THE COMMUNITARIAN CINEMA IN MONTES DE MARIA: MEMORY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE COLOMBIAN POST-CONFLICT

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the subjective experience of participants in communitarian cinema processes and the possible resilience outcomes. It addresses the components of the communitarian cinema approach used by the communication collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21", active in the Colombian region of Montes de Maria. The subject's perception is investigated through an ethnography of the subjectivity, focused on the subjective wellbeing perception in relation to the construct of resilience. The role of memory, of cultural heritage, and their relations to the construct of resilience, are discussed.

Key-words: Colombia, ethnography, subjectivity, communitarian cinema, resilience, cultural patrimony, tradition, independent media, representation, Montes de Maria, memory, community, post-conflict, culture

RIASSUNTO

L' articolo esplora le esperienze soggettive dei partecipanti ai processi di cinema di comunità, e lo sviluppo di possibili strategie di resilienza. Saranno ricostruiti i passaggi principali della metodologia di cinema di comunità usata dal collettivo "Montes de Maria Linea 21", attivo nella regione colombiana Montes de Maria. La percezione soggettiva dei partecipanti è esplorata attraverso un' etnografia della soggettività, che mira a investigare il ruolo della memoria e del patrimonio culturale in un ambiente dove sono presenti numerosi fattori di rischio.

Parole chiave: Colombia, etnografia, soggettività, cinema di comunità, resilienza, patrimonio culturale, tradizioni, media indipendenti, rappresentazione, Montes de Maria, memoria, comunità, post conflitto, cultura

RESUMO

O artigo explora as experiências subjetivas de participantes em processos de cinema comunitário, com o objetivo de determinar se, e como, eles contribuem para o desenvolvimento de estratégias de resiliência. Serão reconstruídos os principais passos da metodologia do cinema comunitário utilizada pelo coletivo "Montes de Maria Linea 21", ativo na região colombiana de Montes de Maria. A percepção subjetiva dos participantes é explorada por meio de uma etnografia da subjetividade, que visa investigar o papel da memória e do patrimônio cultural em um ambiente onde existem inúmeros fatores de risco.

Palavras-Chave: Colômbia, etnografia, subjetividade, cinema comunitário, resiliência, patrimônio cultural, tradições, mídia independente, representação, Montes de Maria, memória, comunidade, pós-conflito, cultura

1.Introduction

This paper stems from a previous research (MEZZA, 2018), which aims to explore the possible resilience outcomes in subjectivities that attend communitarian cinema processes. Communitarian cinema is a Latin American phenomenon, which emerges in a political context of resistance, claiming for the social and political representation of silent and excluded communities (DAGRON, 2014: 17-20). While literature has approached communitarian cinema from its political dimension (CEDRON, 1973; CUSI, 2005; DAGRON, 1979; DIAZ, 1972; LOPEZ BANTAR, 2005), this research focuses the participant's subjective experience, questioning if, and how, communitarian cinema supports the development of subjective wellbeing. I investigated how students, who attended the activities of communitarian cinema, experience these processes. Communitarian cinema workshops and events are organized by the communication collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21", in the Colombian region of Montes de Maria. The three students interviewed attribute several changes from their participation within the collective training processes: changes in the relationship with themselves, with their families and with their community, as well as in the perception of their past and the expectations for their future. They credited these changes allowed them to transform and overcome life difficulties. Since The collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21" has always been active in a war context, working with subjects that have experienced massacres, displacements, and violence on different levels, this research has used *the* construct of resilience to focus the positive wellbeing outcomes. This research traces the main passages of the methodology shifting between the description given by the book "Memorias y Relatos con Sentido" (BAYUELO, 2011), edited by the collective, and the interviews conducted with professors and students. The dynamics that the students identified as key passages for the perception of their wellbeing are deeply explored. The attention of this paper is oriented toward the role of memory and cultural patrimony. After clarifying the methodology, I will introduce the phenomenon of the communitarian cinema and its theoretic cornerstones. Secondly, I will briefly describe the main features of the region Montes de Maria and the post-conflict context. After picturing the activities developed by the collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21", I will address its pedagogy, dwelling on dