be coded in their entirety to a particular node. An example of this is when Santos was giving details of government expenditure, all of those details would be coded 'under' the 'Budget' subnode, which was contained under the 'Sport as Priority for Government' node.

To give an example of specific coding, let us take the following quote:

El deporte tiene unas virtudes para las sociedades y también para las personas, pero para las sociedades, porque es una actividad que tiene unas características que ayudan muchísimo a la sociedad: trabajar en equipo, saber ganar, saber perder, saber competir. Cuando uno se cae, cuando uno tiene algún traspié, se levanta y sigue (*Presidencia de la República* 7 May 2017).

In this instance, 'el deporte tiene unas virtudes para las sociedades' was coded at 'Benefits of sport for society' and 'también para las personas' was coded at 'Benefits of sport for individuals'. The following phrases such as 'trabajar en equipo' and 'Cuando uno se cae, cuando uno tiene algún traspié, se levanta y sigue' were coded at the relevant sub nodes 'Team work' and

'Overcoming adversity'. There are times when judgement calls were made as to a 'best fit' node for a particular phrase or sentence, and perhaps other researchers would categorize them differently, but the aim was always to be as consistent as possible. A series of 'queries' were run after the coding process had been completed to check that, as far as possible, no exact words or phrases had been left uncoded. It is, however, possible that some phrases were missed given the laborious process conducted by just one researcher.

Speeches and tweets were also classified into themes. Speech classifications included the reasons why Santos was speaking about sport (Appointments, Campaigns, Inaugurations, Presentations and Awards Ceremonies, Visits, Sporting events, Legislation); tweets were classified according to what 'extra' content they contained, namely tweets with images or pictures, tweets with GIFs, and tweets with videos. This type of classification was used in order to be able to show how the significance of aestheticizing the discourse event has developed over time in tweets and how words and message were backed up and empowered by image.

Pictures, photos, gifs and adverts that appeared embedded in tweets were coded by the content of the image, including text, the event itself, national symbols and people present and other relevant details. To give an example, here is a photo of Santos inaugurating the Armando Tuirán stadium in Sahagún, Córdoba (@infopresidencia 6:56pm, 3 June 2016).



This particular image was coded at the following nodes: 'Santos pictures', 'Pictures of athletes',

‘National symbol or ceremony’ (the national shirt is taken to be a national symbol), ‘Government support for sport / Infrastructure’ (as it is a stadium opening) and ‘peace and sport’ (given the football shirt with the ‘paz’ message).

Once all speeches and tweets had been classified and coded, a series of queries were run to produce the results that will be discussed. The main types of queries run related to relationships between nodes; for example, how often particular themes, such as ‘national men’s team’ and ‘peace and coexistence’ appear close to each other or in the same tweet, the frequency of nodes appearing in certain years or at the time of mega-events such as the World Cups in 2014 and 2018, and the frequency of nodes within particular speeches.

In the majority of the tables that will be presented to show results, there are usually two columns. The first, ‘number of sources’ refers to how many speeches or tweets contained a word, picture or phrase that was coded to a particular node. The total ‘number of references’ refers to how many times words, pictures or phrases were coded to the node, as in various speeches or tweets the same theme or phrase will appear more than once. Just to demonstrate with one node at random, in the tweet results, the node ‘National men’s team’ appeared in a total of 381 individual tweets, and it was coded 514 times in total, showing multiple references to the National men’s team in many tweets.

Overview of Santos’ Speech Strategy

Santos used his discourse around sport, and football in particular, to build himself into the national ‘footballsphere’, and also the nation. He created a triangular relationship of correspondence between himself, football and nation, with the fates of all three becoming interrelated. For Santos, football not only served his political message but also served for political consolidation and legitimation. It located Santos in the nation as the leader, the chief celebrator of sporting success and main articulator of football representations and how football could serve the nation. Consequently, Santos has spoken more about sport and related it to a political project than any other Colombian President. Villanueva believes that this was a deliberate effort that began as soon as Santos became president, advantageous in that it allowed him to get his message to the people more effectively:

[Hay que] comprender que la sociedad se logró ‘deportizar’ y se logró ‘futbolizar’ a través

de los discursos cotidianos. Es decir, cada vez que Santos quería llegar a la gente, en lugar de mostrar un discurso político tradicional, un discurso en donde se hablaba en unos términos que el pueblo no entendía, un discurso retórico tradicional, él transformó esas líneas en clave de ciclismo, en clave de bicicross, en clave de boxeo, y en clave de fútbol (personal interview 7 October 2017).

This tactic of using football language, or the subject and occasion of a football event, in order to reach the wider public was also used by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva during his presidency in Brazil (2003-2010). Mascarenhas et al describe Lula as being ‘eloquente na linguagem de futebol, o chamado “futebolês”’ (2014: 496), in a country where ‘falar sobre o futebol é uma forma de falar sobre o país’ (ibid: 496). In their quantitative and qualitative study of Lula’s football-related discourse (which only focuses on speeches rather than Twitter), they identify 101 speeches containing football metaphors, 70 containing praise for Corinthians (the Brazilian club side Lula supports), 70 speeches about government actions in the sporting sector (building stadiums and facilities, for example), and 68 other speeches with references to football (ibid: 497). They identify that football metaphors were often used to associate football leadership with governing, metaphors also used by Santos as Baquero (2016) demonstrates about Santos’ re-election campaign, as well as associating himself with the Brazilian football fan population as a fan himself ‘para comunicar, cultivando o sentimento do popular, do nacional e do moderno’ (ibid: 514). Many of Lula’s speeches were based around the future holding of the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016, in which ‘estava em jogo a funcionalização do esporte na direção do reposicionamento do país na geopolítica mundial e do desenvolvimento nacional’ (ibid: 510). All these characteristics discussed by Mascarenhas et al also appear in Santos’ speeches and tweets, as will be demonstrated in this chapter. Santos attempts to show himself as a football fan, establishing a more horizontal relationship with the Colombian population; he demonstrates his government’s commitment to sport by illustrating the budget dedicated to sport and the amount of sporting facilities and infrastructure built; he uses football and football events to rebrand Colombia to a domestic and international audience in order to remove ‘Narcolombia’ imaginaries and welcome new economic investment and tourism into the ‘Nueva Colombia’ that he projects. What sets him apart from Lula and the sporting nationalistic discourse of previous Latin American leaders who have been tempted into using football success as a symbol of national unity, is that football is directed towards supporting Santos’ peace process with the FARC, and that the rhetoric is supported by public policies, laws and SDP projects. The football-based national unity project that Santos proposed is tasked with helping to resolve the longest internal conflict in the continent, as well as the violence that has plagued

the nation for decades. This differentiates it from the regularly-cited football-based political projects of Médici in Brazil or the military dictatorship in Argentina who hosted the 1978 World Cup, for instance. Both these regimes spoke of football, made use of the national team and World Cup triumphs, built stadiums and improved infrastructure (see, for example Mason 1995: 64-74), but a football for national peace project is more unique in the continent.

Table 2 shows the amount of sport-centred speeches given during his presidency:

Table 2: Sports-focused speeches per year

Year	2010*	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018**	Total
Sports speeches (football-centred in brackets)	5 (2)	16 (12)	9 (2)	19 (5)	17 (10)	9 (2)	12 (1)	6 (0)	7 (4)	99 (35)

(* speeches from August to end of December. ** speeches only from January to end of July)

Santos benefitted from the preparations for the Under 20 Football World Cup that Colombia hosted in 2011. This was the first major global tournament that Colombia had hosted and second major football tournament after hosting the Copa América in 2001. From Table 2, we can see that this occasion gave Santos many opportunities to discuss football and Colombia to a domestic audience, but also to nation-brand to a foreign one. The opportunity to talk about football and nation also presented itself in 2014 and 2018 with the World Cups in Brazil and Russia. Surprisingly, there are fewer football-specific speeches in 2015 and 2016 when the Copa América was being played; unlike in 2011, 2014, 2015 and 2018, Santos did not deliver a speech and hand over the flag to the national football team before they travelled to the 2016 Copa América Centenario, a curious omission, as it could be considered a perfect opportunity to unite the national team and the peace process which would be voted on in October that year. However, as shall be seen in the Twitter section, 2016 sees the greatest number of tweets about sport, and the most mentions of peace as well. In 2012 and 2016, there was a greater focus on multi-sport events with the Olympics and Paralympics in London and Rio de Janeiro. Football was the central topic of over a third of the sports-specific speeches delivered (35 of 99) but was mentioned in the majority of speeches about sport.

Selling Colombia's Image Abroad

Santos usually addressed a Colombian audience to construct a sense of nation around sport, but he also used discourse to attempt to remould Colombia's external image. A nation, after all, needs external recognition to shape its own identity, and to establish a place within the international body of nations. In his book focusing on the advertising and branding campaigns trying to encourage FARC guerrillas to demobilize of the Programa de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado (PAHD) who worked with the consumer marketing firm Lowe/SSP3, Fattal discusses the importance of Colombia's own self-branding project, arguing that there was a 'larger branding project: the Colombian nation state. As Colombia sought to carve out its own space in the neo-liberal world order, it resorted to nation-branding to attract tourists and foreign investment' (Fattal, 2018: 22). In order to encourage this tourism and investment, the Santos government positioned Colombia 'as a "postconflict" nation-state. At the crux of this renarration of the nation is the idea of a country that has stepped back from the brink of a "failed state" status and is now secure and ripe for investment' (Fattal, 2018: 109). The U-20 World Cup in 2011 gave Santos and Colombia a chance to improve the country's national image or brand internationally, by showing that it was capable of hosting a major sport tournament without the security risks that had been all too evident in 2001 when they hosted the Copa América. A key component of hosting sports mega events is to improve a country's prestige in the international eye (Strenk 1979; Black 2007; Finlay & Xin 2010; Grix 2012). Knott et al. argue that sport mega events 'should be included in the list of brand identity "communicators"' given how these tournaments aid a 'repositioning of a nation brand image' (2017: 901). Roche goes into more detail:

The staging of international mega-events was and remains important in the 'story of a country', a people, a nation. They represented and continue to represent key occasions in which nations could construct and present images of themselves for recognition in relation to other nations and in the eyes of the world. They represented and continue to represent key occasions in which national 'tradition' and 'community' including a national past, present and future national 'progress', potential and 'destiny' could be invented and imagined not just by and for leaders and citizens of the host nation, but also by and for the publics of other nations (2000: 6).

This returns to Hobsbawm and Ranger's idea of the invention of tradition for a nation (1988). This has, of course, been attempted before in Latin America, most notoriously by the military junta in Argentina with the hosting of the 1978 World Cup. Mason argues that the dictatorship 'hoped to use the staging of the World Cup in 1978 to enhance the legitimacy of the regime both at home and abroad' (1995: 74), and Roldán agrees, writing that 'lograr la adhesión interna y

acallar las críticas generadas en el extranjero se impusieron como los blancos principales del campeonato' (2007: 133). This mission was supported by much of the Argentinian press (Roldan 2007; Borelli and Oszust 2018). Whereas the junta used the tournament to conceal the atrocities committed from the world gaze, Santos rebrands Colombia as a new country acknowledging the violence of the past but seeking to negotiate peace with former enemies and move forward to a postconflict, peaceful national status.

Although the U20 World Cup does not attract as much attention as the senior World Cup, it was nonetheless a propitious moment for Colombia to present a new face other than the 'Narcolumbia' image of the country that has prevailed internationally since the Pablo Escobar years, and was a first sporting opportunity to do so under Santos. Through the tournament introductory video, the 'New Colombia' presented was based on images emphasizing diversity and exoticism, a combination of history and modernity. A boy dribbles a football around the tournament cities, and we see images of colonial Cartagena juxtaposed with modern Medellín, the salsa of Cali and the carnival of Barranquilla, the rurality of the *eje cafetero* and the urban development of Bogotá. The women are beautiful, the people are happy, and the boy becomes symbolic of the world learning about Colombia and all it has to offer through football.²⁵ Coffee, Colombia's most famous legal export, also features in the chosen tournament logo of a coffee cup looking like a football. According to the description of the stamp released to commemorate the tournament

La taza [...] semeja el balón de fútbol, evidenciando la pasión que caracteriza a Colombia como país anfitrión. Esta forma redonda también representa la unidad entre las diferentes culturas que participarán del 29 de julio al 20 de agosto [...] el uso de colores vibrantes muy nacionalistas comunica sentimientos apasionados, transmitiendo energía, dinamismo y fortaleza. Así el tricolor viajará por los continentes para ser embajador de nuestras tradiciones y costumbres.' (MinTIC 26 July 2011).

Several international events gave Santos the chance to advertise this new Colombia. When Santos spoke at FIFA events to promote the tournament, he was speaking to the world about Colombia. The message was of a country transforming, distancing itself from a troubled past, finally able to show its 'true' diversity, and the 'true' nature of the people. The 'real' Colombia was now emerging:

²⁵ The song for the tournament, *Nuestra Fiesta*, by Jorge Celedón and Jimmy Zambrano, similarly emphasized desired takeaway messages such as 'Siente la alegría / Vive la emoción / Disfruta la vida / Colombia es amor' (Celedón 2011). The *vallenato* style of music of Celedón and Zambrano also aided the festive, tropical image of the country and continued linkages between sport and this type of music.

Estamos en un proceso de mostrarle la realidad que hoy vive Colombia a mucha gente que todavía cree que vivimos en el pasado y que viene con muchas prevenciones...es una magnífica oportunidad de vender esa nueva imagen, esa nueva realidad colombiana, nueva realidad que estamos viviendo' (*Minuto30.com* 27 April 2011).

The key word above is 'realidad', or the reality Santos chose and wanted to project. When the official logo was launched, Santos commented 'Esta es una oportunidad dorada en la que Colombia demostrará que no es símbolo de violencia, sino que es un país que se ha dado el derecho de soñar' (*Colombia.com* 29 September 2010). Through football, Colombia was once again confronting its other, 'Narcolombia'. He repeated this sentiment during his speech for the opening ceremony, when the new Colombia, as Santos would have it, was displayed:

Esta es una oportunidad dorada para demostrar que Colombia no es sinónimo de violencia sino, todo lo contrario, de unidad, de fraternidad, de emprendimiento y de alegría. Colombia es un país que se ha ganado el derecho a soñar, y que está trabajando para cumplir sus sueños [...] El mundo comienza a entender que estamos a las puertas de un nuevo amanecer, y en este Mundial vamos a demostrar que el buen futuro de Colombia no tiene marcha atrás. [...] [tenemos] el gol de mostrar una Colombia en progreso, una Colombia hospitalaria, una Colombia atractiva para el mundo (*Futbolred* 28 July 2011).

The onus, as can be seen from this extract, is very much on the concept of a new Colombia with a new dream and destiny, and these are messages that throughout the rest of his presidency Santos conveyed regularly to Colombians, particularly when the peace negotiations with the FARC were announced. When given the occasion to speak to a foreign audience, this new image brand was always promoted and defended vigorously. Colombia was portrayed as a nation progressing, emerging from the darkness of the past, showing the 'aspirational image of the country's postconflict future' (Fattal, 2018: 10). This was certainly the case in arguably his most high-profile speech to an international audience, his acceptance speech on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize on 10 December 2016 (Santos 2019: 577-589).²⁶

Trends in Santos' Speeches

When Santos spoke about sport, there was a repeated, flexible structure for these speeches, though certain elements did change from year to year or enjoy more focus, depending on current political priorities. Generally, the structure included: the Santos government commitment to sport; praise for recent sporting successes and portraying this as a golden period in Colombian sport; athletes were proclaimed as ambassadors and examples for the Colombian

²⁶ There is no mention of football or any other sport in this speech.

people; the benefits of sport for Colombian individuals and society in general were extolled (often mentioning the example of Nelson Mandela's use of the rugby World Cup in South Africa in 1997); the Supérate campaign in schools was promoted as an example of the campaigns his government had introduced. The national football team was mentioned more than any other as having a key role to play though all sporting success was deployed in a similar fashion. The constant narrative was that in sport, through hard work, discipline, talent and the support from government, in a scenario where everyone is working together in peace, adversity could be overcome to produce success and a more positive, optimistic future. Through these speeches and tweets, Santos created a sense of nation as a "faith-achievement' group, able to surmount obstacles and hardships' (Smith 1991: 17). It was not difficult to associate this sporting narrative with the Colombian situation, a nation working together to overcome historic adversity to build a more united, prosperous and peaceful Colombia.

From this general structure and looking at the overall list of nodes (see Appendix 3) that were used to analyse regularly repeated language, themes and ideas, we can argue that the content of his sport-related speeches fell into three broad categories:

- 1) Legitimation tactics: Santos underlined his credentials to 'lead' and celebrate sporting success. This included proving his and his government's commitment to sport, government actions and the sporting success attained.
- 2) Justification and empowering sport towards nation-building: here Santos illustrated the benefits of sport for individuals and society, referring to examples.
- 3) Deployment of sport towards nation-building: where Santos deliberately applied sporting lessons and examples to strengthen a greater sense of 'colombianness' or gain support for policies and campaigns. This included stimulating positive and optimistic feelings about the nation, promoting peace and unity, and deploying athletes and teams as examples and ambassadors towards addressing perceived Colombian problems.

There is some crossover with this suggestion of categories, but it is a helpful way of analysing the way in which the 'footballization' of politics occurred.

Legitimation

It is essential that a government is able to prove its actions and achievements. Therefore, inevitably, a substantial proportion of node categories in this study relate to Santos legitimizing

his commitment to sport and, initially, what his government would try to do, and, increasingly, actually achieved. Table 3, below, shows node categories and references that fall into the category of legitimation.

Table 3: Government legitimation node results (ranked by most speeches)

Node category	Total number of speeches	Total number of references
Sport as priority for government	48	86
Coldeportes	46	83
Infrastructure (Sport as priority for government)	44	102
Supérate	44	63
Budget (Sport as priority for government)	42	93
Colombia hosting tournaments (Sport as priority for government)	41	96
Promotion of sport (Sport as priority for government)	40	75
Talent-spotting Sport as priority for government	33	49
Support for tournaments (Sport as priority for government)	25	36
Leadership (Coldeportes)	13	20
Santos sport memories	11	13
Football legislation	7	12
Infrastructure projects (Coldeportes)	7	7
Acuerdo para la Prosperidad (Football legislation)	5	13
Ley del Fútbol 1445 (Football legislation)	4	9
Santos as Santa Fe Fan	4	6
Stopping crime (Sport as priority for government)	2	15
Ley del Deporte (Football legislation)	2	3
Deportista Apoyar project	2	2
Santos as sports fan/player	2	2
<i>Golombiao</i>	1	4
Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia (Football legislation)	0	0

The most salient results are all the figures for the ‘Sport as priority for government’ node and subnodes within that category (‘Budget’, ‘Colombia hosting tournaments’, ‘Infrastructure’, ‘Promotion of sport’, ‘Stopping crime’, ‘Support for tournaments’ and ‘Talent spotting’). Several of the laws introduced during his presidency to tackle fan violence and cleanse football as a national symbol following previous associations with criminality (to be discussed in chapter three) are referred to, showing that his government is acting on their words. However, the Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol (PDSCCF) was never mentioned (the Plan’s contents and aims are analysed in the next chapter). This is an astonishing absence, given that the content and objectives of the Plan entirely resonate with the aims of Santos’ discourse strategy around sport and football. A huge opportunity to unite football success, national development and government public policy promotion was not capitalized upon, and it underlines the argument about why the PDSCCF has not been implemented successfully to date. Equally, *Golombiao*, a football-based SDP campaign for football’s use for social transformation run by the Colombia Joven section of government, (discussed in chapter four) was only mentioned on one occasion. Again, this feels like an opportunity lost, to promote a campaign whose objectives tally with the nation-building aims of government.

In the speeches, there was an evident commitment to sport being a priority for government. This was stressed in Santos speeches at the start of his first term:

El deporte, y se lo decía al nuevo Director de Coldeportes [Jairo Clopatofsky], queremos colocarlo en la primera línea de las políticas del Gobierno (*Presidencia de la República* 24 August 2010).

Me ha gustado siempre el deporte, y por eso, como Presidente de la República quiero estos cuatro años darle todo el respaldo posible al deporte colombiano (*Presidencia de la República* 1 December 2010).

Santos immediately showed his personal interest in sport, something he mentioned from time to time to show a more human side as a way of trying to create a relationship with the audience. In the ceremony for the ‘Deportista del Año’ award, he spoke of his own football memories:

Aunque sea políticamente incorrecto yo tengo que confesar que he sido hinchas toda mi vida de Santa Fe. Mi padre fue fundador y primer Presidente de Santa Fe. Yo me acuerdo que yo no me perdía un partido en la época de Bebilacua, Panzuto, Perazzo, ‘Zipa’ González, el ‘Mono’ Tovar, el ‘Chiquito Aponte’ (*Presidencia de la República* 1 December 2010).

Santos often took the opportunity to open new sporting facilities and stadiums as evidence of his commitment to sport (see for example speeches in Cúcuta and La Ceja, Antioquia in 2013, Palmira in 2014, San Andrés and Andes, Antioquia in 2015, Apulo, Cundinamarca and Sahagún,

Córdoba in 2016 – the variety of regions also demonstrating how Santos has travelled around the country to ensure that many areas benefit from infrastructure projects). In these and elsewhere he talked about his government’s greater budgetary investment in sport, commitment to supporting sport development, hosting tournaments and finding talent. This is not a new tactic; Latin American leaders have frequently highlighted a commitment to sporting infrastructure as being beneficial to the nation. Mason gives the example of the Médiçi regime in Brazil building 13 new stadiums, including 9 in less developed regions (1995: 64), as well as the efforts of the Perón government slogans such as “Perón sponsors sports” and “Perón, the first sportsman” (1995: 66). As mentioned above, President Lula of Brazil spoke on 70 occasions about governmental actors in the sporting sector (Mascarenhas et al. 2014: 497). In Santos’ final year of government, such references served to assure his legacy. In his speech announcing the law to create a Ministry of Sport in April 2018, Santos summarised all his government’s achievements in sport:

Coldeportes era una institución adscrita al Ministerio de la Cultura. Eso lo cambiamos, volvimos a Coldeportes un departamento administrativo a la altura, por ejemplo, de Planeación Nacional e invitamos al Director, hoy Directora de Coldeportes a ser parte del gabinete. Eso no solamente era una señal muy clara sobre la prioridad que el deporte tendría en mi gobierno, sino que también lo respaldamos con presupuesto. Cuando llegamos, el presupuesto de Coldeportes, del deporte en Colombia, era cercano a los 700 mil millones de pesos. Hoy es casi cuatro veces, 2.6 billones de pesos. Ustedes saben que el amor como las prioridades en la política se demuestran es con el presupuesto [sic]. Y esto lo que demuestra es la importancia que tiene el deporte en este gobierno (*Presidencia de la República* 3 April 2018).

Given the frequency of references to sport being a priority for government and what the government has done, it can be argued that it facilitated the credence given to the subsequent justification and empowering of sport towards national benefit and its deployment in his speeches.

Justification of Sport and its Deployment

Before examining the results in terms of the amounts of nodes, it is worth returning to Santos’ chief of communications, Juan Carlos Torres, to understand what their tactics were involving sport, and then see how these have been implemented. Torres firstly stated that Santos is convinced about the values and lessons that can be gained from sport individually and collectively:

Está convencido de que el deporte, mucho más allá de ser una actividad recreativa o de entrenamiento físico, es algo que sirve a los valores de la sociedad y a los valores de la

persona. Y lo repite mucho siempre en sus discursos que el deporte enseña disciplina, que el deporte enseña el valor del juego limpio, que el deporte enseña el valor del trabajo en equipo y de la solidaridad, y muchos otros valores positivos. Y que al formar deportistas estamos formando mejores ciudadanos, mejores seres humanos. Por eso, él está tan comprometido con el deporte (personal interview 14 December 2017).

It is, therefore, a personal as well as a political conviction for Santos that sport has benefits that complement (or replace) existing character and society-forming institutions and processes. The sheer constancy of this message, targeted at solving national problems, is one of the aspects that makes Santos' rhetorical strategy different from other football-based sporting nationalism discourse used elsewhere at other times in Latin America. A look at Table 4 below shows how often these values were extolled by Santos.

Table 4: Results for Benefits of sport for individuals and Benefits of sport for society nodes

Node name	Number of speeches	Number of total references
Benefits of Sport for Individuals	10	11
Values	44	63
Team work	33	39
Overcoming adversity	32	50
Good human beings	28	33
Commitment, determination	24	39
Discipline	19	24
Pursuit of excellence	19	26
Health	14	17
Fair play	11	16
Good citizens	10	10
Self-belief	7	12
Happiness	4	5
Humility	2	2
Loyalty	1	1
Benefits of Sport for Society	65	114
Sport unifying power	58	150
Positive face of Colombia	57	111
Sport for education	41	81
Colombian pride and self-esteem	40	78
Example of progress	37	60
Hope and optimism	24	46
Sport and healthy society	14	25
Distancing youth from vice	9	9
Good news for Colombia	9	10
Sport as giving opportunities	5	5
Benefits for youth	30	41
Better future	32	59
Peace and coexistence	42	151

(nodes not in bold were subnodes of the nodes above them in bold)

As we can see from Table 4, Santos talked about the benefits of sport for Colombia and Colombians a great deal. General references to the ‘Benefits of sport for society’ appeared in about two thirds of his speeches (65 of 99), with 114 references in all. ‘Sport unifying power’ references occurred in a similarly large number of speeches (58 of 99), and had the third most total references of all the nodes, after ‘nuestro use’ and ‘peace and coexistence’ (see Table 5). The qualities that sport provides were targeted at what Santos saw as being problems prevalent in Colombian society. It is no surprise that the idea of sport bringing people together was one of the most common themes, given Colombia’s historic problems of violence, regionalism and regional identities prevailing over national identity, social, economic, racial and political polarization and a lack of trust. ‘Sport unifying power’ leads the way, but the importance of ‘team work’ was regularly mentioned (appearing in 33 speeches), as was the importance of sport for ‘peace and coexistence’, which was the second most mentioned theme with 151 references in total. The use of ‘todos’ in different forms abounded when relating to the Colombian nation. ‘Todos los colombianos’ was used on 136 occasions, there were 97 examples of coding at ‘todos’ (usually when Santos refers to the amount of the Colombian population, which grows over time), 29 uses of ‘todo el país’, and 27 uses of ‘toda Colombia’. We can, therefore, observe that one of Santos’ main messages across his speeches was unity, and the importance of Colombia coming together through sport, and supporting the national football team in particular. This unifying rhetoric of togetherness embracing and including all Colombians as being fans of the *Selección* is a contrast to and a way of remedying the ‘discurso diario de confrontación polarizante’ produced by his predecessor Álvaro Uribe which led to ‘un profundo deterioro de la confianza entre distintos sectores de la población’ (López de la Roche 2015: 6). Football was a way of forgetting political enmities and creating a sense of ‘Toda Colombia’ as opposed to a Colombia separated by Uribe’s discourse into ‘buenos y malos, de amigos y enemigos’ (ibid: 6). Table 5, which shows the most commonly occurring nodes in speeches and in total number of references, demonstrates just how often the theme of unity or togetherness was expressed (full results can be seen in Appendix 5).

Table 5: Most common speech nodes

Node name	Number of speeches	Number of total references
‘Nuestro’ use	91	471
Todos los colombianos	69	136
Make history	68	142
Benefits of sport for society	65	114
National team men	60	108
Sport unifying power (Benefits of sport for society)	58	150

Happiness (Santos emotions)	57	118
Positive face of Colombia (Benefits of sport for society)	57	111
Colombia sporting triumph	50	100
Pride (Santos emotions)	49	93
Sports stars as examples	48	129
Sport as priority for government	48	86
Todos	47	97
Coldeportes	46	83
Supérate	44	63
Values (Benefits of sport for individuals)	44	63
Infrastructure (Sport as priority for government)	44	102
Peace and coexistence	42	151
Budget (Sport as priority for government)	42	93
Sport for education (Benefits of sport for society)	41	81

(Nodes in brackets are where the node was categorised as a sub-node. All nodes mentioned in more than 40 speeches included).

The tendency for Santos to use the inclusive ‘we’ form in his speeches rather than the ‘I’ form, leads to the extremely common use of ‘nuestro’ in speeches (471 separate uses in total) and other pronominal forms of the 1st person plural (‘nos’ appears on 629 occasions). This use of first person plural pronouns was used a great deal in relation to the national men’s football team; ‘nuestra selección’ was used on 66 separate occasions, including everyone as fans of the team, and therefore everyone is represented by it. In comparison, ‘mi’ or ‘mis’ were used on only 124 occasions. This is an example of the ‘routine deixis which is continually pointing to the national homeland’ (Billig 1995: 11), the use of those small words that evoke a sense of togetherness and belonging, a sense of a national ‘we’ and ‘us’. Fairclough argues that the ‘use of “we” reduces hierarchy and distance by implying that all of “us” are in the same boat’ (1995: 76) and says that ‘pronouns are usually worth attending to in texts’ (ibid: 149) as they are actively used to create groups and communities through who is included and who are excluded. It is a tactic frequently used by Latin American leaders, stressing the national collective and sense of unity through the ‘we’ form. The use of the ‘poderoso “nosotros inclusivo”’ (Alabarces 2008: 16; Borrelli and Oszust 2018: 20) became very prevalent in Argentinian political and media discourse during the 1978 World Cup in Argentina, which ‘asociaba la acción gubernamental y deportiva a la de “todo un pueblo”’ (Alabarces 2008: 16). Villena Fiengo analysed the speech of Costa Rican President Miguel Ángel Rodríguez after the Costa Rican team’s success in qualification for the 2002 World Cup, highlighting the repeated use of ‘Yes, we can!’ (2015: 78). In one of the few articles that has

studied Santos' speeches, Suárez González et al. discovered that 'a lo largo de los 128 segmentos discursivos que componen el discurso objeto de estudio se evidencia que hay un mayor uso de construcciones que tiene que ver con nosotros' (2013: 774). Citing Calsamiglia and Tusón (2008), they argue that this more common use of first person plural pronouns and verbs means that the speaker not only places himself within the collective, but also legitimizes himself and assumes the authority for the group (Suárez González et al. 2013: 774). As Santos struggled to establish connections with the Colombian public, this regular use of 'we' and related pronouns was a linguistic tactic to create a sense of proximity and inclusion with the Colombian nation as sports fans, and particularly fans of the *la Selección*. Whereas the Argentinian 'we' based around the World Cup in 1978 hid and silenced opposition to the military dictatorship, Santos' 'we' attempted to include those previously excluded.

When Santos spoke of 'us' no one was excluded, unlike in previous generations, as chapter one discussed. The multicultural and multi-ethnic nation was united without exception, male or female, wherever they were. The assumption was that everyone would be able to identify with someone in the team or the team. The football team is one place where Afrocolombians, who may be geographically, socially and metaphorically on the periphery and find it hard to represent the nation, can certainly come to the fore. In certain speeches, Santos lauded the Afrocolombian contribution to Colombian sporting success, such as when welcoming medal winners to the Casa de Nariño after the London Olympics. Santos said

Quiero hacer otro homenaje a la población afrocolombiana que nos ha representado tan bien en el deporte. Cuatro de las medallas que llegaron de Londres vienen colgadas de colombianos y colombianas del color de ébano, que nos hacen sentir orgullosos, muy orgullosos, de nuestro legado afro (*Presidencia de la República* 15 August 2012).

Similar comments occurred when visiting Urabá shortly after the 2016 Olympics, as he praised black athletes such as Caterine Ibargüen and boxer Yubjerjen Martínez for their success. It was a tactic Santos often used; when visiting a region, he thanked that region for the efforts of a local sports star, so helping the region feel pride for its contribution to national victories. It functioned even better when these athletes were part of a team, as with the football team. Before the 2018 World Cup various regions and towns were thanked for producing the likes of Yerry Mina, Carlos Bacca, Carlos Sánchez and others who originate from poorer regions of the country (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2018). The importance of black Colombians is also seen in the 'tropical' associations linked to the team's image, closely associated through the music and dance of the Caribbean as was discussed in Chapter 1. Pablo Armero, from Tumaco, Nariño, in the Colombian Pacific often led the 2014 goal celebration dances, and several videos of Mina, Cuadrado and

others leading dances during the 2018 World Cup went viral, strengthening such associations of the happy, tropical Colombia.²⁷ It is somewhat harder for similar associations to be made for indigenous Colombians. Though indigenous Colombians appeared in videos embedded in tweets as supporters of the football team, no player from an indigenous background had represented the *Selección*, and very few had made it into professional football, until Luis Fernando Díaz recently.²⁸ In fact, there is a separate indigenous Colombian football league, launched in 2013, run by the Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC), and an indigenous national Colombian team that competes against the indigenous sides of other Latin American countries. Santos did congratulate the team in 2015 when they finished second in the Copa América Indígena, and both he and the @infopresidencia account tweeted about the team's progress (nine tweets in total – there were no references to indigenous football since 2015) and referred to this effort in two speeches as well as recording a video conference with the team wishing them luck. During this, Santos said 'acuérdense que ustedes a partir de ese momento son embajadores de Colombia. El fútbol colombiano ya tiene un prestigio y ustedes van a aumentar este prestigio' (*Presidencia de la República* 12 July 2015). The indigenous team was also claimed to be and portrayed as representing all of Colombia and not just the indigenous communities. Tellingly, as can be seen in the video, they do not wear the same national tracksuits as the national men's team (or women's team), nor do they wear the same shirt, which then problematizes just how representative of the nation they are. The fact that there is an ethnically separate team that wears a different kit from the men's or women's team suggests a lack of inclusion within the national symbol that the national football shirt has become, and therefore a certain marginalization from the nation.

Santos even included the FARC within the Colombian 'us' that he was asking the listener/reader to imagine, a group that has long been seen as enemies of the nation. There were two speeches when FARC were specifically included as national team fans and 'allowed' into the national 'in group':

²⁷ See, for example, 'El baile de Yerry Mina y Juan Guillermo Cuadrado en la goleada de Colombia ante Polonia', *Infobae* 24 June 2018, <https://www.infobae.com/america/deportes/mundial-rusia-2018/2018/06/24/el-baile-de-yerry-mina-y-juan-guillermo-cuadrado-en-la-goleada-de-colombia-ante-polonia/>, [accessed 25 April 2019], and 'Selección Colombia baila Caíste en la trampa (Salsa Choke) – Yerry Mina, Cuadrado y Monjica [sic]', DJ Sammy Barbosa YouTube channel published 30 June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FRjNwxEyxs>, [accessed 25 April 2019]

²⁸ Díaz became the first indigenous player to represent Colombia when he made his debut for the national team against Argentina on 27 August 2018. Díaz has Wayuu ethnicity and was in the squad for the Copa América Indígena 2015, impressing enough to be signed for leading Colombian side Junior after the tournament. He has since moved to Portuguese giants Porto.

No importa a qué partido pertenezcan, no importa a qué religión pertenezcan, no importa cuáles sean las diferencias. Inclusive aquellas personas con las cuales estamos hoy conversando para terminar el conflicto armado, ellos también los estarán apoyando. Toda Colombia los va a estar apoyando (*Presidencia de la República* 23 May 2014).

Y creo que no ha habido en el pasado reciente más motivos de unidad. Nadie en el país, nadie, desde la guerrilla hasta el más enemigo de ellos, se unen en torno a ustedes, en torno a la Selección Colombia [sic] (*Presidencia de la República* 29 May 2015).

Both occasions were during ceremonies full of national symbols, when the national football team visited the Casa de Nariño presidential palace to be handed the Colombian flag. The first quote was part of the speech before the team travelled to Brazil for the World Cup, and was also before the presidential election, so the FARC topic was a major issue. Santos used the occasion to state that FARC members should now be seen as Colombians, not as some external 'them' or enemy. This message had also been promoted with the 'Colombia le está guardando el puesto' (*MinDefensa* 10 June 2014) advertisement campaign, where people from all over Colombia, including celebrities and members of the armed forces patted an empty seat and said they were saving the place for a demobilized guerrilla to watch the World Cup matches with them. This advert was another of those produced by the PAHD and Lowe/SSP3, part of the demobilization 'brand' (Fattal 2018: 18) that had the aim of rebranding the military, striking at the human, emotional side of the guerrilla, to show him/her that there was a way out of the conflict and the chance to enjoy the excitement of the World Cup. With this particular advert, the national mood of the peace negotiations and the optimism and excitement of the World Cup are reunited. It was the second advertising campaign based on national excitement for a football tournament, following the 'Vuelva a Jugar' campaign of 2011 based around Colombia hosting the U-20 World Cup (*MinDefensa* 11 July 2011), in which footballs signed by the national football team and with the sticker 'Desmovilícese, vuelva a jugar' on are thrown out from military helicopters over the jungles of Colombia, ostensibly to the guerrillas hiding below. This is a striking re-imagining of military bombardments, showing a benevolent side to the military, and also includes the message of football being a space in which the nation as a footballing family unites: 'Guerrillero: su familia y Colombia lo esperan para hacer un solo equipo'. Fattal quotes Juan Pablo, one of the Lowe/SSP3 marketing strategists as describing these campaigns and others like them as 'attacking the heart' of the guerrilla (2018: 84). The advert calculates that the national excitement of the Colombian football team returning to the World Cup for the first time in 16 years has the potential to motivate the guerrilla to demobilize and presents the image of the state and the population benevolently welcoming back the prodigal son to the family fold to enjoy football together. Fattal quotes Juan Felipe Hoyos García who emphasizes this point: 'the moral of this story is not only that the demobilized is a lost son who is accepted upon his return,

but that his return reinforces the paternal relationship between the State and its subject' (Hoyos García 2011: 82). According to Fattal, 'Lowe/SSP3 emphasizes the impact of its work on the "national mood"' (2018: 86). These adverts, both which show the importance of football as a space for national (re)encounter and togetherness, contributes to Santos' ongoing and repeated rhetoric bringing together football, unity and peace, rhetoric that can be seen as its own advertising campaign selling the idea of a peaceful and united future for the country. Events such as the Golpe de Estadio 2 event in Llano Grande during the 2018 World Cup (discussed in chapter 4), became the visual proof of this message.

The second quote including the FARC as part of the national 'us' supporting the *Selección* comes from a similar ceremony before the 2015 Copa América in Chile, and was a continuation of the same message of inclusion of those once considered the Colombian 'other' when national identity was constructed. Given the amount of national symbols present, in a moment of patriotic excitement and expectation when the nation is celebrated, it was significant that the FARC should be rhetorically integrated into the national celebration. As discussed already, the FARC have long been located in the Colombian 'Narcolumbia' 'other'. As enemies of the state in official rhetoric since they emerged, FARC were outside the national 'fan group'; the style of the national team and its symbolism for the nation has been directed against rebel, criminal and terrorist groups responsible for the negative stereotypes often associated with Colombia and Colombians. Santos including the FARC within the 'fan group' was a significant rhetorical shift, particularly given the discourse strategy of his predecessor Álvaro Uribe whose 'nacionalismo antifariano [que] catalizaba y usufectuaba los sentimientos de odio y rechazo de los colombianos hacia las reiteradas prácticas de secuestro y extorsión de las FARC' (López de la Roche 2015: 6). However, for many Colombians this inclusion is unacceptable or difficult to accommodate given the decades-long situation of 'them and us' in political rhetoric which shaped how the nation thought of itself, opinions that Uribe had fostered and subsequently used to promote opposition to Santos and to the plebiscite to ratify the peace agreement with the FARC.

Torres reinforces the importance of using speeches of sport to create a greater sense of togetherness as Colombians, involving everyone in the territory and the diaspora. He said:

En los discursos hemos procurado, *por las instrucciones del Presidente* y también por sus asesores de comunicaciones, utilizar el fútbol como un elemento para unificar el país. *Lo hemos hecho conscientemente* y los hemos usado en muchos discursos y alocuciones, sobre todo en la época de preparación para el Mundial de fútbol y después del Mundial de fútbol (personal interview 14 December 2017, italics my own).

When a query was run on to see how often there was a convergence of the node ‘National men’s football team’ with other nodes that involve the idea of unity, we can see just how often this occurred in Santos’ speeches. The nodes of ‘National men’s football team’ and ‘Sport’s unifying power’ converge in 14 speeches with 21 specific references. Some examples, taken from different years to show the continuity of this association of *Selección* and unity, include:

‘Lo que estamos viendo con la Selección, todo el país unido, todo el país pendiente, eso es lo que hace a los países grandes’ (*Presidencia de la República* 13 June 2014).

‘Y cada vez que juega la Selección, todo el país está unido, atrás dejamos cualquier diferencia, eso es muy importante’ (*Presidencia de la República* 19 October 2017).

‘Nuestra Selección es algo que para mí representa la unión del país. Cada vez que juega la Selección, el país se une. Y eso es lo que necesitamos los colombianos’ (*Presidencia de la República* 3 April 2018).

Union was stressed as being necessary and important for Colombia. Other queries relating to the ‘National men’s football team’ node and converging nodes giving a sense of union gave the following results in table 6:

Table 6: Results for node convergences between the men’s football team and unity.

Query	Total speeches	Total references in speeches
National men’s team + nuestro use	35	57
National men’s football team + sport’s unifying power	13	21
National men’s football team + todos	13	17
National men’s football team + toda Colombia	5	6
National men’s football team + todos los colombianos	6	6
National men’s football team + todo el país	2	3
National men’s football team + team work	1	1

It should be noted that these results show where the two nodes immediately converge, i.e. are in extremely close proximity within the speech. There are other occasions when the football team and unity are also related though not as immediately.

There were certain landmark speeches where the national men’s team and unity were extremely strongly related. These occurred at the most potent occasions for football and nation to

interrelate symbolically, at the time of World Cups. In both 2014 and 2018, Santos exploited the mega event occasion and excitement of Colombians to deliver speeches that sought to create a sense of unity. The speech Santos gave when the World Cup trophy visited Colombia in 2014 before the tournament demonstrates this clearly.

El futbol nos une como nación, nos une porque cada colombiano vibra sabiendo que estamos entre los cuatro mejores equipos según la Fifa en el mundo y todos nos sentimos orgullosos de eso logro. Nos une porque el fútbol el deporte nos enseña una serie de principios y de valores que son tan importantes para una persona o para una sociedad, trabajo en equipo, saber ganar, saber perder, la disciplina, el esfuerzo. Nos une el fútbol como nación porque nos enseña a levantarnos de la adversidad, recuerdo todavía cuando íbamos perdiendo 3 – 0 contra Chile y metimos ese primer gol, y metimos ese segundo gol, y cuando metimos el tercero eso fue apoteósico, nos une como nación este fútbol. Toda Colombia quedó en shock, un shock colectivo, lo sentía uno en el aire, cuando vimos la lesión del ‘Tigre’, Falcao, pero toda Colombia está rezando y haciendo fuerza, así se lo dije personalmente hace un par de días para su pronta recuperación, para que esté allá metiendo más goles en el Mundial de Fútbol. Nos une el futbol también porque nos llena de optimismo y sus estrellas, nuestras estrellas también nos dan lecciones de optimismo, como el propio Falcao cuando lo saludé y le pregunte: ‘¿cómo se siente?’, me dijo: ‘optimista, allá voy a estar, no se preocupe Presidente, dígame a nuestros compatriotas que allá estaré, en ese mundial’. Ese optimismo es el que debe irradiar por todo el país, el que nos lleva a pensar en grande, a lograr los objetivos que nos trazamos, el deporte además nos enseña que todos los colombianos, todos, somos hijos de una misma nación, que somos hermanos (*Presidencia de la República* 28 January 2014).

Phrases abounded that empower football as a tool for unification, where football is converted into a metonym for the Colombian nation. Apart from the anaphora of ‘nos une el fútbol’, there was the constant use of the first person plural form and the regular use of different forms of ‘todos’. The last sentence in the quote above is particularly potent in this regard, stressing the importance of togetherness and familiarity, as well as the reference to ‘una misma nación.’ This reference is also interesting as it presupposes that there have been doubts about whether Colombia has really been just one nation. Another example of this need to stress the ‘one country’ idea is the ‘Un Solo País, #UnaSolaHinchada’ slogan behind the 2016 Copa América Centenario tournament. It illustrates that Santos felt the need to reiterate Colombia being a single entity, and not one with challenges to governmental sovereignty where parastates exist (Hylton 2006) and where the government does not exercise authority. In addition to the specific phrases evoking unity, the nation was invited to imagine itself united in experiencing the same feelings of football’s vicissitudes, and subsequent pride, excitement and optimism. Santos then addressed the nation as a collective fan group articulating the lessons that the country can learn, rising from adversity, having dreams and objectives, being optimistic, and replicating such values as discipline, hard work and working together.

The same tendencies reoccurred in the speech that Santos gave when the national team received the national flag from the president before travelling to Brazil in 2014. Some notable excerpts from this speech where the national team becomes metonymic for the nation and Colombian unity were reinforced are the following:

Este equipo liderado por el profesor (José) Pékerman es ahora por los próximos 50 días, el máximo símbolo de la unidad nacional. La bandera que le acabo de entregar a Mario Alberto Yepes, el capitán del equipo es exactamente eso. Le estoy entregando la bandera de nuestra Patria, para que este equipo nos represente como lo sabe hacer: con determinación, con coraje, con espíritu deportivo y con ganas de triunfo allá en Brasil. Esa unidad nacional que ustedes representan es muy importante en estos momentos para el país. Cuando los estemos viendo jugando los partidos todas las diferencias en el país van a desaparecer, porque detrás de ustedes van a estar los 47 millones de colombianos [...]

Cada gol que metan hará vibrar a toda la Nación colombiana. Cada gol que tapen hará vibrar el corazón de los colombianos [...]

Ustedes, como dice el uniforme: 'estamos todos unidos', pero además piensan en grande y pensando en grande es exactamente cómo hemos llegado a donde hemos llegado en el fútbol y en el deporte (*Presidencia de la República* 23 May 2014).

This is the same speech where the FARC are also invited into the nation as part of the 'unidad nacional' that Santos describes. Santos endeavoured to erase potential differences, whether geographical, political or economic, and depicted a nation dressed in yellow, red and blue, following the national football team, celebrating together, demonstrating selected positive Colombian characteristics. The hashtag on the national shirt for the tournament, '#UnidosPorUnPaís',²⁹ links national team, a national symbol, political narrative, supporter, citizen and social media's affiliative potential in a very effective manner. O' Donnell writes that 'one of the commonest features of sports reporting is the metonym whereby the nation is presented as a single sentient being' (O'Donnell 1994: 353); this occurs not just in press reporting, but also in political discourse related to sport. Radcliffe and Westwood, when discussing their idea of 'correlative imaginaries', which they describe as sites, activities, events, artefacts etc. which 'generate and sustain an ideational horizontal integration with a shared space, through a form of interpellation which correlates subjectivities and social spaces' (1996: 28), argue that in many places in Latin America, 'football is the most powerful evocation of a correlative identity' (ibid: 98). Conscious of this belief, the national football team was deployed by Santos through discourse events, spoken or textual, to collect contrasting identities from across the national geography and reattach the diaspora into an imagined horizontal collective.

²⁹ I believe this to be the first time a hashtag has appeared on a national team shirt, and perhaps also any professional football team kit.

After Colombia's successful World Cup 2014, Santos used his first official speech to the nation following his re-election to congratulate the *Selección*, and relaunch his political project around the symbolic power of the football team. In a televised address following the national anthem (a video celebrating the diversity of the country and people, full of recognizable images and symbols, combining tradition with modernity), wearing the football shirt, with the backdrop of the Colombian flag and the Colombian shield on the lectern, Santos reiterated the necessity and power of a Colombian nation working together.³⁰ The message of peace was prominent in this imagining of the nation alongside football:

Invito desde ahora a los que acompañaron nuestras propuestas –pero también a los que votaron por otras opciones o no votaron– a que se unan a la construcción de una paz justa, una paz con verdad, una paz con reconciliación... una paz con unidad. TODO, todo lo podemos lograr si trabajamos –como la Selección Colombia– ¡UNIDOS POR UN PAÍS! Esa es la gran lección que nos dejaron estos colombianos admirables, estos grandes deportistas y grandes seres humanos que nos representaron en el Mundial de Fútbol [...]

La Selección nos unió como país y nos mostró lo mejor de los colombianos: ese talento, esa capacidad de lucha, esa determinación que vimos ayer –por ejemplo– en ese segundo tiempo al que solo le faltaron unos minutos para la gloria ¡Qué compromiso el de nuestros jugadores! ¡Así es Colombia! Así vamos a ganar este otro gran partido que estamos jugando: ¡el de la paz con prosperidad social! (*Presidencia de la República* 5 July 2014)

In addition to the continued messages of unity and peace inspired by football, as well as lessons and values that the country can learn for self-improvement, Santos took the chance to praise the nation for the real or imagined national values on show. This is a requirement for politicians to undertake as Billig underlines:

Convention dictates that the politician follows Aristotle's recommendation to "praise Athenians to Athenians". The nation, in being hailed, should be rhetorically complimented [...] Politicians not only live in the eye of the country, but they represent the nation to itself. In addressing the imagined national audience, they dress it in rhetorical finery and, then, these speakers-as-outfitter hold a mirror so the nation can admire itself (Billig 1995: 97-98).

It is often revealing what 'national' characteristics have been chosen by Latin American leaders to promote that their national team has supposedly demonstrated on the pitch. These characteristics are associated to their particular political project. President Médici after Brazil's triumph in the 1970 World Cup in Mexico said that 'I identify this victory won in the brotherhood of good sportsmanship with the rise of faith in our fight for national development' (Mason 1995: 64), highlighting how football was positioned to help with national integration as well as a

³⁰ This video can be seen on the *Presidencia de la República* YouTube channel, at the following address: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZFxoRjVUY0>.

modernizing process for Brazil. When the Argentinian U-20 team won the 1979 World Cup, General Videla proclaimed that they 'han dado una prueba inequívoca de disciplina, de orden que significa sin más reconocer el principio de autoridad' (Roldán 2007: 137) focusing on the qualities of discipline and order prized by the dictatorship for Argentina. Villena Fiengo argues that President Rodríguez of Costa Rica in his speech when Costa Rica qualified for the World Cup in 2002 'stresses, as key to the international success of the team, the adherence to various values expressed in business jargon, terms like excellence, discipline, teamwork, competitiveness, and so on. [...] He renews the national axiology, replacing the values of bucolic nationalism with a set of values more suited to the demands of neoliberal globalization' (2015: 78). The national vision of the president is attached to the style and performance of the players on the pitch, often recuperating lost values of the country (in the Argentinian case), or displaying new ones allied to a bright future for the country (as shown by the examples of Brazil and Costa Rica).

Santos selected characteristics based on his political project of a 'Nueva Colombia' where peace and happiness is possible, where Colombians can work together. He elected to praise the 'Colombian' characteristics of determination, discipline, working together, fighting against adversity, as well as fair play³¹ dignity, talent and self-belief. There was also an evocation of the imagined Colombian football style, as he claims that the team 'puso la alegría y el buen fútbol en el Mundial' (*Presidencia de la República* 5 July 2014). Here the president reinforced the way that Colombians are imagined and portrayed to play football, as constructed by Maturana with the golden generation of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Happiness, fun and a more Caribbean, tropical image of the country are a key part of this invention of style, and these elements were conspicuous with the synchronized goal celebration dances. These dances captured the imagination of the world audience watching the games, and helped to dispel lingering negative associations of Colombia with violence and drug trafficking. With Santos and his peace talks being the 'new news' and the football team also being represented as a new positive international face of Colombia, a different narrative for the nation could be promoted. The government and Colombian ambassadors were also strenuous in protecting the country's reputation. They condemned a Belgian cartoon and a meme tweeted by Dutch actor Nicolette Van Dam, which both showed Colombian footballers sniffing a line of the spray used by referees

³¹ Colombia won the FIFA Fair Play award for the tournament, having only received five yellow cards in the five games they played. However, the game against Brazil featured 54 fouls, the most fouls of any match in the competition, and Brazilian fans were incensed by a very physical challenge on their hero Neymar by Juan Camilo Zúñiga which broke a vertebra in his spine and knocked him out of the World Cup.

to show where footballers should stand away from free kicks as if it was cocaine. Both the cartoonist and actor apologised for the insult to the nation following the backlash from the Colombian press and social media (*La Vanguardia* 2 July 2014; *Huffington Post* 23 July 2014). Colombia's brand image abroad, as already discussed, was paramount to Santos' nation-building project; in addition to praising the nation, its defence against these slights related to the 'other' Colombia of the past are also required. We return to the idea that a 'New Colombia' was emerging, a safe Colombia suitable for tourism and economic investment. Football was a pivotal way of promoting this brand. 'Nueva Colombia' was mentioned in six speeches with ten references. In several of these the national men's team is conjoined with this idea of a new country, such as:

Y me dice el profesor Pékerman: 'presidente, gracias por el apoyo que usted le ha dado a la Selección, pero esta Selección es la demostración más palpable, más clara de esa nueva Colombia que está surgiendo, esa nueva Colombia que ustedes están dando' (*Presidencia de la República* 30 October 2013).

The message was one of a positive future being ushered in under Santos, and demonstrated through sport.

Torres cites the importance of sports news being positive ones; sporting success gives the impression that Colombia is progressing, that Colombia is competing on a world stage, that there are grounds for optimism in the country. Sport relegates the usual negative news to a second plane, remembering that the country has suffered from its fair share of negative press.

Torres said that:

No diría que hubiera una estrategia definida para el uso de deporte en discursos, pero sí una instrucción: aprovechar las buenas noticias deportivas para inspirar a través de los discursos y para generar un ambiente de unidad y de optimismo en el país [...] el deporte, en cambio, es una fuente permanente de buenas noticias. El deporte es una fuente permanente de buenos ejemplos. Entonces él pide, con razón, que siempre que tengamos algún evento deportivo lo vinculemos al discurso que estemos haciendo, y, de hecho, lo hacemos [...] siempre usamos estos triunfos deportivos como un gancho para estimular el positivismo y la unidad en el país (personal interview 14 December 2017).

Any sporting triumph provided an opportunity to claim that Colombia was progressing and nurture a more positive national mood. Table 7 shows all references that create a sense of positivity around the nation and sporting performance:

Table 7: Node results in speeches related to creating positive feeling of the nation

Node	Number of speeches	Number of references
Make history	68	142
Happiness (Santos emotions)	57	118
Positive face of Colombia	57	111
Pride (Santos emotions)	49	91
Colombian pride and self-esteem (Benefits of sport for society)	40	78
Example of progress (Benefits of sport for society)	37	60
Emoción (Santos emotions)	33	51
Better future	32	59
Enthusiasm (Santos emotions)	32	53
Colombia in good state	30	45
Dream	30	51
Hope and optimism (Benefits of sport for society)	24	46
Colombia as sporting power	21	32
Good news for Colombia (Benefits of sport for society)	9	10
Self-belief (Benefits of sport for individuals)	7	12
Nueva Colombia	6	10
Happiness (Benefits of sport for individuals)	4	5

From the node categories above and results, it is evident how positive news about sport was linked in a variety of ways and terms in which Colombia was portrayed in a similarly positive way, as a nation advancing. The high results in the ‘making history’ node relate to the various sporting successes being ‘historic’ ones, evidencing a rupture from the past of failure or inferiority, and turning into competitors in the highest echelons of world sport. The ‘Colombia as sporting power’ and ‘better future’ references were used in the same way. This was another way of Santos praising the nation, taking advantage of unprecedented Colombian sporting success. Dávila Ladrón de Guevara talks of the national team sharing ‘con la nueva generación de deportistas colombianos una ruptura con el *ethos* nacional de ganar sin ganar’ (2014: 18). In the past, Colombians have looked good, but not won (the idea of ‘jugamos como nunca y perdimos como siempre’), but Colombians were now winning and so this success could be deployed as part of a national narrative of the nation progressing under Santos’ policies. The positive news provided by national team triumphs or other athletes’ victories allowed Santos to link the success with his government’s commitment and support for sport (legitimation tactics), justifying and empowering sports’ role in society, and then deploying sport towards desired benefits for the nation.

Continuing with the results in Table 7, after the 142 references to 'making history' we see numerous positive emotional reactions, often used when Santos reacted to sporting triumphs. Santos' reactions of happiness, enthusiasm, pride or excitement were then presented as collective feelings shared by the nation. Comments in speeches such as 'nos hicieron muy felices' (*Presidencia de la República* 4 July 2014) after the loss against Brazil in the 2014 World Cup or the four different references in the speech after the Uruguay game in the previous round - 'Colombia está feliz', 'todos estamos felices', 'Colombia está feliz', 'Claro que todos estamos felices' (*Presidencia de la República* 28 June 2014) were proposed as collective, national reactions. These victories also stimulate national pride, hope and optimism, as well as showing the positive face of Colombia, which we can see are also common themes. Following the Brazil game 'el mundo entero está admirando a Colombia gracias a la Selección' (*Presidencia de la República* 4 July 2014), for instance. The Colombian team was positioned early in his presidency as being 'nuestros embajadores, nuestros mejores representantes de la buena imagen de Colombia' (*Presidencia de la República* 1 June 2012), but all athletes have the same ambassadorial power. The Santos government helped them achieve this, as this quote shows: 'hemos ayudado como nunca antes a los deportistas por cada grupo, por cada especialidad. A los ciclistas, a los futbolistas, a los pesistas, a todos los que están dejando a Colombia muy en alto' (*Presidencia de la República* 22 September 2016). If Colombians were continuously hearing that alongside sporting success stories, that the nation was progressing (60 references), or the nation was becoming a sporting power (32 references), or that Colombia was in a good state (45 references) and has a better future (59 references), then the nation could feel better about itself. Sporting success is an escape valve away from daily trauma as was discussed in chapter one. Torres spoke of this need to promote good news:

El Presidente es consciente de que en Colombia a menudo las personas están muy influenciadas por las malas noticias; por los problemas de violencia; por los medios de comunicación que siempre privilegian, aquí y en todas partes, las malas noticias; por la oposición política que también siempre está enfatizando lo malo como hace cualquier oposición en cualquier país. Y el deporte, en cambio, es una fuente permanente de buenas noticias. El deporte es una fuente permanente de buenos ejemplos. Entonces él pide, con razón, que siempre que tengamos algún evento deportivo lo vinculemos al discurso que estamos haciendo (personal interview 14 December 2017).

Through this promotion by Santos of good news provided by sport, national confidence and pride could be enhanced, necessary ingredients to help a nation imagine itself as a collective.

Inserting a message of peace with the FARC amongst messages of football-inspired positivity was a way of trying to avoid the polarization that the issue was causing and continues to cause. The

World Cup of 2014 and celebration of Colombia's best ever performance allowed the topic to be more accepted. When asked whether it was problematic for football to be deployed towards gaining support for such a nationally divisive issue, Dávila Ladrón de Guevara answered 'No, yo creo que, en esto, en eso fueron inteligentes también, porque a ellos les costó mucho poner el tema de la paz en la agenda de la gente en buenos términos, y tal vez el único momento en que lograron eso fue durante el Mundial' (personal interview 12 December 2017). As already earlier, the node 'peace and coexistence' has the second most references (151) of all those selected, and there is an obvious trend for these references to national peace to emerge from 2013 onwards, as can be seen in Table 8. This shows how frequently references to 'peace and coexistence' and 'sport's unifying power' appear in each year of Santos's government.

Table 8: Frequency of 'peace and coexistence' and 'sport's unifying power' nodes by years

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Peace and coexistence	1	3 / 18	1	6 / 25	9 / 20	5 / 10	11 / 64	3 / 5	3 / 7
Sport's unifying power	1	12 / 38	2 / 5	11 / 25	14 / 38	4 / 11	6 / 7	3 / 8	5 / 17

(where there are two numbers, first figure is number of speeches, second figure total number of references)

We can see from Table 8 the years where Santos most tried to get across his message of national unity and peace, and these occur, predictably, in years when mega events and significant political events converged. 2011 was the year of Colombia hosting the U-20 World Cup, and when Santos was beginning to establish his political priorities. In 2011, most references to peace were associated with bringing an end to violence around Colombian professional football league matches, particularly in major speeches about the Acuerdo para la Prosperidad en el Fútbol, and Law 1445. In his speech about Law 1445, Santos referred to peace and coexistence on several occasions:

El Acuerdo es apenas una parte de un esfuerzo integral de gobierno para que nuestro fútbol sea sostenible, digno transparente y en paz [...]

Lo que sí no podemos tolerar es que el comportamiento violento y peligroso de algunos hinchas convierta a los estadios en campos de batalla y no es escenarios de paz, como deben ser [...]

Queremos que los eventos deportivos sean espacios de convivencia a los que asistan las familias sin miedo (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2011).

A narrative of national peace replaced these types of quotes as the negotiations with the FARC were announced. The amount of tweets increased alongside the excitement of the qualification for the World Cup in 2013, the World Cup itself in 2014, and then, to a much greater extent, in 2016, the year of the plebiscite. As Torres confirmed, this association of peace and sport was a deliberate policy: 'Puedo asegurar que siempre que él está inaugurando o clausurando unos Juegos, la palabra 'paz' aparece una o dos veces. Porque él vincula deporte y paz. Eso siempre va a aparecer en su discurso porque la paz es la esencia, es el 'core' de su legado como gobernante' (personal interview). This particular rhetorical sporting nationalism strategy of football for peace is an aspect that separates Santos from previous examples of sporting nationalism where unity is privileged. No other government has focused so much on how football can help end a national conflict and create the conditions for peace in a postconflict scenario. Peace was a key issue in the 2014 presidential campaign, and so it appeared frequently in sports speeches from 2013 onwards, linking the prevailing mood of national sporting optimism and positivity with a vision of a peaceful and united Colombia. For instance, at the closing of the Supérate games in 2013, the theme of peace was regularly mentioned in a speech full of references to sport's individual and collective benefits. Sport was defined as a key part of building peace, and a culture of peace: 'Lo importante es el deporte, la competencia, que los niños y niñas participen, que los colegios se emocionen, que hagan barra. Eso es lo importante, porque eso es construir paz. Eso es construir país' (*Presidencia de la República* 30 October 2013). The message continued in 2014. The speech thanking the national team after the World Cup has already been cited as the most important example of where *la Selección* became politically charged with a message of peace, but other examples abound. One example is a speech he gave at the closing ceremony of the 'Mundialito de Seguridad y Convivencia Ciudadana'.³² Some key excerpts follow:

Decirles que este acto sencillo, discreto, me llena de emoción porque esto es otra forma muy importante de ir construyendo la paz en este país, de ir reconciliando a esta Nación [...]

Quiero felicitar el general Palomino, a usted general Guatibonza, por esa iniciativa tan importante: usar el deporte como forma de ir reconciliando, sembrando futuro y sembrando esos valores y esos principios que son tan importantes en cualquier sociedad [...]

Podamos fomentar este tipo de eventos y este tipo de reconciliaciones [sic] se va a traducir en menos violencia y en menos delincuencia, en menos criminalidad. Por eso esta es una forma integral de ver la seguridad y la convivencia ciudadana (*Presidencia de la República* 10 June 2014).

³² This was a mini-football tournament to stimulate dialogue, friendship and peace through football, organized by the Police Force in Bogotá for young people from 20 neighbourhoods in the city.

Again, the message was of sport and specifically football's capacity to be a site of socialization, reconciliation and coexistence around a shared activity, and once again addressing a young audience.

The campaign for the plebiscite to ratify the peace agreement with the FARC explains why in 2016 there was a peak of references to peace as shown in Table 8. Peace was referred to on 64 occasions, and only failed to appear in one of the twelve sport-related speeches of that year. Success at the Olympics and Paralympics was deployed more than football in 2016, as the national team disappointed in the Copa América Centenario. Nonetheless, opening and closing ceremonies, flag presenting ceremonies, congratulation speeches and stadium inaugurations remained a propitious site for campaigning for peace. In the opening of the 'El Estadio por la Paz' in Apulo, Cundinamarca, Santos mentioned peace alongside sport throughout. Some examples include:

'Un estadio que nos permitirá ir progresando en el deporte, pero con el simbolismo siempre de la reconciliación, del respeto por las diferencias, de eso que hace que una sociedad pueda vivir en paz' [...].

'No es mi paz, la paz no es de Juan Manuel Santos. La paz no es del Presidente de la República, ni siquiera es de mi gobierno. La Paz les pertenece a todos los colombianos, a todos ustedes' (*Presidencia de la República* 7 May 2015).

The 2018 World Cup provided a final chance for Santos to deploy football for national unity. The speech at the Casa de Nariño when the flag was handed over provides a microcosm of his sports speeches and overall strategy of footballizing the nation.³³ He legitimized his government's actions and support for sport:

'Hemos querido también darle al deporte la importancia que tiene. Desde el primer día del gobierno le dimos al deporte máxima prioridad. Multiplicamos por cuatro el presupuesto, comenzamos a ganar competencias por todos lados' (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2018).

He justified the importance of sport and explained the benefits for Colombia:

'Ese deporte que les enseña a los niños esos valores de trabajar en equipo, de tener disciplina, de esforzarse' (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2018).

³³ Ceremonial events where Santos invited teams to the Casa de Nariño to hand the Colombian flag to teams representing the country in major tournaments seem to be limited to the men's football team, (in 2011, 2014, 2015 and 2018 – though not 2016 for the Copa América Centenario), the U-20 football team (2011) the Olympics and Paralympics teams (in 2012 and 2016 and in 2014 for the Youth Olympics), and teams for the Juegos Panamericanos (2011 and 2015), Juegos Suramericanos (2014 and 2018) and Juegos Bolivarianos (2013 and 2017). The women's football team did not receive the honour before the World Cup or Copa América Femenina.

The national team was pushed as being metonymic for the nation, and of a nation progressing, as examples and ambassadors of 'Colombianness':

'La Selección es lo más representativo en este momento de nuestro deporte' [...]

'Nuestra Selección es lo que nos inspira para seguir adelante. Cada vez que mete un gol estremece al país (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2018).

And, as usual, the national team was presented as a symbol of unity in which every Colombian is present and accepted as a fan and as a Colombian:

'Nuestra Selección es lo que nos une a los colombianos. Toda Colombia se une cada vez que juega, toda Colombia la respalda, toda Colombia la quiere' (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2018).

The main players were praised, as being examples of their towns and regions, those regions were thanked, and the portrayal of the football team as being representative of the entire country was reinforced. He concluded with yet another statement of this national unity behind their heroic sporting representatives, one final example of nation-building through the football team:

'El país entero estará pendiente, estará apoyándolos. Cada vez que escuchen allá en Rusia algo sobre Colombia, es porque estamos todos unidos, el país entero, detrás de nuestra Selección' (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2018).

In the presence of national football heroes, surrounded by national symbols in the presidential palace, with Santos wearing the same football tracksuit top as the team, and awarding the country's highest honour, the Order of Boyacá, to Pékerman, it is hard to imagine a more potent symbolic discursive event to construct nation through football.

Twitter Use and Strategy

During the Santos presidency, there was an evolution in how Twitter was deployed as another channel for broadcasting his message. Awareness increased about how this microblogging platform could influence an increasingly wide audience, infiltrate other areas of the media and create online 'ambient affiliations' (Zappavigna 2011; 2012) that could stimulate a greater sense of the imagined community. As Twitter has developed, allowing links, pictures, videos and audio to be embedded in tweets, as well as doubling the character limit from 140 to 280 and promoting trending topics and popular hashtags, its use for a political project increased. It has,

therefore, rapidly become 'an essential space in electronic communications for governments to reach its constituents' (Lux Wigand 2010: 66).

Study of how Twitter can benefit politicians and of tactics used by politicians has become more common. Twitter favours a more 'comparatively adult kind of interaction' (Grant et al 2010: 581) compared to other microblogging sites and social networks, thus addressing an active political audience (Parmelee and Bichard 2013: 6). It provides another manner to broadcast political messages, in their own terms, unfiltered by press or political commentators, directly to their audience in a cheap and effective way (Theocaris et al. 2016: 1007; Grant et al. 2010: 579; Graham et al. 2016: 766; Parmelee and Bichard 2013: 11-12; Coesemans and DeCock 2017: 39). Although Twitter is an excellent way for politicians to communicate and interact with their audience, most politicians, and Santos would certainly be included in this bracket, solely use Twitter for self-promotion and broadcasting, rather than discussion (Theocaris et al. 2016: 1009; Grant et al. 2010; Parmelee and Bichard 2013: 9; Lyons and Veenstra 2016: 9; Ausserhofer and Maireder 2013: 293; Graham et al. 2016: 768). Despite Santos and other politicians not using the full interactive potential of Twitter, it still fashions a sense of proximity, and therefore affiliation, from the individual towards the 'celebrity', to access a more personal and immediate side of the public figure that would otherwise be unobtainable (Theocaris et al. 2016: 1010). The homepage and newsfeed that Twitter creates, according to Papacharissi (2002: 644), can become 'a carefully controlled performance through which self-presentation is achieved under optimal conditions' (see also Marwick and boyd 2011: 115). Colliander et al. discuss this balancing act that politicians need to play on social media, describing it as a 'self-presentational tug-of-war' (2017: 277) between how to strike the balance between the professional and business-like politician and the normal human being at home. Colliander et al. relate this balancing act to Erving Goffman's (1990) concept of front-stage and back-stage behaviour. Unlike with his speeches, when the 'formal' and 'public' Santos is 'acting' the role of the serious politician, through tweets Santos can show his 'informal, private' side. As has been mentioned, Santos struggled to connect with the electorate; his regular tweets during football matches helped to present Santos in a more 'side-to-side' rather than 'above-below' network of virtual relations. Football in Colombia facilitates these horizontal imagined affiliations that can be developed in the private sphere through comments about a goal or celebrating a win. Sport and entertainment lead to 'massive real-time spikes in global Twitter activity' (Weller et al. 2014: xxx), and sport is one of the most frequent topics of updates and comment on Twitter (Highfield 2014: 249; Zappavigna 2012: 19). Given the popularity of football, international matches gave

Santos the perfect opportunity to join the online conversation of the virtual community and feed in political topics and messages while doing so.

Santos's Twitter use has not been studied significantly to date. Rodríguez et al (2015) examined Santos' tweet tendencies alongside other major Colombian political figures to investigate how they contributed to political polarization around the peace process. They found that he 'does not contribute to polarization or sectarianism' with 51.1% of his tweets 'attempt[ing] to generate optimism during the peace talks. They argue that 'Santos has not taken advantage of Twitter's potential' (Rodríguez et al. 2015: 2), referring to a period where Santos tended to tweet famous quotations rather than his own statements. They describe his tweeting frequency as 'much more moderate' than other figures in the study such as former president Álvaro Uribe (ibid: 2). This frequency of tweets and effective use of Twitter by both the @JuanManSantos and @infopresidencia accounts has without question grown and become more effective over his presidency, as will now be demonstrated.

Results on Twitter Use

For this analysis, tweets were coded from the @JuanManSantos personal account, and the @infopresidencia account. The latter serves as a diary and register of the president's activities, provides links to news articles and speeches on the *Presidencia de la República* website, and raises awareness of presidential campaigns. It is a more formal account than the @JuanManSantos account, which while also containing similar tweets to @infopresidencia, also has a more personal side.

According to Torres, Santos uses Twitter personally, though he was advised by his communication team. Sport provided a common reason to tweet: 'Sé que el Presidente está muy pendiente de cualquier acontecimiento deportivo para escribir tuits de felicitación o de motivación para los deportistas' (personal interview 14 December 2017). The input of advisors came with the more 'elaborate' tweets containing videos, links, gifs and certain hashtags, which, according to Torres, Santos did not have time to fully be aware of: 'está pendiente de su cuenta y de lo que él trina, pero no le alcanza el tiempo para saber más, por ejemplo, cuál es el "trending topic", cuáles son los hashtags que hay o los memes o los gifs' (ibid). Twitter's use by the Santos communication team increased over his presidency, both in frequency and in sophistication, as we can see by the following tables:

Table 9: Sports-specific Tweets per year

	2010*	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018**	Total
@JuanManSantos	0	38	48	91	78	62	86	62	43	508
@infopresidencia	0	18	64	30	88	40	170	54	76	540
Total	0	56	112	121	166	102	256	116	119	1048

(* from 1st August 2010; ** up until 1st August 2018)

As we can see from Table 9, after a slow start in the first year of the Presidency, Twitter use increased as the power of the medium became apparent. As with the results for speeches, there were more tweets broadcast during years of major sporting events. Bearing in mind that not all sporting tweets were included in the Twitter study, the figures would be even greater if tweets regarding individual winners at the Olympics, Paralympics, Juegos Panamericanos, and Juegos Bolivarianos had been included, not to mention victories in other sports. Even so, the Olympic and Paralympic years of 2012 and particularly 2016 saw many sports-related tweets. 2016 showed the most sport-specific Twitter activity, related to the peace plebiscite when Santos was working hard to convince the electorate. There were also spikes in Twitter activity during the U-20 World Cup in 2011, and the World Cups in 2014 and 2018, as we can see in Table 10 below:

Table 10: Tweets during football mega-events

	U-20 World Cup, 29 July – 20 August 2011	World Cup, 12 June – 13 July 2014	World Cup, 14 June – 15 July 2018	Total
@JuanManSantos	12	51	21	84
@infopresidencia	12	47	31	90
Total	24	98	52	174

Comparing the results in Tables 8 and 9, we observe that these mega events allowed Santos to connect with the Colombian ‘Twittersphere’ for a variety of purposes, whether presenting himself as a fan and showing his personal side, combining sporting success and political messages for the nation, or informing the nation of his government’s commitment to sport. In 2014 particularly, 51/78 sport-related tweets occurred during the World Cup, Santos riding on the patriotic tide of optimism following the *Selección’s* performances. In 2018 nearly half of his sport-focused tweets were broadcast during the World Cup (21/43). These figures do not include tweets related to the World Cup before the tournament or in the aftermath, for example tweets

related to the flag-giving ceremonies. Santos usually tweeted at least three times about *Selección* matches, one tweet before, one after any goal scored, and a tweet at the end about the result. It is worth mentioning here that there are no such tweets during matches of the women’s football team, who Santos rarely tweeted about. The men’s team were tweeted about on 381 occasions over the two accounts. However, the women’s team only were tweeted about 24 times, a remarkably telling disparity about which team is more important in Santos’ opinion and how women’s football struggles to represent the nation. This point will be discussed in more detail later.

Regarding sophistication of content, Table 11 shows the increasing use of the hashtag in tweets, Table 12 the most commonly used hashtags, and Table 13 the amount of videos, pictures and gifs included in tweets over the presidency.

Table 11: Hashtags used in tweets

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Hashtags	0	4	23	9	58	44	232	85	93	548

As we can from Table 11, it is only from 2012 when the hashtag became commonplace and then with greater regularity in 2014. It is worth remembering that in 2014, the World Cup shirt started to have #UnidosPorUnPaís on the collar, conscious of the phenomenon of hashtag communities. This hashtag appears in six tweets in 2014, most notably one on 14 June when a tweet read ‘Un mensaje para @FCFSeleccionCol, orgullo de todos los colombianos! Vamos #Col! #UnidosPorUnPaís’ and also included a video of Santos saying:

Hoy más que el presidente de los colombianos, hoy más que un candidato, soy un hincha de la selección, de mi selección, de nuestra selección. Porque es un ejemplo de respeto y de amistad entre nuestras regiones. Es de nuestra gente, porque nos une, y nos hace mirar a todo el país para el mismo lado. Vamos Colombia, que el mundo entero sepa de qué estamos hechos (@JuanManSantos 3:40pm, 14 June 2014).

In addition to the vocabulary evoking togetherness and the representativeness of the football team-as-nation, the hashtag becomes an additional tool fostering community.

Zappavigna (2011; 2012) discusses how hashtags create community through a process of ‘ambient affiliation’. Using them creates ‘searchable talk’ (Zappavigna 2012: 1) which is ‘online conversation where people render their talk more findable and hence more affiliative. Talk using

this kind of graphological expression amplifies the potential for users to connect with each other and so establish interpersonal bonds' (2012: 95). Hashtags such as #UnidosPorUnPaís can be searched on Twitter, allowing users to read previous messages, and then add themselves to this virtual imagined community by using the same hashtag. Zappavigna writes 'hashtags play a role in coordinating such mass expression of value by focusing it around a particular ideational target. In other words, hashtags align users into 'overlapping communities of attitudinal rapport' (Martin 2004; 123; Zappavigna 2012; 39). Mutual identifications are conceived through these hashtag interactions based on horizontal recognition of being fans of *la Selección*, and becomes another tool towards fostering more collective 'Colombianness'. These hashtags are not only confined to the presidency, the Colombian Football Federation, players and fans, but are promoted by sports programmes on radio and television, the media and major sponsors of the team. This process of adoption of hashtags by a 'critical mass of users' (Huang et al. 2010: 173) helps the community to grow around messages related to a nationally recognized symbol and popular interest. This theory explains why hashtags are increasingly common in Santos and Presidencia tweets. They tap into previously created hashtags for tournament campaigns, and relate political messages to the community alongside messages of support, deploying football's power towards a political project. New hashtags are created for each campaign; in 2016, the year of most tweets, and most hashtags (see Tables 10 and 11), the hashtag adopted by the critical mass was #UnaSolaHinchada, which was often used in tweets by Santos and the Presidencia account after 'Un Solo País'. #UnaSolaHinchada is the one of the most used hashtags during the Santos presidency, used in 30 tweets with 50 references, and appears alongside national symbols and unifying language in the tweet and accompanying graphics. For example, a tweet on 8 June 2016 before the Colombia vs Paraguay game in the Copa América read 'Vamos @FCFSeleccionCol por el sueño de #CopaAmerica! El país unido los acompaña. #UnaSolaHinchada #COLvsPAR'. It is accompanied by three emojis, of the Colombian and Paraguayan flags and a football and then the image below:



(@JuanManSantos 3:34am, 8 June 2016). This type of tweet became the common format around football in recent years. The inclusive language is combined with hashtags and images of national symbols and inspiring images to enhance positive feelings of community. The most commonly used hashtags are shown in Table 12 below, alongside the year they most frequently occur:

Table 12: Most commonly used hashtags

Hashtag	Number of tweets	Total references	Most common year (brackets show tweets in that year of total amount)
#VamosColombia	46	48	2017 (19 / 48)
#Rusia2018	39	39	2018 (24 / 39)
#UnaSolaHinchada	30	50	2016 (50 / 50)
#CreoEnColombia	23	27	2016 (26 / 27)
#TodosConLaTricolor	23	26	2018 (26 / 26)
#ConLaTricolorPuesta	21	22	2017 (14 / 22)
#ColombiaOroYPaz	18	19	2016 (13 / 19)
#VamosMiSelección	14	15	2018 (8 / 17)
#ColombiaFábricaDeCampeones	12	12	2018 (12 / 12)
#MásRecursosMásDeporte	10	17	2016 (17 / 17)
#SíALaPaz	10	14	2016 (14 / 14)
#SíAlMinisterioDeDeporte	10	10	2018 (10 / 10)
#FútbolEnPaz	10	10	2014 (9 / 10)

Table 12 confirms the policy of deliberate, strategic and repeated hashtags. The #FútbolEnPaz hashtag is an anomaly as it was used in 2014 most commonly, but these references appear urging the celebration of football successes in a peaceful manner. The image used with this hashtag is that of the Plan Decenal de Seguridad Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol campaign poster, and this is the only time that the Plan Decenal is referred to, a surprising oversight given the content of the Plan and how it could have been deployed. Returning to the most common hashtags, similar messages of unity, peace, positivity and patriotism prevail, followed by legitimization or campaign messages. Other common hashtags are based on tournaments, which help the searchability of the tweet and its inclusion in common trends, as well as enhancing the chance of the tweet being reported in the press.

Aestheticization of Tweets – Strengthening the Message

More evidence of a cogent strategy of exploiting Twitter’s potential is apparent in more frequent inclusion of different graphics. Table 13 shows how often these visual enhancements occur, which flag the nation through showing national symbols and heroes, subtly reminding readers of their nationality, as well as catching the eye of the audience.

Table 13: Use of images, gifs, videos and emojis in tweets

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Images	0	0	4	7	39	36	132	59	59
Videos	0	0	2	3	10	6	46	19	16
Gifs	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	2	3
Colombian flag emoji	0	0	0	0	0	3	59	27	38
Football emoji	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	6	19
Peace emoji	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	8
Pictures of athletes	0	0	3	5	15	22	72	48	33
Pictures of Santos	0	0	3	7	25	16	39	29	24

There is a tentative start in 2012 to adding images to tweets, regularly showing photos of

athletes alongside Santos,³⁴ but the trend progressed in 2014 and then peaked in 2016, the year of the peace plebiscite, the Olympics, Paralympics and Copa América Centenario. Santos appeared alongside athletes in 78 tweets and in 89 pictures during his Presidency. With the national team, he was pictured in 14 tweets, with 18 pictures. These photos were an attempt at self-legitimation and part of a popularity drive, a common practice for politicians, as Goldlust notes (1987: 124), as well as associating the president and team with the nation through the plethora of flags and badges on the kit and surrounding area. The videos and gifs function similarly. Videos are full of images that symbolically link the *Selección* with Colombians of all ages, male and female, from across the land, alongside recognizable geographical landscapes and monuments and full of national symbols like flags, sombreros vueltiaos and the kit. The music is inspiring, rising to a crescendo as the video progresses and the message is one of a nation symbolized by the *Selección* overcoming adversity to triumph with the support of the whole of Colombia. One example of this follows; both the text of the tweet and accompanying video are full of nation-building intent:

No importa qué tan grandes sean las adversidades, hoy nuestra @FCFSeleccionCol mostrará en la cancha que para los colombianos nada es imposible. Estamos unidos, 50 millones de corazones los estamos apoyando. ¡Vamos #TodosConLaTricolor! (@infopresidencia 10:32am 24 June 2018).

The images show young and old, male and female, rural and urban, traditional and modern, and encompass the diversity of the Colombian nation, united around the passion for the football team. The goals and celebrations of the footballers evoke the fun and happiness of the Colombian nation, and are accompanied by images of all types of Colombians celebrating together. Larraín, when talking about how the footballers' goal dance celebrations in the 2014 World Cup became appropriated as symbolically indicative of a new Colombian national image and brand, commented 'toda estética es política' (2015: 204), and this is very much the case with the aestheticization of the text event. This video and similar ones produced for other important football matches are moments of 'exceptional nationalism' (Giulianotti and Robertson 2009: 58), of a surfeit of potent patriotic imagery designed to stimulate positivity, success and togetherness around a joint footballing and national project.

The Santos communication team obviously had the aestheticization of the discourse event in mind for maximizing impact when he talks about sport and nation. Smith writes that

In many ways, national symbols, customs and ceremonies are the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism. They embody its basic concepts, making them visible and

³⁴ In photo opportunities with the national football team, as a general rule, Santos stood next to either Falcao, James or coach Pékerman, arguably the most popular figures of the *Selección*.

distinct for every member, communicating the tenets of an abstract ideology in palpable, concrete terms that evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community (1991: 77).

Torres confirmed this appeal to emotion, and how speech and images combine towards eliciting a desired response: 'En los discursos del Presidente usábamos las imágenes del fútbol y del deporte como una manera de acudir a la emotividad, a algo que a todos nos une y nos convoca' (personal interview 14 December 2017). National matches become national ceremonies replete with patriotic imagery and are fully exploited via related and timed political discourse. The shirt is charged as the most potent evidence of national unity, and is displayed to maximum effect. Santos himself in these football celebrations always wore either the shirt itself, or at least a tracksuit top. Of this habit, Torres said 'A él le gusta hacerlo, y obviamente cuando se pone su camiseta, lo hace porque también lo hacemos todos los colombianos. Digamos que no es algo estratégico para él, sino que le gusta hacerlo' (ibid). It may not be strategic but it certainly serves a purpose, and at times it also carries a political message. On 9 November 2015, Santos sent a tweet before attending a match showing the shirt he would be wearing:



(@JuanManSantos 3:48pm 8 October 2015)

The shirt could not be used for a more blatant political message. The peace project with the FARC message occupies a symbol seen by many Colombians as apolitical. The white shirt for the Copa América Centenario also became a vessel for a message of peace and politicization, and was worn by Santos in a number of events in 2016 where speeches were given about sport and then associated with national peace. Ceremonial football events were also tweeted about with the text enlivened by image and video, accompanied by affiliation-creating hashtags. Every single detail and way of conveying an idea of 'Colombianness', as Santos perceived it, was

exploited for promoting the inevitability of national togetherness around the football team and the positive imaginaries that the team and each member could elicit. Andermann and Rowe define the image as ‘not solely as representations of cultural history, but as depositories and instruments of power’ (2005: 3) and this is certainly the case of the national football shirt. It is a symbol for ‘encuentros nacionales’ rather than ‘desencuentros nacionales’ with a power to overcome differences and create socialization spaces as well as a representative power. Of course, the deployment of the national shirt towards Santos’ political goals as well as his version of Colombian national identity make the shirt a site for the contestation of identity and message. Smith writes that ‘what we mean by national identity comprises both a cultural and political identity and is located in a political community as well as a cultural one. This is significant because it means that any attempt to forge a national identity is also a political action with political consequences’ (1991: 99). Therefore, there have been political consequences due to Santos footballizing his message and using the shirt to do so. The above image was adapted in a meme by his political opponents, suggesting who Santos was really ‘playing for’ as can be seen below in a tweet:



Football serves as an ‘institución cero’ (Lahud Guedes 1977; Quitián and Watson 2017) which allows itself to be moulded to the needs of any master. Bromberger refers to football’s ‘alta plasticidad hermenéutica’ to describe the same effect (2001: 33), and Hoberman writes that ‘sport functions as an undifferentiated vehicle of self-assertion by the state. The specific form it takes as a culture is inconsequential; that it should serve the greater glory of the state - any state – is the sole criterion for its appropriation and use’ (1984: 1). It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Selección* has been a terrain for countering political and social views, both from ‘legitimate’ political opponents as well as the FARC. Santos, as Villanueva Bustos asserts, ‘absolutamente

futbolizó su campaña de reelección’ (personal interview 7 October 2017) in 2014, but his opponent Zuluaga also displayed his fan credentials. After Colombia’s 3-0 win over Greece in the 2014 World Cup, Santos and Zuluaga (both wearing the Colombian shirt) gave their reactions, eager to gain votes on the day before the election. Santos said ‘Vamos Colombia, tenemos Selección, tenemos como ganar [sic], empezamos con pie derecho el Mundial [...] y mañana va a ganar la paz’, emphasizing his campaign commitment to the peace process. Zuluaga said ‘esta victoria de Colombia nos tiene emocionados y mañana hay que rematar ganando la presidencia’ (*El Espectador* 14 June 2014), like Santos using football metaphors for a political cause.

During the 2016 plebiscite campaign, the shirt was worn to attempt to legitimize the bearer’s message, attempting to show the patriotism of the wearer and the validity of their proposals for the nation. Jaramillo Racines points out: ‘Si uno se pone a ver las manifestaciones de comienzo de año, en febrero [2017], en contra de Santos de la oposición aquí en Colombia, ¿cuál era el distintivo que tenían los uribistas? ¡La camiseta de Colombia!’ (personal interview 3 November 2017).³⁵ The shirt remains an easy icon to politicize for personal and political benefit, though, as Jaramillo Racines argues, it really belongs to no one: ‘prácticamente el ícono de la Selección Colombia es un ícono que nos identifica todos, seamos de derecha, o de izquierda o de centro, ¿sí? O sea, el ícono no es propio de nadie.’ (ibid.). The shirt as a symbolic site for political contest therefore can fracture its unifying power, although it is also the case that the reaction to a politician wearing the shirt can lead to rejection for the cynicism involved in ‘corrupting’ an apolitical symbol. Santos and his communications team were aware of the balancing act in this regard, realizing that the negotiations with the FARC were polarizing the country. Torres described this fine line of deploying sport towards national peace:

Lo que pasa es que al deporte y al fútbol lo vinculamos siempre con el logro final de la paz, con los valores de la paz, con el valor de la unidad, de la solidaridad, de la reconciliación, del trabajo en equipo, pero nunca directamente con el proceso con las FARC, porque sabíamos que sería algo chocante para esa mitad de colombianos que ha estado en desacuerdo con el proceso de paz. Nunca mezclamos FARC y deporte (personal interview 14 December 2017).

The white shirt for the Copa América Centenario may have tipped the balance, however, towards a too overt message in favour of peace; Torres believed that the decision to change the colour of the shirt from the colours of the flag had nothing to do with Santos or the government,

³⁵ The tendency to attempt to link the shirt with political movements has continued since. Iván Duque, who succeeded Santos as president has tweeted pictures of himself in the shirt. Following the Consultation against Corruption vote in August 2018, leaders of the campaign in favour of introducing measures to combat political corruption, Ángelica Lozano and Claudia López, were both wearing the football shirt when the results were announced.

but admits that ‘le pareció muy bien cuando se enteró’ (ibid.), and Santos certainly wore it on the campaign trail in 2016 for approving the peace deal, allying football, personal politics and peace.

The FARC and Football Rhetoric

The FARC also took advantage of the peace process and Santos’s discourse of ‘toda Colombia’ that legitimized the FARC as fans of the *Selección* and invited them to enjoy football as part of the nation. FARC included and validated themselves within the national *mancha amarilla*,³⁶ as Quitián and Watson describe (2017). This was a way in which the FARC could start to ‘re-brand’ itself following years in which it was branded by the state and press as terrorists and an enemy to the nation, part of the ‘Narcolumbia’ imaginary discussed in chapter one. During the conflict, ‘The FARC [could not] brand itself, although it [could] be branded by others – including its sworn enemy’ (Fattal, 2018: 61). Fattal quotes Sergio Marín, the FARC’s director of propaganda and communication who admitted ‘politically and ideologically we have to recognize that they hit us hard, because we had no way of answering the state’s propaganda. They had an open field when it came to political and ideological issues, because they could give a one-sided portrayal’ (Fattal 2016:61). López de la Roche notes that ‘los grandes medios le hicieron el juego también al discurso gubernamental [de Álvaro Uribe] que convertía a las FARC en el enemigo público #1 de los colombianos’ (2015: 9). Taking the opportunity to show themselves as football fans served to humanize themselves as football fans like any other Colombian, caught up in the excitement of the World Cup qualifications and subsequent tournament, with a patriotic pride in the efforts of the *Selección*. During the ongoing peace talks in Havana, FARC leaders and negotiators wore the football shirt when the team were playing and professed their support through press conferences and social media. Following the 3-3 draw against Chile in October 2013 when Colombia secured qualification for the 2014 World Cup, spokesman *alias* Ricardo Téllez declared:

Estamos acá muy contentos por el empate logrado en Barranquilla frente a los bravos araucanos de Chile, país que no se doblegó. Estamos acompañando todo ese jolgorio, esa alegría que hay en Colombia, el deporte une pueblos y naciones (*Semana* 12 October 2013).

³⁶ The Colombian supporters at international games are often referred to as the ‘mancha amarilla’, given the amount of yellow national team replica shirts being worn in the stands.

They also sent an open letter to the *Selección* prior to the Greece match, identifying themselves as fans and the team as a symbol of a united Colombia:

Hemos querido expresarles nuestro reconocimiento, nuestra voz de aliento y deseos de éxito y gloria en la gramilla brasilera. En nombre de los guerrilleros y guerrilleras de las FARC, hoy en diálogo por alcanzar la paz con justicia social para todos, les reiteramos nuestra admiración por cada paso dado en el camino para llegar al Mundial, y elevamos nuestros anhelos por que nuevos triunfos alegren el corazón de cada compatriota. Estaremos con la selección en las buenas y en las malas, acompañándolos hasta el final y deseando que junto al plantel que representa a la Colombia que queremos ver unida, expresando la misma patria que somos, nos la juguemos plenamente por la paz [...] nosotros tenemos el sueño de que el fútbol, dentro de la senda del respeto y la tolerancia, pueda en esta época, brindarnos un momento de regocijo o de entretenimiento que atempere las conciencias y coadyuve a encontrar de mejor manera la senda de la reconciliación (*Diario Registrado* 13 June 2014).

Not only did FARC place themselves within the national 'us' ('la misma patria que somos') but they also expressed their commitment to the peace progress, to social justice, to reconciliation and national unity. This resonated with Santos' ongoing message. The FARC representatives wearing the national shirt was very controversial, with many Colombians refusing to accept them wearing the shirt or imagine the former combatants as being fans like them. It was a gesture that could not easily overcome years of distrust and hatred towards the FARC, a symbolic representation that sat uneasily alongside them on occasion wearing shirts with photos commemorating dead former colleagues (López de la Roche, 2015: 24)

FARC have continued to deploy football since the peace talks. As will be seen in chapter four, football has been a key, and very visual, symbolic socialization space for re-encounter between the FARC, public bodies such as the police and army, and Colombian citizens. Football has been a common activity in the transition camps. Men's and women's matches between FARC and the community gave the FARC a media space to talk about the symbolic nature of football and their reinsertion into the community. Football also serves as a way to outline some of their own political objectives. FARC sports spokesman *alias* Walter Mendoza outlined FARC's vision for football as follows:

El fútbol, sobre todo el fútbol, tiene poder de integrar, la capacidad de integrar a la gente bastante significativa. Pero nosotros queremos ir más allá. Es que no solamente sea una anestesia, un distractor, ni un paraguas para que el Estado esconda los verdaderos problemas que tiene el país [...] Yo, como colombiano, como patriota, pues, uno siente ese nacionalismo, ese amor por la patria, y esos jóvenes [the national team] están representando la patria. Entonces uno también los apoya, uno también dice, pues bueno, es una representación nuestra a nivel mundial, donde nos miran, nos van a ver. Entonces, esas cosas son sentimientos en común, del amor de la patria, y el amor por las fronteras, por el pueblo, pero nosotros pensamos así, ¿no? Pero verdaderamente los que dirigen el

país no piensan así. Piensan únicamente de cómo comercializar y cómo ganar más plata. Nosotros lo pensamos de otra forma (personal interview 11 October 2017).

Mendoza speaks of football helping with Colombia’s ongoing social problems, rather than being an ‘anaesthetic’ or an ‘umbrella’ to hide them. He also confirms the emotions that football generates in Colombia, the national team being an emotive way of inspiring a horizontal imagining of the nation, of Colombians united in love of their country by their football team. He, like Santos, recognizes the national team and football as a shared symbol in a nation without other binding symbols. This acknowledgement explains why football was part of Santos’ ‘un solo país’ narrative and why it became a common symbolic representation of reintegration in the FARC demobilization camps, an acceptable and recognized symbol and practice for all sides.

Most common Tweet Topics

Returning to Twitter analysis, the results shown by the most common nodes mentioned in the tweets are similar to those from the speeches. If we group the results into categories, they would fall into legitimation, justification and empowering of sport and its deployment, as with the speeches, but then also tweets giving information and reaction. There is less of a trend to justify sport given the restricted length of tweets (these comments do still appear in embedded videos), and more tweets that react to a goal scored, or the end of the match, with messages of congratulation, happiness and gratitude. The most common tweet nodes, in terms of the number of sources in which they appear and the total number of references, can be seen below in Table 14 (the full results can be seen in Appendix 6).

Table 14: Most common tweet nodes in sources and total references (image-related nodes not included)

Node	Number of sources	Number of references
National men’s team	381	514
‘Nuestro’ use	168	322
National symbol or ceremony	163	205
Todos	148	174
Support	130	143

Peace and sport	127	194
Unity	111	136
Congratulations	111	115
Pride and optimism	104	112
Gratitude	95	114
Olympic games	80	98
Hosting and support for tournaments	74	85
Non-football sporting triumph	68	88
World Cup Russia	65	75
Positive face of Colombia	63	67

The national team receive by far the most references, though it should be noted again that tweets related to other specific sports were not included. The leading players, Falcao and James, are regularly referenced (58 and 62 references respectively), as is the coach Pékerman (46 mentions). Team, players and coach can all be deployed as examples, ambassadors and heroes of the nation as we have already seen (there are 56 references to 'Examples and heroes', and 41 references to 'Ambassadors or representing'). 163 tweets include references to or images of national symbols or ceremonies. These tweets include reports, pictures and videos of ceremonies involving Santos and the presence of symbols such as the national flag, shield or shirt. Emojis of the national flag were not added to this count, so the incidence of 'flagging' in tweets is more common. As with the speech results, many tweets include notions of togetherness and community creation, notably 'nuestro use', 'todos', and 'unity' and 'support' can also be put alongside these themes, as often references to support were calls for everyone to support the national team, or affirmations that everyone is supporting the national team. The nodes of 'unity' and 'peace and sport' are again among the most common, showing how sport is directed towards addressing national prerogatives. As with the speech results, sport is deployed towards creating positive emotions and associating these feelings with similar feelings about the nation. In addition to the high amount of mentions of 'Pride and optimism', 'Positive face of Colombia' and messages of 'Congratulations' and 'Gratitude', other regular nodes appearing were 'Dream' (61 references), 'Making history' (54 references), 'Fun and fiesta' (45 references). Post-match reactions also included 35 mentions of 'Excitement', and 66 for 'Happy'.

Government Self-Legitimation in Tweets

Apart from using football matches and other sporting successes to join the conversation and insinuate political messages into the online community, Twitter was a medium for legitimation of the government's commitment to sport. These tweets also occurred regularly as Table 15 demonstrates.

Table 15: Tweet mentions legitimizing the Santos government

Nodes	Number of sources	Total number of references
Hosting and support for tournaments	74	85
Government support for sport	55	67
Infrastructure	50	72
Supérate	49	59
Campaigns	44	60
Coldeportes	33	39
Budget	28	37
Legislation	25	26
Finding new talent	18	21
Ministry of Sport	15	18
Rewards	12	13

The regular appearance of comments about budget increases, infrastructure projects and political campaigns show a government in action. These tweets confirming the government's commitment to sport are also accompanied by pictures and videos with extra statistics and visual images, and according to the results, unsurprisingly, are most common in 2014 (the re-election year) and in his last year of government to assure a positive legacy. Of the 55 sources where 'Government support for sport' is mentioned, 18 occur in 2014, and 22 from August 2017 to July 2018. Towards the end of his second term, the following tweet is a perfect example where sport was positioned towards creating unity and positive feelings of a nation advancing, and where governmental contribution to success was outlined. There was also a promotional hashtag and a video embedded to give further information about budget, infrastructure projects and sporting success:

El deporte nos une y nos llena de alegrías. Con mejores escenarios, formación y presupuesto seguimos fortaleciendo este sector. Los invito a conocer cómo en estos 8 años hemos contribuido para hacer de #ColombiaFábricaDeCampeones <https://goo.gl/8chSDC> (@JuanManSantos 2:42pm 24 May 2018).

The @infopresidencia account in the same period promoted the same statistics about budget, infrastructure projects, and success achieved, using the same hashtag and emojis of gold medals and the Colombian flag to link success and national symbol.

¡Nuestros deportistas valen oro! Por eso nos propusimos hacer de #ColombiaFábricaDeCampeones, invirtiendo en más y mejores escenarios para formar ganadores. Más detalles aquí: <https://goo.gl/9MTncg>



nfopresidencia 1:43pm 8 June 2018)

When infrastructure projects were inaugurated by Santos, they also provided opportunities for tweets linking sport and social benefit, as well as demonstrating a commitment to providing facilities across the country and establishing a state presence. Here are two examples, both from 2015:

‘Los jóvenes de Meta tienen más bienestar y oportunidades con la inversión en 4 nuevas obras de infraestructura para el deporte’ (@infopresidencia 1:30pm 19 April 2015).

‘Entregamos Complejo Deportivo “La Independencia” #Buenaventura. Beneficiará 16000 personas que con deporte harán paz’ (@JuanManSantos 6:19pm, 12 November 2015).

Similar processes occur when promoting legislation designed to improve sport and country. When Law 1445, the so-called ‘Ley del deporte’ was approved (discussed in the next chapter), tweets were posted to promote peace in football and strengthen the sport for national benefit, as we can see from these examples:

‘Hagamos que el fútbol, que ha sido nuestro deporte bandera, se fortalezca’ (@JuanManSantos 2:47pm, 12 March 2011).

‘Acabo de sancionar Ley del Deporte. Espero que el fútbol salga adelante. Los invito a hacer deporte, la mejor forma de tener salud’ (@JuanManSantos 2:54 12 May 2011).

‘Con Ley del Deporte vamos a hacernos grandes en el mundo deportivo. Colombianos los invito a hacer deporte’ (@JuanManSantos 5:50pm 24 May 2011).

Even in these short tweets, there is an attempt to propose sport towards national benefit through legislation.

The benefits of sport for individuals and society were a regular topic, as sport was instrumentalized towards perceived problems of Colombian society, as well as showing Colombia in a positive light to improve its image. In Table 16, we can see the results for these types of nodes:

Table 16: Tweets referring to sport benefits for Colombian society and individuals

Nodes	Number of sources	Total number of references
Peace and sport	127	194
Unity	111	136
Pride and optimism	104	112
Positive face of Colombia	63	67
Dream	56	61
Benefits for youth	48	57
Discipline / hard work etc.	46	48
Education	30	35
Overcome adversity	28	31
Colombian characteristics	26	28
Benefits for Colombia	25	26
Bringing people together / team work	21	25
Self-belief	11	12
Opportunities	10	10
Less crime and vice	8	9
Fair play	6	6

The tendency is very similar to the results with speeches. Peace and unity are the most common topics, a sense of positivity and pride is engendered, and adversity can be overcome by hard work and togetherness to lead to a new country and future. The *Selección* is regularly associated with these benefits for society, and most obviously during the mega-events of the World Cup. The tweets during the World Cup and other social media interventions were a significant part of a concerted campaign to create a national collective around the football team, adding to other media and commercial processes also exploiting the tournament in Brazil, as Roa Vargas and Salcedo Rodríguez note:

El uso de las tecnologías, de la información, fueron mediadoras directas para la construcción de una comunidad de sentido, e independiente de que sus razones sean comerciales, de entretenimiento a ambas, aquellas reprodujeron y exaltaron una forma específica de imaginar la nación (2014: 47).

During the 2014 World Cup, each win provided another moment for Santos to broadcast short celebratory messages, that instilled positivity, built national self-confidence, extolled ‘Colombian’ virtues, and unified the nation. Several also included pictures of Santos celebrating in the national shirt. Here is a tweet sample across the period of Colombia’s participation showing how Santos’ message was conveyed:

‘Colombia unida jamás será vencida! #VamosColombia #TodosPorLaPaz (@JuanManSantos 7:01pm 14 June 2014).

‘47 millones de colombianos apoyando a nuestra selección, símbolo de unidad, la unidad que necesitamos en todos los frentes ¡Vamos Colombia! (@JuanManSantos 4:32pm 19 June 2014).

‘Hoy estaremos viendo a nuestra Selección con cadetes de @armadacolombia. Todos unidos apoyando a la Selección. ¡Vamos a Colombia! (@JuanManSantos 8:10pm 28 June 2014).

‘Vamos @FCFSeleccionCol!!! Los corazones de todos los colombianos están con ustedes, disfrutando y celebrando en paz!!! (@JuanManSantos 8:01pm 4 July 2014).

‘Gracias mi selección! Gracias por mostrarnos hasta dónde podemos llegar cuando trabajamos juntos en paz’ [message on accompanying video, words spoken by anonymous voiceover artist] ‘Gracias por convertirnos en una sola familia, gracias por mostrarnos que se puede soñar, gracias por demostrarle al mundo de qué estamos hechos, por enseñarnos lo que se puede lograr cuando trabajamos juntos. Gracias mi selección. Por dejar nuestro nombre en alto. Gracias. Porque más allá de un resultado ustedes le han mostrado al mundo y a nosotros mismos hasta donde uno puede llegar cuando trabajamos juntos en paz. Gracias. Por eso la Presidencia de la República se suma a los 47 millones de colombianos para decirles gracias.’ (@JuanManSantos 4:34pm 5 July 2014).

‘Muchas gracias al profe Pékerman y a su equipo técnico, nos recordaron cómo juega Colombia e importancia de soñar [accompanied by photo of Santos in the national shirt with Pékerman] (@JuanManSantos 9:25pm, 6 July 2014).’

As we can see from this series of selected tweets, Santos speaks for the whole nation, placing the country behind the *Selección* in a united front of support. Their achievements show what can be achieved with unity, including the aim of peace. These messages by Santos were supported and re-transmitted by the @infopresidencia account:

‘Nuestra selección se encarga de mostrar #lobuenodeColombia en la cancha’ (@infopresidencia 9:00am 22 June 2014).

‘El mundo admira a Colombia gracias a su Selección’ (@infopresidencia 4:18pm 4 July 2014).

The football team was a representation of how Santos wanted the nation to be recognized. It is the nation’s calling card to the world. The message then becomes one that Colombia can overcome other obstacles to achieve other goals through similar qualities shown by the national team. Torres confirmed this tactic:

La excelente campaña de la Selección Colombia nos sirvió como metáfora para mostrar la capacidad de transformación y de éxito del país. El mensaje es este: si los muchachos de la Selección han sido capaces de llegar lejos, también todos los colombianos somos capaces de alcanzar grandes metas; si ellos pueden jugar en los mejores equipos a nivel mundial y están produciendo resultados, los colombianos también podemos soñar alto y competir con los mejores; podemos lograr la paz, y podemos lograr el progreso, y podemos lograr tener una buena infraestructura, y podemos ponernos metas ambiciosas, como ser el país más educado de América Latina para el año 2025 o erradicar la pobreza extrema para el año 2020. El deporte siempre nos sirve para mostrar de qué estamos hechos los colombianos, que tenemos potencial y credibilidad para lograr lo que queremos (personal interview 14 December 2017).

Santos underlined this succinctly in a tweet after the 3-3 draw against Chile when Colombia qualified for the World Cup, writing ‘La @FCFSeleccionCol nos ha demostrado lo que es Colombia, se crece en la adversidad y unida logra sus objetivos’ (@JuanManSantos 1:37am 12 October 2013).

The 2018 World Cup saw the same tactics, the football team presented as metonymic of Colombia. The same messages of unity and positivity stand out, and were enhanced by images, photos and videos, strengthening the emotive quality of the text and affiliative effect. Some of the pictures that best illustrate this are below:



(@infopresidencia 10:17am 3 July 2018). A message of unity, a nation moving forward, symbolized by footballers celebrating together and enhanced by the backdrop of the flag, the colours of which we can see in each of the following images too.



(@infopresidencia, 11:49pm 11 June 2018). A message of unity, solidarity and helping each other, around a football metaphor of the number 10 shirt (the playmaker of the team) giving opportunities to others.



(@infopresidencia 11:10am 18 June 2018). With this image, Falcao, playing in the World Cup after missing 2014 due to injury, symbolizes the ability to overcome adversity.



(@infopresidencia 6:10am 28 June 2018). Here the main players are associated with Colombian characteristics, and readers are asked with which player they most associate their mood.



(@infopresidencia 6:29pm 28 June 2018). Another message of a Colombia united behind the team, with the same dream.

All the above images were accompanied by the tweet text, including hashtags and emojis as well as emotive language; all elements combine to create a formidable cocktail of ambient affiliation that empowers the *Selección* as the representation of a united nation, and of a nation united as one behind their representatives. The national team is the principal operator of the notion of ‘un solo país’ (Qutián and Watson 2017) most promoted in 2016 with the slogan ‘Un Solo País #Una Sola Hinchada’. Even after Colombia’s defeat on penalties to England in the second round, in a bad tempered and ill-disciplined match, any criticism of the team was avoided. The footballers, after all, are some of the few heroes that Colombia has with greater convening authority and capacity that politicians cannot rival. Santos simply chose to congratulate the team for a blameless World Cup campaign with the following tweet ‘Siempre estaremos orgullosos de nuestra @FCFSeleccionCol. ¡Gracias!’ including a Colombian flag emoji and then the following picture, which best concludes how Santos sees the national team serving Colombia as a whole, as a force for unity, patriotism, celebration, optimism, self and national confidence, pride and improving the image of Colombia.



(@JuanManSantos 5:36pm 3 July 2018).

Talking and Tweeting about Women's Football

The majority of this chapter has focused on how the men's team was used. To what extent has women's football and, in particular, the *Selección Femenina* been deployed for a similar purpose? After all, Hobsbawm speaks of 'eleven people', not eleven men, making the nation seem more real as a football team (1990: 148). Several female athletes were regularly extolled as examples and ambassadors of the nation, most notably the BMX cyclist Mariana Pajón and triple jumper Caterine Ibargüen. Pajón is mentioned in 17 speeches and is referenced 33 times and Ibargüen in 16 speeches. Both have had speeches dedicated to them and Pajón has had a BMX facility built in her honour. Are the women's football team cited as regularly, or as the male football team? After all, during the Santos presidency they were runners up in the Copa América in 2010 and 2014 and came 4th in 2018, were runners up in the Panamerican Games in 2015 and 4th in 2011, and qualified for the World Cup in 2011 (knocked out in the group stage) and in 2015 (out in the second round). They also qualified for the Olympics in both 2012 and 2016. Their record is not dissimilar to the men's team who, for instance, have a best of 3rd place in the Copa América in the three tournaments during Santos' presidency and only qualified for the Olympics in 2016, reaching the quarterfinals.

The answer is no, as a look at the amount of mentions and references reveals. The women's national team are only mentioned in four speeches, once in 2010 and on three occasions in 2013. All the 2013 mentions congratulate the indoor football team who were World Champions in Barrancabermeja. Only in 2010 does Santos ever refer to the full national side, in the 'Deportista del Año' ceremony after four months in office. He said:

Por otro lado, un segundo motivo de enorme felicidad este año fueron nuestras corajudas jugadoras de fútbol. ¡Nos han dado una gran lección a los hombres! Son un grupo de lindas jovencitas que han demostrado una valiosa madurez deportiva y verdadero sentido de patria, representándonos con excelentes resultados a nivel mundial (*Presidencia de la República* 1 December 2010).

Although certain linguistic themes used for the national men's team appear here - use of 'nuestras', references to happiness, the team representing the nation on a world stage - the phrase 'lindas jovencitas' stands out. The diminutive form is never used for the men, nor are they ever praised for being good looking. Santos falls back on praising female beauty rather than footballing ability, lapsing into traditional ways in which Colombian women represent the nation, most famously through the hundreds of beauty contests in Colombia and the global Miss Universe contest. Bolívar has argued that these beauty contests have long been a site for the construction of national imaginaries: 'el Reinado Nacional de Belleza opera como espacio de producción de representaciones de lo nacional a través de la atribución de valores específicos a las mujeres y grupos sociales que participan en ellos' (Bolívar 2007: 72).

Women's football was referred to slightly more frequently on Twitter. There were 17 tweets in total with 21 references. Several of these, however, related to the indoor football team and the U17 team. Of these, ten tweets come from the @infopresidencia account, and seven from @JuanManSantos, though the last time the Santos account does so is in June 2015. For three years Santos did not comment on the *Selección Femenina's* efforts or performances, despite their appearances in international tournaments. He only took interest during the 2015 World Cup, when he tweeted:

'Hoy nuestra @FCFSeleccionCol [same tweet handle for both men and women] lleva a lo más alto nuestra bandera, las superpoderosas se enfrentan a Inglaterra. ¡A ganar!' (@JuanManSantos 9:23pm 17 June 2015).

'Felicitaciones a las superpoderosas de la @FCFSeleccionCol. Memorable actuación en la @FIFAWWC llegando a octavos. ¡Estamos orgullosos!' (@JuanManSantos 3:05am 23 June 2015).

These are the only two tweets about that tournament, none celebrating the win against France, nor the draw with Mexico. There were none before the tournament empowering the women's

team as representative of the whole nation, or saying that all Colombia was supporting them as occurred before every men's tournament. They were not welcomed to the Casa de Nariño to be given the flag as ambassadors of the nation carrying the hopes of Colombians on their shoulders. Over the eight years of government, there are very few tweets wishing them luck, celebrating goals scored, or congratulating them on victories, something that practically always occurred when the men's team were playing. Santos did not tweet at all about them during the 2016 Olympics or 2018 Copa América. Clearly, in Santos' eyes at least, they were not as powerful a symbol as the men's team and did not have the same convening power to construct nation nor create powerful affiliative emotions. The assumption is that not enough Colombians are as interested, and a vicious circle is apparent. We can conclude that, if speeches and tweets are a good indicator of priorities of whom Santos determines as most potently representing his national project through sport, then women are not part of this nation-building project conducted through football. The men's team are charged with the task, and the women's team is almost ignored for this purpose. Once again, the forging of a nation's identity, as is often the case in the patriarchal Latin American societies, is framed around masculine examples.

Conclusion: Talking a Good Game?

This chapter has shown that discourse on football was a consistent strategy used to support Santos' political priorities. Through sporting success, especially in times of mega-events, feelings of national positivity, optimism and self-esteem were engendered and bolstered as the nation, in its entirety, was symbolically placed as a united collective behind the nation's sporting representatives, who are portrayed as national ambassadors, examples and heroes. Santos used these broadcasts to legitimize and earn support for his government, justify and empower the use of sport for social and national benefit, deploy sport towards that end, as well as react to sporting triumphs achieved. Through continuous and repeated references to unity through sport, and most regularly and successfully through the men's national team, Santos attempted to build a greater Colombian togetherness which related to political projects at key occasions, namely his re-election in 2014 and the plebiscite to ratify the peace agreement with the FARC. Football was not a sporadically used tool, only useful during a World Cup, as was the case in Argentina in 1978, or in other cases when a national team gained some success. Santos seized every national team match, recognizing the national ritual that they have become, as a chance to contribute to and lead the celebration of Colombianness. The emotivism of these events and exceptional nationalism stimulated by the flags, national shirts and deluge of media reporting of the football

event was increasingly effectively exploited in speech and tweet to facilitate affiliative processes and develop socialization spaces, attempting, subtly, to insinuate messages of national peace. This is a different rhetorical message delivered through sport than those discursive sporting nationalism projects in Brazil or Argentina under Médici, Perón or the military dictatorship. In the same way as the area around the speech is populated by national symbols, or people who can stimulate feelings of recognition and loyalty (like football stars Falcao or James Rodríguez), tweets have been aesthetically enhanced to enhance affiliative feelings and ‘flag’ the nation more thoroughly. Although female athletes were also deployed as representative unifying figures, Santos turned most regularly to the men’s football team as agent *par excellence* for this discursive unifying project, failing to acknowledge the potential of the women’s team to perform a similar role. Although he has attempted not to take total possession of responsibility for sport success, it has still been a source for legitimizing tactics to promote his financial, legislative and structural support for sport, although, curiously, certain legislative achievements, such as the PDSCCF, were forgotten. This, and the politicizing of the football shirt, has meant that football, and the shirt above all, became another symbolic battleground in the polarizing debate about Colombia’s future. Schlesinger writes that ‘the national culture constitutes an inescapable reference point, but it does not resolve all of the problems of collective identity. What it does do is to constitute the boundaries for *versions* of national identity’ (1987: 244); this is certainly the case with the Colombian national team as an unescapable cultural entity given the media frenzy around national matches. Those against the peace deal contested the version of national identity through the national team promoted by Santos as a point where all Colombians were included, most problematically the FARC. Those in opposition wore the shirt to validate an alternative version of Colombia and Colombian identity and who is included in the ‘us’ group, leading to a shirt that previously ‘belonged’ to the people and not to a political project becoming a contested site of meaning.

Football, as an ‘*institución cero*’ (Lahud Guedes 1977), can work for any political project and represent any desired meaning; Santos, through all available communication channels, positioned the national team as a metonymic image of Colombia. He attempted to ‘fill’ the national football team with his message, primarily to Colombians, but also to an international audience, of Colombia moving away from a divided and violent past, towards a more optimistic, peaceful and united national future. This consistent discourse strategy also facilitated the use of football in government SDP programmes towards achieving these aims, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: 'La ruta de acción': Football-Specific Legislation and Public Policy

Introduction

This chapter examines the football-specific laws, public policies and consultation documents that were introduced during Santos' presidency. The aim is to examine to what extent this legislation has been employed as part of a deliberate and strategic deployment of football towards nation-building in Colombia, accompanying the rhetoric analysed in the previous chapter and SDP projects and whether legislative aims resonate with these; the course of football legislation will be charted from initial attempts to deal with the problem of fan violence in and around the male professional game to the scope expanding to officialize football as a tool for social development and community transformation. This chapter argues that this scope widened under Santos' government. Although the three 'pillars' of pre-Santos football-specific legislation were 'security', 'comfort' and 'coexistence', and these laws did acknowledge bottom-up processes of community building conducted by organized football fan groups, the focus of the legislation was on security and managing the match day experience. The emphasis was on regulating behaviour and reducing the violence in and around stadiums, rather than using football as a nodal convening point of encounter to include and listen to those who felt marginalized or 'othered' due to political or media representations of the violence around football and in society more widely. There was less awareness and focus on how football could reach back out to the communities from the stadiums in order to have a transformative effect. Under Santos, the tone and content of the legislation, and the processes behind the construction of public policy documents, shifted towards expanding football's role as a place for encounter for top-down and bottom-up nation and community building processes. This is what makes the legislation significant for this thesis: the laws and public policies related to football that were introduced under Santos envisioned a much more significant role for football in the country and endowed it with nation-building capacity. The Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol 2014-2024 (henceforth the PDSCCF), the culmination of the football-specific legislation analysed in this chapter, is a groundbreaking public policy in this respect. It built upon pre-existing laws and decrees around professional football, put coexistence at the forefront of the policy, and articulated objectives and specified processes that made football at both the professional and recreational level a tool targeting addressing social problems that have fractured Colombian society. These social problems include integrating those from vulnerable and peripheral groups

and teaching citizen rights and promoting certain behaviours to reduce the likelihood of violence or succumbing to vice or crime, issues which problematize the strength of an inclusive national identity and concept of a united nation. It is this aspect of the legislation and public policies that complements presidential discourse about football, the shift towards strengthening sport's social development role and greater implementation of SDP campaigns through various ministries and administrative departments. Football's role as a unifying and developmental symbol and activity was officialized by state policy under Santos, unlike many other instances when football has only been championed rhetorically as a source of national unity and national identity.

This legislation has fitted in with Santos' three-pronged strategy of nation-building through football, also involving official rhetoric in speeches and tweets and football-based SDP campaigns. This 'footballizing' of Colombian politics and society complemented the ongoing peace negotiations with the FARC and plans for the post-conflict scenario. As was demonstrated in the first chapter, historically, football has only been 'spoken' about in terms of strengthening a sense of 'Colombianness' against a Narcolombia 'other' that excluded Colombians entangled by location or circumstance in this peripheral group linked to antistate actors, criminality, violence or subversion. Members of football fan groups (*barras*) have found themselves included in this othered group, due to media reports of fan violence and associations with criminality and delinquency. These representations weakened football as a positive unifying national symbol. Under Santos, as evidenced in the previous chapter, the national 'us' he spoke about through football reached out to include those previously othered, and the spoken word was strengthened by legislative processes, and, most crucially, by concrete actions.

This chapter investigates what aspects of the laws and public policies impact on nation-building, looking, for instance, at how often marginalized Colombians, such as *barra* members, have had their citizenship theoretically activated by the legislation. Through legislation aimed at improving security, comfort and coexistence at football stadiums, there was an attempt to recast professional football matches as a time and space for socialization and for inclusion, rather than as an all-too visual representation of divisive partisan regional or city loyalties expressed by violent acts. It will also consider to what extent the legislation has been successfully implemented and the objectives realized; are the often very ambitious and groundbreaking policies and aims being achieved and are Colombians of different *estratos sociales*, races, genders, regions and politics benefitting? And, therefore, is the legislation contributing to nation-building in an effective manner?

The legislation and public policies referred to in this chapter are detailed in Table 17 below. A number of these laws were in place before Santos assumed the Presidency on 7 August 2010. Therefore, it is important to evaluate to what extent the legislation enacted during his mandate either continued a process that commenced under the presidency of Álvaro Uribe, or whether focus shifted or evolved to align with the policies of the Santos government, which saw football, as a symbol and activity, propitious for exploiting to aid the imagining of a more inclusive and united national community. Under both Uribe and Santos ‘la seguridad ha predominado como discurso de garantía de la convivencia ciudadana’ (Puentes Sánchez 2015: 242), but their methods and rhetoric were very different. Uribe pursued a harder line regarding the nation’s security, particularly in the fight against the FARC. He sought to exclude, delegitimize or marginalize those supporting them from the national community. Santos promoted a more inclusive and integrative national concept, characterized by the peace process. This chapter investigates how football-specific legislation contributed to this process, particularly regarding security and coexistence and how it positioned football as a potentially significant tool in a post-peace agreement nation. It argues that under Santos, both professional and recreational football were harnessed and applied to enduring social and political issues (for instance citizen inclusion/exclusion, integration and reconciliation, peace and violence) in a more calculated manner with legislation supporting the discourse. Football was ‘officialized’ as a practice that takes on nation-building and national identity construction tasks, aiding other institutions with a similar role. Santos, adroitly, realised that ‘el fútbol, como deporte, sigue posibilitando el encuentro de los colombianos’ (Coldeportes 2013: 9) and that therefore it had a lot of untapped potential. In the *Barras Construyendo País* report, which documents a consultation carried out by Coldeportes amongst football fans, conducted in 2013, two features of nation-building are highlighted that football can address: coexistence and activating citizenship. The report also recognizes the unifying power of national football and football as an activity and spectator sport: ‘en los términos de un escenario de convivencia y para la vivencia plena de la ciudadanía, no existe un lugar que congrege más público, ninguna camiseta que logre unir como la camiseta del combinado nacional’ (Coldeportes 2013: 72). This chapter examines how this potential was enabled by legislation.

Table 17: Legislation, public policies and consultations related to football considered in this chapter

Date	Law Number (national unless stated)	Name
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Prior to Santos Government		
18/1/1995	Ley 181	“Por el cual se dictan disposiciones para el fomento del deporte, la recreación, el aprovechamiento del tiempo libre y la Educación Física y se crea el Sistema Nacional del Deporte”
31/5/2004	Decreto 164 (by Alcalde Mayor de Bogotá)	“Por el cual se crea el Comité de Seguridad y Convivencia para los Espectáculos de Fútbol “Goles en Paz””
2009	N/A	Plan Decenal del Deporte, la Recreación, la Educación Física, para el Desarrollo Humano, la Convivencia y la Paz 2009-2019
5/1/2009	Ley 1270	“Por la cual se crea la Comisión Nacional para la Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol y se dictan otras disposiciones”
15/4/2009	Decreto 1267	“Por el cual se reglamenta el artículo 7 de la ley 1270 de 2009”
23/11/2009	Ley 1356	“Por medio de la cual se expide la ley de seguridad en eventos deportivos”
19/5/2010	Decreto 1717	“Por el cual se adopta el Protocolo para la Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol y se dictan otras disposiciones”
Under Santos Government (August 2010 – August 2018)		
12/5/2011	Ley 1445	“Por medio de las cuales se modifica la ley 181 de 1995, las disposiciones que resulten contrarias y se dictan otras disposiciones en relación con el deporte profesional” (widely known as Ley del Fútbol)
24/6/2011	Ley 1453	“Por medio de la cual se reforma el código penal, el código de procedimiento penal, el código de infancia y adolescencia, las reglas sobre extinción de dominio y se dictan otras disposiciones en materia de seguridad”
3/11/2011	Decreto 4183	“Por el cual se transforma al Instituto Colombiano del Deporte, COLDEPORTES, establecimiento público del orden nacional en el Departamento Administrativo del Deporte, la Recreación, la Actividad Física y el Aprovechamiento del Tiempo Libre, COLDEPORTES, y se determinan su objetivo, estructura y funciones”
18/1/2012	Decreto 0079	“Por el cual se reglamentan las Leyes 1445 y 1453 de 2011”
16/5/2012	Decreto 1007	“Por el cual se expide el Estatuto al Aficionado en Colombia”
2013	N/A	Barras Construyendo País
2014	N/A	El Poder del Fútbol
June 2014	N/A	Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol 2014-2024
<i>Proposed to Congress</i> 3/4/2018		“Por la cual se transforma el Departamento Administrativo del deporte, la recreación, la actividad física y el aprovechamiento del tiempo libre – Coldeportes en el Ministerio del Deporte”

A Greater Role for Coldeportes

A significant first step taken by Santos to give sport a greater role in politics and society was to convert Coldeportes into an administrative department, a decision ratified by Decree 4183 in November 2011. Hitherto, Coldeportes was under the auspices of the Education Ministry, having

previously been part of the Culture Ministry. This promotion meant Coldeportes became an independent institution wielding similar powers to full Ministries with its own defined budget. Additionally, the directors of Coldeportes during the Santos presidency - Jairo Clopatofsky (2010-2012), Andrés Botero (2012-2016) and Clara Luz Roldán (2016-2018) - had a seat in Santos' cabinet and therefore had a say in the wider decision-making processes of government. This had never happened previously; Torres stated that Coldeportes were accorded this position because Santos 'considera el deporte como una actividad transversal a muchas otras gestiones del gobierno' (personal interview 14 December 2017). In October 2017, Santos sought to empower Coldeportes by proposing to make it a full Ministry; the first version of the decree to approve this was introduced to Congress on 3 April 2018. Should this come into effect, according to the office of Afranio Restrepo, 'se fortalecería el sector dándole mayor peso y capacidad política y abriendo el camino para futuras reformas en pro de su mejora' (personal communication 31 January 2018).³⁷ With this increased role, Coldeportes can expect to exercise a more prominent role and work with other Ministries with, theoretically, greater ease.

Coldeportes, as established by Law 181 of 1995 when the National System of Sport was created, should 'coordinar, articular, descentralizar e implementar las políticas públicas del deporte, la recreación, la educación física y la actividad física en el país, (Coldeportes 2009: 20) and has several responsibilities which have a direct impact on nation-building. Firstly, in article 52 of the 1991 Colombian constitution, the rights of citizens for sport, recreation, physical education and physical activity are established:

El ejercicio del deporte, sus manifestaciones recreativas, competitivas y autóctonas tienen como función la formación integral de las personas, preservar y desarrollar una mejor salud en el ser humano. El deporte y la recreación forman parte de la educación y constituyen gasto público social. Se reconoce el derecho de todas las personas a la recreación, a la práctica del deporte y al aprovechamiento del tiempo libre (Coldeportes 2009: 20).

Coldeportes must guarantee that all Colombians have the chance to participate in sport, recreation or physical education, and have access to suitable infrastructure, equipment and opportunities. The provision of these is often lacking in rural and peripheral regions, where the state has often been absent, and particularly in Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities. The lack of these facilities, or their uneven spread across the national territory, leads to sentiments of exclusion. As Smith discusses, states that fail to provide equal civil, legal and political rights to all citizens can struggle to include those disenfranchised within the *patria* (1991:10). 'Walter Mendoza, the sports spokesperson for the FARC, said that they had assumed

³⁷ Coldeportes became a full Ministry on 13 June 2019

responsibility to provide facilities in areas under their jurisdiction during the conflict: ‘Las FARC construimos no solo canchas deportivas, nos armamos a construir escuelas, los centros de salud, puentes, carreteras, caminos’ (personal interview 11 October 2017). It is noteworthy that FARC considered the building of sporting facilities to be of similar importance to schools and health centres for communities. FARC were also aware of ‘hearts and minds’ priorities to gain support in communities where the state was absent; providing basic human needs, such as education and health provision, as well as leisure and sport facilities, contests the hegemony of the state as well as creating loyalties towards those providing citizen requirements.

A second responsibility involves Coldeportes locating and developing sporting talent to represent Colombia. As has been discussed previously, sporting success and heroes can serve for nation-building, generating shared feelings of pride, a positive image of the nation through its sporting representatives. These successes and heroes are often exploited by politicians to evidence supposed national positive characteristics to inspire the nation’s citizens, a tactic Santos fully exploited as was shown in the previous chapter. These feelings of pride extend to all Colombians, hence why national football team matches became potent venues of mutual recognition and inclusion in the FARC demobilization camps after the signing of the peace agreement, which will be explored further in chapter four.

Thirdly, the Deporte Social Comunitario department within Coldeportes had its profile raised, especially given the potential post-conflict scenario raised by the peace talks with the FARC. This department has amongst its responsibilities to promote the use of sport towards social development and transformation. It is this department that has been in charge of the project to send sport, recreation, physical education and physical activity coaches to the Zonas Veredales Transitorias de Normalización (ZVTNs), later renamed the Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación (ETCRs), discussed in detail in chapter four.

Gisela Gómez, a contractor in the Deporte Social Comunitario department, highlighted the modifications that Coldeportes has had to make following first its conversion to be an administrative department, and potentially to a full Ministry, highlighting the role of finding talent and also generating social development and transformation through sport:

Uno es el deporte local comunitario más allá de la pretensión de identificar estrellas o personas con un alto talento en algún deporte. Más que, digamos, cazatalentos, para denominarlo de alguna manera, lo que trasciende es el ámbito de lograr, fortalecer, construir tejido social a partir del deporte. El deporte en este caso sí es un mecanismo o un dispositivo que nos permite afincar valores, por ejemplo, la solidaridad, el respeto, la tolerancia, principalmente en estos casos de transición de población en transición a la vida

civil [...] Ahora el deporte social comunitario sí tiene la pretensión, no sé si es un tanto ambicioso, pero, sí más que lograr una persona o un muy buen colombiano, es lograr generar como una reflexión, generar lazos, fortalecer tejido social a través del deporte (personal interview 10 November 2017).

There is a clear nation-building perspective here that corresponds to Santos's vision for how sport should function in Colombia, in terms of developing community feelings of solidarity, tolerance and respect, and creating good citizens. In addition, playing sport is a daily activity that generates social encounters; Billig argues that 'an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life' (1995: 7) and these popular recreational habits have been damaged by the Colombian conflict. Sánchez argues that violence(s) has become so embedded that streets 'have become landscapes of fear' and 'violence has destroyed civic traditions that now must be reinvented' (2001: 14). Sport, and football more than most, can rebuild some of these practices as a normalization of recreational activity strengthens community ties.

Violence in Colombian Football and the Need for Legislation

Legislation directed at attempting to resolve the violence within Colombian club football predates the Santos regime. It is, therefore, important to establish the football background to explain the context of the legislation and policies that have been enacted, as well as to discuss the top-down and bottom-up processes that have influenced the shape and focus of these laws.

Colombian football at the end of the 1990s and in the first decade of the twenty-first century had become a tarnished symbol for two principal reasons: 1) corruption and money laundering linked to involvement in football by criminal organizations such as drug cartels and paramilitary organizations and 2) the growing violence in and around stadiums between and within *barras*. Chapter one discussed how the image of the national team became sullied as links to cartels were exposed. The murder of Andrés Escobar after the World Cup in 1994 was a watershed moment, but other events such as the murder of referee Álvaro Ortega in 1989 and goalkeeper René Higuita visiting Pablo Escobar when he was detained in La Catedral prison, meant that professional football in Colombia, and by extension the national team, was associated with criminality, thus becoming part of the 'Narcolombia' 'other' that it had been positioned against (Watson 2018a)³⁸. Araújo Vélez described the situation:

³⁸ Even the qualification for the 1998 World Cup In France was damaged; after scoring the crucial winning goal against Ecuador, Antony De Ávila dedicated the goal to the jailed leaders of the Cali cartel, Gilberto and Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela who had owned the América club where De Ávila had played for the

En 1988 y luego en 1989 el fútbol fue parte de la guerra en Colombia. Cada cartel tenía una divisa y cada divisa tenía la obligación de ganar. En realidad, eran Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha, Pablo Escobar Gaviria y Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela camuflados en las camisetas de Millonarios, Nacional y América (Araújo Vélez 2013).

Cartels were not alone in corrupting Colombian football. An article in *Semana*, 'El dossier del fútbol', on 27 January 2010, brought to light a series of recordings with former paramilitary leaders such as 'Don Julio', 'Macaco' and 'Jorge 40', which revealed how paramilitary organizations had used smaller clubs in the first and second divisions to launder money. If the criminal influence staining clubs, and, by extension, the national team, was not removed, then football's deployment as a unifying national symbol against a 'Narcolombia' other, could not work, and nor could it present a positive face of Colombia.

Violence between sets of rival fans (or indeed between different *barras* of the same club or individuals of the same *barra*) had been a growing problem in Colombia since the early 1990s (Villanueva 2013: 94; Arroyo Chicaiza 2014: 48). This is not the place for an extensive analysis of the phenomenon, but fan violence had become another manifestation of a national culture of violence (Puentes Sánchez 2015: 253) that permeated the country. Luis Bermúdez, father of a murdered football fan Juan Manuel Bermúdez Nieto, whose death brought about the fans' foundation that bears his name, recalled that 'las grandes masas de barras se enfrentaban y de allí no salían solamente puños sino también salían muertos, porque acá es con tiros y con armas blancas que definían un conflicto entre ellos. Los conflictos fueron llevados al estadio' (personal interview 14 November 2017). Villanueva sees *barra* violence as 'nuevas formas de expresión identitaria' (2013: 95) from a particular segment of urban society who felt excluded, invisible, deprived of their rights as citizens, lacking opportunities for personal development and stigmatized due to their social conditions and behaviour. Media reporting and the reaction of authorities ensured that *barras* were placed into the 'other' Narcolombia category, due to their associations with violence, drugs and criminality. As the *Barras Construyendo País* report highlighted 'las nuevas generaciones no se identifican con un proyecto de ciudadanía que, en definitiva, no les otorga recursos y condiciones para su desarrollo individual y colectivo o para constituirse en sujetos sociales con capacidad de agenciar políticamente formas de relación más democráticas' (Coldeportes 2013: 33). Media reporting on regular deaths and fights demonized these fan groups and had the knock-on effect of presenting the act of going to matches as an

majority of his career The video clip of De Ávila's goal and dedication at the end of the match can be seen in the following YouTube clip: 'Cuando la Selección Colombia le dedicó un gol a narcos', <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3L4tm4HEjMo>, video published 29 September 2016.

unsafe experience. The *Poder del Fútbol* survey published in 2014 confirmed these negative impressions of the professional football experience, showing that 78% of women and 70% of men interviewed thought that going to the stadium was dangerous (Ministerio del Interior 2014b: 88). With there often being deaths in the aftermath of national team matches, most notoriously in celebrations in the wake of Colombia's 5-0 victory against Argentina in Buenos Aires to qualify for the 1994 World Cup,³⁹ there was a political imperative to implement policies to reduce violence in and around football stadiums, as well as to find ways to negotiate and include disaffected urban youth. If people could not enjoy professional football peacefully and safely, if families were unwilling to attend games, if women felt marginalized from a very masculine environment, then football at the highest level could hardly become a tool for the fostering of national unity and the football spectacle would continue to be tarnished. Peace in football needed to become a microcosm for peace in the country as the *Barras Construyendo País* report summarised: 'Cuando se propone un fútbol en paz, se propone también un país en paz, en donde la convivencia refleje el estado de alegría y de fiesta que esperan sentir prontamente los colombianos' (Coldeportes 2013: 72). Here we can see the influence of the ongoing peace negotiations with the FARC, with efforts to involve *barra* representatives in finding solutions to prevent existing social conditions finding an expression in violence around football grounds. We also see the 'alegría y fiesta' reference promoted as the symbol of how Santos wished Colombia to be seen externally. It underlines the role football has as a symbolic meeting place, the football pitch-as-country metaphor.

Negotiations between State and *Barras*

Responses to the phenomenon of violence in and around football stadiums differed originally depending on the city, as there was no national law standardizing the holding and policing of football matches. As most stadiums in the country are not owned by the clubs themselves but by the government or municipality, the responsibility for the maintenance of the facilities, the security, and logistical procedures falls on both local and state officials in tandem with the clubs. The other authorities responsible for governing Colombian football are the Federación Colombiana de Fútbol (FCF, the FIFA-affiliated governing body for football in Colombia, in charge of the national sides) and Dimayor (in charge of club and league football), as well as Coldeportes. This means that there was the potential for conflicting interests and responsibilities in the

³⁹ It has become common in Colombia for either the government or mayors to declare a *Ley Seca* on match days of particular importance, fearing 'overly exuberant' celebrations that could lead to violence. This was the case for several matches of the 2014 World Cup.

running of football and differing ideas of how to deal with football-related violence, between these football bodies, the clubs, local and national authorities, as well as emergency and security forces. Accordingly, in each city there was a tension between punishing fan violence, and seeking ways for preventing its occurrence. Across various Colombian cities, different campaigns took place which saw a process of negotiation between authorities and fans, as authorities realized that, as Alirio Amaya put it, 'el diálogo con los aficionados y el diálogo entre las instituciones era fundamental' (*Procuraduría General de Colombia* 22 August 2017).⁴⁰

Before any national legislation was contemplated, the first decree addressing fan violence was passed by the Alcaldía de Bogotá with Decree 164 of 2004, entitled 'Por el cual se crea el Comité de Seguridad y Convivencia para los Espectáculos de Fútbol Profesional "Goles en Paz"', which was a starting point for the subsequent national legislation. The aim of *Goles en Paz* was to end violence between *barras* of the major Bogotá clubs, Santa Fe and Millonarios. It involved football tournaments, musical events, workshops, academic forums and 'Pactos de Convivencia' (López: no date given). Decree 164 established the need for a committee for security and coexistence that should establish a protocol for risk assessments and security for all professional football matches in the capital, and take necessary measures to protect the public. It also expedited the need for actions and events to prevent violence, including education programmes about the risks of alcohol and drugs. Of interest here is that the focus of the decree was not solely on policing football matches effectively to prevent violence, but equally as importantly, to involve fans in preventative and pedagogical events to reduce violence and promote spaces of coexistence and dialogue. This inclusion responds to a historical Colombian problem of 'la ausencia de un relato nacional que incluya al ciudadano común' and therefore there being a 'necesidad imperante de diseñar políticas culturales en relación a los diversos anclajes nacionales' (Suárez 2008: 412). This fan voice can be increasingly seen in the national laws subsequently introduced, but particularly in those introduced during the Santos presidency, such as Decreto 1007, the Estatuto del Aficionado, and the PDSCCF.

As for the *barras*, their motivation to become involved with authorities to solve the problems, the self-organization and taking of responsibilities as an organized social group or movement, corresponds to an attempt to remove societal stigmatization of their identities and a resignification and activation of their rights and duties as citizens. In a study about the activities

⁴⁰ Alirio Amaya has been heavily involved in finding solutions to football violence in various roles and capacities for nearly two decades, working for Coldeportes, the Comisión Técnica de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el fútbol (CTSCCF) as well as the first projects between Millonarios and Santa Fe fans, *Jugando Limpio Todos Ganamos* and *Goles en Paz*.

of the Holocausto Norte *barra* of the Manizales club Once Caldas, fans claimed that they felt like second-class citizens:

Ciudadano de segunda es comprendido por ellos como aquellas personas que, en las palabras de un joven hincha, "son lo peor de la ciudad, son el ogro, con identificar lo peor que tiene Manizales"; concepto en torno al cual se generaron hechos como el cierre de las puertas del estadio o el continuo señalamiento como "persona no grata para la ciudad", en la cual se homogenizaban y caracterizaban a todos los participantes de las barras de fútbol como conflictivos y causales de discordia (Londoño Jaramillo and Pinilla Sepúlveda 2009: 81)

The aims, therefore, of the Holocausto Norte *barra* involved in the *Hinchas por Manizales* project created to reduce fan-related violence around football matches, was to generate new processes to establish themselves, as individuals and as a collective, as first-class citizens and be recognized as such by authorities and society at large. It was also to reclaim their rights and assume their duties as citizens to transform existing relations and their own environment (Londoño Jaramillo and Pinilla Sepúlveda 2009: 76-77). Raúl Martínez (2017) from the Los del Sur *barra* of Nacional details similar work for the same ends undertaken by his *barra*. The *barras* involved in projects such as *Jugando Limpio Todos Ganamos* and *Goles en Paz* in Bogotá, *Quilla Goles por la Convivencia* in Barranquilla, *La Tribuna Multicolor* in Cartagena and other projects in Cúcuta, Neiva and Medellín, all had the same aims of renegotiating their status as citizens, their identities and their duties and rights. They realized that they could be an active part of the prevention of football-related violence, and ensure that measures taken to deal with the issue were cognizant of underlying social problems and tackled these at source.

The Fundación Juan Manuel Bermúdez Nieto (FJMBN)⁴¹ had the aim of promoting dialogue and peace between rival *barras* of different clubs, and eventually the promotion of *barrismo social*, acts whereby *barras* took responsibility for social and community actions towards coexistence and education. Amaya acknowledged the significance of the foundation, saying 'La Fundación empieza a hacer algo importante, y es esa formación de carácter político con los muchachos' (personal interview 23 October 2017).

This idea of *barrismo social* is at the heart of the attempt of organized fan groups for resignification and the activation of citizenship. It is a form of bottom-up citizenship, proposed and articulated by different *barras*, made appropriate to their social circumstances and

⁴¹ The FJMBN is a not-for-profit organization that assembled *barra* representatives from all across the country and provided them with a meeting point and organizational hub. It has been a leading proponent of *barrismo social*.

spearheaded by the FJMBN in their attempt to influence subsequent legislation. It exists because of state and institutional failures. The FJMBN defines *barrismo social* as:

Una apuesta a redimensionar las formas de expresión y las prácticas de los barristas que inciden negativamente en los ámbitos individual, de las barras de fútbol y en la comunidad, así como a potenciar sus aspectos positivos. De la misma forma estableciendo su papel como actor en el universo futbolístico dentro de la globalización y sus dinámicas mercantilistas. Esta propuesta alternativa se fundamenta en procesos formativos tales como el diálogo de saberes, que recogen valores sociales, normas, creencias, ideales y sentimientos y les permiten a los barristas, sin perder su esencia, resignificar la realidad que los sumerge en su pasión por el mundo del balompié, y a la vez, asumir su identidad como sujetos sociales y políticos. La propuesta implica la construcción de formas de relaciones diferentes y nuevas con el Estado, que hasta ahora se limitan a los programas de atención temporal a los jóvenes y a la judicialización, hacia la participación con decisión en el diseño y ejecución de las políticas públicas (Arroyo Chicaiza 2014: 124).

Ernesto Herrera, a *barra* leader from the La Guardia Albi-Roja Sur who support Santa Fe, believes that *barrismo social* is what each different group makes it, though the above definition holds.

Herrera said that:

El tema del *barrismo social*, la estrategia del *barrismo social*, creo que está encaminada a llevar al trabajo efectivo de los jóvenes de la barra, ¿sí? Creo que es un trabajo efectivo porque se habla del emprendimiento, se habla de la formación pedagógica, se habla de cultura de paz, se habla de ambiente, es decir, está enfocada con una visión muy amplia (personal interview 14 November 2017).

It is a process that emerged to respond to social conditions and a failure of state institutions to guarantee education, training and opportunities. It is also an assumption of collective responsibility to adopt the power of the collective identity of the *barra* to empower themselves as a group within society and renegotiate their relationship with both authorities and society at large. It has been so successfully managed and proposed, by both individual *barras* and by the FJMBN, that it has been included in all football-specific legislation since 2009. This is a bottom-up process that President Santos had little to do with. Although he would speak about the need to include fans as part of the process of reducing violence, *barrismo social* was never mentioned in any of his speeches, although it resonates with his narrative of football serving individuals and communities and promoting collective values.

Pre-Santos Legislation: Laws 1270 and 1356 and Decrees 1257 and 1717

The laws and decrees passed towards the end of the Uribe government in 2009 and 2010 were the institutional answer to the ongoing problems of fan-related football violence. They were an

attempt to establish bodies to find solutions to the problem and standardize state responses, rather than having the wider nation-building perspective that would emerge with Santos and eventually translate into the Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol (PDSCCF). Although aware of *barrismo social* due to the impact of the fans groups, these initial laws had a focus on the security aspect of professional football matches, and not of how football could be deployed as a practice more widely to solve existing social problems. The ‘convivencia’ aspect related more to fans getting along with each other, rather than how football could be a space for coexistence between other groups across the national territory. Law 1270 created the Comisión Nacional de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol (CNSCCF) as the ‘organismo asesor del Gobierno Nacional en la implementación de políticas, planes y programas, así como en la ejecución de estrategias dirigidas a mantener la seguridad, comodidad y convivencia en la organización y práctica de este espectáculo deportivo’ (Artículo 1º, Ley 1270 de 2009). It also established the legal need for each municipality with a professional football team to have a Comisión Local de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol (CLSCCF) to deal with local issues of security, comfort and coexistence. Decree 1267 would further specify the roles and relationship between the CNSCCF and CLSCCFs. The responsibilities of the CNSCCF were specified, with a focus not just on security but also comfort (relating to the experience of attending matches, suitable facilities and infrastructure) and coexistence around professional football, while ensuring that the rights of all those in and around football matches are respected. The aim was to create the necessary conditions through regulation and control, but also through research and analysis, to address violence in Colombian professional football grounds. Another objective was to create the conditions for football to be a generator of spaces of encounter between football fans, for the promotion of values of coexistence, for football to have a transformative social effect empowering fans and *barras* as social actors with rights to be observed. Football as an event and spectacle should be a safe, comfortable and welcoming space for fans of all ages, genders, classes and regions to meet, recognising that football is a common practice and interest for Colombians. It was a first legislative step to ensure that football stadiums would return to being inclusion zones, propitious sites for unifying rather than oppositional feelings around the football experience.

The role of the FJMBN should not be underestimated in ensuring that the fan voice was present in three articles of Law 1270 (precisely in article 3, paragraphs 20, 21 and 22). These paragraphs state that the role of the CNSCCF should include a diagnosis of the causes of violence in football and propose solutions in accordance with the expressions of *barrismo social* (paragraph 20); the adoption of pedagogical measures, meeting spaces and reflection in which social problems are

studied that affect youths and may eventually lead to violent behaviour as fans (paragraph 21); and developing activities which promote coexistence, participation and the exercising of citizenship in accordance with the aims of *barrismo social* (Congreso de Colombia 2009). The FJMBN had mobilized to ensure that the first version of the law, Law 035, proposed by the governor of Cundinamarca Andrés González, did not succeed. That initial draft of the law did not contain ideas of *barrismo social* or of fan involvement in finding solutions. According to Amaya:

Si uno leía el texto, era una legislación que se estaba apuntando únicamente de sancionar [...] O sea, no se estaban atacando verdaderamente los problemas culturales y sociales que tienen los jóvenes de las barras, y que pueden desencadenar comportamientos para algunos no adecuados dentro y fuera de los estadios (personal interview 23 October 2017).

The FJMBN had managed to establish alliances, including with former Colombian football great Willington Ortiz, then a Colombian senator representing the Afro-Colombian communities, in order to get their voice heard in the Colombian congress when the law was debated. Bermúdez remembered that ‘fueron casi todas las barras del país, porque Nacional no vino, porque de Comando [one of the Millonarios *barras*, Comandos Azules] fueron algunos. Del resto, casi todos fueron. Dieciocho barras estuvieron en el Congreso’ (personal interview 14 November 2017). It was a significant moment for fan groups, managing to have a direct impact on legislation, and in that they were recognized as Colombian citizens and legitimate collectives with an active role to play in security and coexistence issues within wider society. Arroyo Chicaiza concludes that ‘por primera vez a nivel nacional, el Barrismo Social fue considerado, y así quedó planteado, como una herramienta para promover la convivencia, participación y ejercicio de la ciudadanía de los barristas de fútbol’ (2014: 111). Puentes Sánchez sees the fact that authorities had both worked with *barras* and seen fit to accept their input as ‘un ejercicio de transformación pacífica de las políticas de seguridad tradicionales a partir de la participación y el diálogo de la ciudadanía’ (2015: 243). The actions of the FJMBN ensured that laws were not purely punitive in nature, but instead contemplated preventative measures that supported citizen rights. This process of involvement has continued with laws and public policies that have been passed during the Santos presidency. The *Barras Construyendo País* report and the consultation process for the PDSCCF are evidence of this inclusion.

Law 1356 specified the actions at football matches that would be considered as crimes, adapting the existing Código Nacional de Policía. It also detailed the necessary facilities that stadiums would have to provide in the top division of the league. The onus is not totally on crime and punishment, as chapter four of the law requires the Ministries of Education, Culture, Communications and Coldeportes as well as local authorities and municipalities to organize

‘campañas educativas y preventivas, tendientes a evitar la violencia en escenarios deportivos a través de la prensa, radio, televisión, así como en escuelas, colegios, universidades y demás centros de enseñanza’ (*Ministerio del Interior* 23 October 2009), with funding having to come from national, departmental or municipal budgets. The suggestion to work with NGOs was also included in the law to support these educational campaigns. It was another step towards using football for social development, attempting to take advantage of the work of pre-existing football-based social projects, though not as yet to the extent that would be required in the PDSCCF. The law did not, however, include the *barras* as part of the process, and there is no mention of *barrismo social*. Decree 1717, meanwhile, is a ‘pauta de estandarización’ (Decreto 1717: 4) that goes into minute detail about the specific requirements for stadiums, including facilities, services, security and emergency procedures and general logistics for every aspect of the match day. It was a decree considering the pillars of ‘security’ and ‘comfort’, limited to matchday considerations. Decree 1717 also informed the *barras* about what *elementos de animación* and behaviour would be permitted, though as emerged in the *Barras Construyendo País* and the PDSCCF, a significant problem with this law was there was a clear failure to socialize it to fans.

A Statement of Santos’ Intent: the Ley del Fútbol

When Santos became President, he realized that there would be some early opportunities to be able to exploit football’s national significance with the hosting of the Under 20 World Cup in 2011 and also with the qualifying campaign beginning for the 2014 World Cup. Therefore, the approval of the *Ley del Fútbol* on 12 May 2011 came at an important juncture for Colombian football and the nation, Santos trying to put into place measures that would cleanse football as a symbol and create conditions for a more festive and peaceful atmosphere around football matches as well as uniting the nation around football. He had already taken the opportunity of a speech at the *Deportista del Año* ceremony on 1 December 2010 to emphasize his commitment to sport, how he saw it benefitting the unity of the country and how it needed to be protected. While acknowledging football successes and his and the nation’s pride in its footballers, he laid the basis for forthcoming legislation in order to strengthen football as a national symbol, vital for it to be able to function fully towards national cohesion: ‘Yo creo que nos merecemos un buen fútbol y tendrán en mí el mejor aliado para sacar adelante el fútbol colombiano. Pero tenemos que ser realistas y quiero ser claro: o cambiamos al fútbol o se nos acaba el fútbol, porque como

vamos no vamos bien' (*Presidencia de la República* 1 December 2010). This referred to the salient issues blighting Colombian football, and Santos' intent to tackle them through legislation.

In terms of nation-building, the most relevant objective of the law is the attempt to cleanse football's image by requiring greater transparency of club finances and control over club ownership. This would prevent the criminal influences that had tarnished football in the 1980s and 1990s, and led football to be associated with the notorious image of the country from which President Gaviria was trying to disassociate Colombia. The articles relating to the transparency of club ownership and shareholders intended to remove any lingering remnants of criminal influence. The articles dealing with violence effectively have the same intention. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Football Law was a deliberate strategy to cleanse football of links to corruption so that it could be used more effectively as a nation-building, unifying device. When asked about whether Santos had this in mind, Juan Carlos Torres was unsure:

No creo realmente que eso sea un pensamiento fundamental en la mente de Santos cuando piensa en fútbol, en deporte, durante su gobierno. Porque ya el fútbol se venía depurando desde los gobiernos anteriores; desde el 2000 más o menos ya venía en otra tónica. Lo que ha hecho el presidente Santos con el fútbol es apoyarlo financieramente, logísticamente, institucionalmente y convertirlo en un factor de unidad nacional (personal interview 14 December 2017).

Amaya agreed with this assessment, seeing legislation introduced as an ongoing and evolving process that has had as much to do with pressure from below as a strategy from above:

Lo que se ha hecho de política nacional ha estado más presionado desde abajo por procesos ya más consolidados, por lecturas del fenómeno más claras, donde políticamente se ha logrado posicionar lo normativo. Pero que uno dice que esto es un empoderamiento político de lo que se ha hecho, yo, personalmente, no lo creo (personal interview 23 October 2017).

Whether there was a deliberate attempt to clean football as a symbol is unclear, but we can argue that it has had that effect. If football at a national level was to function as a practice and symbol that could unite the country, then previous stains had to be removed for it to be accepted as a suitable terrain for national pride. The law was accompanied by rhetoric that envisaged a nation-building role for the sport in terms of what it could represent for Colombians. When the law was passed, Santos gave a long speech outlining its content as well as its wider aims.⁴² Santos referred to the unfortunate image of Colombia and Colombian football in the past, and how sport could assist in uniting the nation and portray a new image:

⁴² This was actually the only speech that Santos gave about a law relating to sport, aside from one in April 2018 to announce the plan to promote Coldeportes to be a full Ministry..

El mundo debe saber que no nos arrodillamos frente a ese pasado vergonzoso. ¡No nos resignamos a criar mala fama y a echarnos a dormir! En varias ocasiones he hablado del libro en que se basa la película *Invictus* – que cuenta la historia de cómo Nelson Mandela logró unir a su pueblo a través del rugby – y cuenta además cómo ese pueblo unido logró impulsar a la selección sudafricana hasta el mismo campeonato mundial [...] pues hoy hemos retomado el comando de este barco para darle un mejor rumbo. Si alguna vez estuvimos caídos, nuestra promesa, nuestro compromiso, es levantarnos y hacernos grandes (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2011).

It is clear from this excerpt what Santos sees as a longer objective of the *Ley del Fútbol* and of football in general. The emphasis is on how a nation can pull together around football, for it to become a place of unity, passion and pride, and how matches at both club and national level should be symbolic of peace and coexistence. This speech makes it clear that football has significant nation-building potential, provided that the problems associated with criminal and paramilitary influence that had blighted it were eradicated. With the Under 20 World Cup on the horizon, it was a perfect chance to associate the law with a vision of national footballing pride, hope and success.

There was also a commitment to involve fans as part of the solution, and a call for all those involved to collaborate on the national football project. He had met fans at the ‘Acuerdo para la Prosperidad en el Fútbol’ event on 12 March 2011, and in the speech announcing Law 1445 he said:

En el Acuerdo para la Prosperidad sobre el fútbol nos comprometimos a trabajar de la mano con los hinchas. Lo hacemos porque creemos que las barras están conformadas – en su mayoría – por hinchas de bien, con una sana pasión por sus equipos. Es más, estamos convencidos de que las barras son parte de la solución y no parte del problema. Queremos que los eventos deportivos sean espacios de convivencia (*Presidencia de la República* 24 May 2011).

This statement is in keeping with the more inclusive rhetoric of Santos that purports to include citizenship more actively in decision-making, as well as making football a nodal point for encounter, uniting top-down and bottom-up processes of community development. Law 1445, however, makes no provision for involving fans groups in the processes involved. There is no mention of *barrismo social* in any of the six *títulos* that make up the law. The only link to it comes in *título V*, article 13, where it specifies that fines collected by Coldeportes for infractions of the law should be destined towards ‘programas de socialización y formación pedagógica que promuevan la paz, la tranquilidad, la convivencia en los estadios y escenarios deportivo’ (Ministerio del Interior 2011). The emphasis is otherwise purely on control and punishment rather than prevention and thus does not add to Law 1270’s opening of possibilities for strengthening fan-generated movements tackling issues that jeopardize security and coexistence

in and around sporting venues. Equally, there is no contemplation of any football other than professional men's football, nor deploying it towards social transformation in this particular document. This particular law's value for how football can be deployed for nation-building is centred on imposing the state's authority towards cleansing national football's image articulated around men's football.

Acknowledging Fans' Rights: The *Estatuto del Aficionado*

Decree 1007 of 16 May 2012 differed from the laws already discussed in that it was dedicated to the rights and responsibilities of the fans and *barras*, and articulated the social transformative role of football that it could entail. This need to combine sport and social development was outlined in the Strategic Action Plans of Coldeportes at the start of the Santos presidency (see chapter four for more details), so this shift in focus from punishment to collaborative work resonates with a wider strategy centred on negotiation. Although there had been one or two articles in previous laws that had addressed fan responsibilities and the need to promote *barrismo social*, educational campaigns and opportunities, little had been done to specify what fans could do and had the right to expect. The *Estatuto del Aficionado* ensured that they were recognized as citizens, customers and active participants in the football world and the nation. It also outlined their responsibilities for ensuring a peaceful football experience, establishing their duties alongside those of the various football governing authorities and emergency and security forces. Puentes Sánchez describes the law as trying to 'equiparar la balanza de sanciones establecidas con una gama de derechos que los jóvenes ven vulnerados,' as well as being 'una reivindicación y exigencia social de materializar la corresponsabilidad en el proceso de construcción del fútbol como una herramienta de convivencia pacífica' (2015: 255). It should be noted that these rights of *barras* and their members are not limited to just football, but also wider society. *Barrismo social*, after all, reaches back out to the community, and *barristas'* claim for social rights to travel, perform their identities and have stigmas associated with them removed are the claims of any citizen.

This decree put more onus on *barrismo social* and the positive work that fans' groups could undertake, giving a more proactive and inclusive approach to reducing violence and improving security and coexistence. The initial dispositions of the document refer to the articles in Law 1270 which first made official the idea of *barrismo social* and supposedly ensured the duty of the CNSCCF to 'diagnosticar las causas de la violencia en el fútbol y proponer soluciones acordes con las expresiones de *barrismo social*, así como proponer la adopción de medidas pedagógicas,

espacios de encuentro y reflexión en los que se estudien los problemas sociales que afectan a la juventud e inciden negativamente en el comportamiento de las hinchas' (Decreto 1007 2012: 1). *Barristas* were given the right, in Articles 34 and 36, to participate in the formulation of public policies towards *barrismo social*, and in the formulation of the PDSCCF (article 38), which was already being planned. However, the lack of a vote in the CLSCCF re-underlined the unequal relationship between football authorities and fans, as Puentes Sánchez summarises: 'el estatuto sigue configurándose una relación desigual entre los organizadores y las instituciones con respecto a los aficionados y las barras' (2015: 256). Once again, the decree was poorly socialized as the *Barras Construyendo País* report concluded (Coldeportes 2013: 55), and it was not clear who would be enforcing the duty of the CNSCCF and CLSCCFs to fulfill their responsibilities promoting *barrismo social*, nor how projects would be funded. The fact that the need for the PDSCCF had already been realized reveals two facts; firstly, that in just three years of the creation of laws and decrees, a number of problems and conflicts had already emerged, in terms of who had responsibility for the implementing of all the various articles and what the guarantees were for their enforcement. Secondly, there was a commitment from the Santos government to strengthen football as a vessel for national cohesion, as well as a tool for security, coexistence and social development. The pillar of coexistence was becoming a greater focus of legislation. The difficulty again here is establishing whether this particular decree is part of a Santos strategy towards reducing violence and creating spaces for communal encounter and social transformation, or if it is the continuation of an ongoing process, pushed more from below. Amaya's view would suggest that the thesis of the ongoing process is more likely here, given his role in the writing of the decree and his personal position seeing *barrismo social* as having a key role to play as well as ensuring the rights of the fans as political subjects are respected:

Ellos lo estaban pensando como una forma de hacer sanciones y yo lo estaba pensando como una forma de garantizar derechos [...] Pensamos en una ley donde revisamos conductas tipificadas en el derecho penal, o en la justicia ordinaria, lo que sea, y trabajamos otra cosa. El tema contravencional. Entonces sacamos el Estatuto del Aficionado; bueno, creo que son 41 o 42 artículos y solamente uno hace referencia a las sanciones en la ley 1445 (personal interview 23 October 2017).

In summary, this decree renewed the importance of the fans as legitimate actors and activates their rights within the professional football sphere. There is an emphasis on establishing methods that allow for social inclusion and the promotion of coexistence through prevention, participation and education rather than punishment, established in articles 23 and 24, which dictate that fans have the right to know the measures designed by authorities to implement preventative actions including pedagogical activities, creating 'espacios de encuentro' and activities studying the roots of social problems (article 23) and the right to expect these activities

to be organized by the CNSCCF and CLSCCFs (article 24). The contents of the decree meant that focus needed to move away from solely upon the stadium experience and consider the communities from which the *barristas* emerge. There is, therefore, a strong link between this decree and the subsequent PDSCCF.

Barras Construyendo País

The process promoting negotiation and involvement between authorities and citizens continued with the *Barras Construyendo País* report, published in 2013. It was conceived as a consultation process towards the subsequent PDSCCF. The CNSCCF organized thirteen workshops across the country⁴³ for three hundred and eighty-seven *barra* representatives, which aimed to address fans' concerns and allowed them to air their views on how football should move forward and what the PDSCCF should include. This was the first time, in fact, that Coldeportes in forty-four years had destined funds to discuss public policy with those whom it directly affected (Coldeportes, 2013: 9). The name of the report is significant, reaffirming that football is a nation-building tool, and that previously excluded *barras* are part of the process in ensuring a successful role for football to tackle social problems across the country.

This document contained a wider exploration of the principles of *barrismo social* and types of activities that could be carried out across the nation. *Barrismo social* was seen to be developing from solely football-based projects into 'un proyecto social y político' with the aim of promoting 'el ejercicio pleno de las ciudadanías' (Coldeportes 2013: 22) of both their members and their wider communities. This resonates with the Santos rhetoric regarding the transformative and unifying power of football, particularly given football's power to reintegrate communities formed by individuals that may be divided down existing social borders, such as class, race, location or politics, or have been affected by conflict in all its manifestations. The idea is to empower, educate, democratize and organize the *barra*, being aware of the *barras'* representative power and their attempts to 'contribuir a una resignificación, más positiva, de los imaginarios sociales contenidos en el concepto de "barra brava", generalizado en la población colombiana' (Coldeportes 2013: 46). Much would depend on the *barra* leadership structures; there was some concern that *barras* had the potential to be or already had been infiltrated by organized *bandas criminales* (Bacrim), given the socially deprived origins of many fans and the continuing existence of networks between Bacrim and street gangs. There is concern from

⁴³ These took place in Bucaramanga, Cúcuta, Barranquilla, Cartagena, Manizales, Pereira, Armenia, Tunja, Medellín, Pasto, Cali, Santa Marta and Bogotá

authorities that the leadership of fan groups was unable or unwilling to tackle such problems, or prevent infiltration from Bacrim that already had established structures in urban areas.

Nonetheless, *Barras Construyendo País* stresses the need to support *barras* and help their organization, as well as to establish clear, bilateral relationships in order to deal jointly with problems of violence:

Es absolutamente necesario establecer un reconocimiento de las barras populares y barras organizadas; el reconocimiento del otro es base fundamental para construir acuerdos y valores comunes. Un segundo aspecto, sería establecer un claro límite a esa relación, dejando claro que el club no alimentará por ninguna circunstancia comportamientos que conlleven a la violencia o la presión indebida sobre jugadores o dirigentes. Un tercer punto, tendría como base la transparencia de la relación, de tal forma que permita establecer canales de comunicación e información con el conjunto de las barras organizadas a través de mecanismos de representación democráticos, transparentes y legítimos (Coldeportes 2013: 96).

The various laws and decrees that were now in place should supposedly establish guidelines for their behaviour, but also, importantly, guarantee their rights as citizens, first and foremost, and not lead them to be perceived and stigmatized as hooligans, being thus targeted as the sole problem of football-related violence (Coldeportes 2013: 57). Fan representatives also stated the necessity for there to be a 'protocolo único nacional capaz de impactar positivamente' (Coldeportes 2013: 66) to deal with the issues. It seemed that procedures required to be put in place by law (such as travel to away games, communication procedures with CLSCCFs, what *elementos de animación* could and could not be brought in, access to stadiums etc.) were simply not being implemented consistently across the country. Another criticism made by *barristas* was that the CLSCCFs were 'preocupadas exclusivamente por la seguridad, olvidando claramente los elementos constitutivos de la Comodidad y la Convivencia en el fútbol' (Coldeportes 2013: 97-98). The focus was on social control, repressing and punishing violence rather than the workshops and cooperation stipulated in Law 1270 and Decree 1007. These failures risked leading fans to lose confidence in official institutions, undermining the entire project and weakening football's potential. There was still a tension between the pillars of 'security' and 'coexistence', limiting the potential of *barrismo social* projects and restricting collaborative pedagogical work to prevent violence at its roots.

Barras Construyendo País should be seen as a significant document marking a transition from prioritizing security through control over coexistence in football policy. The study evidences a greater focus on how football can transform communities that is consistent with Santos' rhetoric on inclusion and unity imagined through the practice and support of football, and the role of sport in creating socialization spaces and reconciliation. It demonstrates official recognition of the positive aspects of *barras* in their communities. It was a staging point towards the PDSCCF,

which has a greater focus on prevention and football as a developmental tool. The document seems in keeping with the prevailing political tendency under Santos towards collaboration and negotiation rather than obligation, and inclusion rather than exclusion, given the now publicly acknowledged peace talks in Havana. It is significant that this was a document produced through public consultation, unlike many other laws. The state reached out to negotiate, include and empower, proof of football being a meeting ground where decisions can be taken to benefit interest groups, citizens, communities, and, by extension, the nation. The people that the state collaborated with is also significant, representatives of groups that had been excluded and victimized given their stereotypical identities as being on the margins of society and linkages with antisocial behaviour and delinquency. This is significant as football became a point of encounter between the state and these previously marginalized groups and a means of imagining – and enacting – a different relation between them.

The Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol – Consultation Phase

The PDSCCF, according to *Semana*, was the result of President Santos' request to his Interior Minister Aurelio Iragorri to find 'un elemento integrador en Colombia para la paz y el posconflicto' (*Semana* 27 February 2014). With peace negotiations with the FARC under way and always likely to prove controversial and polarizing, Santos needed something to unite the nation. Football was the best candidate, taking into account the approaching World Cup. Given the ongoing process of trying to solve problems with football-related violence, the PDSCCF emerged at the perfect time for Santos to address two issues, widening football's implementation to address social problems at both the professional and recreational level. Juber Ariza, director of the plan in the Interior Ministry said that:

El plan fue concebido para ayudar a organizar el tema del fútbol profesional, digamos que el fútbol profesional tuviera una dimensión organizada, que la gente volviera a los estadios, que el fútbol fuera una manera de integrar a la sociedad, que fuera una manera de que fuera un espectáculo que beneficiara a la construcción de una cultura de tolerancia. Pero el gran aporte que hicimos nosotros en la construcción fue convertir el fútbol en una herramienta de transformación social para la convivencia. Y eso es una mirada hacia el futuro, una mirada hacia el país que queremos todos construir (personal interview 6 October 2017).

This quote from Ariza is fundamental to evidence the groundbreaking nature of the document, as a deliberate policy of making greater use of football for nation-building. Whereas the principal

focus on laws prior to the Estatuto del Aficionado had been on security at professional football games, with a limited provision for football's role in addressing the source of violence amongst fans groups, the PDSCCF envisioned a much more substantial role for the sport on a national level. Football was distinguished as having nation-building properties as Ariza outlines, being a tool for social integration, for encouraging coexistence and reducing violence. The comment about it being a 'mirada hacia el futuro' is also indicative of the government seeing football as having a potentially significant role to play in Colombia's future, a future which contemplated a post-conflict process with the FARC should the peace negotiations be successful. Although the public policy still originates from a need to solve problems with professional football, it expands to define a role for recreational football as part of Sport for Development and Peace processes to transform society. The objectives for the public policy, particularly those in Section 4 'Fomentar el desarrollo social y comunitario, haciendo uso del fútbol recreativo como herramienta de construcción de ciudadanía para la paz y la convivencia' (Ministerio del Interior, 2014a: 141-170) are linked to the UN's Millennium Development Goals and applied to a Colombian context (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 144). Football is defined as an inclusion site, and a place to build citizenship, educate on health, equality and rights, and promote a culture of peace and coexistence. These aims in a public policy document for football underline the importance for football for the Santos government and resonate entirely with Santos' rhetoric.

Note that at this stage, the reference to 'fútbol profesional' only relates to the men's game, as the women's professional league would not start until 2017. Women's professional football is never mentioned. In a document that has the explicitly expressed intention to use football for social transformation and nation-building, it is significant that the male game is privileged in terms of this aim. As was shown in chapter two, success for the women's national football team was not articulated in the same terms, nor anywhere near as regularly, as men's football, in terms of its representative role for the nation. It does not have the same unifying or symbolic potential that the *selección masculina* wields, or, at least, it was not given the chance to do so by Santos. The PDSCCF confirms this situation, with a social transformation and nation-building role for women's football, or mixed football, confined to the recreational or junior level.

The outlook of the Plan expanded from the previously discussed laws and decrees, due to the influence of the NGOs that became involved, or the vision of other project leaders, to encompass recreational football and football's potential social transformation role for all. Ariza confirmed the significance of the document as a response to political and social problems of the country, particularly given the political background of negotiations with the FARC and Santos' policies in general:

El plan no es neutro frente a la realidad del país. Tiene una intencionalidad clara de fortalecer la democracia, de construir ciudadanía, de hacer posible una cultura de tolerancia, o sea el fútbol no está visto acá en este plan de desarrollo como solo un deporte inofensivo o un deporte para alegrarnos. No. También está diciendo cómo transformamos a las comunidades, cómo transformamos el alma de la gente (personal interview 6 October 2017).

Ariza underlined that the Plan is the document that gave football a role in not only addressing current social problems in Colombia, but also positioning it in readiness to be applied in a post-conflict Colombia, supported by a survey proving the role it could play in social development. This is a role for football that had been applied only in rhetoric by previous governments during times of football success, but without the evidence and plans to give it actual power to transform society. This is what makes the PDSCCF such a potentially significant document, officializing football as a nation-building tool in Santos' Colombia.

The Interior Ministry chose three football-based NGOs to conduct the consultancy work on the PDSCCF: Colombianitos, Tiempo de Juego and Con-Texto Urbano.⁴⁴ According to Ana Arizabaleta, then of Colombianitos, and Esteban Reyes of Tiempo de Juego (who as directors of the organizations were among those responsible for the work), the Interior Ministry wanted a greater focus on social transformation rather than control and punishment, and was aware of the work of Jurgen Griesbeck (personal interviews 3 November 2017 and 19 October 2017). Griesbeck, along with Alejandro Arenas (director of Con-Texto Urbano), had developed a methodology of football for peace in Medellín after the murder of Andrés Escobar, which had the aim of teaching boys and girls about conflict resolution, coexistence, gender equity, health issues and drug education amongst other issues through football. It is important to highlight the shift to football *for boys and girls*, playing and learning together. The aim was also to try to give children in vulnerable communities opportunities to avoid them being recruited into gangs, paramilitaries, guerrillas or criminal organizations. The football for peace methodology had been adopted by the government, through Colombia Joven, for the *Golombiao* project since 2003, which is discussed in chapter four. Football as a tool for education and social development was, therefore, already on the government's radar.

The PDSCCF continued a commitment towards collaboration and broad consultation. The NGOs responsible looked at tackling the social roots of violence in football from a preventative perspective rather than through punishment, and in the communities as much as in the

⁴⁴ The research process into the PDSCCF was officially announced by Irigorri's predecessor, Fernando Carrillo Flórez, prior to a World Cup qualifying match against Perú on 11 June 2013. A budget of 5,169 million pesos was to be invested in developing the plan, according to Carrillo Flórez 'la primera vez que se determina tan importante partida presupuestal para políticas asociadas al fútbol' (*El Heraldo*, 2013).

stadiums. Reyes described this approach: ‘Lo que decíamos es, no nos limitemos a mirar esto como un problema de la violencia en las barras y de seguridad, sino pensémoslo también como un problema de convivencia y como un problema de orden público’ (personal interview 19 October 2017). During the consultation process, they attempted to give every group with some kind of interest in football a chance to contribute to the public policy. Ana Arizabaleta underlined this central consideration; ‘valorábamos mucho la parte de la consulta, o sea que dedicamos muchos recursos a que todos los grupos y toda la geografía de alguna manera se sintieran representadas en lo que creará en ese documento’ (personal interview 3 November 2017). This can be seen in the various projects that went alongside the production of the PDSCCF which were as follows:

1. *Hincha Responsable*: a project between *barristas* (male and female) in six communities in Bogotá, Cali and Medellín, working on creating links between the *barra* and local community.
2. *Torneo Fútbol por la Paz*: a tournament held in San Andrés for mixed *barra* teams, played according to the football for peace methodology. This involved passing on the methodology to *barra* representatives prior to the tournament.
3. Training the CLSCCFs.
4. Producing *cartillas*, guidebooks about the football for peace methodology and the training processes and protocols involving the methodology to prevent violence around football matches.
5. Three investigations into 1) existing football legislation in Colombia; 2) academic research relating to football and violence in Colombia and 3) existing corporate social responsibility projects of Colombian clubs.
6. A communications strategy: this involved a website, two documentaries and three videos (about the construction of the public policy, the football for peace methodology and the *Hincha Responsable* project), and media adverts. (Ministerio del Interior, 2014b: 9-10)
7. The *Poder del Fútbol* survey

The consultation process involved a series of national and regional forums. These included a forum of experts (academics, journalists, referees, coaches, former players, representatives from government and local bodies involved in football), regional forums (for fans, those living near stadiums, local government representatives, NGOs etc.) and the *Poder del Fútbol* national survey.

Forums of international experts and the state then validated their findings and conclusions, before the final public policy was published in 2014. These consultation processes, as well as the contents of the PDSCCF, evidence the continuing process of creating what Sandra Morales Mantilla has called *nuevas ciudadanías deportivas* (referenced by Alejandro Villanueva personal interview 7 October 2017). The focus on dialogue, consultation, participation and empowering of citizens who are involved or have an interest in sport, in this case football, is a significant process. Villanueva sees it as one of the most fundamental aspects of the PDSCCF:

Pensar las ciudadanías deportivas desde un enfoque de derechos, desde un enfoque incluyente, desde un enfoque de competencia, porque estamos en el mundo del deporte, pero desde luego de un enfoque de construcción de convivencia en el marco de las tensiones que genera la competencia y el deporte. Creo que es el gran elemento fundamental del Plan Decenal (personal interview 7 October 2017).

Through the PDSCCF, originally in consultation and then in the document itself, there is an activation of citizenship, and football takes on roles in the country to address problems that the state has struggled to address. The consultation process attempted to access the different *estratos sociales* and representatives of indigenous, black and vulnerable communities in various regions of Colombia, and interviewed both men and women. In theory, through putting the document into practice, the PDSCCF should help to transform communities wherever it is deployed, cutting across gender, class, ethnic or political lines, supporting state and regional institutions to tackle issues and give and inform on citizen rights. Football is positioned as a device to tackle issues of security and coexistence at micro, meso and macro levels, creating new pedagogical and socialization spaces to give opportunities, education and training to those whose rights have been disenfranchised. It has a role in trying to connect citizens and state, and thus state with nation. There is some privileging involved here in terms of to whom the Plan is destined. More of the general and specific aims contained within the plan relate to professional football, and therefore apply most to those cities where professional football is played. The part of the Plan that speaks of how recreational football can be deployed towards social development and transformation in theory should give more citizen parity, and function in any region or community, irrespective of class, gender, race or political affiliation. In practice, there is no obligation for mayors or governors to implement the Plan; it up to their decision, whims or whether they have resources, so there is a risk of uneven coverage of the Plan. This, as shall be discussed, is one of the Plan's greatest weaknesses.

The PDSCCF: Content

In the introduction to the PDSCCF by Interior Minister Iragorri, the national aim for football was proposed, attributing extremely potent nation-building features to the sport. Football can be the 'principal herramienta de generación de convivencia' (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 15-16) and is described as 'un instrumento pedagógico que permite a través del juego formar en valores, ciudadanía, convivencia, tolerancia y respeto por el otro, y que puede ser aplicado indistintamente en todos los estratos socio-económicos, etnias y sexos' (ibid: 14). This declaration not only resonates with the Santos rhetoric about the unifying and integrating power of football, as discussed in chapter two, but also marks a departure from the principle thrust of previous legislation around football proposed by the Ministerio del Interior, where security was the main point of concern. With the PDSCCF, the emphasis shifts to coexistence and integration, with a much wider scope of impact for football outlined. Dealing with problems around professional football is still central, but football is proposed as a tool to tackle not just violence in the stadia, but the roots of violence in communities across the whole country. The PDSCCF therefore expands existing football legislation from a narrow focus and aim around cities where professional football is played, to making football a nodal point for communities across the country. This factor makes the PDSCCF such a significant policy document in terms of how football is conceived for the nation. Football is articulated as a meeting and inclusion point, where top-down and bottom-up processes of nation-building can occur and be strengthened.

The language deployed throughout the document deals less with punishment and restricting measures, but more with negotiation and cooperation, using football as a propitious space for encounter to solve social issues. The declaration by Iragorri and vision for football in the PDSCCF is based on the results of the *Poder del Fútbol* survey which highlights football's popularity across all those above categories. 94% of those interviewed saw football as either important, or very important (Ministerio del Interior 2014b: 22), with 58% of women seeing football as important compared to 72% of men (ibid: 22), allowing football to be considered as a sport that is no longer solely masculine. 80% of Afro-Colombians see football as important, compared to 82% of indigenous Colombians (ibid: 73). These two particular sectors also revealed very high results in football's potential importance; football was seen as being important for youth by 96% of Afro-Colombians and 100% of indigenous Colombians, important for education by 92% and 93% respectively, important for their community by 94% and 95% respectively, and finally the Colombian men's national team was perceived as being important as a symbol of integration by 100% of Afro-Colombians and 99% indigenous Colombians (Ministerio del Interior 2014b: 74-75).

These figures support the use of football as an integrative and transformative tool that can promote a greater sense of national cohesion, of coexistence and of building bridges and understanding between and amongst communities that have historically been riven with divisions or have felt excluded by the state. Both Alejandro Villanueva and Juber Ariza cite the importance of the *Poder del Fútbol* survey to prove what had previously only been said about football's power to unite in Colombia:

Tenemos una encuesta muy bien hecha por el Centro Nacional de Consultoría donde ellos dicen "Mire, las clases populares, las clases medias, y las clases altas cuando se van a relacionar entre sí utilizan discursos de fútbol. Y las comunidades Afrodescendientes y las comunidades indígenas y las comunidades urbanas tienden a socializar a través del fútbol". Entonces, digamos, esa encuesta sí le dio una validación por tanto al cualquier tema que hable del fútbol y no se había hecho en sesenta años. Creo que ese es un gran logro del Plan Decenal (Alejandro Villanueva personal interview 7 October 2017).

Nosotros demostramos no solamente lo que significaba el fútbol para los colombianos, sino también las cosas que impiden que el fútbol nos una, los obstáculos que tiene eso. Y también medimos el impacto del fútbol en la economía, el impacto del fútbol en el área de la comunicación. Entonces para cualquier persona que quiera hacer una política pública alrededor del fútbol, una política de lo local alrededor del fútbol o de una organización social, o de la empresa privada, esa encuesta le muestra con cifras concretas e indicadores para poder saber en dónde se está metiendo, y cuáles son los objetivos que tiene que buscar. Entonces, lo que hace que nosotros entendamos que el fútbol es el gran articulador es que le pusimos peso específico, les pusimos pies en la tierra. Dejó de ser una idea ya abstracta, a convertirse en algo real y algo medible. Entonces todos sabemos que el fútbol es el único elemento que nos une a los colombianos (Juber Ariza personal interview 6 October 2017).

The timing of the survey and the publishing of the PDSCCF may have helped football's positive ratings; after a wobbly start in the World Cup qualifying matches, new Argentinian manager José Pékerman led the national men's team on a run of performances that culminated in Colombia qualifying for the World Cup 2014. This achievement meant a wave of national euphoria and pride in the national team that had largely been absent since the national team had won the Copa América in 2001. The survey process started as Colombia's qualification seemed assured and lasted until after they formally qualified following a 3-3 draw against Chile. The PDSCCF was launched on 29 July 2014 only a few weeks after Colombia's successful tournament, with some adverts for it aired during the competition, though, strangely, no presidential tweets or speeches. With football fever and pride in the national team at a historic high (only the 5-0 victory over Argentina in Buenos Aires in 1993 can compare), this was a perfect time for the Plan to be put into operation. Bearing this in mind, and knowing football's value as political currency, it is clearly stated that this project was one that President Santos was leading, with two name-checks in the introduction linked to the plan's aims:

El Plan Decenal de Fútbol es una apuesta del Presidente de la República, Juan Manuel Santos Calderón, para que entre todos superemos de una vez y para siempre, las amenazas al deporte que nos brinda tanta alegría y que hemos practicado la mayoría de los colombianos en algún momento de nuestras vidas; nos ayuda a fortalecer los lazos familiares y está llamado a derribar los muros de la violencia que nos impiden mirar con fe el futuro que nos ofrece la convivencia (Ministerio del Interior, 2014a: 13).

El Plan Decenal 2014-2024 es una gran jugada por la convivencia del Presidente Juan Manuel Santos, y el compromiso del Gobierno Nacional es ejecutar cada uno de los puntos consignados en este documento. El fútbol es convivencia. Vamos a derrotar la violencia y garantizar que todos los colombianos vivamos el fútbol en paz (ibid: 16).

Once again, this language corresponds entirely with Santos' discourse about the power of football for individual and collective benefits and particularly being a source for national unity and the Coldeportes strategic action plans (see chapter four). Santos referring to the fact that football has been practiced by the majority of Colombians in their life reminds us of Hobsbawm's comments about how the national team functions to help imagine the nation:

What has made sport so uniquely effective a medium for inculcating national feelings, at all events for males, is the ease with which even the least political or public individuals can identify with the nation as symbolized by young persons excelling at what practically every man wants, or at one time in life has wanted, to be good at. The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people (Hobsbawm 1990: 143).

It does seem that Santos is not just addressing men here as being those who have played football, or have had happy memories around football. The *Poder del Fútbol* survey showed that 53% of women had played football in school (Ministerio del Interior, 2014b: 54) and 37% had played in their barrio (ibid: 50), though only 12% of women continue to play (ibid: 31). The reference to 'derribar los muros de violencia que nos impiden mirar con fe el futuro que nos ofrece la convivencia' is a clear reference to the peace talks with the FARC – the violence to be defeated is not just that between rival football fans but violence in Colombia more widely.

The PDSCCF sets out a ten-year vision for how Colombian football should progress. It does so by stating fifteen general objectives, thirty-one specific objectives, and one hundred and sixty-nine activities to undertake. One of the most obvious details lacking from all of these objectives and activities is the absence of a specific timescale. Another omission is the lack of provisions for women's organized football, either at professional or amateur level. Although women are mentioned and targeted in the recreational aspects of football and in the plans to involve girls in social development programmes, there is no reference whatsoever of helping to advance the female game. No provisions are made for professional men's clubs starting women's teams, either professionally or in the junior ranks, nor to create a professional women's league or to

support the existing amateur structures. It is a huge oversight to fail to consider developing the women's game in a document aiming to improve the professional game and charge it with developing national cohesion. Developing a women's league would give Colombian women footballers greater visibility, make them important symbols for girls across the nation and give greater recognition and representation in the country, as well as allowing women to be explicitly included in a key national symbol and related discourse. The omission of women's professional football, and the lack of references to achievements by the women's national team in speeches and tweets by Santos (see chapter two), effectively reveals that the women's game does not have the same potential to unify or represent the nation as potently as men's football in the eyes of the Santos government. Women's professional football is not a nation-building tool, though the participation of women and girls in recreational football is important to tackle social problems. As it turned out, despite this lack of any consideration in the PDSCCF, a professional women's league was created in 2017 in Colombia.

The PDSCCF outlines a short-term aim and a long-term aim for football in the introduction, which are as follows:

El Plan Decenal aborda dos perspectivas: una de corto plazo, que se dirige al control y prevención de las manifestaciones violentas asociadas al fútbol, mediante la consolidación de las medidas y acciones policiales, el fortalecimiento de la Comisión Nacional y las Comisiones Locales de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol, el desarrollo de planes y protocolos de seguridad y contingencia que se aplicarán dentro y fuera de los estadios, y el afianzamiento tecnológico al interior de los mismos. Por otra parte, una estrategia de largo plazo constituida por acciones de formación en convivencia y derechos humanos, creación y ejecución de oportunidades de educación, de trabajo y de aprovechamiento del tiempo libre por parte de los jóvenes; y preparación en participación y apertura de los espacios de discusión para la incidencia de los jóvenes en las políticas públicas que les afectan (Ministerio del Interior, 2014a: 14).

The overall vision is that by 2024:

En cumplimiento del Plan Decenal del Fútbol, en Colombia ese deporte cumplirá un papel cohesionador, integrador y transformador de la sociedad que habrá contribuido a la consolidación de una cultura de paz, participación, emprendimiento y prosperidad que impactará a toda la población, en especial a los niños, niñas, jóvenes, mujeres y comunidades étnicas y habrá cosechado grandes triunfos internacionales (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 77).

The language in the aims and ten-year vision marks a departure from the previous focus of previous legislation, where security, punishment and control were in ascendancy, and coexistence and fan and stakeholder involvement was restricted to one or two articles. The

scope for social development and the emphasis on citizenship rights, negotiation and creating spaces for encounter prevail. Once again, this resonates with the role articulated for football by Santos in his discourse. The PDSCCF was not only therefore a concerted attempt to address social problems, support pre-existing nation-building institutions and help social transformation, but was also an admission of the failures of implementation of the legislation that had been approved in the previous four years. The short-term aim, stated above, is an admission that the problem of violence in and around football stadiums has not been solved, nor have the protocols for stadium improvements, facilities and security plans been fully implemented. The section detailing the objectives of the PDSCCF points to problems caused by a ‘proliferación de normas’ (ibid: 78) and failing to establish the responsibilities of the various administrative bodies involved in professional football. It has been difficult to ‘establecer una jerarquía clara de responsabilidades’ and ‘preocupa la desarticulación y en ocasiones contradicción, que existe entre las normas y políticas públicas de orden nacional y las de orden departamental y municipal que se asocian con esta materia’ (ibid: 78). The confusion caused by the plethora of laws introduced and the failure to educate fans, clubs, authorities and general stadium personnel on the content of the laws, of their rights and responsibilities has led to disparities in their implementation. The solution to this, perhaps inevitably as the cynics might point out, is to create another law. The objective is to ‘promover un Proyecto de ley marco o de código que recoja, clarifique, armonice, unifique y estructure, la legislación relacionada con la seguridad, la comodidad y la convivencia en el fútbol como espectáculo’ (ibid: 82). This law has yet to appear on the statutes.⁴⁵

The bodies created by the laws to deal with the problem are not exempt from blame. The CNSCCF is criticised for a lack of strategic direction and the failure to establish roles and a vision of their work, for not having a ‘fuerza vinculante’ that obliges CLSCCFs to follow their directives, for failing to have full and regular participation of those forming the Committee and for being reactive and not proactive in their work seeking to reduce violence. The lack of a budget for the CNSCCF is also highlighted (ibid: 88). Although a number of activities are proposed for CNSCCF and CLSCCF failures to be improved, it is not made clear how a ‘poder vinculante’ for the CNSCCF is actually going to work, nor how the CLSCCFs and clubs are going to be obliged to follow decisions made by the CNSCCF. The same types of measures to train and educate are proposed

⁴⁵ A much-criticized reform to the *Ley del Fútbol* was delayed as it entered the Senate to be discussed at the end of May 2017. An *El Espectador* article noted that ‘las principales modificaciones no fueron socializadas ni compartidas con deportistas, técnicos y demás protagonistas de la actividad física’ and that the law ‘no se socializó ni fue debatido públicamente, por lo que incumple los principios de participación y democratización que exige la ley’ (*El Espectador* 31 May 2017).

without it being evident how this will be enforced, or how punished if it fails to occur, as has been the case since 2009 when these bodies were first created.

Much of what is included in terms of dealing with the short-term aim of improving security, comfort and coexistence around professional football is largely repeating what has supposedly already been established with past laws. There is an aim to strengthen fans' knowledge of their rights and responsibilities and the content of previous legislation with the proposed creation of the Defensoría del Aficionado that would create a Manual del Aficionado making the fans' rights clear. This Defensoría does not yet exist. *Barrismo social* is again recognized as an important factor in the attempt to reduce football violence, as is the need for authorities to cooperate with official *barras* to implement pedagogical programmes and create workshops to tackle the social problems at the root of stadium disorder. The aim to strengthen *barrismo social* is underlined (ibid: 115), but once again, aside from the activities proposed, there is no timescale, no budget suggested, no clarity on how these activities are going to be made obligatory, nor who is responsible for them within the CLSCCFs. It is suggested that the government should form a Mesa de Concertación to develop *barrismo social* nationally, establishing best practice and opening forums for mutual help between *barras*, but there is nothing to indicate that such measures are being implemented.

The longer-term aim of the PDSCCF, that of using football as a pedagogical tool towards social education, coexistence, tolerance and health, has a more optimistic future, mostly because SDP methodologies and programmes predate the PDSCCF, programmes organized by the government (*Golombiao* for example), and by NGOs. They also echo the strategic aims and action plans of Coldeportes and the Deporte Social Comunitario section, as discussed in chapter four. The influence of the NGOs contracted to do the consultancy work is very apparent, though it is much shorter than the previous section, with fewer objectives.⁴⁶ It represents an official commitment to deploy football towards these ends, details how such work can be implemented and what types of issues can be tackled. One notable exception in this section is the absence of how football can be deployed in a post-conflict scenario, but at the time of publication of the PDSCCF, the negotiations with the FARC were not yet resolved. The Plan does reference the UN's

⁴⁶ A result of the PDSCCF was the creation of the *Gol y Paz* network, Esteban Reyes saying that 'me atrevería a decir que hoy en día no existiría el movimiento *Goy y Paz* si no hubiéramos hecho el Plan Decenal' (personal interview 19 October 2017). The *Gol y Paz* project, a continuation of the Red Fútbol y Paz, was originally formed in October 2010, comprising a number of NGOs that had projects in specific parts of the country. The process of producing the PDSCCF meant that the organizations decided to work more closely together, realizing that a network would enable them to strengthen their presence across the national territory and create stronger partnerships with government institutions, businesses and transnational organizations with an interest in sponsoring social development work in Colombia.

development goals, and makes references to a key document produced by the UN's International Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace (IWGSDP), '*Harnessing Sports for Development in Peace*' (2008), a document which set out best practice for deploying sport towards development and peace. In the Colombian context, the emphasis is also on trying to prevent recruitment into criminal gangs, drug cartels, guerrilla groups or paramilitaries. Therefore, the PDSCCF is making official the Colombian government's commitment to the use of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) and applying it to the Colombian panorama with an eye to using sport and particularly football in a potential situation of post-conflict following the peace agreement with the FARC. That the provision of sport, recreation, physical exercise and leisure is a key part of reintegration processes in the ETCR camps suggests that the government is more committed to working with sport towards development. Chapter four continues the analysis of SDP programmes involving the FARC.

The PDSCCF explicitly targets vulnerable communities with these SDP projects, as do the strategic action plans of Coldeportes and Deporte Social Comunitario (discussed in chapter four). One of the challenges it faces is to take the existing projects into more rural parts of Colombia, particularly those that have suffered in the conflict. Previously this may have been difficult to achieve given the conflict over territory and the lack of state presence, and it will be interesting to see if football programmes can extend into these areas. The PDSCCF also recognizes the need to build pitches and football facilities across the country to help this process in areas where they are badly lacking, noting that in these vulnerable communities '*la cancha constituye un espacio de gran importancia para el uso del tiempo libre y la generación de capital social y comunitario*' (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 150). Success in this will depend on sufficient investment, as well as the state being able to create an active and effective presence in territories where FARC and paramilitaries have previously exercised control, which of course depends on the ongoing post-peace agreement scenario.⁴⁷ Coldeportes, rather than the Ministerio del Interior, is better placed to address this aspect of the PDSCCF. Coldeportes' work does correspond with the objectives of the PDSCCF, although the PDSCCF is not mentioned in their own documents – the lack of articulation between Coldeportes and the Ministerio del Interior is a reason why the plan has not been implemented fully.

⁴⁷ The *Me la juego por las víctimas* roadshows, organized by the Unidad por las Víctimas to promote citizens' awareness of their rights and reparations, was an interesting first step towards football being used in conflict-hit zones. Former footballers of the stature of Carlos Valderrama fronted this government campaign, using football to make victims of the conflict aware of their rights.

As a document, the PDSCCF is impressive. It sets out a vision for how football can have a transformative and unifying impact in Colombia and gives direction about how this can be achieved. Football is given a specified nation-building role through the general and specific objectives, in terms of how the professional game as a spectator sport and business can be deployed in communities through work by state institutions, clubs, private enterprises, NGOs, the educational sector and, crucially, the fans themselves. It also specifies how the recreational game can be instrumentalized as part of SDP initiatives dealing with transforming society and being another cog supporting citizenship-creating institutions. It has a clear role to play in the post-conflict Colombia that Santos made the focus of his presidency, resonating with his aims of finding common activities, times and spaces when the nation could unite and imagine itself as a collective. Juber Ariza describes it as ‘el único plan que existe en el mundo, en el que el fútbol es una política pública’ and proudly said that ‘toda persona que conoce el Plan Decenal queda maravillada, porque allí están todas las respuestas a todas las preguntas’ (personal interview 6 October 2017). Indeed, those who were interviewed about the content of the project, all saw positive elements that could deal with existing issues in and around football, both in urban and rural areas. The problem is that, in the view of almost everyone, the PDSCCF is not being implemented and is at risk of becoming yet another forgotten document.

Implementation of the PDSCCF

Given the content of the PDSCCF and comparing it with Santos’ speeches about the relevance of sport, and particularly football, for Colombia, as well as taking into account the increased role of Coldeportes in government and a greater budget for sport in general, it is difficult to believe that, for many observers, the PDSCCF has become an almost irrelevant document. During fieldwork interviews, the consensus about the plan was that in the five years since it was published, very little has been achieved:

Alejandro Villanueva (sociologist, expert on *barras* in Colombia, and author of investigation into academic research on football as part of consultancy process of Plan Decenal): ‘hay algo muy claro y es que no tenemos un Plan Decenal’ [...] El Plan Decenal no tiene proceso de implementación’ [...] ¿Qué dice la gente de las barras? Que como no se implementó el Plan y quedó solamente un libro muy bonito’ (personal interview 7 October 2017).

David Osorio (displaced victim of conflict and project leader at Tiempo de Juego, Altos de Cazucá): ‘Mi percepción del Plan Decenal fue que todo comenzó con mucha fuerza. Comenzó con un gran liderazgo, una gran propuesta, tanto con las barras, con las comunidades y las fundaciones que integraron para poder desarrollarlo. Lo que pasó fue

que como en Colombia muchas veces pasan los procesos, cuando son al largo plazo, llega un punto donde se pierde o queda al vacío allí' (personal interview 2 November 2017).

Esteban Reyes (director Tiempo de Juego): 'El documento del Plan Decenal, a mi juicio, quedó convertido en un documento casi de cajón académico' (personal interview 19 October 2017).

Ernesto Herrera (leader of Santa Fe *barra* La Guardia Albi-Roja Sur): 'El Plan Decenal se firma en el año 2014, a 2024. No se ha ejecutado ni el 3%' (personal interview 14 November 2017).

Julián Maldonado (director of Paíz Pazífico NGO): Yo creo que ha sido un documento invisibilizado, o sea, no se ha socializado y no se lo ha dado como la fuerza, podemos decirlo, que podría tener este documento. No se ha visto como reflejado en acciones muy concretas' (personal interview 18 October 2017).

The view provided by the office of Afranio Restrepo, subdirector of Coldeportes, is also cognizant of a slow process of implementation: 'El Plan Decenal se ha venido implementando, falta desde el nivel central dar cumplimiento a la política en el orden establecido para que lo desarrollado no sean acciones aisladas' (personal correspondence 31 January 2018). The most damning indictment of the lack of progress with the implementation of the PDSCCF came from the Attorney General Fernando Carrillo Flórez at the 'La Violencia en el Fútbol no Aguanta event', an event designed to relaunch the plan. He stated:

El fútbol no necesita más normas, solo que se aplique el Plan Decenal que fue pensado para cumplirse y no para quedarse engavetado, relegado entre las prioridades de los responsables de su ejecución, una norma más que se está quedando escrita [...] Desde la Procuraduría nos preguntamos qué ha pasado que ese plan cuya construcción se inició precisamente cuando me tocó desempeñarme como Ministro del Interior [...] debería llenarnos de orgullo y convertirse en el eje del fin de la polarización que hoy nos duele a los colombianos (Procuraduría General de Colombia 22 August 2017a).

This statement amounts to official recognition that the PDSCCF has, at the half-way stage of its ten-year timescale, failed to become a public policy that is being implemented nationally in an organized fashion. It is difficult to see evidence of what objectives have been achieved since the project was launched. Simple objectives such as having a 'Día del Aficionado' (Ministerio del Interior, 2014a: 122), creating a webpage about the PDSCCF and a media strategy around it, or creating a 'Centro de Investigación' (ibid: 136) to further academic study of football's benefits for society or research the problem of violence around professional football have not been achieved, for example. Work does continue with the CNSCCF, the CLSCCFs and the CTSCCF, but there appears to be a sense that these groups tend to react to situations when violence emerges and try to find solutions when they occur, rather than looking to the PDSCCF and implementing measures that were recommended. Alirio Amaya referred to these types of moments in

meetings of the CTSCCF: ‘en la Comisión es lo mismo. Allí me dicen todo el tiempo “No Alirio, no, Plan Decenal”, y yo “pues, está en el Plan. O sea, ustedes vienen acá a discutir un problema en un estadio, y vienen y discuten mil cosas, yo les digo a ustedes, está en el Plan. Allí está.” Entonces, eso ha sido como la realidad’ (personal interview 23 October 2017). There is still time for the PDSCCF to be implemented, and a source of optimism for its future is that Carrillo Flórez and Ariza, given their previous involvement with the project, seem to have an interest in relaunching the project from the Attorney General’s office, having hosted the ‘La Violencia en el Fútbol No Aguanta’ event. According to Ariza, they have also written to the mayors of cities where professional football is played to ask for information about how the policy is being implemented. There are clearly those, such as Amaya, who continue to ‘push the cart’⁴⁸ for the PDSCCF, and cities where the Plan is being implemented (such as Medellín under the mayor Federico Gutiérrez), but there are a number of problems which explain why the Plan is at risk, and why its potential is being wasted. These problems include: 1) a lack of support from central government, including Santos failing to mention the plan in his sports-specific speeches; 2) a complete lack of interest in the project from the new Interior Minister Juan Fernando Cristo, who replaced Irigorri shortly after the PDSCCF was published in a cabinet reshuffle; 3) a failure to have a specific office or budget within the Interior Ministry to work on the plan; 4) the public policy carries no sense of obligation and does not generate political power; 5) its implementation in cities depends on the will and interest of the mayors; 6) communications have broken down between the Interior Ministry and the NGOs that carried out the project; 7) there is a lack of communication between bodies involved in the plan and which form part of the CNSCCF, the CLSCCFs and CTSCCF; 8) in some sections there is an unwillingness to implement the plan, some seeing it as a plan for the *barras*, of whom they are still suspicious; and finally 9) a lack of overall leadership in pushing the plan, that to some extent, is linked to all the rest of the afore-mentioned problems.

Let us now explore each of these problems in turn. One of the mysteries of the PDSCCF is that President Santos has never mentioned it in any of his public speeches or tweeted about it, as proved in the previous chapter. He spoke at length about Law 1445, outlining its content and benefits for the nation, but this was not the case of the PDSCCF. Given the content of the plan that resonates so closely with Santos’ continual message in all of the sport-related speeches that he gave over his presidency, it is amazing that the plan was never mentioned. The plan is a public policy that has at its very core the aim of deploying the nation’s most popular sport, a

⁴⁸ In tweets and personal communication, Alirio tends to use the phrase ‘empujar la carreta’ to talk about the ongoing process of trying to implement the PDSCCF and its policies.

sport that has been proven in the *Poder del Fútbol* survey to have integrative and nation-building qualities that are, furthermore, recognized by the Colombian population, towards the project of uniting the country, creating greater coexistence, reducing violence and helping bring peace to the nation. This is the core message that Santos always proffered when he talked about sport and football in particular. It is baffling that the PDSCCF was never part of such speeches, particularly as it should be able to give concrete evidence about how his government was working towards creating the conditions for peace in the country.

To what extent was the PDSCCF a priority for Santos? Ana Arizabaleta said that they were told during meetings that it was a process that Santos was following: ‘Era un tema que se hablaba porque nosotros en las reuniones a veces nos decían “El Presidente dijo”, “el Presidente me llamó”, “el Presidente está empujando.” Es que creo que hubo un momento en que estuvo muy pendiente’ (personal interview 3 November 2017). She believes that there was some communication between Iragorri and the President during the process, but then other priorities took over. Alejandro Villanueva, however, thought that:

El tema del Plan Decenal no ha sido una prioridad en términos de Santos, porque el Plan Decenal está diseñado para pensar la convivencia en el fútbol local. Y la convivencia en el fútbol local está fuertemente relacionada con la hegemonía de las instituciones, fuertemente acusadas de corrupción que son la Dimayor y la Federación Colombiana de Fútbol⁴⁹ (personal interview 7 October 2017).

Santos tended to focus his interest on the national team (and particularly the men’s team) rather than the club game when he spoke about football.⁵⁰ Rivalries between clubs have meant that the professional club game, and the issues of violence around it, were a less suitable terrain for discourses of unity and giving examples of desirable citizenship, particularly given the historical tendencies towards regionalism (discussed in the literature review), which have fragmented a sense of nation and national identity. The national team matches were a much more obvious focus for this rhetoric given that regional and club rivalries disappear to coalesce behind the acknowledged national symbol of the *Selección*, particularly as the majority of the players in the national squads currently play abroad, and are therefore deterritorialized from regional representations. Santos’ sports-related speeches tended to occur when there was no

⁴⁹ Villanueva is referring here to the case of former FCF President Luis Bedoya who in his trial admitted taking bribes during his tenure.

⁵⁰ The only occasions when Santos spoke about club football is when he congratulated teams for winning the league, evoked historical memories of triumphs from the past (such as the Millonarios team of the *El Dorado* period), when Nacional won the Copa Libertadores, and referred to himself as being a fan of Santa Fe. There were only 24 mentions of club football across his 99 speeches. References in tweets to club football often refer to the achievements of Colombian players abroad in their clubs, which are unlikely to provoke partisan reactions.

real sense of potential discord, such as at the inauguration of sporting facilities or major competitions hosted by Colombia, or when an athlete or national team gained notable success and was welcomed to the Casa de Nariño.

When Juan Carlos Torres was asked about why Santos had not spoken about the PDSCCF, he attributed the omission to a lack of communication from those involved with the project at Ministerial level:

Si el Presidente no ha hablado, en particular, del Plan Decenal de Fútbol en los discursos es porque Coldeportes y el Ministerio del Interior, que tuvieron que ver con su formulación y aprobación, no lo elevaron a nivel presidencial. Es decir, no lo trajeron a la atención del Presidente [...] Yo no puedo decir si él supo o no, ni de qué manera lo apoyó, pero otra cosa es que lo pongan en su agenda como algo importante, además, para que pueda decir unas palabras allá o mencionarlo, o que en la información que le llegue de Coldeportes cuando haya un evento deportivo le recuerden 'no olvídense que tenemos el Plan Decenal de Fútbol'. No sé si ha ocurrido, pero no creo (personal interview 14 December 2017).

This failure to communicate between the Interior Ministry, which chaired the process of the PDSCCF, and the President's communications team explains its invisibility in presidential discourse. Coldeportes seemed better at promoting their work when Santos spoke about sport. Perhaps when Santos had the occasion to speak about sport he looked to Coldeportes rather than other ministries that had an involvement with a sporting project, such as Colombia Joven with the '*Golombiao*' campaign (Santos spoke about *Golombiao* when visiting a site in Soacha in 2012), and the Cancillería who run the 'Diplomacia Deportiva Cultural' programme. Ariza admitted that 'quizás hubiera sido mejor tener un mayor compromiso del gobierno central' (personal interview 6 October 2017), and maybe this explains why the commitment from central government was lacking.

Many of those interviewed about the PDSCCF who were involved in the process blame Juan Fernando Cristo for its lack of implementation. A recurring problem in Colombian politics has been a lack of continuity in policy amongst those in positions of responsibility. Ana Arizabaleta pointed to this problem, saying 'el tema de, si está la bandera del anterior pues yo no me voy a montar en la misma bandera. Me imagino que también hay un tema de egos, él que no lo entiende pues, no se volvió una cosa como "la oficinita del fútbol, eso no tiene nada que ver conmigo" y ya, perdió toda la relevancia' (personal interview 3 November 2017). Esteban Reyes shared her opinion of Cristo's lack of interest in the project: 'Se fue Iragorri, entró Cristo, y a Cristo sí ya este tema no le importó un carajo. Digamos, a él... no hubo forma de llegarle a Cristo' (personal interview 19 October 2017). Alirio Amaya also points to Cristo's unwillingness to

support the project: 'Vamos a depender siempre de la voluntad política del ministro del turno. Por decir algo, el Ministro Cristo, para mí, de los nefastos del tema. Pésimo' (personal interview 23 October 2017). This lack of interest from Cristo meant that the funding, resources and manpower necessary to implement the recommendations of the plan were simply not granted. The budget that was announced by Carrillo Flórez in 2013 was expended in the consultancy process, and there has never been a defined budget since from the Interior Ministry. As the Interior Ministry under Cristo did not assume the leadership role for the plan in terms of creating a specific office for it, other bodies that are a part of the CNSCCF, the CTSCCF or the CLSCCFs have also not necessarily been prepared to invest in the implementation of the plan unless it has been made a specific part of the municipal or regional government actions. It remains to be seen whether the PDSCCF will be supported or promoted by the Iván Duque presidency.

The lack of obligation for the plan to become part of these municipal government plans and budgets also explains why the PDSCCF has not progressed into concrete deeds. According to the office of Afranio Restrepo of Coldeportes, the PDSCCF has been included in the plans of the following cities where professional football is played: Pasto, Tuluá, Medellín, Cúcuta, Bucaramanga, Barrancabermeja, Tunja, Cartagena, Bogotá and Ibagué. This was the decision of the relevant authorities, and indicates a failure to convince every city authority to implement the plan. There is also no guarantee that future mayors or governors will continue to support the plan's implementation through funding and other institutional support. Ariza described the plan as being like a 'menu' that those interested in implementing it in order to tackle social issues can use. If the plan is going to have the national impact that is its stated aim then it cannot just be a 'menu' option, as Amaya argued: 'esos menús no pueden ser menús. Eso es política pública; deben de tener una obligatoriedad' (personal interview 23 October 2017). Amaya admitted that 'la política pública tiene que generar poder político, y el Plan Decenal no ha generado poder político' (ibid). The lack of obligation and the fact that the plan in itself does not create political power, added to the issue that implementing the strategies recommended by the plan will need to come out of municipal budgets rather than a central one, mean that local authorities are less likely to implement the plan unless they can see benefits for the city. The lack of a timescale stipulated in the plan and the failure to pinpoint who should be responsible for ensuring the objectives are met, means that a sense of purpose is absent. These factors lead to a lack of national parity in coverage by the plan, and its continuing absence in cities and rural areas, thus failing to provide the 'nuevas ciudadanía deportivas' that the PDSCCF should develop.

The NGOs who were contracted to carry out the consultancy work and produce the document have been marginalized from the process, and there has been no sense of continuity. Esteban Reyes said that between the Interior Ministry and the NGOs there is 'una absoluta brecha. Yo creo que no hay ningún canal de comunicación' (personal interview 19 October 2017). This has meant that some of the side projects carried out during the consultancy project, such as the *Hinchas Responsables* project, were isolated events that were discontinued, leaving *barras* dissatisfied. In fact, it seems that the second, long-term perspective of the PDSCCF as to how recreational football can be deployed for social development and transformation has been forgotten (by the Ministerio del Interior at least, as SDP is a key strategic aim of Coldeportes), and the focus remains on solving the problem of violence in professional football. In the aforementioned conference, there was no mention whatsoever of actions that needed to be taken to reinvigorate this second section of the plan. The NGOs involved with the plan have strengthened their own network to work together, but their projects are largely independent of government, or have isolated arrangements with local authorities. The government here has laid itself open to charges of merely jumping on the bandwagon of existing processes of SDP for their own benefit, and it is a charge difficult to refute, despite their own existing projects. It can be seen as a brief period of exploiting bottom-up processes of nation-building, or at least community-building, co-opting expertise to benefit its own image, but then discarding them once the contract was up and lip service had been paid to the process of creating a public policy. Coldeportes have increased their focus on Deporte Social Comunitario, but this has not been carried out or articulated through the plan, but through their own strategic objectives.

The fact that there is no sense of purpose or leadership emerging from the Interior Ministry, allied to the multitude of different institutions that have a stake within the PDSCCF means that this sense of 'desarticulación institucional' has impeded progress. This situation could potentially change if Coldeportes were to take over the implementation of the project, but the security and coexistence focus that has always been associated with all football legislation means that it is likely to still be directed by the Interior Ministry.

The fifth problem of why the PDSCCF has not been implemented is the lack of political will. To some extent, it has been branded as a 'Plan Decenal de las barras', which does not take a tough enough line with the *barras*. The *barras* are easy targets for being stigmatized as being drug taking, violent delinquents, and whenever violent episodes occur many in the press advance the argument that strict enough measures are not being taken by authorities. There are many that

still prefer the punish over prevent option. Amaya revealed this tension amongst those in powerful positions within the football and institutional hierarchy:

El Plan Decenal tuvo mucha resistencia en el fútbol. Creo que no todos lo han leído. O sea, yo estoy convencido que la gente del fútbol, con el respeto que les tengo, no han hecho una lectura minuciosa del Plan Decenal para entender las grandes posibilidades que hay desde allí. Entonces hay muchas veces los que lo descalifican, dicen “No, es un Plan Decenal de las barras” (personal interview 23 October 2017).

The fans have a similar perspective. Many have an interest in the implementation of the plan as it gives them more rights and legitimizes their participation in football, as well as obliging authorities to address their concerns, support their *barrismo social* activities and tackle the root causes of violence that emerges from their communities. There is suspicion from the *barras*, though, that the authorities do not want to commit to support these projects as Ernesto Herrera argued: ‘es el temor del gobierno como tal, porque después de que crean el documento se dan cuenta de que hay cosas sancionatorias, pero hay cosas buenas para las organizaciones. Creo que es parte del miedo que tiene el gobierno de que la sociedad en general se organice’ (personal interview 14 November 2017). Herrera believes that an opportunity was lost with the Plan Decenal, particularly given the situation with the peace talks in the country, and that the PDSCCF could have been an excellent opportunity to create similar processes and dialogues:

Yo digo que con este documento era el mejor momento para sentar a las barras, en estas circunstancias, en esta coyuntura que está el país, era el mejor momento para poner en efectivo este documento. Creo que era el mejor momento porque habla de paz, de reconciliación, de participación (personal interview 14 November 2017).

The plan does have a ten-year scope for its implementation, but the end of the Santos presidency marked a crucial juncture for its implementation. The Attorney General’s office appears to be attempting to raise awareness of the plan, its usefulness and how it should be employed but given the lack of effective leadership from the Interior Ministry and lack of budget, as well as the optional nature of the public policy and unwillingness from many of those in leadership positions to believe in what the document stands for, then the prospects of the plan being fully implemented nationally appear slight. There is no guarantee that Duque or forthcoming mayors and governors will see it among their priorities, and the fans groups are not sufficiently organized or powerful nationally to push for it to be implemented. Despite it being a public policy that completely resonates with Santos’ oft-stated vision for sports’ deployment towards nation-building and social development, he failed to charge the policy with the impetus it needed for it to be successful. The PDSCCF is therefore a potentially significant document,

articulating a commitment to using football for nation-building aims, but much of it remains solely on paper at this stage of the ten-year process.

Conclusion

Unlike previous occasions when football-based sporting nationalism was deployed by Colombian presidents, the Santos government appeared to have a clearer and multi-faceted strategy about how football could be more systematically deployed towards social transformation and creating a greater sense of community at micro and macro levels. It should be admitted that this has been a more propitious moment for Santos to deploy football than previous governments have enjoyed. The hosting of the Under 20 World Cup in 2011, the successful 2014 World Cup campaign and qualification for the 2018 World Cup and Colombia's most successful period for sporting success in multi-sport events such as the Olympics and Pan-American Games enabled Santos to reap the benefits of these successes, and he did so adeptly. Although the process of introducing legislation did not begin under Santos, the focus of legislation under his government shifted in tone towards prevention rather than punishment, creating new sporting citizenships and the promotion of football for coexistence and reintegration to solve ongoing security issues and create more links between state and citizen, and citizen and nation. Through the laws and public policies introduced under Santos, (Law 1445 and the *Estatuto del Aficionado* in particular, as well as the PDSCCF), the conditions were created for football to be a cleaner and more potent symbol of 'Colombianness'. The legislation intends to tackle problems of criminality within clubs, create a safer, welcoming and convivial spectacle at professional club level for fans and reach out to the communities through professional football to address social problems that have led to violence in and around football stadiums. Although authority and control are still important features of legislation and there is a move to strengthening institutions and clarifying their duties, there is a dual process of recognizing citizen's rights, supporting their actions within their communities and a commitment to supporting and leading SDP projects across the national territory. In other words, there is on the statutes a government commitment to support bottom-up projects of nation-building, a combination, therefore, of top-down and bottom-up processes. The legislation and public policies are a work in progress, with the PDSCCF trying to address the problems and uncertainties created by a plethora of laws and a muddled chain of command and hierarchy in the decision-making process for the realization of policies. It remains to be seen whether the new *Proyecto de reforma a la Ley del Deporte*, first mooted in May 2017 but

delayed after criticism and still undergoing consultation, will be approved, then be implemented and how the problems will be solved. It is uncertain whether Colombia's ambitious approach to what can be achieved through laws and public policies related to football, certainly compared to other football-based laws on the continent that have a purely punitive approach, can be implemented consistently and effectively. There has been, at least, the attempt to create a legal framework for professional and recreational football to be enhanced as a dynamo for nation-building and greater national cohesion in a post-conflict Colombia.

Allied to this legislation, Santos giving more power to Coldeportes and a greater role for the Deporte Social Comunitario section within Coldeportes gave sport a more prominent role in contributing towards the policies pursued during his presidency. Given that a feature of Santos' government was his pursuit of peace with the FARC, sport, and football in particular, was in a position (supported by legislation and public policy) to be deployed in the post-peace agreement scenario. Chapter four looks at specific SDP projects that have been undertaken by Coldeportes and Colombia Joven. Unlike the rather *ad hoc* nature of previous moments of sporting nationalism around sporting success when rhetoric went unsupported by concrete measures, the Santos government put in place laws and policies to prove football's power and deploy it to tackle some of the issues caused by state failure. Through the *Poder del Fútbol* survey and the PDSCCF, football's unifying power was measured and officialized and presented as a viable option for regions and cities to implement. However, the failure of Santos and his Interior Ministry to oblige governors and mayors to adopt the measures and to support the plan with the necessary budget and support means that implementation thus far has been piecemeal and inconsistent.

Chapter 4: Football for peace: football-based government SDP campaigns towards nation building

Introduction

Attention in this final chapter turns to football's deployment by the government through campaigns and projects toward nation-building aims. The focus in this chapter will be on projects administered by Coldeportes, but also the *Golombiao* project of Colombia Joven.⁵¹ These are Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) campaigns that share the nation-building aims for recreational football of the PDSCCF discussed in the previous chapter, although have not necessarily been articulated through the plan, since the PDSCCF was a Ministerio del Interior public policy. The importance of analysing these projects is that they put into practice the unifying and social developmental powers that are ascribed to football in Santos' discourse for nation building, and show that football has not merely been deployed symbolically and rhetorically at the times of notable national success. Rhetoric rather than concrete action has usually been the case in other cases of sporting nationalism. With the campaigns discussed in this chapter, the principles of inclusion and coexistence essential for Santos' national unity project are brought to the forefront through programmes in which football has been either the main or a significant sport used. The fact that football was a key part of the reintegration programme in the FARC demobilization and transition camps, a moment of historic national significance in terms of the Colombian national project, makes this analysis particularly pertinent. It also adds to the field of SDP studies that have examined the role in peace-building and post-conflict scenarios around the globe.

The central argument of this chapter is that under Santos there was an increased deployment of football-based SDP campaigns targeted at addressing the Colombian political and social situation, which complemented the post-conflict process with the FARC, as well as Santos' national unity project. This occurred most symbolically and visibly for the nation in the FARC Espacios

⁵¹ It is worth noting that there were other government agencies and ministries that have deployed football to aid their activities. The Cancillería was responsible for the *Diplomacia Deportiva y Cultural* programme, winner of the International award for Sport and Peace in December 2017, which sent teams from vulnerable areas to partner countries abroad, and sought to promote social inclusion. The *Agencia para la Reincorporación y Normalización y Unidad por las Víctimas* has used football regularly in their activities, and the *Unidad de Atención y Reparación para las Víctimas* had a football roadshow called 'Me la juego por la paz' featuring the likes of Carlos Valderrama, which aimed to use football to let victims in communities which had suffered from the conflict know about their right for reparations.

Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación (ETCR) camps, as football became a venue for opposing forces to swap bullets for balls in matches designed to aid reconciliation and coexistence processes. National team matches in 2017 and particularly with the World Cup in 2018 also became moments for former FARC combatants to assert their ‘Colombianness’ as fans of the national team, and thus share moments of exceptional patriotism with the national ‘in group’ from which they had previously been excluded, as was argued in chapter one. Santos’ government recognized the role recreational and social sport could play as a site for inclusion and for peace building, as well as inculcating positive citizen values, particularly in vulnerable areas where state presence had been limited or had been absent. SDP programmes with football at their core predate his presidency in Colombia, but this chapter argues that there has been a much greater onus, articulation and commitment to SDP under Santos. Football as an undeniably ‘culturally significant’ (Rookwood and Palmer 2011: 187) sport in Colombia with ample political and social currency, added to institutional, academic and popular recognition of its transformative power, meant it was utilized for a variety of nation-building purposes under Santos, including:

- 1) Supporting the peace process by creating spaces and opportunities for reintegration and reconciliation between former combatants, public forces and the community.
- 2) Re-signifying spaces, people and organisations, particularly those involved in or victims of the Colombian conflict and related violences.
- 3) Facilitating social and regional encounter by creating socialization spaces around competitive, youth, social and recreational sport that help the building of mutual trust and social capital.
- 4) Providing pedagogical activities that supplement, replace or fill the void of the responsibilities of other state-institutions that educate on social issues such as health, environment and gender equity, and that provide opportunities for personal development and help form ‘better’ Colombians.
- 5) Finding new talents, coaching and providing opportunities for young Colombians to progress in sport who can represent the country and provide moments for national celebration, boosting national pride, positivity and self-confidence, as well as moments for symbolic unity where triumphs of the *patria* can be celebrated.
- 6) Answering the institutional deficit in guaranteeing the rights of Colombian citizens stipulated by the Constitution of 1991 and legislation such as the Sistema Nacional del Deporte, by providing opportunities and infrastructure for sport, physical activity, physical education and recreation.

- 7) Giving the state visibility through sport in peripheral areas and communities that historically may have felt abandoned or ignored by the state, providing the opportunity for state and citizens to reconnect.

All of the above features address existing deficits or fissures in the Colombian national project and weak sense of national identity. Through SDP projects, the Santos government attempted to find ways to promote symbols and institutions, reintegrate and include zones and citizens, and alleviate sources of conflict that engender isolation, enmity, polarization and distrust amongst Colombians. It is important to remember that football as an activity, and the national team as a symbol, are one of very few unifying elements in 'una nación huérfana de símbolos, instituciones e ídolos que cristalicen las identidades colectivas y que sirvan de sedimento en la construcción de una nación (Dávila Ladrón de Guevara and Londoño 2003: 123). Football has become the 'eje condensador de adhesiones y arraigos detrás de los cuales se nutre el sentimiento nacionalista' (ibid: 130). Whereas presidential discourse around football tends to function sporadically at the time of national victories, under Santos football is put to work more consistently through SDP campaigns. It functions daily and in an enduring manner through these campaigns, particularly those in the ETCRs, to synthesize the rather fragile and still controversial new national 'nosotros' and 'Nueva Colombia' promoted by Santos via the rhetorical fusing of the national victories of the 2014 World Cup and the peace process.

As discussed in chapter one, there has been a tendency in Colombian government to focus on elite sport and how it can be deployed towards national benefit. It has been used either as a pacification and distraction device (such as with the *El Dorado* league), or creating a sense of national unity through rhetorical praising of the sporting heroes and making the victory redolent of desired national characteristics (such as with the team of the mid 80s to early 90s). The latter tactic has certainly taken place under Santos as demonstrated by chapter two. Historically, Colombians have not been taught to feel more Colombian through sport in their community, and sporting nationalism has occurred mostly through elite level achievement, as discussed in chapter one. However, the promotion and strengthening of *deporte social comunitario* and an awareness of how recreational sport and SDP projects can also nation-build through creating the conditions for coexistence, integration and developing social values during the Santos government was more novel. To some extent, it is a similar situation to the first three decades of the twentieth century and debates about the *raza colombiana*. Worries about hygiene, health and degeneration of the race led to the first sports law in Colombia, Ley 80 de 1925, which promoted physical education and sport for the whole population rather than just the elites (Hernández 2013: 45). In this period, 'el deporte se vio como uno de los eslabones

fundamentales en el desarrollo de una sociedad moderna en Colombia, pues “valores [como] el espíritu de equipo, la voluntad de vencer y la disciplina del entrenamiento [fueron] considerados parte de la sociedad capitalista” (Morales 2011: 17 in Hernández 2013: 45). Once again, under Santos, the widespread practice of sport became a way for the government to counteract problems that were affecting the nation, such as violence, avoiding vice, and to promote tolerance, respect and coexistence. The values that Santos attributed to sport in his rhetoric were enacted and given priority in sport projects at a community level.

The Santos government studied and took heed of published recommendations from international institutions such as the United Nations via the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) and SDP theory. Subsequent projects showed a commitment to implementing these recommendations. SDP projects in Colombia have received comparatively little critical attention and so the setting of peace negotiations and post-conflict Colombia can provide an important contribution to this particular field. This chapter, then, analyses how *deporte social comunitario* and SDP projects with football at their heart, are part of Santos’ wider strategy to include more Colombians, particularly those previously ‘other’ to the nation, and those in vulnerable communities, within the nation, ensuring that football has a more enduring and constant role to play alongside the exceptional moments of national unity engendered by a men’s national team match.

Recognition of Football’s Power for Social Development in Colombia

Previous chapters have shown that sport, and football specifically, was important for the Santos government in terms of fostering a greater sense of national togetherness and positivity around the symbol of the national football team, and the mythopoeic values that can be learned from football and sport in general. Given the focus of Santos towards national unity, with the peace with the FARC as a central concern, the symbolic field of football was a privileged site to promote sentiments and acts of peace and unity. The frequency of this message in his discourse demonstrates the linking of football with his political project. Although the Ministerio del Interior promoted the legislation and PDSCCF, Coldeportes was at the forefront in developing projects that used sport as a motor for social development, peace and togetherness, to support the president’s rhetoric. In answer to questions about the significance of SDP under Santos, the office of Afranio Restrepo, the subdirector of Coldeportes, wrote:

El deporte como herramienta de convivencia y paz es significativo para la actual administración. Si se hace un análisis detenido al Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, el instrumento que tiene el gobierno para la planeación cuatrienal de sus acciones, se evidencia la relevancia significativa que ha tenido el deporte en los dos periodos de la actual administración. Adicionalmente, el Plan Decenal del Deporte [2009-2019, henceforth the PDD]⁵² plantea en acciones concretas que permiten el desarrollo deportivo nacional como eje transversal en la generación de mejores condiciones de convivencia (personal communication 31 January 2018).

This reply cites the historic background of the peace process as a contributory factor towards the importance of sport for the Santos government:

Hay una mayor apuesta por el deporte como herramienta de conciliación y resocialización debido a que se abrió una oportunidad histórica de transformación social. No obstante, desde su creación Coldeportes le ha apostado al deporte como un eje de reconstrucción del tejido social (personal communication 31 January 2018).

This developmental role of sport for society is legislated by the Sistema Nacional del Deporte, introduced by Law 181 in 1995. Duarte Bajiña notes, however, that this role is restricted to one facet in how sport is articulated: ‘desde la ley 181, en Colombia el deporte se desarrolla de ocho formas (Constitución Política de Colombia 1995), pero solamente una de ellas tiene como objetivo el desarrollo de la calidad de vida: el deporte social comunitario’ (2011: 15). This has certainly changed, as demonstrated by the action plans for Coldeportes in both 2010-2014, Santos’ first presidential term, and in 2014-2018. In the ‘Esquema de Planeación’ for 2010-2014, they declare Coldeportes through the PDD as having:

El único fin de promover una unidad o integración nacional para la construcción de una política pública acorde con las condiciones y exigencias del mundo actual y las necesidades reales del país, además orientando el sector al desarrollo humano, la convivencia y la paz, sobre los principios de equidad, bienestar y desarrollo social de todos los colombianos y colombianas (Coldeportes 2010: 3).

All facets of sport are thus given a social role. The mission for Coldeportes for the four-year period is to:

Liderar, formular, dirigir y evaluar la política pública del Deporte, la Recreación y la Actividad Física y ejercer la Inspección Vigilancia y Control del Sistema Nacional del Deporte, con criterio de inclusión y equidad social contribuyendo con la convivencia, la paz y prosperidad de los colombianos (Coldeportes 2010: 8).

⁵² The Plan Decenal de Deporte 2009-2019 should not be confused with the Plan Decenal de Seguridad, Comodidad y Convivencia en el Fútbol, 2014-2024. The former was promoted by Coldeportes and was published before Santos became President. It is essentially an analysis of the state of sport, recreation, physical education and physical activity in Colombia and a roadmap for how Coldeportes should develop over the decade. It is worthy of note that the first section in the ‘marco conceptual’ deals with ‘el desarrollo humano, la convivencia y la paz’, indicative of departmental awareness of the SDP role of sport prior to the Santos presidency. Santos has certainly supported this focus and given the administrative department his backing.

Here we can see the clear emphasis as to how sport, physical activity and recreation should contribute to the wider aims of the Santos government, with specific references to inclusion, social equity, coexistence and peace. It becomes a consideration of all Coldeportes activities. This emphasis could also be seen in the change of tone and focus in the legislation around football promoted by the Ministerio del Interior discussed previously. This function is made explicit in the principal objective of Coldeportes; Coldeportes should ‘promover el bienestar, la calidad de vida así como contribuir a la salud pública, a la educación, a la cultura, a la cohesión social, a la conciencia nacional y a las relaciones internacionales a través de la participación de los actores públicos y privados’ (Coldeportes 2014: 2). In the 2014-2018 Coldeportes Strategic Plan, coexistence and peace are again underlined. The vision is ‘en el 2019 posicionar a Colombia como potencia deportiva mundial y ser la líder en el desarrollo de entornos de convivencia y paz mediante la formulación e implementación de política en deporte, recreación y actividad física, con criterios de inclusión’ (Coldeportes 2014: 3). The emphasis on Colombia being a leader in constructing spaces for coexistence and peace is instructive as to the importance of sport under Santos and its nation-building potential for creating community, coexistence and unity. As Cortés Díaz writes, ‘para el Estado colombiano, el deporte es un elemento indispensable en la construcción de sociedad’ (2015: 79). The action plans and campaigns discussed in this chapter resonate entirely with messages in Santos’ rhetoric and with his wider political aims of peace with the FARC.

The *Poder del Fútbol* survey that was part of the research of the PDSCCF confirms football’s currency and power amongst Colombians and their belief that it can help remedy society’s perceived problems, confirming the opinions of many academics who see football in Colombia as one of the few sources of unity in a country lacking unifying symbols (Dávila Ladrón de Guevara 1994; 2006: 104; Dávila Ladrón de Guevara and Londoño 2003: 134; Riveros 2014; Celis Hernández 2017; Humaney Blanquicett 2014). For instance, 61% think football helps distance young people from violence and vice (Ministerio del Interior, 2014b; 21), 46% think that football unites people (ibid: 21). The Colombian national team is seen a symbol of integration by 96%, with 93% thinking that football is important for youth and 83% believing that it is important for education. Football is important for community at a micro, meso and macro level. 78% think it is important for their neighbourhood, 82% for their community, 86% for their department, 88% for their city and 92% for Colombia (ibid: 42). The survey identifies opportunities that these results provide, such as:

El fútbol crea identidad. La Selección Colombia es una narrativa social que convoca. Se puede fortalecer la identidad nacional por medio de diversas figuras positivas, como los integrantes de la Selección.

Las figuras más representativas de la Selección inspiran en los jóvenes comportamientos sociales deseables, en beneficio de la formación de la nacionalidad, y la práctica de hábitos saludables.

[...] Colombia requiere narrativas incluyentes e inspiradoras, que convoquen a toda la población. El país debe encontrar esas narrativas para la diversidad.

El fútbol corre el velo que no dejaba ver a Colombia como un conglomerado social rico, diverso y alegre.

El fútbol puede ser la gran metáfora del país.

El cuidado y el respeto a los ídolos del fútbol son un ejemplo para el cuidado y respeto del colombiano y de lo colombiano (ibid: 44).

All these opportunities identified are ways that the Colombian nation and a sense of '*colombianidad*' can be fostered and strengthened, utilizing the national football team's symbolic value and the transformative and inclusive power of football to address enduring Colombian problems. As discussed in chapter one, football has been used on various occasions when success has occurred to bolster the weak sense of Colombian national identity, where being Colombian has more to do with frustrations and traumas rather than narratives of national heroism or triumph. Sociologist Alejandro Villanueva commented that:

Colombia en sí ha sido construida a partir de frustraciones. Es un país donde su psicología colectiva está abordada desde la frustración política, desde la desigualdad, desde la pobreza, desde el desempleo, desde la visión en exterior de sí mismos como delincuentes; y lo único que logra sublimar estas frustraciones son los triunfos y las ilusiones deportivas enmarcadas en el fútbol (*Señal Colombia* 28 May 2018).

Football more than anything else in Colombia can enhance national cohesion, strengthen identities, and find ways to accept, integrate, represent and champion diversity, which as Wade argues 'is part and parcel of nation-building' (1998: 4). Managing diversity has often been an historical problem in terms of conceiving an idea of nation and national identity, when instincts towards homogenization have often been articulated, but diversity can also be envisioned as a positive characteristic of nation, as mixture and hybridization can strengthen the national whole. Government has not always mediated Colombia's national diversity effectively, in terms of its people, customs, cultures and regionalisms. Wade writes that 'a nationalist project does not try to deny, suppress or even simply channel an unruly diversity: it actively reconstructs it' (1998: 3); football, for Santos, was a way in which this diversity could be represented, articulated and

celebrated, remembering that, as Briceño notes, 'el fútbol ha adquirido en el país otra cualidad frente a los demás deportes: logra llegar a la Colombia profunda en toda su multiculturalidad' (*Seña Colombia* 28 May 2018).

El Poder del Fútbol highlights how football contributes to national happiness and enhances social capital, as well as its importance for education and social values. 'Las entrevistas ratifican la capacidad que tiene el fútbol de promover valores [...] Éstos no se limitan exclusivamente a lo deportivo, sino que dicho reconocimiento está determinado por el potencial que tienen en la formación de ciudadanos y el mejoramiento de la sociedad' (Ministerio del Interior 2014b: 53). Encouragingly, for a government keen to promote football social projects, the survey revealed that 24% of women and 30% of men already knew about football SDP projects in their city (ibid: 54), showing the extent to which football was already being deployed by either community, NGO or official projects. Section three of the survey deals specifically with football for social inclusion, concluding that football is important for strengthening society's building blocks: 'el fútbol construye un lenguaje amplio que une generaciones, etnias, y estratos sociales' (ibid: 61). Those in vulnerable communities also recognized the importance of football for themselves, their communities and Colombia. 71% of those in such communities see football as a way of distancing youth from violence, 10% higher than the national result. The survey identifies a number of opportunities for football to help with these vulnerable communities, including providing education and social advancement, strengthening social and communal relations, and preventing youths from becoming involved with gangs and drugs (ibid: 70). Similar results emerge from Afro-Colombian and indigenous communities and similar opportunities identified. In addition, 100% of Afro-Colombians and 99% of indigenous people see the national team as a symbol of integration (ibid: 74). The survey results, therefore, justified ongoing and subsequent campaigns. Given these convincing results, the ensuing public policy document, the PDSCCF, fell short in detailing more specific objectives and actions that could be taken with recreational football. There is an imbalance in the PDSCCF if we compare the attention it pays to addressing security, comfort and coexistence concerns around professional football (61 pages), compared to football's social development role in the entire nation (29 pages). Remembering that the vision of the public policy is that by 2024 football 'cumplirá un papel cohesionador, integrador y transformador de la sociedad que habrá contribuido a la consolidación de una cultura de paz, participación, emprendimiento y prosperidad que impactará a toda la población' (Ministerio del Interior 2014a: 77), the section on recreational football and social transformation is underdeveloped. The recognition of the need to integrate and develop a more cohesive society in this objective for 2024 shows how certain regions and communities of Colombia have not

been fully included within the nation, a problem regularly highlighted by writers on Colombia (see, for instance, Palacios 2006: 5; LaRosa and Mejía 2012: 21; Kilcullen 2016: 67). However, the failure of the Ministerio del Interior to implement the PDSCCF has been compensated to some extent by the work of the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes, which has the structures and budget in place to undertake these actions with more expertise and focus as an institution responsible for sport, recreation and physical activity.

The UN and the Power of Sport

The *Poder del Fútbol* survey contextualizes the Colombian situation in response to UN documents that adopted sport as an important tool to tackle the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and related social problems. The UN confirmed sport as a tool for development and peace in 2003 and created the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG) taskforce to study best practice, problems, solutions, outcomes and then present recommendations. The SDP IWG outlined why sport and the work of the UN should go hand in hand, stating that ‘the world of sport presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature, sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides’ (United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace 2003: v). This statement acknowledges the deployment of sport for nation-building processes, particularly in a country like Colombia. 2005 was declared the UN Year of Sport and Physical Education in an effort to promote SDP activities worldwide. In the following year the SDP IWG published a study of experiences from countries where SDP programmes had taken place (SDP IWG 2006) which led to the publication of ‘Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments’ (SDP IWG 2008). This document aimed to: ‘1) increase awareness amongst governments about the development and peace potential of sport, and 2) provide government policy-makers with a solid foundation on which to build their own policies, programmes and initiatives’ (SDP IWG 2008: viii). It details how sport can be deployed towards meeting MDGs and tackling specific social issues, in chapters on Sport and Health, Sport and Child & Youth Development, Sport and Gender, Sport and Persons with Disabilities, and Sport and Peace. The last of these is directly applicable to the Colombian scenario given the peace process with the FARC and subsequent post-conflict situation. Each chapter provides a context of problems, evidence from international projects and then policy and program

recommendations for governments. It is notable that this document was published a year before the PDD was published by Coldeportes where, as we have seen, a wider transformative and nation-building role for sport is detailed. A year later Santos became President, and his National Development Plans and Coldeportes' action plans contained clear objectives to apply the power of sport to national and social development, peace, coexistence and cohesion. These UN studies have clearly served as a blueprint for the Santos government's own SDP projects. The 'Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace' document is referenced in the PDSCCF, the major public policy for football produced under Santos, showing it was known amongst Coldeportes and other policy makers.

The study shows the key role SDP can play in peace-building (SDP IWG 2008: 205), essential to the post-conflict situation in Colombia, and details the various ways that sport produces outcomes essential for nation-building. These include 'building a sense of shared identity and fellowship among groups that might otherwise be inclined to treat each other with distrust, hostility and violence', creating 'horizontal connections', the chance to "re-humanize" opposing groups', to 'regain a sense of security and normalcy' and an opportunity for 'creating a space for dialogue' (SDP IWG 2008: 207-208). The 'horizontal connections' immediately corresponds with Benedict Anderson's idea of the needs for a nation, sport providing a means for mutual recognition. The chance to socialize through such an activity, to bridge enduring fissures between groups and include those 'outside' the national 'in group' helps fortify a sense of social capital, again a pre-requisite for unity at any level and a productive community. The study stresses that sport can 'promote community identity, coherence and integration', as well as opportunities for 'bonding, bridging and linking' (SDP IWG 2008: 213) which again are directly relevant to the Colombian context of social fragmentation, conflicting identities (political, regional, racial and social) and exclusion. Another comment that may have resonated with the Colombian government is that 'sport has been particularly important to emerging nations trying to forge a new identity internally and with the rest of the world' (SDP IWG 2008: 225). Colombia has struggled to create a positive and inclusive national identity (Bushnell 1991: viii) and the spectre of drugs and violence in particular casts a cloud over internal and external perceptions of the country. In sport, national team success in World Cups is one way of transmitting a new image to a mass audience, but stories of the FARC and public forces playing football together in the ETCRs and SDP projects benefitting vulnerable communities are other good news stories that help to alter Colombia's negative image that directly reference the reasons for that image. In short, all these benefits presented by the document are ones that Colombia needed in Santos'

opinion when he came to power and as the peace talks advanced. It is not surprising, therefore, that there was an increased onus on SDP projects under his government.

Academic Responses to SDP

SDP has become a burgeoning field of study for academics given its rise across the globe as a viable option for social transformation and development supported by the UN, transnational organizations, national governments, NGOs and community action groups. Many articles are based on their observations and analysis of ongoing SDP projects across the globe, examining particularly, but not limited to, NGO work. Projects in Colombia have received little academic attention, limited to articles such as by Duarte Bajaña (2017) on *Golombiao* as a bioethical project, and by Sobotová *et al* (2016) on the Tiempo de Juego project in Soacha. SDP projects in Colombia are burgeoning as the expanding Gol y Paz network shows; Esteban Reyes of Tiempo de Juego, one of the member organizations of the network, said that ‘Entre más uno entra hacer trabajo en comunidades apartadas en distintos lugares de Colombia, encuentra que siempre hay una organización haciendo trabajo social a través de fútbol’ (personal interview 19 October 2017). Such NGO projects and government actions have received very little critical attention. Given the historic juncture in Colombia with the peace agreement with the FARC and nascent post-conflict situation, and football’s role in the process, this chapter addresses this deficit of research on SDP in Colombia in terms of government SDP actions. It demonstrates how programmes such as *Golombiao* and the Coldeportes project in the ETCRs integrate into a wider government strategy of nation-building, rather than evaluating their methodology and effectiveness in depth. It discusses some of the outcomes, problems and successes related to the aims of Santos’ national unity project and ideas about how football can benefit Colombian society.

The SDP ‘movement’ has come a long way since Kidd described it as ‘still in its infancy, woefully underfunded, completely unregulated, poorly planned and coordinated and largely isolated from mainstream development efforts’ (2008: 376). SDP projects have been categorized in a variety of ways, depending on the content (Kidd 2008: 376; Darnell 2012: 6; Coalter 2007: 71; Coalter 2010 1375), desired outcomes (Levermore 2008: 185-186), and those carrying out the projects.

Giulianotti identifies ‘four distinctive policy domains’ that may be behind SDP programmes:

Private/commercial institutions, associated with *neo-liberal* social policies, notably CSR [corporate social responsibility]; mainstream NGOs and community-based organisations,

associated with *developmental interventionist* social policies; national and intergovernmental agencies and organisations, and sport federations, associated with *strategic developmentalist* social policies; new social movements and radical NGOs, associated with social policies centred on *social justice* (Giulianotti 2011: 761).

Irrespective of the categories posited, all these types of projects are present in Colombia, targeting similar outcomes, and being organized by the institutions Giulianotti describes.

The majority of academics are cautious when assessing the efficiency or otherwise of SDP and how sport actually contributes to tackling social issues. Coalter warns of the 'mythopoeic status of sport and the assumption of inevitably positive outcomes' (2007: 1), and SchuLenkorff *et al.* caution that 'sport itself is not a panacea to cure all social ills (2014: 374). Sport may have a positive impact but it is essential to create the optimal conditions and processes to ensure this is the case (Papacharisis *et al.* 2007: 247; Patriksson 1995: 128). Included among the many positive features attributed to sport are its potential to generate social capital (Coalter 2007: 17; Jarvie 2011: 243) and social dialogue through the creation of peaceful spaces (Calderón and Martínez, 2015: 1); its ability to teach and foster positive values and desirable attributes (SchuLenkorff *et al.* 2014: 374; Calderón and Martínez 2015: 1), which may enhance the knowledge economy of a society and provide education and opportunities for young people in particular (Jarvie 2011: 243); the ability to fill a development void due to state absence or failure to help towards achieving development goals (Darnell 2012: 2). Sport works because of its popularity and convening power (Lindsey and Grattan 2012: 91; Calderón and Martínez 2015: 1), as well as how adaptable it is to different political, social, geographic and economic circumstances (Lindsey and Grattan 2012: 91) and, overall, due to the fact that it can be a:

Politically palatable, non-threatening and/or effective tool for bringing together diverse people within and across the borders of nation states. The connection between sport, nationalism and the building of nations in this sense is positioned as an opportunity to work towards the inclusive and peaceful achievement of a functioning and prosperous nation-as-community, one that bypasses or usurps racism, patriarchy or material inequalities that have so often proved difficult in the construction and operation of inclusive and peaceful communities and nations (Darnell 2012: 3).

The above sums up perfectly how the Santos government conceived football's role in Colombia for nation-building. Football is a culturally relevant and cheap tool, wielding the symbolic power to bridge existing social, political, economic, geographic, and racial fissures and help peace-building and then nation-building, as Briceño comments: 'es un deporte que rompe con esquemas como los de clase, cultura, religión, geografía o preferencia política, y por eso sobrevive tan fácil a todos esos desencuentros' (*Señal Colombia* 28 May 2018).

Academics have drawn attention to a number of methodological, situational and results-based problems that cast doubt on whether SDP programmes have the desired transformative effect. It should be remembered that sport 'is a tool for tackling cultural violence, but can do nothing significant to alleviate structural violence or direct violence' (Lea-Howarth 2006: 10) and must be part of a wider structure. This is unquestionably true; post-conflict situations are too complex to be resolved by sport alone. Sport, unilaterally, cannot alter existing structures and processes, though it may adapt attitudes and provide opportunities for meeting and negotiation. Where peace is at stake, as in Colombia, 'culturally focused peace initiatives can work only when preceded by military and political accommodations' (Sugden 2006: 238). Sport is a simple and effective entry point, a means to pass the time as reintegration processes advance, or symbolic practice, but cannot on its own address complex, enduring and inherent social disputes and problems. Although there are anecdotal accounts of national team matches leading to a temporary ceasefire of hostilities between the Colombian army and FARC (as portrayed in the 1998 film *Golpe de Estadio* by Sergio Cabrera), football has had to wait until after the peace agreement for it to become a part of post-conflict reintegration and reconciliation processes between state and antistate forces. The most common cause for concern among academics is how the projects are monitored and evaluated. Many writers argue that proof of successful outcomes often relies on descriptive or anecdotal evidence, rather than concrete, more 'scientific' data (Levermore 2008: 189; 2011: 340; Lindsey and Grattan 2012; Jarvie 2011: 242; Darnell 2012: 89; Coalter 2007: 1; 2010: 1374; Spaaij 2009: 1109; Spaaij, Oxford and Jeanes 2016: 571;). Conversely, Nicholls, Giles and Sethna (2010) argue that views of grassroots practitioners and those impacted upon by the programmes are either ignored, disregarded or not accorded sufficient weight in understanding the outcomes of the SDP project. They, after all, are those directly affected by the project, and it is vital that their local knowledge, experiences, views and cultural particularities are not ignored (Galtung 1998: 86; Giulianotti 2011a: 765; 2011b: 51; 2011c: 220; Lea-Howarth 2006: 14; Spaaij 2009: 1109; Spaaij, Oxford and Jeanes 2016). It is worth noting at this point that in the Coldeportes programme of supplying sport, recreation and physical education to the ECTRs, the *promotores y monitores* in charge of providing and running the activities were all people from the areas where the camps were situated, for this reason. Gisela Gómez, a contractor in the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes involved with the project, confirmed that potential candidates for the role of *promotor* or *monitor*:

Debían tener esta experiencia en procesos comunitarios, debían tener experiencia en el sector, preferiblemente deporte, y que tuvieran... fueran líderes, que fueron [sic] conocidos y que tuvieran... Esto con el fin de garantizar el acceso de ellos al campo, uno, y

dos, que fueran personas que ya tuvieran trayectoria a nivel comunitario. ¿Sí? Porque este trabajo es directamente con comunidad (personal interview 10 November 2017).

The project was run by the government, but through local people, thereby aiming to help overcome issues such as of mistrust and lack of familiarity with local practices and circumstances. Additionally, 'sport may come to be viewed by marginalised communities as complicit with dominant interests' (Giulianotti 2011a, 772), and this is a risk in Colombian regions where the state has been absent or is viewed with suspicion. The state can be a significant part of the problem (Spaaij 2009: 1109) and there is a danger, therefore, of the status quo being perpetuated (Spaaij, Oxford and Jeanes 2016: 573). It is certainly a key issue where sport has been employed as an ingredient of reintegration processes following the end of the conflict with the FARC. Political ideologies remain a potential source of disagreement and violence. Finally, SDP programmes should, therefore, empower the local community, and be designed appropriate to local case, context and conditions (Duarte Bazaña 2011: 19). They must leave the knowledge, infrastructure and resources for the programmes to be sustainable, ongoing and led by local communities even when the state, NGO, or private enterprise abandons or relinquishes control of the project (Schulenkorf et al. 2014: 384; Giulianotti 2011b: 51, Lea-Howarth 2006). In the Colombian case, the lack of infrastructure and resources supplied by central government, particularly in rural and vulnerable communities, has long been considered a factor contributing to these areas feeling excluded from the nation.

Origins of the Fútbol por la paz Methodology and Golombiao

Football has been a fundamental element of SDP campaigns organized by the Colombian government prior to the Santos presidency, with *Golombiao* being the principal example. Run by Colombia Joven, *Golombiao* began in 2003 and continued under Santos, though it has not received the economic support it once enjoyed and has not been well connected with new projects that have originated from Coldeportes. *Golombiao* developed from a project in Medellín led by Jürgen Griesbeck and Alejandro Arenas that started in the mid 1990s with the aim of reducing violence in inner city areas. In 2003, their *metodología de fútbol por la paz* was adopted by Colombia Joven, and with support from UNICEF, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the GTZ, *Golombiao* was rolled out in 39 municipalities, in the departments of Antioquia, Bolívar, César, Córdoba, Nariño, and Santander and the cities of Quibdó and Bogotá. Much of this area has been immersed in the Colombian conflict, and a deliberate aim of the project and its coordinators was to take the methodology to particularly vulnerable areas

(UNICEF Colombia 2015: 366). The second phase from 2006 expanded the programme to a further 69 municipalities in eight departments, and increased the national and local alliances that would permit the programme to be decentralized and become sustainable. According to UNICEF Colombia ‘an estimated 200,000 young people, of whom 15,000 are from indigenous communities, have participated in *Golombiao*’ (2015: 370), and according to Adriana Rincón, national coordinator of *Golombiao* for Colombia Joven, it has now been introduced in municipalities of all 32 departments (personal interview 17 November 2017).⁵³

The description of *Golombiao* sets out its role towards nation-building and social transformation, aiming to generate personal and community change, as well as resignifying spaces and promoting inclusion:

El *Golombiao* es una estrategia para promover las competencias ciudadanas y construir una convivencia pacífica entre los jóvenes; utiliza el fútbol para convocarlos, y a partir del establecimiento, cumplimiento y revisión de acuerdos de convivencia, generar procesos de aprendizaje y cambio en las personas, grupos, comunidades e instituciones. Hace énfasis en la generación de cambios en los espacios familiares, barriales, comunitarios y escolares, integra comunidades, géneros y generaciones en torno a valores como el trabajo en equipo, la resolución pacífica de conflictos, la crítica constructiva, la tolerancia y el diálogo (Mena Tamayo 2006: 5).

It promotes seven key values of coexistence which are: ‘no agredir al otro; valorar el saber cultural; decidir en grupo; interactuar; comunicarse; cuidarse; cuidar el entorno’ (Mena Tamayo 2006: 14). Although aimed primarily at the young, the methodology is flexible to the geography and situation to which it is proposed, and is adaptable to different age groups and experiences.⁵⁴ The hope is that the seeds for future coexistence and civil behaviour are being sown in the nation’s young citizens; ‘national’ citizenship values are being inculcated at a young age through football.

The emphasis of the game (played by mixed teams) is not on scoring more goals, but fulfilling the coexistence objectives decided on before the game, to establish who has best displayed the targeted social values. These objectives focus on social development and transforming community relationships:

⁵³ There has even been a national ‘tournament’ in 2014 for indigenous communities providing an opportunity for national encounter between these marginalised groups, although, one could argue, without integrating them with the nation. Much as with the Copa América Indígena of 2015, indigenous football is still a separate category, even with this *Golombiao* event.

⁵⁴ Versions of *Golombiao* have been used with demobilized paramilitaries (La Vanguardia 13 May 2010), and by NGOs like Tiempo de Juego in reconciliation projects with victims and former combatants (Candelaria Lucero, personal interview).

Soccer played as *Golombiao* promotes a process of social development that dovetails from the philosophy of modern sports. Modern sports focus on performance, production and achievement [...] while *Golombiao* defines life as a process of reflection and collective action, it also aims at building community solidarity, using the transformation power of sports as a tool' (Duarte Bajaña 2016: 370).

The 'other' of the opposing team is changed to become another part of 'us'; players learn to respect, understand and value each other. For this reason, *Golombiao*, and similar practices involving the same or adapted methodology, can be described as:

An inclusion venue where differences should be included instead of being integrated, in the understanding that integration required the ongoing adaptation of the participants to a set of beliefs, norms, values or hegemonic principles, whereas inclusion fosters pluralism in the context of a common social project which keeps changing, shaped by the needs of the population (Duarte Bajaña 2016: 370).

The focus is on community and, by extension, nation development, as the project has the capacity to outreach to 'meet' other opponents, whether in a footballing or other context. *Golombiao*, therefore, can potentially fulfil all seven of the nation-building purposes outlined at the start of this chapter that SDP projects built around football can offer. Gruneau believes that 'play, games, and sports ought to be seen as constitutive social practices, whose meanings, metaphoric qualities and regulatory structures are indissolubly connected to the making and remaking of ourselves as agents (individual and collective) in society' (1999: 27). In the case of *Golombiao*, it is an enhanced constitutive social practice, fashioned according to state directives and with the aim of nation-building at the forefront, deliberately created and propagated to tackle the root causes hindering national togetherness, targeting an age group that can help spread these values as they grow older.

Golombiao seems perfect as a ready-made tool to be promoted and broadened under the Santos presidency as it corresponds exactly with his vision for how sport can be deployed. However, the programme did not receive the financial support we might have expected, and, with funding from outside partners being reduced, it has suffered from similar problems to the PDSCCF. UNICEF Colombia details a number of problems and weaknesses that the scheme has encountered:

Limited resources, which have been mitigated by reaching out to the private sector; weak monitoring and evaluation, insufficient development of these frameworks; changes at the government level, which had an impact on the development and implementation of the project; heavy bureaucratic processes; competing agendas from the central and local governments; infrastructure: lack of spaces where *Golombiao* can be played; lack of transport for boys and girls who want to participate but live too far away; vanishing commitment of some partners and lack of clarity on the roles and responsibilities of each partner; fear of armed groups, given the highly sensitive and

complex environment in which *Golombiao* operates; cultural barriers, notably for the participation of adolescent girls; ‘invisible’ barriers between the young people, which limit the amount of interaction they can have with other young people (e.g., competing gangs/armed groups limiting the communities that participate). *Golombiao* tournaments have been found to be successful in closing these gaps to some extent; reaching those hardest to reach; to mitigate this effect, the methodology is directly transferred to adolescents and community leaders so that they in turn can disseminate it in their communities and surroundings (UNICEF Colombia 2015: 372-373).

This report fails to account for the initial problem that ‘*Golombiao* es un programa herramienta y no una política pública’ (Vega López 2017: 48). Similar to the PDSCCF, there is nothing from above to oblige municipalities and departments to introduce and finance *Golombiao*, and to create the conditions for sustainability. It is optional, and depends entirely on political will. Adriana Rincón of Colombia Joven is well aware of this problem. She says that the objective is always to ‘dejar la capacidad instalada en el territorio y en la institucionalidad’, corresponding with the views of the likes of Coalter (2007: 76), and Giulianotti (2011a: 765; 2011b: 220) about the importance of training local participants and leaders to take ownership of the programmes to ensure projects are sustainable. The focus is on creating local alliances and partnerships, but they cannot oblige local authorities. She said:

Lo ideal sería, pues, que fuera, digamos, un tema de largo impulso, que fuera parte de la política pública de juventud como una herramienta de implementación que fuera durante el gobierno. La realidad es que eso no pasa. Las alcaldías hacen dos meses, tres meses. Hay otras, serias, que lo hacen seis meses, lo hacen un año. Pues nosotros tampoco, no podemos exigirle al alcalde (personal interview 17 November 2017).

As Colombia Joven now only offers technical and not financial assistance, entering the territory on the invitation of local authorities to train people in the methodology, it also jeopardizes the monitoring of *Golombiao*. Not all partnerships record and report their results, and Colombia Joven observers are not present:

Pudimos generar un poco más de formalismo y control, la alianza tiene que mediar con una agenda de trabajo que sí es vinculante, pues de alguna manera sí genera una relación con ese aliado para precisamente mapear, poder hacer el ejercicio como se debería hacer, porque nos pasó con *Golombiao* que en algún momento se volvió como una actividad de recreación (Adriana Rincón personal interview 17 November 2017).

This situation resonates with the concerns of the academics referred to earlier regarding regular analysis of sessions and outcomes (Levermore 2008: 189; 2011: 340; Lindsey and Grattan 2012; Jarvie 2011: 242; Darnell 2012: 89; Coalter 2007: 1; 2010: 1374; Spaaij 2009: 1109; Spaaij, Oxford and Jeanes 2016: 571). Without proper monitoring and evaluation, *Golombiao* risks becoming little more than a popularity exercise for a local politician, looking for short-term political gains through the popularity of football allied to a social project. *Golombiao* is supposed to function as

a 'plus sport' activity (Coalter 2007: 71), with personal and social outcomes taking precedence over football as the medium. Without the sustained focus on the core values that *Golombiao* promotes, the longer-term social benefits that supposedly take primacy over sport lose their potential.

The other problem is that *Golombiao* seems isolated from similar projects operated through Coldeportes. The expertise and participation of *Golombiao* could be useful for the planning and realization of Deporte Social Comunitario activities, but the administrative departments have failed to find a way to collaborate, according to Rincón.

La articulación con Coldeportes podríamos entrar a trabajar. Coldeportes ponga las personas, nosotros las capacitamos, y que la herramienta llegue a los chicos. Y no se ha logrado como quisiéramos. Hemos hecho ejercicios, pero han sido ejercicios pequeños pero no realmente impactantes, y eso nos pasa con casi todas las instituciones (personal interview 17 November 2017).

They were not even part of the PDSCCF deliberations: 'nosotros fuimos al lanzamiento y estuvimos allí, pero como parte activa del trabajo, de sentarnos y ver en qué podíamos aportar, no' (personal interview 17 November 2017). Judging by Rincón's frustrations and comments, the potential benefits of *Golombiao* are not being fully realized for the same reasons that the PDSCCF has largely been inoperative: a lack of obligation, lack of resources, lack of political will, and failures in cooperation and articulation between respective institutions. Its potential for nation-building was not fully realized under Santos.

Increased Emphasis on Deporte Social Comunitario in Coldeportes

Coldeportes had a social vision as part of its *raison d'être* before Santos took over the presidency. Its role was not limited to promoting and improving elite sport. Captain Victor Cedeño of the Centro de Investigaciones de Coldeportes was keen to underline this role:

Desde mucho antes y desde todos los años de existencia del conflicto armado colombiano, el gobierno nacional a través de Coldeportes ha tenido ejecutorias. Ejecutorias en deporte, en recreación, en actividad física, en aprovechamiento del tiempo libre, con una serie de programas donde se enfoca atención en población vulnerable (personal interview 13 October 2017).

Coldeportes has supported a series of multisport events that have as a principal component the promotion of coexistence and peace and resignification of zones often inextricably linked with the Colombian conflict in the national consciousness and moral topography. The Juegos por la

Paz Brazo de Mompox are a prime example, first hosted in 1990 in Mompox, Bolívar, and almost annually since. These games invite communities from the Magdalena Medio, Magdalena Sur, Catatumbo, South Bolívar and Montes de María regions of Colombia, zones disputed by guerrillas, paramilitaries and drug smugglers as strategic corridors for control of the drug trade and mineral resources. These are zones that have acquired 'particular identities' (Pécaut 1999: 145) in the national imaginary, that potentially exclude them from the national 'us'. The identities are linked to notions and myths of violence, terror and criminality, where sovereignty and the hegemony of the state has been fragmented and contested by guerrillas, paramilitaries and criminal gangs.

The aim of the games has always been one of inclusion, mutual recognition, conservation of culture and promoting peace and coexistence of those often affected by the conflict, as can be seen from the first article of the 'Carta Fundamental' of the games:

Los Juegos Deportivos Comunitarios por la Paz y la Convivencia es un programa [...] con el interés y la prioridad de la práctica deportiva social comunitaria, en donde, está enmarcada en el Plan Nacional y Departamental del deporte con el propósito de contribuir a generar espacios de convivencia social y así facilitándole las condiciones de integración en el desarrollo sociocultural de cada región y del país (Fundación para Desarrollo Social-Comunitario Santana Paz, El Banco, Magdalena 2018).

These annual sporting events attempt to 'normalize' encounters between and within these regions, showing that routine activities can occur despite the violent contests over territory. Messages of coexistence and peace are as important as the sports competitions, with Coldeportes and other institutional support helping to provide at least a façade of state presence. Where violence has a tendency to fragment communities and individualize, Restrepo claiming that due to violence in Colombia there now exists an 'extreme individualism' among citizens (Restrepo 2001: 98), sporting events try to reconstruct collectives. Whannel argues that 'sport also offers a way out of passive individualism. It offers us a greater collectivity to identify with, a way of feeling less of a lone individual. It offers us the team, the county and above all the nation. National sport is a powerful component of national symbolism' (Whannel 2008: 48). Regional events such as the Juegos por la Paz Brazo de Mompox have a similar function, constructing a narrative to compete against the mythologizing of violence (Pécaut 1999: 162). Not only are men and women uniting to represent their towns, but they are competing against and meeting other people and towns with similar experiences, aiding processes of mutual recognition.

Another multisport event (re)uniting other peripheral departments and marginalized communities is the Juegos de Amazonía y la Orinoquía, in which the departments of Amazonas, Arauca, Caquetá, Casanare, Guainía, Guaviare, Meta, Putumayo, Vaupés and Vichada participate. The first event was held in Arauca in 1992, which also held the second edition in 1994, before it took place in San José del Guaviare in 1997, and Yopal, Casanare in 2005. In 2014, after an absence of nine years, the Juegos de Amazonía y la Orinoquía returned in Leticia, Amazonas, ‘gracias al apoyo irrestricto del Presidente de la República Juan Manuel Santos (*Coldeportes* 26 November 2014). A specific law (Law 1578 of 27 September 2012) was passed with his support to ensure that these games should be held every two years. The governor of Amazonas, Carlos Rodríguez Celis described the importance of the games: ‘Esta es la mejor forma de integración de los pueblos de la Orinoquia y la Amazonia. Sí se pudo y esto nos demuestra que en esta región hay deporte, hay patria y hay talentos’ (*Coldeportes* 26 November 2014). The games provide a symbolic meeting point for regional representatives, and give visibility to often-ignored regions of the country, helping Colombians to imagine each other and resignify regions associated with underdevelopment and criminality, which therefore occupy the bottom rank in the country’s moral topographical hierarchy. These departments are described by Serje as being ‘el revés de la nación’ (2005), largely uninhabited, undeveloped and uncivilized, still associated with the type of barbarity, cruelty, lawlessness and illness portrayed in one of Colombia’s foundational novels, *La Vorágine*, by José Eustasio Rivera (1924). Ramírez reminds us that that Amazonian Colombia ‘has always existed “at the margin”, both geographically and conceptually, with respect to Colombia’s central order’ (Ramírez 2011: 4). Amazonas, Arauca, Guaviare, Putumayo, Vaupés and Vichada only gained department status in 1991, contributing to their lack of official inclusion. Wylie adds that these regions historically have been seen as ‘a kind of topographical underbelly on to which national fears and desires have been projected’ (2013: 45). These zones have been demonized as territories controlled by FARC and criminal gangs involved in the drug trade, and have become ‘landscapes of fear’ (Tuan 1980). Through sport, there is a different vision of the departments projected, sport and cultural celebration ‘normalizing’ the citizens and regions, recasting preconceptions held by citizens from ‘developed’, ‘inner’ Colombia. The challenge is to ensure that these games are given sufficient media attention for this re-imagining of the region to take hold. Given the short duration of the event, it is questionable how much of a recasting of regional identities can be achieved. Nonetheless, these departments are integrated into the national practice and enjoyment of sport, and the games provide an opportunity to celebrate the country’s linguistic, cultural and geographic diversity. These games can be seen as another part of the Santos policy aiming to include and unite the

nation through sport, articulated in the Coldeportes strategic action plans for Santos' two terms in office. Andrés Botero, Coldeportes director at the time of the Leticia games confirmed this objective: 'Los Juegos de la Amazonia y la Orinoquía [...] son parte del proceso de inclusión que estamos liderando desde el gobierno a través de Coldeportes, para alcanzar la igualdad deportiva tan anhelada por los más de 47 millones de colombianos' (*Coldeportes* 26 November 2014). At the 2016 games, Danis Rentería, the Director de Fomento y Desarrollo of Coldeportes also stated the national social development role for the games: 'El deporte social comunitario representado en los programas y eventos de Coldeportes debe estar presente en todos los municipios de Colombia. Nos sentimos muy orgullosos de poder aportar a la construcción de tejido social en esta región tan importante para el país' (*Coldeportes* 1 November 2016). The idea of state 'presence' is worth picking up on here, as the absence of the state in peripheral territories has been one of the factors long impeding the successful construction of nation, remembering that during certain periods of the Colombian conflict, 'it [was] estimated that about 40% of the territory [was] under the control of the guerrilla and other private armies' (Richani 2002: 50). This 'chronic deficit' (Hylton 2006: 11) of the Colombian state meant that areas such as those brought together by the Juegos de Amazonia y Orinoquía and the Juegos por la paz Brazo de Mompox effectively became 'parastates' or 'narcostates' where the monopoly of force was contested between state and anti-state forces. In these areas, the FARC exercised state functions, build infrastructure, demanded taxes and provided security and justice (Hylton 2006: 88; Richani 2002: 77). Regional multi-sport games organized or sponsored by the government shows that the state is beginning to carry out the functions expected of it, a symbolic sporting reconquest of territory, with an accompanying social message of coexistence and re-encounter.

Cedeño acknowledged that the focus on sport's social development and transformative function 'se hace seguramente más visible y se hace más evidente en población vulnerable' (personal interview 13 October 2017) during the Santos government. Omar Becerra, one of his colleagues, agrees about this new visibility and increased focus of social and community sport:

Esto viene desde la administración nueva de que es de la doctora Clara Luz [Roldán] (director of Coldeportes 2016-2018) donde hay un especial interés a nivel nacional y obviamente desde este departamento de Coldeportes en hacer un enfoque clarísimo de cultura de paz y deporte [...] Coldeportes con este trabajo estamos intentando proyectar este campo nuevo que hay (personal interview 13 October 2017).

There has been a growing realization in Coldeportes about the value provided by socialization opportunities around the playing of sport. Coakley writes that 'socialization occurs through the social interaction that accompanies sport participation. Therefore, the meaning and importance

of playing sports is derived through a person's social relationships and the social and cultural context in which participation occurs' (Coakley 2001: 92). Focusing on elite sport provides certain benefits for the nation, those heroes and memorable moments that the nation comes together to admire and celebrate (Alabarces 2002: 42). However, recreational and community sport also provides valuable moments for community dialogue and shared activity, moments which have been reduced in certain vulnerable areas due to the conflict and related violences. Football matches are, therefore, a culturally relevant space and time for social interactions to reoccur, and if pedagogical messages about citizen and community values can be transmitted at this time, then there is an increased benefit that goes beyond the sporting context into the social sphere.

It is not a coincidence that as international acceptance and official awareness in Colombia of the impact of SDP programmes became manifest as Santos became President, more presidential campaigns should be launched, taking advantage of notable sporting success and the increased public gaze given the hosting of the 2011 U-20 football World Cup and success in the 2014 World Cup. Success in these tournaments gave Colombians a reason to congregate and celebrate the national victories, for national positivity and values to be espoused via rhetoric, and then used as an impetus to validate and promote campaigns that could build on a lingering sense of shared and recognized 'colombianidad'. The public policies and campaigns that emerged and were promoted through Coldeportes because of this focus are ones which seek to transform behaviour, beliefs and values which have impeded feelings that help bind communities and the nation together. Mockus *et al.* argue that 'una política pública de cultura ciudadana es una política que busca transformar comportamientos específicos de la ciudadanía, y debe contener un ejercicio de focalización e intervención sistemática en problemáticas que afectan la vida en comunidad' (2012: 26). SDP campaigns arising from public policies in Colombia often have as their principal focus the reduction of insecurity and violence, especially in vulnerable communities where the state has been absent or weak. The conflict and related violences have therefore been at their worst in these contested zones, and a culture, or experience, of violence becomes embedded, perpetuating such behaviour. Through values associated with sporting culture, government public policies and campaigns aim to alleviate and transform such habits. Improving citizen safety and confidence in the state's ability to provide protection is a crucial aspect to address in order to knit together Colombia's torn social fabric.

The Plan Decenal de Deporte, la Recreación, la Educación Física y la Actividad Física, para el Desarrollo Humano, La Convivencia y la Paz, 2009-2019 (PDD) established the significance of

promoting Deporte Social Comunitario. The public policy did start in 2009, before Santos, but took effect during his presidency. The then-Director of Coldeportes, Everth Bustamante, established the aim for the PDD as follows:

En 2019 Colombia será una nación reconocida por el impacto que generan las políticas y programas en deporte, recreación, educación física sobre el desarrollo social y económico del país. El apoyo a estas actividades se reflejará en mejores indicadores de convivencia y de salud pública en la población en general y en mayores logros en el deporte de alto rendimiento (Coldeportes 2009: 9).

The clue is in the Plan's title, referring as it does to human development, coexistence and peace, but it is significant that the first objective mentioned is social development, along with coexistence and public health, before then referring to success in elite sport. The objectives are nation-building ones, conscious of sport's role in uniting the nation symbolically, and literally, through the practice, spectating and enjoyment of sport, physical exercise and recreation, and these are acknowledged in the PDD:

La participación del deporte, la recreación, la educación física y la actividad física en la economía, la movilización ciudadana que genera en torno a los eventos, el entusiasmo colectivo que éstos generan, el valor que adquiere el triunfo para la emulación de la disciplina, la promoción de los valores esenciales para la convivencia, las alegrías y las tristezas que los deportistas nos entregan, son factores de cohesión social que ayudan a definir nuestro carácter y nuestra vitalidad como nación. Su promoción, práctica y disfrute, es decir, su presencia activa en la población, constituyen indicadores que contribuyen a establecer el grado de la felicidad y de plenitud de las personas [...] deben ser considerados bienes socialmente necesarios, subordinados a la política social y de manera especial al desarrollo humano, la convivencia y la paz (Coldeportes 2009: 11).

Here we see many of the same sentiments that were so regularly promoted by Santos. There are references to how sport enables the nation to imagine itself as a collective, thereby facilitating mutual recognition and thus national cohesion through the shared emotions engendered by sport in its different guises. Sport promotes individual and collective values that can contribute to solving national problems and reduce hatred, polarization and violence.

Although Cedeño argues that Coldeportes has always had a commitment to sport's development and community functions, the PDD points out past weaknesses: 'El Deporte Social Comunitario, conocido desde la década de los 80 como Deporte para Todos (DPT) está desarticulado del Sistema Nacional del Deporte por la indefinición y coyunturalismo de sus acciones' (Coldeportes 2009: 57). The PDD highlights weaknesses where this power of sport has not fully been harnessed in the past, citing a lack of a deliberate strategy, insufficient funding (ibid: 15), and the failure to provide infrastructure and opportunities for sport, recreation, physical education and physical activity across the national territory, pointing out that 'la presencia del deporte

asociado más allá de las ciudades capitales es mínima' (ibid: 31). The focus has been on elite sport rather than giving opportunities to all: 'la orientación de la acción estatal hacia una élite de alta competición, alejada de la práctica deportiva de la población en general, se refleja en la inversión del Estado en grandes escenarios y su dedicación casi exclusiva al deporte profesional' (ibid: 55). The aim, therefore, was for the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes to receive more funding, become more articulated with work in different institutions and to extend to peripheral Colombia, both geographically and demographically: 'es importante articular este programa a otras oportunidades de inclusión social de poblaciones desplazadas, negritudes e indígenas, entre otros' (ibid: 59). Sport should be a means to include within the nation those historically excluded or forgotten.

The action plans for Coldeportes during the two Santos mandates aimed to address these weaknesses, and thus to expand the national 'us' that can locate and recognize each other through the symbolic terrain of sport. This role for sport was defined in Santos' 'Prosperidad para Todos' policy programme during his successful presidential campaign in 2010, where we find the commitment 'fomento de la recreación, la educación física y el deporte escolar y social comunitario para desarrollar entornos de paz y convivencia' (Coldeportes Plan Estratégico 2010: 33). In the 2010-2014 Strategic Action Plan there is the aim of creating 'espacios de encuentro que generan inclusión y la cohesión social de sectores marginados a la sociedad y que son focos identificados o potenciales de conflicto y confrontación' (ibid: 27). The definition of Deporte Social Comunitario is established here as being 'el aprovechamiento del deporte con fines de esparcimiento, recreación y desarrollo físico de la comunidad. Procura integración, descanso y creatividad. Se realiza mediante la acción interinstitucional y la participación comunitaria para el mejoramiento de la calidad de vida' (ibid: 30). The specific objectives for the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes are as follows:

- 1) Articular los esfuerzos de instituciones públicas y privadas para la creación y desarrollo del Sistema Nacional del Deporte del Deporte Social Comunitario.
- 2) Identificar y fortalecer las escuelas populares del deporte y la recreación, garantizando su articulación con las organizaciones deportivas y recreativas.
- 3) Establecer procesos con los organismos del deporte asociado para identificar cada uno de los deportes sociales comunitarios (ibid: 30).

These objectives are a starting point for future work for the section. The terms chosen support the findings of the PDD that SDP projects were underdeveloped in terms of articulation, development, implementation and evaluation.

The overall goal is to guarantee rights to sport, focusing particularly on vulnerable communities, articulate and consolidate institutional efforts to implement the system of Deporte Social

Comunitario, and to ensure a greater geographical coverage (ibid: 28). This project continued with the strategic plan for 2014-2018 which had the vision of 'en el 2019 posicionar Colombia como potencia deportiva mundial y ser la líder en el desarrollo de entornos de convivencia y paz, mediante la formulación e implementación de política en deporte, recreación y actividad física, con criterios de inclusión' (Coldeportes Plan Estratégico 2014: 3). Again, we see the commitment to SDP programmes and for Colombia to be a world leader in designing, implementing and monitoring such projects to contribute to national cohesion and integration. Under the motto of 'Todos por un Nuevo País', a slogan resonating with typical Santos rhetoric, there are specified objectives to enhance the programmes, monitoring and evaluation of the Deporte Social Comunitario department: 'Diseñar, implementar y realizar el seguimiento a los lineamientos de política pública de Deporte Social Comunitario; Diseñar e implementar el programa de investigación de Deporte Social Comunitario; Diseñar e implementar el Programa de Capacitación y Posicionamiento de Deporte Social Comunitario' (ibid: 8). Objectives are also set in terms of how many people will be able to access Deporte Social Comunitario services, specifically 3,475,028 by 2018, in a targeted 710 of the 1101 municipalities of the country. These figures would rise from 1,000,000 people in 2015 in 600 municipalities (ibid: 17). This, of course, leaves just over one third of the nation's municipalities still without provision, a considerable percentage of the national territory and indicative of the previous deficit. Details are not included about which municipalities are going to be targeted first, but it can be assumed that territories previously occupied by FARC forces would be a priority to be 'reclaimed' by the state through the provision of sport and recreational programmes. These FARC-controlled areas were where the state had not held the monopoly of violence nor established a presence to provide expected state programmes and infrastructure, and thus are where the concept of citizens being included within the national community is at its weakest.

There is a reiterated commitment to expanding operations to cover the Colombian territory, both in this document and frequent interventions from Coldeportes directors and chiefs of department. Danis Rentería commented that 'los grandes centros urbanos tienen grandes ofertas recreativas, pero hay sitios en los que ni siquiera hay una infraestructura deportiva adecuada. Ahí es donde tiene que estar Coldeportes, es donde debemos enfocarnos' (*Semana*, no date given). It is clear, therefore, from these action plans that SDP programmes would be prioritized during the Santos presidency, targeting vulnerable areas that may have been marginalized in the past, with the aim of using sport as a vehicle for individual and social development and transformation. These programmes should provide the means to integrate more Colombians into the national community and educate them in desired national values.

We should therefore expect to see a budgetary increase in the Deporte Social Comunitario sector to attend to these stated priorities. It has already been demonstrated that the budget for Coldeportes as a whole was increased during the Santos presidency. According to figures from the ‘Fomento y Desarrollo’ document obtained from the Centro de Investigación of Coldeportes, the Deporte Social Comunitario section received a total of 32.736.000.000 pesos from 2014-2018 broken down year by year as can be seen in table 18 below:

Table 18: Deporte Social Comunitario budget 2014-2018

Year	Budget (in Colombian pesos)
2014	6.000.000.000
2015	6.000.000.000
2016	6.300.000.000
2017	8.450.000.000
2018	5.986.000.000
Total	32.736.000.000

(Coldeportes 2018: 67)

Here we can see an increase in budget during the first two years of Clara Luz Roldán’s tenure as director of Coldeportes (2016-2017), the period Omar Becerra cites as being notable for an increased significance in Deporte Social Comunitario. This period also corresponds with preparation for post-peace agreement Colombia. 2017 was a crucial year for governmental institutions to take advantage of the historic opportunity for national peace and reintegration, in the case of Coldeportes to make use of sport as a symbolic point of encounter given its recognized currency amongst all Colombians. The high point of 2017 in terms of the the budget corresponds to programmes launched in the ETCRs aimed at reincorporating the FARC former combatants and attempting to provide access to sport and establish an institutional presence in these zones.

Coldeportes in the FARC Transition and Reintegration Camps

The ETCRs were the most potently symbolic terrain where the Deporte Social Comunitario section deployed sport in SDP campaigns. From a national perspective, these were the most crucial and visible evidence of how football could serve as a unifying device in Colombia, uniting state forces and their former enemies, the FARC. As part of the peace agreement, twenty-six transition camps were created around the country to help former FARC combatants reintegrate and reconcile with the local community and with the nation. Along with all the other relevant

Colombian ministries, Coldeportes had a role to play as part of this process, acknowledging that FARC members were no longer an enemy of the state and had the same rights as other Colombians. Rentería accepted this responsibility saying 'Ellos también son colombianos que necesitan que les aseguremos su derecho a la recreación y al deporte. Por eso, y como aporte al posconflicto y a la paz, hemos formado un equipo de 63 monitores y promotores que se encuentran desarrollando actividades en 26 espacios territoriales' (*Semana*, no date given). Coldeportes contracted the Fundación Tierra Posible⁵⁵ to create a project to send sport and recreation coaches (always referred to as '*promotores*' and '*monitores*' and) to each ETCR. In the first phase of the project, from June to December 2017, these *promotores y monitores* organized sport, recreational and physical activity sessions for those in the ETCR and local communities, creating opportunities for exercise and fun for those in the camps, but also opportunities to mix with surrounding communities and public forces. In 2018, a second phase of the project employed a former FARC combatant *en proceso de reincorporación* from each of the remaining ETCRs (the ETCRs in Vigía del Fuerte, Antioquia and Gallo, Córdoba, were closed in mid 2018), alongside the retained *promotores y monitores*, as Fundación Tierra Posible continued the project after gaining the contract from Coldeportes. Given documented evidence from the UNOSDP and academic sources of the success of sport and recreation activities as part of previous post-conflict reconciliation and reintegration processes, SDP was seen as having a potentially key role:

En la agenda de los acuerdos de paz, ya firmados, se puede considerar que el deporte será un actor relevante para la reconstrucción del tejido social en este proceso. En el punto tres de la agenda hace referencia al fin del conflicto, la dejación de las armas y el reintegro o ingreso a la vida civil por efectos del marco legal para la paz. En el punto cinco se identifica respaldo central a las víctimas y promueve una verdad que restituya con justicia los efectos graves del conflicto armado. Estos puntos abren caminos para que el deporte sea un actor clave en distintos sectores donde la violencia armada se ha establecido a lo largo del territorio colombiano (from document 'Capacitación en cultura de paz para Coldeportes y institutos departamentales del deporte 2017, GIT Información y Estudios del Deporte, provided through personal communication with the Centro de Investigación de Coldeportes).

Coldeportes became a significant actor in the post-conflict period, explaining why Deporte Social Comunitario was given greater projection and budget and why there was a greater commitment to SDP projects in vulnerable communities. Given this historic moment that arguably gave

⁵⁵ The Fundación Tierra Posible describes itself as an NGO, whose mission is described as follows 'Nace para ejecutar, apoyar, gestionar, servir, orientar, concientizar, facilitar e impulsar, todo tipo de proyectos, actividades y programas en pro del desarrollo integral del Ser Humano' <http://www.tierraposible.org/>

Colombia the best chance in decades to break down barriers that separate Colombians around the idea of the FARC as 'other' to the nation, the characteristics of sport offered the best alternative to reconstruct communities and facilitate reintegration. As discussed earlier, sport would have to work alongside other institutions and projects as part of the wider process. There are, nonetheless, simple benefits that sport itself provides. These include reducing the immediate possibilities of violence, providing a means of entertainment and activity during a time-consuming process and, most crucially, changing the identities around former combatants, so that they no longer are seen as guerrillas, terrorists or enemies, but as equals in the community (Calderón and Martínez 2015: 9-10). The Coldeportes programme offered potential benefits for all 'sides' involved. From an institutional perspective, there was the chance to be visible in often forgotten or inaccessible communities, finally attending to local needs and thereby increasing confidence in the state, its institutions and functions. The local communities around the ETCRs could gain much-needed sport and recreational infrastructure in order for the programmes to be delivered, given the priority given by the Santos government to the process. The FARC had the chance to resignify itself as an organization and its combatants on an individual level, through using sport as a tool to 'normalize' how they were seen by the wider public. These ideas will be expanded upon later.

A number of those involved with the project, including the *promotores y monitores*, confirmed football as being the most popular, and therefore the most successful, sport to use to help with the reintegration and coexistence projects, as well as to keep the demobilized guerrillas occupied. Gisela Gómez said 'encontramos que los deportes más demandados en campamento principalmente son fútbol y voleibol (personal interview), and from a diary-style report of involvement in visits to camps in Caldon, Cauca, and La Elvira, Cauca in a 'trabajo de grado' by Mesías Chamorro and Portocarrero Hurtado, we learn that in both camps:

Se llevó a cabo un trabajo colectivo entra la comunidad, los miembros de las FARC en proceso de reintegración y los monitores y promotores de la zona para establecer las actividades a desarrollar, así como los deportes a través del cual querían establecer acercamientos y recibir entrenamiento: el fútbol y el fútbol sala (2017: 33).

It was not just playing football that provided most opportunities. National team matches, both qualifying for the 2018 World Cup and the tournament itself, allowed former guerrillas, local communities and members of public forces to come together. Juvenal Tangarife of the Llano Grande camp near Dabeiba, Antioquia, recounted that a match day involved 'preparar el espacio para ir juntos a ver el partido, a hacer barra, a gritar un rato, compartir y hacer fuerza pues como para que la selección clasificara. Y se tomó como un motivo más de integración sin que fuese

estar directamente en una cancha jugando' (personal interview 24 October 2017). Paulo Martínez from the Monterredondo camp in Miranda, Cauca, confirmed the same processes there, and showed how the national team and shirt functioned as a shared symbol of mutual recognition. When asked whether the experience of watching the game was a shared one between the FARC members and the community, he answered 'Sí claro, claro. Con ellos claro se compartió todo eso. Además, ellos con camiseta de Colombia y bastante apoyo a la Selección de Colombia, claro. Y eso juega para ellos también, y ellos estaban pendientes de ese tema' (personal interview 24 October 2017). Identities of being guerrillas (temporarily) took second place to being fans of the national men's football team, thereby aiding the process of finding ground for mutual confidence between former enemies. Bromberger suggests that football matches are a type of social ritual and ceremony and cites Durkheim's argument that ceremonies function to 'secure the continuity of collective consciousness', 'to assert for oneself and for others that we belong to the same group' (1995: 306). When fans wear the same kit they are identifying themselves as part of a collective that is representative of a community, the national shirt being one of the strongest convening symbols for a Colombian collective identity. A *Semana* article underlines this: 'Decir que los colombianos "sienten la camiseta" y que "son uno" cuando vibran al ver a la selección ya no suena como una frase trillada, sino que impacta, pues es un hecho palpable' (*Semana* 19 April 2014). By wearing the national shirt, former FARC soldiers assert their membership in the nation, their own 'colombianness', a trait that was denied to them during the conflict when they were cast as 'other' in representations of the nation. FARC sports spokesman, *alias* 'Walter Mendoza' spoke of how these sporting successes were important for them too; after so long being 'outside' the nation, as the state's enemy, FARC had not been imagined as sports fans. He said:

Yo como colombiano, como patriota, pues uno siente ese nacionalismo, ese amor por la patria, y esos jóvenes están representando la patria. Entonces uno también los apoya, uno también dice pues bueno es una representación nuestra a nivel mundial, donde nos miran, nos van a ver. Entonces esas cosas son sentimientos en común... del amor de la patria, y el amor por las fronteras, por el pueblo (personal interview 11 October 2017).

President Santos had talked about the metaphorical importance of Colombians wearing the same shirt, saying 'El fútbol nos enseña a todos a ponernos la misma camiseta. Y este país lo que necesita es eso, que todos nos pongamos la misma camiseta, unirnos, en lugar de dividirnos, en lugar de pelear' (*El Comercio* 6 November 2013). Watching national team matches together provided a perfect opportunity for FARC members, the local community, and public forces to be Colombian together, first and foremost.

In Llano Grande, an event called Golpe de Estadio 2⁵⁶ was held to watch a World Cup match from the 2018 tournament, bringing together FARC leaders such as Pastor Alape, paramilitary leaders like “Ernesto Baéz”, the director of the original film Sergio Cabrera and victims of the conflict.⁵⁷ Yolanda Pérez, a victim of the conflict, said ‘lo importante de este evento de Golpe de Estadio, nos permitió que esa película no fuera simplemente una película, en una realidad [sic], y poder hablar desde la realidad, desde la vivencia lo que es tener al lado, uno guerrillero y uno exparamilitar, y ver cómo están llevando ese proceso de reinserción’ (*Reincorporación FARC* 21 June 2018). From all the videos and media reports of the event, the amount of national team shirts catches the eye, being worn by the FARC, local inhabitants and victims. The shirt becomes a common site of recognition, a clear indication of a national ‘us’, and during the match a ‘communion of minds’ (Bromberger 1995: 308) is created when strangers, those from different backgrounds or experiences and those with different political opinions, can celebrate, feel angry or disappointed together, enabling a greater ‘sense of cohesion and solidarity’ (Bromberger 1995: 308). This Golpe de Estadio 2 event did not just function at the local level; it gained substantial media attention as an important story during the World Cup showing how former enemies were uniting around football and how a popular film from the 1990s had become a real event.⁵⁸ The convergence of the World Cup, the peace process in evident operation, football bringing together former combatants, victims and public forces was a strong story that helped to embed new significations and identities of those who participated in Golpe de Estadio 2. New associations of benefit to the nation, the local community (as well as the Santos government and FARC) were constructed through such visible progress towards coexistence. The participants accrued new meanings, albeit briefly, as the World Cup bubble disappeared and ceased to influence a more enduring identity.

At this point, it is important to note that the ETCRs were the object of huge national and international attention following the peace agreement. For decades, the FARC had been a relatively invisible and demonized enemy of the state, largely unknown apart from their military, terrorist or criminal actions. The media attention on the negotiations in La Havana began to show a different identity of the FARC commanders, and as the FARC transitioned into the camps

⁵⁶ The name is in reference to and commemorates the Sergio Cabrera film about FARC and army forces watching a national team match together

⁵⁷ A short documentary was made of this event, featuring interviews with former FARC, ELN and paramilitary commanders, victims of the conflict, and Sergio Cabrera, director of the original film, all of who attended the event in Llanogrande. A link to the documentary is here:

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCWbZXNMFMnCnvDowtCrSbdw> Real Documentales 16 April 2019

⁵⁸ see for instance Arias Hidalgo, Walter, ‘La cancha donde se dio el segundo golpe de estadio’, *El Espectador* 22 June 2018, and Zuleta Valencia, Juan Felipe, ‘Abrazos de reconciliación, al calor del partido, en montañas de Dabeiba’, *El Colombiano* 21 June 2018

and media access was granted, new representations of the foot soldiers were created. Domestic and foreign media told stories giving personal accounts of these FARC men and women, and a new side began to emerge of who the FARC members were, what they cared about, what they thought and what their aspirations were. It was noticeable how often photos and videos showed football being played, and stories of FARC integrating with the community around them were based around football matches or tournaments played between the FARC, the community and local public forces. It was also obvious that both men and women played football, often together. Camilo Montaña, the *promotor* in La Elvira camp said that one of the key values on show in the sport activities was this gender equity: ‘uno de los [valores] que más se ve ahora es la que hay de género porque pues anteriormente el torneo se realizaba, pero pues se tenía un poco de lado el fútbol femenino y ahora pues vemos que se le da la misma importancia tanto al fútbol femenino como el fútbol masculino’ (*Fundación Tierra Posible* 19 January 2018). The media and the FARC showed football since it was the easiest way to resignify the FARC and provide them with a new ‘normal’ Colombian identity. By playing football, former guerrillas were shown to be like any other Colombian, and the fact that women were shown playing transmitted a positive message of a lack of gender discrimination. This could be seen as a break with the ‘old’ *machista* Colombia, and construction of a new model of gender equality in sport. Colombians either seeing or watching the images and reading or listening to the stories saw the human side of these former guerrillas and in so doing, perhaps reconsidered their own preconceptions.

Observers, *promotores y monitores* see this new identity of the former FARC combatant as football lover / football player as a crucial part of the process of creating the possibility for peace-building and then nation-building in Colombia. Grotenhuis writes that ‘the nation is about identity, who we are in the sense of “self-identification”’ (2016: 28), but it is not just self-identification, but how others within the nation identify other possible members and judge them as whether they should be included or not. The FARC identity has excluded combatants and sympathizers from the national collective. Previously, politicians and the media have placed FARC ‘outside’ the nation, labelling them as terrorists, guerrillas and criminals fighting against the Colombian nation and its values, particularly when the national ‘us’ has been articulated around football, as discussed in chapter one. Coakley argues that a benefit of sport participation is that it provides ‘opportunities for other people to see, define, and deal with a person as more than just an athlete’ (Coakley 2001: 93), but sport also works to enrich the identity of those coming into the sport with a prior set identity. A guerrilla can be re-identified as a fellow football lover or as a fan of a particular football team, for instance. This new identity provides an opportunity for socialization to occur, thus potentially strengthening community ties and mutual

confidence. Former FARC members need a new identity in order to be accepted, or selected as fellow members of the nation, as the former identity is incompatible. This is why Santos's rhetoric, constantly stressing that all Colombians were fans of the national team (mentioning FARC specifically on two occasions as seen in chapter two) was important, using football as a point of acceptable inclusion. Grotenhuis states that 'the construction of national identity is therefore a process of selection, bringing together those elements that fit well together to create an identity people can and wish to identify with and leaving out elements that could disturb a coherent picture' (2016: 28). Football is thus a process that enables former FARC members to become compatible with others through a recognizable activity helping to construct a new acceptable identity. Mesías Chamorro and Portocarrero Hurtado write:

La mayoría de los miembros de las comunidades entrevistadas manifestaron ese reconocimiento de los excombatientes como seres humanos con los mismos miedos, expectativas y emociones que ellos. Esta capacidad de entender que también son víctimas y de que tienen nuevas oportunidades, se dio gracias a los espacios que podían compartir cada vez que se desarrollaba un partido de fútbol y al trabajo de los monitores y promotores (2017: 34).

This mutual recognition and respect gained by playing football together was often the most positive experience for the coaches.⁵⁹ Bibiana Graciano, from Llano Grande camp, commented

Yo sí pienso que es super importante, puesto a esta cuestión del fútbol y del deporte en estas zonas, porque hemos visto que por medio del deporte se han integrado grupos que uno jamás pensó que los iba a ver compartiendo en un mismo espacio [...] el hecho de nosotros hacer un campeonato donde hay un equipo de policía, un equipo de ejército, un equipo de comunidad civil, un equipo de FARC, y que todos comparten y que termina el torneo sin ningún problema, para nosotros eso ya nos indica de que se está logrando algo importante (personal interview 24 October 2017).

She added that there was even a team representing the zone in a regional tournament, comprising the best players of each group, 'todos portando el mismo uniforme'. This wearing of the same uniform is an even stronger symbol of how local and national divisions are being gradually repaired. The creation of a composite team in which the best players of the FARC, public forces, and the local community come together, wearing the same kit and playing together overrides, at least momentarily, the different political 'kits' that differentiate and were

⁵⁹ Interviews with the *monitores* and *promotores* took place during a 2-day event hosted by Coldeportes on 22-23 October, to which I was invited. In addition to the recorded interviews, I also heard all of them talk about their experiences at the camps and local communities as part of the structured events of the day. The event was designed to provide a way to hear about the experiences, problems, solutions, successes and opinions that the *monitores* and *promotores* had. Activities took place to discuss improvements and further ideas before they returned to the camps for the next stage of the project. Clara Luz Roldán, Danis Rentería, other Coldeportes chiefs and representatives from bodies also involved in the transition camps were present for several hours on the second day of the event.

historically in opposition. Just as the national shirt is a shirt that can be worn by everyone, at a micro level these kinds of football uniforms are a symbolic tool of inclusion. It is a positive step for the integration of former FARC combatants into the local community, and then the national community that these new identities are being created and that they are ways in which they can integrate into a new collective.

Paulo Martínez from the Miranda camp backed up the importance of football tournaments for integration and breaking down previous identity blocks: ‘Se hacen muchos torneos, partidos. Viene gente de afuera, integraciones, entonces ha ayudado mucho a que se rompa ese paradigma de que “no, es que ellos fueron guerrilleros”. Entonces, ha habido mucha unión’ (personal interview 24 October 2017). Genyer Rojas who worked at a camp in Mesetas, Meta, adds that:

Podemos dar como ejemplo [...] integraciones deportivas, donde tú ves a comunidad [sic], FARC, y policía, inclusive la Unillanos, la Universidad de la UNAD, ha venido allá a participar. Sabes, es algo que no... nunca se había visto y tú ves a la policía hablando, un policía hablando con un guerrillero o con un desmovilizado, a la comunidad integrándose, saliendo, entrando al campamento sin ningún tipo de limitación (personal interview 24 October 2017).

Johnny Barón, who worked in the Vista Hermosa ECTR in Meta, interviewed by Coldeportes in the same event, put it best as to the national context, and rebuilding of the nation that was occurring:

Nunca había tratado con personas ex guerrilleras, ya no son eso. Nos dimos cuenta que eran personas, seres humanos con muchos problemas, otros con su filosofía que es clara de política, y mediante eso aprender que somos todos uno, que somos Colombia, somos patria (Coldeportes 31 October 2017).

Football matches where previously opposed sides meet have been one of the most successful ways in which people and places have been resignified and had the chance to be integrated into the local community and the wider nation. Tidwell writes that a lack of ‘human contact, engagement and bonding’ (1998: 134) contributes to creating hatreds between opposing factions. Throughout the Colombian conflict, there has been a separation of Colombians due to where either state or FARC have exercised authority. Suspicion, distrust and fear exist because of atrocities committed by either side. Pécaut notes that the peasantry hold the military themselves responsible for creating much of the terror[...] it is certainly significant that for many individuals this may be their sole point of contact with the state (1999: 153), and FARC have also been demonized by successive presidents and the press. There have been few reasons for the opposing sides, state forces and FARC (as well as the community who have often been caught in

the middle) to engage in activities, such as football, that permit bonding, understanding and recognition of shared interests. It is no wonder that Santos repeatedly emphasized the idea of ‘*todos*’, ‘*todo el país*’, ‘*todos los colombianos*’, etc, celebrating football victories together, envisioning football as this bonding opportunity for previously divided communities. These matches help to build a sense of trust between previously opposed groups, trust that is a fundamental part of nation-building, as Grotenhuis argues: ‘Trust is not a luxury good, it is indispensable for a viable nation-state. The sense of belonging and the recognition of the other as part of the definition of a broader “us” will breed trust. Peacemaking, nation-building and state-building start out from the recognition of a shared interest’ (2016: 84). Football is that shared interest as a starting point that can lead to a recognition of other shared interests on a wider scale.

As would be expected, the *promotores y monitores* clearly felt that their work was having an effect. As well as giving the example of how the sporting encounters that took place were serving towards the wider aim of reconciliation, coexistence and peace, they also regularly stressed the importance of a sporting provision and opportunity finally arriving in their municipality, the lack of which the community had evidently felt. The fact that they chose to comment on this aspect reveals just how ignored these municipalities had been, how easy it would have felt to be ignored and therefore not included by the state, thereby rupturing identifications between citizen and state and nation. Citizens of many rural regions of Colombia often complain of having been ‘abandoned’ by the state and not getting the help or opportunities that they need, contributing to the lack of attachment to the nation.⁶⁰ Various *promotores y monitores*, commenting following the training sessions in April and May, picked this out as a crucial aspect of the project:

Jhon Fredy Tarifa Aguirre, from Charras, Guaviare: ‘se está teniendo en cuenta todas las zonas del departamento, las más lejanas y las zonas que son olvidadas y hay, más que todo, que los que se están beneficiando son la parte rural. Que es la parte rural, son muy pocos los programas que llegan’ (*Coldeportes* 2 May 2017).

Carolina Cardona, from Miranda, Cauca: ‘Yo considero que este proyecto para las zonas veredales les va a tener un fuerte impacto en la comunidad puesto que son comunidades que han sido olvidadas por la misma razón del conflicto, o sea, no se podía ingresar por lo general. No podían llegar programas, mucho menos del estado’ (*Coldeportes*, 2 May 2017).

Tarifa reiterated the importance of bringing sport and the state to the community at the Coldeportes feedback event:

⁶⁰ See for instance Ramírez (2011: 34) who quotes a number of *colonos* and *cocaleros* in the Putumayo region, as an example of rural feelings of abandonment by the government.

Muy poca, digamos, en la cuestión deportes. Se hace muy poco en el área de las comunidades y las veredas, muy poca participación en esto [...] Charras, Caño Maku, todo esto, o las comunidades indígenas, ellos no tienen en estos momentos, en estos sectores, un espacio, digamos, para ellos practicar dignamente un deporte [...] Desafortunadamente en este sector no había llegado una orientación deportiva a estas comunidades. Hemos sido, con Coldeportes, ha sido uno de los primeros que ha llegado a la comunidad de Charras, a la vereda de Charras, que es una comunidad muy afectada por la violencia (personal interview 24 October 2018).

These, then, are just some examples of vulnerable and peripheral communities that the Deporte Social Comunitario section of Coldeportes has the aim of reaching, zones that have not received the due provision of facilities and opportunities supposedly guaranteed by the constitution. They have found it hard to imagine themselves within the national 'nosotros', lacking as they do in basic provision of sporting facilities or equipment. There is a vast geographical and imagined gulf between professional sportsmen and women and people from peripheral Colombia, as it has been hard to envision similarities in experience or the ability to reach a similar position given the lack of infrastructure and opportunity. The arrival of Coldeportes representatives in the zones marks an important but easily undoable first step in terms of creating the necessary institutional presence and filling the void vacated by the FARC. However, the communities need more than footballs. Although values are being taught and moments of community togetherness have been created, the programmes are fragile and not particularly sustainable without a guaranteed commitment to provide more equipment, programmes and infrastructure, all problems raised by most coaches during the feedback event. Both Tarifa and Genyer Rojas warned of the imperative to ensure that there was a permanent and lasting impact:

Jhon Fredy Tarifa: 'Creo que se necesita más tiempo y más enfoque a estas comunidades que son propiamente, todos estos territorios son de comunidades indígenas. Ellos se sienten un poco, digamos, acogido por el estado, pero el estado les ha prometido cosas que hasta el momento no los han cumplido, entonces, en este sector la comunidad es un poco... se resiente, entonces ellos dicen "no, pues llegan en un momento y nos van a volver a abandonar"' (personal interview 24 October 2017).

Genyer Rojas: Ahorita estamos arrancando y eso es como un inicio al aporte a la paz por parte, por ejemplo, Coldeportes, ahorita, la entidad con lo que estamos trabajando, pero sí, falta. Escenarios deportivos, vías de acceso, y pienso que lo que no debe olvidar, ni el gobierno central, ni las entidades privadas y públicas, porque yo pienso que debe ser de la mano, es que no podemos abandonar en ningún momento a estas personas que se hicieron cambiar su vida (personal interview 24 October 2017).

Judging by the accounts provided by the *monitor* and *promotor* in each camp, it is clear that much work lies ahead for Coldeportes. The project has nation-building aims, but is restricted in how successful they can be due to the factors that contributed to the conflict in the first place, and that continue to make the peace agreement difficult to implement and sustain. The sport

and recreation activities cannot work in isolation. The UN sees peace-building as comprising four main types of activities, 'providing security, building the socio-economic foundations for long term peace, establishing the political framework for long term peace and fostering reconciliation, healing and justice' (SDP IWG 2008: 206). This sport and recreation initiative fits into the last of these. It is helping to provide spaces and opportunities for (re)encounter, enabling the chance for mutual understanding and recognition, teaching values of respect, cooperation, coexistence and resignifying the participants in the projects and the territories themselves in the public imagination through media presentation so that there is a greater ease of them being imagined as part of the national community. Football, without doubt, has functioned as the best space and time for these socializing opportunities to occur, whether through play or as spectators. These football matches are, however, a 'suspended period of entertainment' (Rookwood and Palmer 2011: 195) that allow the former combatants and community to suspend the realities of life and the struggles involved with the peace process. Lasting peace and full reintegration is a much more complex process which football on its own cannot provide. One of the coaches, Paulo Martínez, was convinced of the impact the project was having saying 'Yo creo que nosotros, y los digo nosotros, y tú también porque estás aquí metido en el cuento, estamos haciendo historia' (personal interview 24 October 2017).⁶¹ However, many of the doubts and problems of SDP projects discussed earlier in this chapter are present and so further research is required to gauge and evaluate to what extent the project in the ETCRs is having an impact.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there has been an increased deployment of SDP programmes targeted at addressing the Colombian political situation, and these projects have usually had football as the core sporting medium for the development focus of the programmes. Elite sport is still funded and celebrated, but the Santos government's preoccupation and funding of social

⁶¹ In one activity on the Coldeportes feedback day for the *promotores y monitores*, they were asked to write one word that best summarised their experiences of the project to date. Many of the words chosen by the *monitores* and *promotores* indicate initial success and progress in establishing the grounds for collective identities to be created between FARC, representatives of public forces and the surrounding communities. The words written on the board for this activity included the following: 'compromiso', 'excelente', 'perseverancia', 'enriquecimiento', 'conocimiento', 'rendimiento', 'transformación', 'vivencia', 'experiencias', 'amor', 'sonrisa', 'alegría', 'pasión', 'esperanza', 'igualdad', 'resistencia', 'aprendizaje', 'entrega', 'orgullo', 'motivación', 'historia', 'satisfacción', 'amistad', 'operante', 'asequible', 'desaprendizaje', 'reconciliación', 'pertenencia' and 'retroalimentar'.

sport in vulnerable areas diverges from usual practice, as 'history shows that, when government intervention occurs, priority is often given to elite sport programs, rather than to general sport participation' (Coakley 2001: 393). The recognition of sport's power as a tool for social transformation followed greater awareness and study of the processes, methodologies, and results of SDP programmes. The support that the UN and other major development agencies gave to such SDP programmes in the achieving of the Millennium Development Goals, particularly documents recommending strategies and best practice for governments, coincided with the beginning of the Santos government. Consequently, in the development plans of Coldeportes we can see a growing articulation of the importance of Deporte Social Comunitario projects, predominantly aimed at children and adolescents, and in vulnerable communities generally. The aim of all the projects discussed in this chapter, as well as the support for multisport competitions, is to integrate communities, embed citizenship values to young Colombians promoting teamwork, fair play, tolerance, respect, gender equity and conflict resolution amongst others. These programmes can also help resignify individuals, communities and spaces associated with the conflict and its aftermath, increase state presence and provide opportunities, and provide spaces for encounter and recognition. The programmes in the ETCRs have been the most important of these, addressing the most obvious site for national fragmentation, and providing the most visible evidence of the 'Nueva Colombia' that Santos so frequently spoke of, with previous enemies reconciled and working towards peace. This united Colombia had been articulated so frequently through football, especially through the collective moment of national triumph of the 2014 World Cup as a founding moment, that Santos's presidential campaign for peace was closely associated with the football success. The signing of the peace agreement was a second national success, again supported by football as a visual confirmation of rapprochement (former enemies playing on the same pitch, and supporting the national team together). Football has provided a means to begin the reintegration of former FARC combatants within the local and national community, allowing the chance for new identities to emerge, and socialization processes and horizontal recognition to occur. Given that one of the main problems that has impeded nation-building in Colombia has been the insecurity resultant from the state forces not possessing the monopoly of violence across the national territory, improving coexistence arises as a main form of improving security at micro, meso or macro level. Peace-building efforts, with football as a major part of the bonding, bridging and linking effort, is an essential first stage towards nation-building. Puentes Sánchez, for instance, argues for 'la convivencia como piso esencial para la construcción de la seguridad' (2015: 246). Finding new talents who can represent the nation is a felicitous extra for some of the

programmes where reintegration, reconciliation and coexistence are the principal aims. There are, of course, programmes such as Supérate Intercolegiados (a national schools multisport competition which was a pet project of Santos over his presidency) which aim to find young Colombians who can give Colombia the successes and subsequent feelings of pride, positivity, happiness and togetherness that a number of Colombians have provided the nation during the Santos presidency, in football and a range of other sports. Although elite sport is still promoted, Coldeportes has strengthened and formalised its commitment to providing the rights and opportunities incumbent upon it according to the Sistema Nacional del Deporte in 1995. Although this has always been part of its job, and it has provided schemes and opportunities in the past (as has Colombia Joven with *Golombiao*), the Santos government made it more of a priority to complement wider political goals.

It remains to be seen whether this will continue under the presidency of Iván Duque. A new government often ends previous projects and introduces new policies and priorities. The legacy of Santos in terms of sport policy for the next decade can be seen in the Coldeportes Política Pública Nacional para el Desarrollo del Deporte, la Recreación, la Actividad Física y el Aprovechamiento del Tiempo Libre hacia un Territorio de Paz, 2018-2028, the successor to the Plan Decenal de Deporte 2009-2019. This public policy recognises the advance of SDP over the last decade, eight years of which, of course, were under Santos' government: 'uno de los principales avances que presenta el desarrollo de esta política pública es el concebir el deporte como un elemento de transformación social, satisfacción personal de los individuos, esencialmente en la conexión con el bienestar en general y desarrollo integral' (Coldeportes, 2018: 11). It goes on to confirm that 'la presente política pública considera el deporte no como un fin en sí mismo sino como un medio, o mejor, un instrumento, para que los Estados generen bienestar social' (ibid: 23), as well as the 'maleabilidad del deporte' being beneficial for achieving a range of non-sporting objectives, including 'la reducción del delito y el uso de drogas por parte de la juventud, el aumento de la inclusión social, la promoción de la salud y la rehabilitación de la comunidad (ibid: 23). This is a public policy that, through sport, and most often through football, aims to have a transformative effect on Colombian society, using it in a more systematic fashion to tackle recognised problems that impede national togetherness. This objective was also the aim of the PDSCCF. As a consequence of this recognition, a number of objectives for the department as a whole aim to strengthen, broaden access to and improve SDP programmes. The targets for 2028 include 'la consolidación de un territorio de paz' and 'el mejoramiento de la calidad de vida de los ciudadanos colombianos por medio del acceso continuo a la recreación, la actividad física y el aprovechamiento del tiempo libre (ibid: 43). One of the 'Líneas Estratégicas'

intends to ‘fortalecer la capacidad y asistencia técnica de Coldeportes dirigida a la población general con enfoque diferencial’ and establishes the sector and projects to achieve this as being through ‘deporte social comunitario, convivencia y paz, Supérate Intercolegiados, nuevas tendencias y prácticas ancestrales’ (ibid: 53). For the Deporte Social Comunitario section, the two main strategies to achieve their goals are a continuation of the schemes that have been analysed in this chapter, namely, the strengthening of Deporte Social Comunitario across the whole country, and organising regional or national events for social and community sport (ibid: 64). It is striking, looking at the document as a whole, just how much content and reference there is to this social role for sport. This is certainly down to the political and social developments in the country and Santos turning to sport as a major tool to bring the country together.

This chapter has not sought to analyse whether the campaigns and objectives are being achieved, nor how effective they are and what problems and successes they are having. This is beyond the remit of this particular study, but deserves to be the subject of further research. Challenges certainly remain for the Colombian government if the public policy objectives for 2018-2028 are to be achieved. Despite the increased budget during the Santos years and greater commitment to SDP, Calderón and Martínez believe that ‘todavía le falta más apoyo, especialmente en el Estado Colombiano’ (2015: 18), and also that ‘es necesario el apoyo de otros actores, principalmente de los no estatales (privados), por lo menos mientras el Estado desarrolla estrategias de apoyo más fuertes (19). The organising institutions of the Deporte y Post-conflicto conference in Bogotá on 9-10 October 2017, hosted by the Comité Olímpico Colombiano (COC), published a manifesto during the event, which outlined five major challenges to be tackled through sport:

- 1) Facilitar diálogos entre actores con posturas radicalizadas.
- 2) Generar estrategias de deporte social que promuevan la convivencia y la reconciliación.
- 3) Fomentar el valor del deporte como mediador de conflictos y dispositivo para la formulación de conciliadores a nivel escolar y comunitario.
- 4) Construir estrategias de prevención de los distintos tipos de violencia asociados a los procesos de post-conflicto.
- 5) Aportar a la formación y al desarrollo de nuevos liderazgos entre las comunidades, las víctimas y los excombatientes a través de programas académicos en los distintos niveles de formación (*Comité Olímpico Colombiano*, 9 October 2017).

Some of these challenges are being tackled, as the chapter has shown, but it will be some time before we can fully analyse and discuss how much success such SDP campaigns and strategies have had in terms of creating the conditions for peace, reintegration and reconciliation of former FARC guerrillas, in particular, as well as impacting upon social development locally and

nationally. What can be concluded is that the Santos government, across a variety of Ministries and Administrative Departments, have seen SDP projects usually centred around football as a viable tool to integrate more Colombians into the nation. Whether these are former FARC combatants or young Colombians in vulnerable areas, the Santos government moved away from a purely rhetorical or elite level sport strategy to strengthen concepts of the nation through sport.

Conclusion

This thesis analyses the systematic, innovative and multi-faceted strategy in which President Juan Manuel Santos utilized football for his national unity project during the two terms of his presidency. Recognizing football as one of very few factors capable of unifying Colombians and arousing a common emotive sense of affiliation in Colombians with the nation, Santos sought to deploy the power of football to aid his key political project of bringing an end to the conflict with the FARC, and to nation-building more widely. Exploiting football was a key government strategy to tackle the enduring political and social problems that have blighted Colombia's struggle to build nation. Victories for the national men's team became times of national celebration, reasons for patriotic pride and positivity, symbolizing the potential for a new, peaceful Colombia. They were portrayed as times when *all* Colombia was celebrating together. The ritual of these matches was bolstered by presidential rhetoric as times and spaces for mutual recognition, reconciliation and re-identification, opportunities for the accommodation of previously excluded members of the Colombian community, such as FARC guerrillas, within the national in-group. Football as an activity was empowered as a tool for social development, capable of supporting a wide variety of government institutions and campaigns for creating better citizens. Santos mined the power and malleability of football more than any other Colombian president had previously, putting it to use to support a variety of projects across the nation promoting inclusion, reconciliation, social education and good citizenship. Whereas other presidents only spoke of football for national benefit at the time of triumph, the Santos government not only spoke about football for the nation constantly over the eight years in power, but took actions to introduce laws, public policies and campaigns to put it to effective use across the national territory. This thesis argues, therefore, that the Santos government marked a departure in Colombia for the use of football, and sport in general, for nation-building. The footballization of politics and society in Colombia under Santos progressed from simple previous rhetorical evocations of patriotic pride and togetherness, to being a tool with universal potential to build Colombianness at micro, meso and macro level. Furthermore, football was deployed in a much wider manner by a range of state institutions, based on its convening power. As a study carried out between Coldeportes and the Universidad Sergio Arboleda noted:

El interés sistemático del Gobierno Central por el deporte es relativamente reciente, y todavía en proceso de desarrollo [...]el Estado colombiano cada día está entendiendo la relevancia y el uso que se le puede dar al deporte, no sólo para la competencia, sino

para alcanzar otros objetivos no deportivos como son la salud, la educación, y en términos más amplios el bienestar general (Quiñones Valero et al. 2014: 36 -38).⁶²

One of the main contributions of this thesis is to analyse this development of the systematic use of football and how and why the Colombian State under Santos put it to use in a more strategic, widespread and coordinated way than in any previous Colombian government. It illustrates the conviction of the Santos government that football is a powerful agent in Colombia for nation-building, ready for use in diverse situations and contexts. It should be remembered that a range of other actors, including the media, private enterprise, NGOs and community-led projects all are involved in this footballization of society across the national territory. The extent to which society and politics was 'footballized' under Santos, and the importance of football, and sport in general, as a key tool of nation-building impacts upon the study of Colombian politics and society. This thesis demonstrates that it has a much greater impact than is often credited or studied.

Football has been the principal focus of this thesis as the most obvious, popular and commonly resorted to sport for national unity in Colombia. Matches of *la selección* are national events, moments that transcend daily routine and stimulate moments of exceptional nationalism and national focus. No sport can really rival the attention football gets and debate it engenders. It should be stressed, nonetheless, that any significant sporting triumph on the world stage and sport in general was exploited for the same ends. Santos was fortunate to oversee Colombia's most successful period of sporting achievement so far with record medal hauls in global and continental multi-competitions, and conspicuous triumphs in sports such as athletics, cycling, boxing and weightlifting. The same messages around football were repeated at the time of any victory for a Colombian athlete or team, and the benefits of sport for the individual and the collective were underlined once again. Although football is without doubt the most mediated, popularly and widely supported and played sport in Colombia, the Santos government endeavoured to promote a wider range of sport, physical activity and recreation to the public. A study undertaken to analyse how Santos spoke about and deployed cycling or athletics would likely reach similar conclusions to what has been presented here about football's deployment.

⁶² It is worth noting that one of the co-authors of this study is Ernesto Lucena, who took over as Director of Coldeportes as Iván Duque became president, and subsequently became the country's first Minister for Sport as Coldeportes became a Ministry on 5 June 2019. The study analysed the potential for public policies using sport, physical activity and recreation in the country. This understanding of sport as a means and as a tool might suggest a continuation of the strategy of sport for development policies and campaigns introduced during the Santos presidency with Lucena at the head of Coldeportes.

This thesis is a significant contribution to a number of fields, as an interdisciplinary project, bringing together a number of research areas. This thesis is original in that it examines such a systematic and deliberate strategy of nation-building using football. It investigates the novel ways in which football was deployed for nation-building, which has implications not only for Colombia moving forward, but also for the continent and elsewhere. Such a combination of rhetorical, social media, legislative and elite and recreational level sporting projects centred on exploiting football's cultural and social potential have not been contemplated elsewhere to address, mitigate or solve such an array of problems that impact upon the construction of nation, fostering citizenship and an inclusive national identity. The peace process in Colombia is a historic moment, not just nationally, but continentally and globally; studies that discuss aspects of this vital period in Colombia's history are fundamental to support and understand the process. This analysis of how football has been strategically deployed to complement and assist with the peace process and wider national issues that have fragmented citizen attachment to and recognition of the nation is instructive, and can have positive ramifications for similar processes elsewhere. This study examines new governmental communication strategies using social media, particularly how Twitter can have a role in creating emotional and psychological affiliations with the nation, based on football. Given the attention paid across the nation to national team football matches, and football being the phenomenon most likely to encourage immediate imagined affiliations and mutual identifications, the online real-time conversation of multiple Colombian voices from all corners of the nation and the diaspora is a propitious moment for promoting a sense of 'colombianidad' using the tools Twitters offers. Twitter, therefore, has become an important platform for broadcasting messages fostering sporting nationalism, rapidly and efficiently reaching an audience. The thesis also analyses a legislative process and development of a public policy that is unique in the continent. Similar situations of football-related violence and the social factors behind and related to them, although with their own national and local dynamics, exist across Latin America and elsewhere. Much can be learned, therefore, about and from the Colombian experience and strategy that this thesis analyses.

Although this thesis explores key elements of Santos' footballization of Colombian society and politics and the politicization of Colombian football, there are additional areas that would benefit from further study to extend the work conducted here. There are a number of other campaigns using football for social development in Colombia, originating from Coldeportes and other national, departmental and local government agencies, private enterprises, NGOs and community groups. Investigations into these campaigns, their structures, objectives, methodologies, successes and difficulties and the responses to them of the target population

and community and those involved in them would be invaluable. Indeed, the programmes discussed in chapter four require further study. Due to safety and research ethics limitations, no *Golombiao* sessions were observed nor were any of the ETCRs visited for this project. Much can be learned from what has been done and is being done in these programmes in different regions of Colombia. These are crucial processes that need to be observed, evaluated, improved and learned from.

Full analysis of the impact of the public policies, particularly the PDSCCF, will take place after 2024 when the timescale for the Plan ends, although events have taken place to evaluate what, if anything has been accomplished. The Personería de Bogotá, in collaboration with the Procuraduría, on 12 July 2019, organized the most recent of these.⁶³ This event tried to give a balance of ongoing efforts to implement the PDSCCF, principally in Bogotá, but the *personeros*⁶⁴ of other cities such as Medellín, Cali and Bucaramanga also gave information about the PDSCCF's implementation in their cities in one panel. Taking into account that achieving the objectives will take time, the prevailing impression given in this event is that much of the PDSCCF is not being implemented. In the opening comments by Liliana Caballero, the Procuradora Delegada para la Vigilancia Preventiva de la Función Pública, only 10 of the 30 cities responded to questions from the Procuraduría about how the PDSCCF was being implemented (*Prensa Personería Bogotá* 16 July 2019a). Representatives of various Bogotá-based fan groups also outlined various complaints about the lack of implementation of the PDSCCF. Their complaints included a lack of financing, fans groups not being included, social activities within the *barras* are not being supported by football clubs and authorities and articles in the laws and policy are not being observed by the authorities (see *Prensa Personería Bogotá* 15 July 2019a,b and c). Antonio Hernández, a representative of the IDPAC of Bogotá (the Instituto Distrital de Participación y Acción Comunal), who spoke about actions undertaken in Bogotá, admitted that 'El Plan Decenal no tiene un plan de acción concreto' (*Prensa Personería Bogotá* 16 July 2019b). In the same panel, Rosita Serpa an *asesora* from the Ministerio del Interior, commented that 'todavía hay

⁶³ The reason for the Procuraduría taking an interest in hosting this event lies in that Fernando Carrillo Flórez, the Ministro del Interior who launched the project, is now the Procurador. Juber Ariza, who drove the project whilst at the Ministerio del Interior, is also now working in the Procuraduría. Alirio Amaya, who has been an integral part of projects for reducing the violence in football in Bogotá and nationally, now works at the Personería de Bogotá.

⁶⁴ The function of the *personerías* of each city is to oversee the management of the mayors and other decentralized areas. They ensure the protection and promotion of human rights of citizens, and that due process is being followed in order to guarantee the rights and interests of Colombian citizens. As the PDSCCF is an optional public policy that can be included within the development plan of a city, municipality or region, the *personero* is responsible for monitoring the implementation or otherwise of policies such as this, particularly one which has implications for the human rights of often-marginalized groups such as *barras*.

desconocimiento de la ley' and that there was a 'falta de coordinación de todos los actores' (*Prensa Personería Bogotá* 16 July 2019b). The event at least did show that the PDSCCF is still on the agenda of certain cities, but questions remain about its impact on a national level. Five years do remain for the PDSCCF and a comprehensive study of this groundbreaking but flawed document can take place after the conclusion of its projected timescale.

Beyond Santos: Is Football Serving the Duque Presidency?

Moving forward beyond the timeframe of this project, following the recognition of football's power and malleability, and its systematic use by the Santos government, it will be instructive to see how and if the Iván Duque government and future governments will continue the process and deploy football and other sports to suit their own agendas. The Santos government established a basis for football's deployment in a number of areas for national development, showing the possibilities for a strategy for football use for nation-building replicable and implementable not just in Colombia, but across the continent with the necessary adjustments and improvements relevant to local circumstances. As has been established in this thesis, football is an adaptable tool that can serve any master and football has considerable social and political currency in Colombia. The same is true elsewhere in Latin America where football has massive power waiting to be deployed. Will other countries learn from the Colombian experience and adopt similar legal and public policy processes or promote similar SDP government campaigns?

Colombia continues to need positive stories that are seen by a global audience. The 'Narcolombia' image endures and is a difficult image to shift, particularly as stories about the murders of social leaders and the growing strength of dissident FARC forces have begun to hit the national and international news, and worries increase about the Duque government's implementation of the peace agreement. Colombian athletes continue to provide successes that the nation needs to boost its sense of pride and its reputation globally. Caterine Ibargüen's award as being IAAF Woman Athlete of the Year in December 2018, Robert Farah and Juan Sebastián Cabal's men's tennis doubles triumph at Wimbledon in July 2019, and Egan Bernal's remarkable Tour de France 2019 victory were epic national triumphs, championed by the President and press, and were celebrated as such by Colombians. Even Colombia becoming world champions in the unlikely sport of men's underwater rugby and the women's team gaining the bronze medal in August 2019 merited a congratulatory tweet from Duque (@IvanDuque

6:46pm 3 August 2019), and is national news in a country that has got used to looking to sport for relief from national negativity. Sport provides opportunities for national optimism, patriotic pride and apolitical unifying moments for a country whose unity remains uncertain. Sporting nationalism, based on elite performance, is vital for the nation and national identity, and will continue to be used by the president to encourage unity because of existing national fragility and political polarization. This type of sporting nationalism is not new in Colombia or elsewhere on the continent (though, as this thesis demonstrates, how it is transmitted via Twitter and other social media has developed). What is of greater interest is whether the drive for SDP projects and recreational sport, and football especially, to be a motor for unity at micro, meso and macro levels in Colombia will be continued. This type of sport for nation-building has a greater impact in the daily lives of Colombian citizens across the national territory, bearing in mind that elite sporting triumphs are temporary events.

Iván Duque established his football credentials in a way that recalls many of Santos' actions in the first year of his government. Santos made public his support of Santa Fe and the Colombian national team, attending training sessions, wearing the national shirt, acclaiming triumphs and supporting the hosting of tournaments. Duque conducted himself in a similar way during the presidential election campaign in 2018 (Colombian elections always coincide with the men's World Cup, and if Colombia qualifies, then football will always be part of campaign considerations) and in his first year in office. He declared himself an 'amante empedernido del fútbol' and that 'que si no fuera por el fútbol, él no tendría la visión que actualmente tiene de la vida', (*Canal1* 6 May 2019). He has shown off his football skills on several occasions (see, for example, *Las2Orillas* 14 March 2018; and *Diario AS* 9 July 2018); he has emphasized his long-lasting support for América de Cali, (see, for example *Kienyke* 7 August 2018); and he has been photographed on various occasions wearing the national football shirt and given national shirts to foreign political leaders such as Emmanuel Macron and Justin Trudeau (*El Tiempo* 27 September 2018). He has also conducted high profile ceremonies with the national football team, much as Santos did. He presented outgoing national team coach José Pékerman with the national flag and commemorative plaque for his work with the national team and the positive impact of his efforts for the nation in the Casa de Nariño on 17 September 2018, just over a month after becoming president.⁶⁵ He invited the national men's team to the Pabellón Nacional before the Copa América 2019 in Brazil and gave a speech that could easily have been one that

⁶⁵ Santos had actually limited Duque's actions here, having awarded Pékerman the Orden de Boyacá, the country's highest honour, at the flag-giving ceremony to the national team in the Casa de Nariño before the 2018 World Cup.

Santos would have given. The following excerpt from that speech contains many similar rhetorical devices and messages that Santos employed:

No solamente van a representar lo que son, la familia de todos los colombianos. Cuando los vemos a ustedes jugar todos nos unimos en una sola bandera: amarillo, azul y rojo. Ustedes representan todo un país, todos nuestros sueños, nuestras alegrías, nuestras angustias. Y tenemos siempre la ilusión en que ustedes dan lo mejor por este país [...] Nuestra defensa, nuestra delantera, nuestro medio campo, cada jugada, cada toque, significa un colombiano que está detrás de ustedes. Ustedes dan lo mejor por este país. Así los vimos en la Copa Mundo, una gran Copa Mundo. [...] Ustedes representan a todo un país y todo el país se siente orgulloso de verlos aquí reunidos en la casa de los colombianos y de verlos partir con éxito hacia una nueva Copa América, que yo espero sea la Copa América del Bicentenario de Colombia (*Presidencia de la República* 4 June 2019).

Under Duque, Coldeportes was converted into into a full Ministry, with the signing of Law 1967 on 5 June 2019, a process begun by Santos on 4 April 2018. Duque, like Santos, also detailed the benefit that sport could have for the nation, seeing sport as a tool and a means to an end:

Queremos que el deporte se convierta en una política de Estado, porque queremos que el deporte sea un factor fundamental en la construcción de equidad, porque entendemos que el deporte también tiene una gran conexión con el emprendimiento, y, por supuesto, con la legalidad. Porque en la medida que el deporte se profundiza en los territorios, estamos alejando a la juventud y la niñez del acecho de la violencia, del acecho de la criminalidad, de la tentación del camino fácil. [...] Yo creo que el deporte es un factor de unidad en nuestro país. Nosotros nos emocionamos con los saltos de Catherine Ibargüen, nosotros nos emocionamos con los pedalazos de Mariana Pajón, nosotros nos emocionamos con los goles de nuestra Selección Colombia, nosotros nos emocionamos con el papel de todos nuestros atletas, nuestros boxeadores, nuestros pesistas (*Presidencia de la República* 5 June 2019).

Once again, there are similarities to Santos' messages here, speaking of the unifying power of sport and sport being able to tackle violence and criminality. There are some subtle differences though appearing, particularly the reference to 'legalidad', a jab at FARC and Duque's opposition to elements of the peace process. It will be of academic interest to register how and how often Duque talks about football and sport in the future. He will certainly have the opportunity in 2020 to talk about football and nation to a domestic and international audience as Colombia will be co-hosts of the 2020 Copa América with Argentina. Duque was keen to announce that Colombia would host the final, although there are unconfirmed rumours at the time of writing that Colombia won this right as a part of a deal to withdraw their application to host the 2023 Women's World Cup, and to support Argentina's bid. When announcing that Colombia would bid to host the Women's World Cup, Duque had said that 'Queremos que nuestro país dé ese paso no solamente para reconocer la importancia del deporte, sino la importancia también del

liderazgo de la mujer en el desarrollo deportivo de nuestro país' (*El Espectador* 26 January 2019). However, a series of scandals about women's football in Colombia questioned the seriousness with which football authorities take the women's game. Tolima director Gabriel Camargo caused huge controversy with comments he made when asked about the women's professional league:

Eso anda mal, eso va mal económicamente. Aparte de los problemas que hay con las mujeres, porque son más tomatragos que los hombres. Pregúntele a los del Huila cómo están de arrepentidos de haber sacado el título y haberle invertido tanta plata. Eso es un caldo de cultivo de lesbianismo tremendo (*El Espectador* 20 December 2018).

Although he eventually apologized, it revealed a lack of support for the women's professional league, which had only been instituted in 2017, to great fanfare. Two years later, the league looked unlikely to take place, despite the achievement of Atlético Huila in winning the women's Copa Libertadores (a triumph that Duque did not tweet about). The 2019 edition did eventually go ahead, though the length of the tournament was reduced to just three months. A video by national team players Melissa Ortiz and Isabella Echeverri about the lack of professionalism and malpractice of coaches of the women's national team led to more allegations of sexual misconduct by coaches of some of the national junior sides. This series of incidents did, at least, lead to the men's national team players releasing a joint statement supporting their female counterparts. This statement read:

En relación con los hechos que se han dado alrededor de la Selección Colombia Femenina, los jugadores de la Selección Colombia de fútbol de mayores nos permitimos manifestar a la opinión pública en general, lo siguiente:

1. Rechazamos y condenamos cualquier acto que vulnere la integridad física, mental o emocional de una mujer.
2. Respaldamos a nuestras compañeras de la Selección Colombia Femenina.
3. Estaremos atentos a que se hagan a la brevedad, las investigaciones pertinentes, por los organismos judiciales.
4. El fútbol femenino debe seguir creciendo y desarrollándose con todas las garantías y en todas las categorías, y para eso siempre tendrán los directivos y las jugadoras todo nuestro apoyo. (*Fémima Fútbol* 5 March 2019).

This support from the men's team is very welcome, but once again underlines the struggle for women's football to be taken as seriously as the men's game by authorities, and to have the same symbolic and representative power for the nation. It will be interesting to examine the narrative and responses to women's football over the next few years. The first opportunity for Duque to talk about women's football and the nation came with the Colombian women's gold medal in the Juegos Panamericanos in Lima 2019. He did tweet his congratulations, writing

Los colores de nuestra bandera de nuevo se elevan en lo más alto gracias al triunfo de la Selección Femenina de Fútbol en la final de los Panamericanos @LimaJuegos2019. Todo el país se enorgullece de esta medalla de oro para Colombia. ¡Felicitaciones! [#ColombiaTierraDeAtletas](#) (@ivandunque 1:46pm 10 August 2019).

Similarly to Santos' infrequent comments about the women's football team, Duque does not go as far to make the team representative of the nation as has been the case with narrative about the men's team. Other features common to Santos tweets are present, such as the use of 'todo el país', references to national symbols, transmitting a sense of national pride, and the use of a patriotic hashtag. The #ColombiaTierraDeAtletas seems to be the 2019 sport-related slogan promoted by the presidency, the Ministry of Sport and its officials, sports teams and federations, and is also used by sponsors and the media.

The most obvious lack of continuity of how football was used under Santos compared to Duque is the Coldeportes project in the ETCRs. It is often the case that the change of government, minister, governor or mayor will lead to an end to projects spearheaded by their predecessor. This seems to be the case with the sport, physical activity and recreation project in the FARC transition camps. The project appears to have been downscaled by the current administration after a period of uncertainty following the state of the Duque presidency, according to Mercedes Torrente, who was coordinator of the project from Fundación Tierra Posible until December 2018 when the second phase ended (personal communication). This project, which provided the most visible examples of Colombia coming together following the peace agreement and demobilization by the FARC, perhaps was seen to have served a short-term purpose. As discussed in chapter four, it did provide opportunities for re-encounter, socialization, re-identification and reconciliation, and football was the leading activity of the sports provided. The matches between former combatants of the FARC, men and women, with local community and police and armed forces teams were particularly symbolic of the possibilities of the end of the conflict, as were the events arranged in camps such as Llano Grande during the national team matches in the 2018 World Cup. Perhaps the project has been downscaled, as it was not seen as an essential part of the on-going peace process, a process that we must remember Duque has been accused of failing or being unwilling to implement given his opposition to various terms of the agreement. It is unclear at the time of writing what the state of the project is, though Torrente said that some of the former FARC members who were contracted in the second phase of the project are still running sport and recreation sessions in the camps (personal communication). However, the sporting opportunities provided for former FARC guerrillas since the peace agreement led to the remarkable story of the Colombia team for the World Rafting Championships in Tully, Australia, in May 2019. The eight-person team was made up of five

former FARC fighters who were part of the Teófilo Forero column, and three people from the Miravalle community near the ETCR to where those FARC fighters had demobilized. That former enemies of the nation would be representing the country in sport would have been unthinkable before the start of the Santos presidency. Before they departed Colombia to compete, the team was given the Colombian flag by Ernesto Lucena, in a ceremony very similar to that conducted many times by Santos as football teams and Olympic teams went off to represent the nation. Lucena said as he presented the flag, 'Ustedes mostrarán en Australia una cara diferente de Colombia. La vida es un remar constante y me complace entregar esta bandera que simboliza que después de la lucha armada, se puede construir un futuro a partir del deporte,' (*El Tiempo* 28 May 2019). In this quote, Lucena recognized that sport has been a major way in which Colombia has tried to present a more positive image to the world; this example is a particularly powerful symbol of the possibilities for peace in Colombia, a team of former combatants and self-confessed *campesinos* working together in unison.

If a former FARC fighter ever represents Colombia on the football pitch, it would be an even more remarkable story. One of the *promotores* interviewed, Paulo Martínez, talked enthusiastically about a very talented young woman he had seen in La Elvira ETCR, and was hoping to get her trials for a professional women's team (personal interview 24 October 2017). As discussed in chapter two and four, football has provided a way for FARC to show themselves to be part of the nation. It seemed that the FARC had the intention of forming a football club to compete in the Colombian professional league (see, for example, *Semana* 11 August 2017). Although this intention fell apart due to disagreements and complications between the FARC and Félix Mora who was promoting the idea, a La Paz FC team made up of former fighters on both sides of the conflict and victims has been in operation for several years.⁶⁶ In June 2019, La Paz FC travelled to Caen, France, to represent Colombia in the Forum Mondial Normandie pour la Paix. They were also presented with the Colombian flag in a ceremony at the Centro de Alto Rendimiento in Bogotá before they departed for France. Coldeportes representative Juan José Malvey said that the team 'cumple en la construcción del país y una muestra de que el deporte es la mejor herramienta para arrebatarse al crimen el destino de nuestros jóvenes' (*El País* 14 May 2019). Once again, the link between football and nation-building is established.

Given the ubiquity, popularity and power of football in Colombia, there is no doubt that football will continue to serve a variety of purposes, whether for enrichment, entertainment, gaining

⁶⁶ Carl Worswick's article (*Guardian*, 11 October 2017) is excellent on the situation between the FARC and Félix Mora, and FARC's football project in general, and the consternation that the idea of the FARC having a professional team caused in Colombia.

power or affecting social development at local, community, city, regional or national level. This thesis has shown how President Santos systematically and strategically employed football towards his national unity project. Throughout his presidency, Santos was engaged in a mission, using sport to give a new face to Colombia at home and abroad, hoping that due to his government's efforts, Colombia could be one team, working and playing together. As the frequently used hashtag said during the World Cup in 2014, the point when football, politics, national unity and peace most converged, the aim was always to be #UnPaísEnUnaCancha.

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Alirio Amaya (personal interview, 23 October 2017)

Ana Arizabaleta (personal interview 3 November 2017)

Andrés Dávila Ladrón de Guevara (interviewed conducted 12 December 2017)

Candelaria Lucero (31 October 2017)

Ernesto Herrera (personal interview, 14 November 2017)

Esteban Reyes (personal interview 19 October 2017)

Genyer Rojas (23 October 2017)

Gisela Gómez (personal interview, 10 November 2017)

Jhon Fredy Tarifa (23 October 2017)

Juan Carlos Torres (interview conducted 14 December 2017)

Juber Ariza (interview conducted 6 October 2017)

Julián Maldonado (personal interview, 18 October 2017)

Juvenal Tangarife and Bibiana Graciano (23 October 2017)

Luis Bermúdez (personal interview, 14 November 2017)

Omar Becerra (13 October 2017)

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Personal communication with the office of Dr. Afranio Restrepo, subdirector of Coldeportes, 31 January 2018

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Appendix 1: Sport-Related Speeches Forming the Corpus in Chapter 2

August 2010

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June 2018

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Appendix 2: Dates and Times of all Tweets Used in the Corpus for Chapter 2

	@infopresidencia	@JuanManSantos
2011		
January		9:55am 12 January
February		
March		2:27pm 12 March 3:13pm 19 March 10:01pm 26 March 3:32am 27 March 4:25am 27 March 5:27am 27 March
April		
May		5:28pm 11 May 2:54pm 12 May 9:03am 17 May 2:13pm 19 May 4:32pm 19 May 5:50pm 24 May
June		2:04pm 10 June 2:18pm 10 June
July	2:32pm 16 July 8:00am 21 July 9:20am 22 July 6:35pm 28 July 6:36pm 28 July 6:37pm 28 July (1) 6:37pm 28 July (2) 6:38pm 28 July 6:40pm 28 July 6:42pm 28 July 3:35pm 29 July 8:20am 29 July	9:24pm 2 July 3:45am 7 July 5:03pm 10 July 10:51pm 10 July 11:21pm 10 July 11:27pm 16 July 4:19pm 18 July 9:31am 28 July 8:20pm 29 July 8:28pm 29 July 7:00pm 30 July 4:50am 31 July
August	7:48pm 2 August 5:47pm 19 August 5:57pm 19 August 7:00am 22 August	7:49pm 2 August 7:52pm 5 August 7:57pm 9 August 8:34am 13 August 7:57pm 13 August 8:32pm 20 August
September		5:18pm 8 September
October	8:57am 10 October	11:03pm 11 October 9:40am 17 October
November		12:09am 12 November
December	12:14pm 27 December	1:07pm 13 December
2012		
January	3:16am 19 January	4:57 7 January
February		
March		3:06am 1 March
April	9:56am 14 April	
May		8:43pm 9 May 8:34pm 16 May
June	4:38pm 1 June	2:42am 2 June

	1:29pm 5 June 1:46pm 5 June 1:54pm 5 June 11:33am 10 June 2:29pm 25 June 8:58am 26 June 8:11am 27 June 11:54am 27 June 3:13pm 27 June 1:14pm 28 June	12:10am 4 June 12:56am 4 June 1:42am 4 June 5:00pm 5 June 9:39pm 10 June 12:21am 11 June
July	11:13am 3 July 7:20am 4 July 8:53am 4 July 4:30pm 4 July 10:42am 6 July 7:34am 7 July 10:10am 11 July 2:30pm 11 July 4:52pm 12 July 2:22pm 13 July 3:00pm 15 July 10:00am 17 July 2:00pm 17 July 12:00pm 22 July	8:18pm 4 July 5:57pm 10 July 2:44pm 27 July
August	10:00am 9 August 2:02pm 10 August 9:17am 11 August 7:31am 14 August 8:15am 14 August 9:30am 14 August 8:51am 15 August 10:35am 15 August 10:36am 15 August 10:38am 15 August 1:37pm 15 August 2:19pm 15 August 5:49pm 15 August 10:23am 17 August 12:00pm 18 August 10:00am 23 August 11:16am 29 August 12:30pm 29 August 1:18pm 29 August 1:44pm 29 August	5:08am 11 August 7:10am 15 August 12:48pm 29 August 9:39am 30 August 9:35pm 31 August
September	8:28am 7 September 4:22pm 7 September 4:12am 11 September 7:06am 11 September 5:09pm 11 September 11:10am 15 September 11:41am 15 September 4:55am 18 September 7:49am 18 September 8:02am 18 September 8:13am 18 September 8:20am 18 September	3:15pm 7 September 11:31pm 7 September 11:32pm 7 September 11:34pm 7 September 11:38pm 7 September 9:59pm 11 September 10:16pm 11 September 10:17pm 11 September 10:43pm 11 September 7:15am 15 September 10:14am 18 September

	10:10am 18 September 12:25pm 18 September 11:58am 22 September 2:34pm 22 September	
October		5:17pm 10 October 12:56am 12 October 9:26pm 12 October 10:49pm 12 October 11:28pm 12 October 12:25am 13 October 9:38pm 13 October 12:50am 30 October
November		8:05pm 3 November 7:12am 7 November 10:10pm 14 November 1:30am 15 November 4:31pm 26 November 9:36am 29 November
December	9:10am 14 December	7:04pm 3 December 10:39am 22 December 8:38am 23 December 8:03am 28 December
2013		
January	5:05pm 16 January	6:03pm 8 January 3:52pm 9 January 5:33pm 9 January 2:24pm 16 January 4:32pm 28 January
February	4:12am 5 February 12:08pm 12 February 3:08pm 14 February	9:21am 1 February 5:40pm 3 February 6:18 3 February 1:39am 7 February 10:26am 13 February
March	8:24am 6 March 6:10pm 6 March 3:13pm 22 March 5:03pm 22 March	5:42pm 6 March 5:50pm 6 March 7:44pm 22 March 10:12pm 22 March 8:53pm 26 March 12:13am 27 March 2:02am 27 March
April		
May	2:38pm 31 May	7:11pm 17 May 7:13am 18 May 8:28pm 19 May 5:52pm 22 May 2:46pm 28 May 5:32pm 28 May 7:53pm 28 May 10:20am 30 May 3:56pm 31 May
June		12:18pm 3 June 1:31pm 7 June 1:10am 8 June

		5:39pm 11 June 10:43pm 11 June 10:08am 22 June 1:03 25 June 12:50pm 28 June
July	7:02am 4 July 9:04am 11 July 7:32am 15 July 6:05pm 31 July	5:59pm 2 July 2:03pm 3 July 6:45am 4 July 12:38pm 11 July 3:06pm 20 July 7:04am 26 July 4:35pm 28 July 8:36pm 30 July 3:06pm 31 July 6:14pm 31 July
August	12:23pm 4 August 2:01pm 4 August 1:30pm 8 August 12:16pm 9 August	11:35am 4 August 12:42pm 4 August 8:50pm 14 August
September	6:59pm 6 September 10:32am 7 September	11:36am 6 September 6:28pm 6 September 8:58pm 6 September 12:57am 7 September 1:19am 7 September 3:17am 7 September 1:13am 11 September 4:12pm 26 September
October	12:13pm 11 October 4:26pm 11 October 5:49am 12 October 1:50pm 15 October 7:00am 16 October 12:17pm 25 October	5:57pm 1 October 1:19pm 11 October 9:36pm 11 October 9:38pm 11 October 9:50pm 11 October 11:36pm 11 October 11:43pm 11 October 12:09am 12 October 1:10am 12 October 1:37am 12 October 3:38am 12 October 2:26pm 12 October 12:20am 16 October 1:09am 16 October 1:48am 16 October 2:25am 16 October 3:17am 16 October 6:23am 16 October 7:07pm 30 October 7:44pm 30 October
November	10:09am 11 November 8:17am 12 November 10.43am 27 November	9:52am 12 November 10:01pm 14 November 5:07pm 15 November 12:35pm 16 November 12:40pm 16 November 7:17pm 16 November 7:01pm 18 November 2:34pm 26 November 6:32am 30 November

December	9:06am 10 December 12:09pm 10 December	9:30am 6 December 1:43pm 10 December 2:35pm 30 December
2014		
January	5:13am 23 January 11:53am 23 January 10:09am 24 January 7:56am 25 January 8:37am 25 January 9:43am 28 January 2:48pm 28 January 3:13pm 30 January	1:51pm 22 January 11:45am 23 January 8:52pm 24 January 3:31pm 28 January
February	3:30pm 4 February 3:30pm 7 February 8:00am 19 February 11:58am 21 February 7:00am 23 February 11:00am 23 February 11:00am 24 February 7:30am 27 February 11:00am 27 February	5:33pm 10 February
March	7:00am 3 March 10:31am 5 March 8:00am 6 March 8:00am 7 March 12:00pm 10 March 7:41am 11 March 8:00am 11 March 7:00am 12 March	6:29pm 5 March 6:36pm 13 March 4:22pm 16 March
April	10:06am 6 April 10:45am 6 April 2:03pm 8 April	10:22pm 10 April
May	3:00pm 31 May	2:39pm 14 May 3:54pm 23 May 9:51am 29 May 12:51pm 30 May
June	3:48pm 11 June 11:54am 12 June 8:31pm 13 June 5:39pm 18 June 7:59am 19 June 12:30pm 19 June 5:00pm 19 June 8:00am 21 June 4:00pm 21 June 9:00am 22 June 6:00am 23 June 4:06pm 24 June 4:00pm 25 June 4:00pm 26 June 2:24pm 27 June 6:12pm 27 June 7:30am 28 June 12:00pm 28 June 2:52pm 28 June	3:24pm 2 June 7:26pm 8 June 1:09pm 11 June 3:40pm 14 June 4:33pm 14 June 5:07pm 14 June 7:01pm 14 June 8:38pm 14 June 10:13pm 14 June 10:14pm 14 June 6:30pm 15 June 2:33am 19 June 4:32pm 19 June 6:27pm 19 June 6:32pm 19 June 6:58pm 19 June 8:56pm 19 June 9:54pm 19 June 8:48pm 24 June

	3:52pm 28 June 11:00am 29 June	10:54pm 24 June 11:22pm 24 June 2:56pm 28 June 8:10pm 28 June 9:29pm 28 June 10:10pm 28 June 10:53pm 28 June 1:18am 29 June
July	12:00pm 1 July 1:00pm 1 July 11:00am 2 July 12:00pm 3 July 11:00am 4 July 2:00pm 4 July 4:18pm 4 July 6:00pm 4 July 6:51pm 4 July 8:28am 5 July 11:00am 5 July 1:04pm 5 July 5:05pm 5 July 5:07pm 5 July 5:08pm 5 July 5:10pm 5 July 5:13pm 5 July 5:15pm 5 July 5:18pm 5 July 5:40pm 5 July 5:59pm 5 July 6:00pm 5 July 6:54pm 13 July 3:06pm 20 July 3:08pm 20 July 8:42am 22 July 10:36am 22 July 9:45am 28 July 11:00am 29 July	4:02pm 2 July 1:57pm 4 July 8:01pm 4 July 10:40pm 4 July 11:04pm 4 July 4:34pm 5 July 1:25am 6 July 1:58pm 6 July 8:45pm 6 July 9:25pm 6 July 11:29am 12 July 10:36pm 13 July 12:15am 14 July 2:31pm 14 July 4:40pm 20 July 4:51pm 21 July 3:09pm 22 July 7:09pm 22 July 12:45pm 28 July
August	11:59am 11 August 5:00pm 19 August	11:46am 11 August 2:23pm 19 August 6:23pm 19 August
September	1:30pm 3 September 7:59pm 3 September 9:16am 15 September 10:00am 16 September 9:30am 17 September	2:52am 4 September 3:22am 4 September 5:31pm 5 September 1:12pm 18 September 6:01pm 18 September 1:25am 20 September 12:20am 27 September 8:12pm 28 September
October	9:20am 6 October 9:32am 6 October	2:04am 11 October 2:52am 11 October 6:24pm 14 October 2:24am 15 October 8:25pm 27 October
November		9:18am 2 November 7:52pm 23 November
December		5:00pm 21 December

2015		
January	5:44am 13 January 7:01am 29 January	6:49pm 12 January 6:38pm 19 January
February		1:47pm 1 February 12:52pm 2 February 6:24pm 7 February 8:27am 11 February 3:00pm 27 February
March	12:10pm 20 March 7:38am 24 March 8:42am 25 March 10:32am 25 March 12:30pm 25 March	8:28pm 1 March 11:15am 20 March 11:22am 20 March 7:09pm 26 March 5:00pm 30 March 7:03pm 30 March
April	8:54am 6 April 11:30am 6 April 1:30pm 19 April	3:57pm 18 April 2:00pm 25 April
May	6:30am 15 May 9:15am 21 May 8:02am 29 May	11:30am 13 May 8:52am 20 May 5:44pm 21 May 2:14pm 27 May 7:58pm 30 May 8:32am 31 May
June	6:53am 21 June 11:15am 21 June 3:20pm 22 June 6:49am 24 June 12:38pm 24 June 5:00am 25 June 7:00am 25 June 12:34pm 26 June	7:24pm 7 June 7:48pm 14 June 10:31pm 14 June 9:23pm 17 June 1:00am 18 June 1:43am 18 June 3:02am 18 June 3:11am 18 June 7:07pm 21 June 10:57pm 21 June 3:05am 23 June 5:29pm 25 June 12:21am 27 June 2:24am 27 June 2:44am 27 June
July	8:59am 11 July 9:24am 11 July 10:01am 11 July 8:30am 18 July 5:37pm 19 July 5:39pm 19 July 7:26pm 19 July 9:20pm 21 July 8:17pm 22 July 1:17pm 23 July 9:52am 25 July	7:50pm 11 July 5:37pm 13 July 1:37am 14 July 7:44am 15 July 9:26am 18 July 8:21pm 18 July
August	6:50am 13 August	9:19am 2 August 2:05pm 3 August 12:00pm 16 August
September		
October	5:51am 8 October 1:13pm 8 October	3:38pm 8 October 8:59pm 8 October

	4:07pm 8 October 7:00pm 8 October 6:41am 9 October 8:29am 23 October	10:08pm 8 October 10:32pm 8 October 11:36pm 8 October 2:37am 9 October 10:13am 10 October 11:15pm 13 October 12:38am 14 October
November	2:38pm 9 November	2:51pm 9 November 6:19pm 12 November 11:29pm 12 November 1:07am 13 November 8:02pm 17 November 5:46pm 23 November 4:27pm 30 November
December		6:51pm 9 December
2016		
January		7:46 20 January
February		
March	2:00am 11 March 7:33pm 24 March 8:18pm 24 March 8:20pm 24 March 9:21pm 24 March 9:58pm 24 March 9:59pm 24 March 8:55pm 25 March 4:28pm 27 March 9:21pm 29 March 9:29pm 29 March 9:47pm 29 March 9:55pm 29 March 10:11pm 29 March 10:45pm 29 March 11:06pm 29 March 11:27pm 29 March 11:33pm 29 March 4:32am 30 March	10:06am 21 March 7:49pm 24 March 8:12pm 24 March 8:44pm 24 March 9:55pm 24 March 9:59pm 24 March 9:46pm 29 March 10:42pm 29 March 11:01pm 29 March 11:27pm 29 March 2:24am 30 March 3:08am 30 March 4:31am 30 March 4:31am 30 March
April	1:25pm 2 April 6:17pm 20 April 7:30pm 20 April 6:06pm 26 April 2:45pm 4 April	4:10pm 13 April 10:07am 20 April 8:24pm 20 April
May	1:30am 1 May 5:09pm 18 May 5:14pm 18 May 5:19pm 18 May 5:21pm 18 May 5:51pm 18 May	5:03pm 3 May 4:13pm 5 May 2:56pm 7 May 10:11am 18 May 7:24pm 21 May 12:01pm 30 May
June	4:58pm 3 June 5:16pm 3 June 6:38pm 3 June 6:56pm 3 June 6:58pm 3 June 7:04pm 3 June 7:25pm 3 June	6:04pm 3 June 9:19pm 3 June 9:27pm 3 June 10:04pm 3 June 2:35am 4 June 2:46am 4 June 3:19am 4 June

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July	5:27pm 7 July 5:30pm 7 July 5:36pm 7 July 5:38pm 7 July 5:42pm 7 July 5:47pm 7 July 5:48pm 7 July 5:52pm 7 July 6:02pm 7 July 6:04pm 7 July 6:05pm 7 July 6:06pm 7 July 8:58pm 7 July 2:02am 8 July 9:10pm 8 July 10:05am 11 July 6:39am 16 July 1:52pm 20 July 2:30pm 24 July 2:01pm 27 July 5:04pm 27 July 7:43pm 27 July 8:58am 28 July 11:41am 28 July 11:37am 29 July	5:26pm 18 July 7:39pm 27 July
August	10:38am 2 August 6:25am 3 August	5:07pm 8 August 5:18am 10 August

	1:46pm 3 August 6:35am 4 August 2:26pm 4 August 6:29am 5 August 5:07pm 5 August 11:40am 6 August 7:01pm 6 August 5:18am 10 August 10:23am 16 August 10:29am 16 August 10:36am 16 August 11:15am 16 August 10:08am 17 August 5:11am 18 August 6:37am 19 August 8:06am 21 August 10:02am 21 August 5:00pm 21 August 7:18pm 21 August 7:35pm 21 August 8:09am 22 August 1:07pm 22 August 10:01am 24 August 3:32pm 27 August 10:09am 29 August	4:04pm 21 August 11:54am 31 August 11:57am 31 August 11:59am 31 August
September	8:40am 1 September 9:07am 1 September (1) 9:07pm 1 September (2) 9:13am 1 September 9:15am 1 September 9:16am 1 September 12:02pm 1 September 1:26pm 1 September 2:23pm 1 September 2:30pm 1 September 3:18pm 1 September 3:57pm 1 September 6:15pm 1 September 7:15am 2 September 5:42pm 6 September 6:27pm 6 September 11:55am 7 September 3:01pm 7 September 12:52pm 17 September 10:01am 18 September 4:04pm 18 September 12:42pm 19 September 4:19pm 22 September 7:42am 26 September 6:30pm 29 September 5:11pm 30 September	9:28pm 1 September 10:17pm 1 September 11:16pm 1 September 11:45pm 1 September 2:23am 7 September 3:39pm 7 September 12:56pm 11 September 1:33pm 11 September 7:01pm 17 September 8:23pm 18 September 5:46pm 22 September
October	10:53am 1 October 6:25pm 6 October 6:28pm 6 October 12:04pm 11 October 1:50pm 11 October 3:22pm 11 October	12:37am 7 October 2:24am 7 October 2:45am 7 October 9:28pm 11 October 9:49pm 11 October (1) 9:49pm 11 October (2)

	7:10am 25 October 4:10pm 25 October 10:31am 28 October	11:21pm 11 October
November	6:45am 4 November 4:01pm 4 November 5:54pm 4 November 6:37pm 5 November 7:27pm 5 November 5:28pm 6 November 5:31am 8 November 2:59pm 8 November 3:40pm 8 November 3:42pm 8 November 12:27pm 10 November 6:16am 19 November 5:38pm 30 November	8:33pm 10 November 2:11am 16 November 3:58am 29 November
December	8:14am 7 December 8:15am 7 December 5:26pm 8 December 10:58am 22 December	4:04pm 2 December 10:21am 3 December 4:46pm 21 December 3:52pm 27 December
2017		
January	3:46pm 25 January	11:46pm 25 January
February	1:03pm 14 February	
March	1:25pm 23 March 3:16pm 23 March 3:31pm 23 March 2:29pm 28 March 4:01pm 28 March	8:31pm 23 March 10:16pm 23 March 10:32pm 23 March 10:02pm 28 March 10:24pm 28 March 10:38pm 28 March 12:00am 29 March
April	4:19am 1 April	
May	3:03pm 6 May	7:08am 5 May 2:32pm 6 May 2:34pm 6 May 2:36pm 6 May 5:15pm 21 May
June	1:14pm 7 June 1:48pm 7 June	12:46pm 6 June 12:36pm 7 June 7:38pm 24 June
July		7:11am 20 July 11:27am 23 July 9:27am 30 July
August	6:56pm 9 August 7:23pm 9 August 1:19am 19 August	6:18pm 9 August 11:50am 10 August 12:09pm 10 August 12:55pm 10 August 12:51pm 13 August
September	2:52pm 5 September 3:32pm 5 September 3:30pm 26 September	1:25pm 5 September 2:51pm 5 September 3:29pm 5 September 6:58am 17 September
October	6:14pm 5 October 6:51pm 5 October 4:33pm 10 October 5:49pm 10 October	8:39am 4 October 4:25pm 5 October 6:12pm 5 October 2:42pm 8 October

	6:29pm 10 October 2:16pm 14 October 11:08pm 16 October 2:08pm 19 October 5:03pm 19 October 6:54pm 19 October 7:02pm 19 October 7:04pm 19 October 7:06pm 19 October 7:08pm 19 October 7:09pm 19 October 7:11pm 19 October 1:13pm 19 October 7:18pm 19 October 11:40pm 26 October 1:13am 27 October 1:17am 27 October	6:24am 10 October 4:17pm 10 October 5:49pm 10 October 6:28pm 10 October 5:26am 11 October 9:11am 11 October 7:11am 19 October 10:50am 19 October 10:58am 19 October 11:03am 19 October 5:31pm 26 October 5:36pm 26 October
November	4:19pm 2 November 5:31pm 2 November 5:34pm 2 November 5:36pm 2 November 5:38pm 2 November 2:41am 3 November 10:21pm 11 November 12:09am 13 November 2:05pm 14 November 10:04pm 15 November 5:00pm 24 November 2:16am 26 November	1:45pm 2 November 8:40pm 2 November 5:09pm 11 November 2:01am 12 November 11:22pm 18 November 5:23am 22 November 2:52pm 22 November 10:48pm 22 November 10:52pm 22 November 1:27pm 23 November 2:39am 26 November 2:41am 26 November 2:46am 26 November 2:54am 26 November
December	12:03am 1 December 12:40am 1 December 3:26pm 1 December 2:21pm 8 December	4:14pm 1 December 4:03pm 4 December 4:34pm 13 December
2018		
January		
February		4:04am 5 February 3:09pm 6 February 3:15pm 6 February 11:00pm 9 February
March	2:49pm 23 March 3:10pm 23 March	11:20pm 16 March 8:02pm 23 March 10:15pm 23 March 12:22 am 24 March
April	5:36am 3 April 8:14am 3 April 9:04am 3 April 10:10am 3 April 10:16am 3 April 10:18am 3 April 10:26am 3 April 5:12pm 3 April 8:02pm 3 April 4:31pm 4 April	1:37pm 3 April 9:35pm 3 April 9:36pm 3 April 9:38pm 3 April 12:26am 4 April 12:05pm 7 April

	11:03am 15 April	
May	10:41am 12 May 1:11am 13 May 1:35pm 17 May 2:26pm 17 May 2:27pm 17 May (1) 2:27pm 17 May (2) 2:27pm 17 May (3) 2:27pm 17 May (4) 2:28pm 17 May 8:06am 23 May 6:01am 24 May 7:50am 24 May 8:30am 24 May 8:51pm 24 May 7:10pm 31 May	10:11pm 17 May 2:42pm 24 May 11:00pm 24 May 11:10pm 24 May 11:18pm 24 May 7:26pm 27 May
June	12:37pm 1 June 12:23pm 4 June 5:20pm 6 June 10:58am 8 June 1:43pm 8 June 2:35pm 8 June 7:00am 9 June 4:51pm 10 June 8:20am 11 June 10:12am 11 June 3:33pm 13 June 6:26am 14 June 6:57am 14 June 7:56am 14 June 2:15pm 14 June 7:32pm 14 June 8:46am 16 June 8:07am 16 June 11:10am 18 June 4:35am 19 June 5:51am 19 June 6:56am 19 June 7:32am 24 June 10:32am 24 June 12:56pm 24 June 2:23pm 24 June 7:39am 26 June 6:58pm 27 June 6:10am 28 June 7:54am 28 June 8:54am 28 June 6:29pm 28 June	6:49pm 8 June 3:36pm 11 June 10:37pm 12 June 4:18pm 14 June 1:56am 17 June 12:47pm 19 June 2:08pm 19 June 8:06am 20 June 1:18am 24 June 10:37am 24 June 11:39am 24 June 12:29pm 24 June 12:35pm 24 June 6:18am 28 June 8:38am 28 June 9:00am 28 June
July	9:47am 3 July 10:17am 3 July 11:55am 3 July 1:05pm 3 July 3:14pm 16 July 4:10pm 16 July 4:16pm 16 July 4:18pm 16 July (1)	10:06am 3 July 12:54pm 3 July 1:25pm 3 July 1:54pm 3 July 5:36pm 3 July 2:27pm 5 July 5:25am 7 July

	4:18pm 16 July (2) 4:19pm 16 July (1) 4:19pm 16 July (2) 4:19pm 16 July (3) 4:19pm 16 July (4) 5:59pm 16 July	
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Appendix 3: All Node Categories Used when Coding Santos' Speeches for Chapter 2

Baseball

Benefits for youth

Benefits of sport for individuals

Compromiso determinación

Discipline

Feliz, alegre etc

Good citizens

Good human beings

Humildad

Juego Limpio

Lealtad

Overcoming adversity

Pursuit of excellence

Sano, salud etc

Self-belief

Team work

Valores

Benefits of sport for society

Colombian pride

Distancing kids from vice

Example of progress

Good news for Colombia

Hope

Positive face of Colombia

Sport and health

Sport as giving opportunities

Sport for education

Sport unifying power

Better future

Boxing

Coldeportes

Infrastructure projects

Leadership

Colombia in good state

Colombia Sporting triumphs

Individual triumphs

Team triumphs

Cycling

Nairo Quintana

El Dorado

Federación Colombiana de Fútbol

- FIFA
- Football and crime
 - Barras bravas and violence
 - Narco paramilitaries influence
- Football clubs
 - Millonarios
 - Santa Fe
- Football legislation
 - Acuerdo para la Prosperidad
 - Ley de Futbol 1445
 - Plan Decenal de Futbol
- Football schools
- Fundacion Pies descalzos
- Men individual players
 - Cuadrado
 - Falcao
 - James Rodriguez
 - Others
 - Pibe Valderrama
 - Yepes
- National team men
- Nelson Mandela
 - Invictus
- Nuestro use
- Peace
- Real Madrid
- Requirements for sporting success
 - Talento
 - Trabajo
- Santa Fe Fan
 - Santos as fan of Santa Fe
 - Santos memories of football sport
- Santos emotions
 - Enthusiasm
 - Happiness
 - Passion
 - Pride
- Sport and National symbol
- Sport and social change
- Sport as Priority for government
 - Budget
 - Colombia hosting tournaments
 - Infrastructure
 - Promotion of sport
 - Stopping crime

- Support for tournaments
- Talent-spotting
- Sports stars as ambassadors
- Sports stars as examples
- Sports stars as heroes
- Superate
- Tournaments Men
 - Copa America 2001
 - Copa America 2015
 - Copa América Centenario
 - U20 World Cup
 - World Cup 2014 Finals
 - World Cup 2014 qualifying
 - World Cup 2018 finals
 - World Cup 2018 qualifying
- Tournaments Women
 - Copa América
 - Olympics
 - Pan-American Games
 - World Cup
- Women Individual players
- Women
- Women's football
 - Courage and strength
 - Maturity
 - Pretty
 - Sentido de patria

Appendix 4: All Node Categories Used when Coding Tweets for Chapter 2

Afrocolombianos
Ambassadors or representing
Baseball
Benefits for Colombia
 Benefits for youth
 Bring people together/team work
 Colombian characteristics
 Discipline / hard work etc
 Education
 Fair Play
 Less crime and violence
 Make history
 Opportunities
 Overcome adversity
 Positive face of Colombia
 Pride and optimism
 Self-belief
 Unity
Hernán Dario Gómez (Bolillo)
Campaigns
Club football
 Deportivo Cali
 DIM
 Millonarios
 Nacional
 Once Caldas
 Santa Fe
Coldeportes
Copa América Centenario
Cycling
Diplomacy
Dream
Elections
Emojis and icons
 Colombia flag
 Football
 Friendship /peace
 Other flags
 Trophy / medals
Examples and heroes
Football history

Football violence and crime
Fun / fiesta
Gifs
Golombiao
Government support for sport
 Budget
 Hosting and supporting tournaments
 Infrastructure
 New talent
Hashtags
 #ColombiaFábricaDe Campeones
 #ColombiaOroYPaz
 #ConLaFeIntacta
 #ConLaTricolorPuesta
 #CreoEnColombia
 #CreoEnMiSelección
 #ElDeporteEsPaz
 #FútbolEnPaz
 #GraciasMiSelección
 #JuegosBolivarianos
 #JuntosPorColombia
 #LaSelecciónEnLaCasa
 #MásRecursosMásDeporte
 #MiCorazónTricolor
 #MiSelección
 #PorNuestrosDeportistas
 #RazonesPorCreer
 #Rusia2018
 #SíALaPaz
 #SíAlMinisterioDelDeporte
 #Supérate
 #TodosConColombia
 #TodosConLaTricolor
 #UnaSolaHinchada
 #UnidosPorUnPaís
 #VamosColombia
 #VamosMiSelección
 #YoLeGuardoElPuesto
Other
Indigenous sport
Individual players
 Cuadrado
 Falcao
 James
 Ospina

Others
Legislation
 Ministry of Sport
Mandela and Invictus
National men's team
National symbol or ceremony
Nuestro use
Olympic Games
Paralympics
Peace and sport
Pékerman
Pictures of athletes
Plan Decenal
Post-match reactions
 Congratulations
 Enthusiasm
 Excitement
 Gratitude
 Happy
 Honour
Rewards
Santos pictures
Sporting power
Sporting triumph (not football)
Supérate
Support
Todos
Un Solo País
Vamos Colombia
Violence in football barras
Women's football
 Superpoderosas
 Women's club football
 Women's national team
World Cup 2014 Brazil
World Cup 2018 Russia

Appendix 5: Full Coding Results for Santos' Speeches

In the following table, files refers to how many individual speeches contain a reference to the specific node category. 'References' refers to how many times in total words or phrases were coded to that specific node. For instance, regarding the node 'Benefits for youth', 41 words or phrases were coded to that particular node, coming from 30 speeches.

Note that slightly indented node names were 'subnodes' of the main node. 'Benefits of sports for individuals', for instance, has the subnodes of 'Compromiso / determinación', 'Discipline', 'Feliz / alegre etc', 'Good citizens', 'Good human beings', 'Humildad', 'Juego Limpio', 'Lealtad', 'Overcoming adversity', 'Pursuit of excellence', 'Sano / salud etc', 'Self belief', 'Team work' and 'Valores'.

Table 19: full coding results for speeches

Node Name	Files	References
AfroColombians	3	3
Athletics	24	30
Barcelona FC	1	1
Baseball	4	6
Benefits for youth	30	41
Benefits of sport for individuals	10	11
Compromiso / determinación	24	39
Discipline	19	24
Feliz, alegre etc	4	5
Good citizens	10	10
Good human beings	28	33
Humildad	2	2
Juego Limpio	11	16
Lealtad	1	1
Overcoming adversity	32	50
Pursuit of excellence	19	26
Sano, salud etc	14	17
Self belief	7	12
Team work	33	39
Valores	44	63
Benefits of sport for society	65	114
Colombian pride and self esteem	40	78
National pride	2	3
Distancing kids from vice	9	9
Example of progress	37	60
Good news for Colombia	9	10
Hope and optimism	24	46
Positive face of Colombia	57	111
Sport and healthy society	14	25

Sport as giving opportunities	5	5
Sport for education	41	81
Sport unifying power	58	150
Better future	32	59
Boxing	7	10
CNSCCF CTSCCF CLSCCF	1	1
Coldeportes	46	83
Infrastructure projects	7	7
Leadership	13	20
Colombia in good state	30	45
Colombia sporting triumph	50	100
Individual triumphs	40	71
Team triumphs	31	41
Cycling	30	56
ciclismo word mentions	27	45
Mariana Pajón	17	33
Nairo Quintana	11	21
Rigoberto Urán	4	4
Deportista apoyar	2	2
Diplomacy and foreign affairs	12	16
Dream	30	51
El Dorado	1	2
FARC	9	11
Federación Colombiana de Fútbol	5	5
FIFA	14	22
Football	57	216
Football and crime	7	10
Barras bravas and violence	6	17
Narco paramilitary influence	3	7
Football clubs	5	12
Millonarios	3	6
Santa Fe	5	6
Football legislation	7	12
Acuerdo para la Prosperidad	5	13
Ley del Deporte	2	3
Ley del Fútbol 1445	4	9
Plan Decenal de Fútbol	0	0
Football schools	2	4
Fundación Pies Descalzos	1	1
Golombiao	1	4
Indigenous sport	4	4
Juegos Deportivos Nacionales	18	41
Make history	68	142
National shirt	6	6
National team men	60	108

Cuadrado	3	4
Falcao	14	24
James Rodríguez	11	12
Others	9	13
Pékerman	16	32
Pibe Valderrama	2	2
Yepes	4	5
Nelson Mandela	19	27
Invictus	12	18
Nuestro use	91	471
Nueva Colombia	6	10
Olympic Games	21	43
London 2012	23	33
Rio 2016	20	30
Other multisport tournaments	36	98
Paralympics	11	31
London 2012	14	18
Rio 2016	10	15
Peace and coexistence	42	151
Real Madrid	3	14
Requirements for sporting success	3	3
Spirit temperament	17	29
Talento	12	15
Trabajo	33	52
Rewards for winning	24	58
Santa Fe Fan	4	6
Santos as fan of sport	2	2
Santos memories of football sport	11	13
Santos emotions	0	0
Emoción	33	51
Enthusiasm	32	53
Happiness	57	118
Honour	8	10
Passion	21	24
Patriotism	14	19
Pride	49	91
Sport and National symbol	36	71
Sport and social change	22	39
Sport as Priority for Government	48	86
Budget	42	93
Colombia hosting tournaments	41	96
Infrastructure	44	102
Promotion of sport	40	75
Stopping crime	2	15
Support for tournaments	25	36

Talent-spotting	33	49
Sporting power	21	32
Sports stars as ambassadors	38	63
Sports stars as examples	48	129
Sports stars as heroes	9	10
Supérate	44	63
Todos	47	97
Toda Colombia	19	27
Todo el país	26	29
Todos los colombianos	69	136
Tournaments Men	4	4
Copa América 2001	2	2
Copa América 2015	4	6
Copa América Centenario	4	5
U20 World Cup Colombia 2011	21	48
World Cup 2014 Finals	14	23
World Cup 2014 qualifying	22	33
World Cup 2018 Finals	9	10
World Cup 2018 qualifying	4	4
Tournaments Women	3	5
Copa América	0	0
Olympics	1	1
Pan-American Games	1	1
World Cup	1	1
Weightlifting judo taekwondo etc	22	33
Women individual players	1	2
Women sport	2	3
Women's football	4	9

Appendix 6: Full Coding Results for Tweets

In the following table, files refers to how many individual tweets contain a reference to the specific node category. 'References' refers to how many times in total words or phrases were coded to that specific node. For instance, regarding the node 'Benefits for youth', 57 words or phrases were coded to that particular node, coming from 48 individual tweets.

Note that slightly indented node names were 'subnodes' of the main node. The node 'Benefits for Colombia', for example, has the following subnodes, 'Benefits for youth', 'Bring people together and team work', 'Colombian characteristics', 'Discipline hard work etc', 'Education', 'Fair play', 'Less crime and vice', 'Make history', 'Opportunities', 'Overcome adversity', 'Positive face of Colombia', 'Pride and optimism', 'Self-belief', and 'Unity'.

Table 20: full coding results for tweets

Node Name	Files	References
Afrocolombianos	6	9
Ambassadors or representing	41	41
Baseball	2	3
Benefits for Colombia	25	26
Benefits for youth	48	57
Bring people together and team work	21	25
Colombian characteristics	26	28
Discipline hard work etc	46	48
Education	30	35
Fair play	6	6
Less crime and vice	8	9
Make history	49	54
Opportunities	10	10
Overcome adversity	28	31
Positive face of Colombia	63	67
Pride and optimism	104	112
Self-belief	11	12
Unity	111	136
Bolillo	2	2
Campaigns	44	60
Club football	28	36
Deportivo Cali	1	1
DIM	2	3
Millonarios	1	1
Nacional	5	10
Once Caldas	3	3
Santa Fe	11	13
Coldeportes	33	39

Copa América Centenario 2016	8	13
Cycling	35	52
Diplomacy	23	28
Dream	56	61
Elections	1	1
Emojis and icons	0	0
Colombia flag	119	127
Football	54	56
friendship peace related	8	10
Other flags	43	45
Trophy Medals etc	40	44
Examples and heroes	50	56
football history	5	5
Football violence and crime	5	6
Fun fiesta	38	45
Gif	21	21
Golombiao	4	8
Government support for sport	55	67
Budget	28	37
Hosting and support for tournaments	74	85
Infrastructure	50	72
New talent	18	21
Hashtags	0	0
#ColombiaFábricaDeCampeones	12	12
#ColombiaOroYPaz	18	19
#ConLaFeIntacta	5	5
#ConLaTricolorPuesta	21	22
#CreoEnColombia	23	27
#CreoEnMiSelección	2	3
#ElDeporteEsPaz	1	1
#FútbolEnPaz	10	10
#GraciasMiSelección	1	1
#JuegosBolivarianos	9	12
#JuntosPorColombia	2	4
#LaSelecciónEnLaCasa	4	4
#MásRecursosMásDeporte	10	17
#MiCorazónTricolor	1	1
#MiSelección	3	3
#PorNuestrosDeportistas	6	6
#RazonesParaCreer	7	9
#Rusia2018	39	39
#SíALaPaz	10	14
#SíAlMinisterioDelDeporte	10	10
#Supérate	8	8
Supérate	1	1

#TodosConColombia	1	1
#TodosConLaTricolor	23	26
#UnaSolaHinchada	30	50
#UnidosPorUnPaís	6	6
#VamosColombia	46	48
#VamosMiSelección	14	15
#yoleguardoelpuesto	6	10
Other hashtag	205	275
Indigenous sport	12	14
Individual players	0	0
Cuadrado	10	14
Falcao	48	58
James	54	62
Ospina	7	7
Others	58	67
Legislation	25	26
Ministry of Sport	15	18
Mandela and Invictus	7	7
National men's team	381	514
National symbol or ceremony	163	205
Nuestro use	269	322
Olympic Games	80	98
Paralympics	40	51
Peace and sport	127	194
Pekerman	38	46
Pictures of athletes	168	200
Plan Decenal	10	10
Post match reactions	0	0
Congratulations	111	115
Enthusiasm	5	5
Excited	34	35
Gratitude	95	114
Happy	62	66
Honour	5	5
Rewards	12	13
Santos pictures	129	144
Sporting power	15	15
Sporting triumph (not football)	68	88
Supérate	49	59
Support	130	143
Todos	148	174
Un Solo País	7	9
Vamos Colombia	62	66
Violence in football barras etc	1	2
Women's football	2	2

Superpoderosas	4	4
Women's club football	1	1
Women's national team	17	21
World Cup 2014 Brazil	44	46
World Cup 2018 Russia	65	75

Appendix 7: Example of Letter of Information to Interviewees

Peter Watson
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Department of Hispanic Studies,
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The University of Sheffield
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pjwatson1@sheffield.ac.uk

Supervisor: Professor David Wood
Email: david.wood@sheffield.ac.uk
Head of School: Dr Roel Vismans
Email: r.vismans@sheffield.ac.uk

Hoja de información sobre una entrevista para un proyecto de investigación *El Presidente Santos y el uso del fútbol para la construcción de nación en Colombia*

Estimado/a

Soy estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de Sheffield en el Reino Unido, y estoy investigando cómo el Presidente Juan Manuel Santos ha empleado el fútbol durante sus dos mandatos presidenciales para la construcción de nación en Colombia. Quisiera hablar con usted sobre la relación entre el fútbol y la nación en Colombia, e incluyendo por qué es tan importante para Colombia y los colombianos y cómo ha ayudado a definir y representar la identidad nacional.

Si está usted conforme con ser entrevistado sobre estos temas, ya sea en persona o a través de correo electrónico o Skype, le pediré permiso para grabar nuestra entrevista, y para después archivar y almacenar la grabación en un archivo seguro de computador, hasta que se haya transcrito. Entonces, le enviaré una copia de esta transcripción para leer y le pediré permiso para usar esta transcripción en mi tesis y/o cualquier presentación o artículo que resulte de mis investigaciones. Al recibir la transcripción, tendrá la oportunidad para revisar, editar o redactar cualquiera de sus respuestas como considere conveniente. También, quisiera enfatizar que no hay ninguna obligación para participar en esta entrevista, y que puede elegir no contestar una pregunta si no quiere o terminar la entrevista en cualquier momento si así lo desea.

Si tiene cualquier pregunta sobre el proyecto, la entrevista o lo que sucederá después de la entrevista, por favor no dude en contactarme.

Le saluda atentamente

Peter Watson

Appendix 8: Consent Form for Interviewees



Postgraduate Student
Department of Hispanic Studies
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The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
Email: pjwatson1@sheffield.ac.uk
Supervisor: Professor David Wood
Email: david.wood@sheffield.ac.uk
Head of School: Dr Roel Vismans
Email: r.vismans@sheffield.ac.uk

DATE HERE

Formulario de consentimiento

Título del proyecto de investigación: El Presidente Santos y el uso del fútbol para la construcción de nación en Colombia

Nombre del investigador: Peter Watson

1. Confirmando que he leído y entendido la carta con fecha ... que explica el proyecto de investigación citado anteriormente, y que he tenido oportunidad de hacer preguntas sobre el proyecto.
2. Entiendo que mi participación es voluntaria y que puedo retirarme en cualquier momento sin tener que ofrecer razón alguna y sin ninguna consecuencia negativa.
3. Entiendo que puedo terminar la entrevista en cualquier momento y que puedo pedir que la grabación se pare y se borre inmediatamente y que cualquier nota relacionada sea destruida inmediatamente.
4. Estoy de acuerdo en que mi entrevista puede ser utilizada en el proyecto de investigación.
5. Estoy de acuerdo en que mi entrevista puede ser utilizada en investigaciones futuras.
6. Consiento en participar en el proyecto de investigación anteriormente citado.
7. Quiero permanecer anónimo en cualquier publicación relacionada con esta entrevista.
(marque la casilla si quiere permanecer anónimo)

Nombre del participante

Fecha

Firma

Investigador principal

Fecha

Firma

Para ser firmado y fechado en presencia del participante cuando es posible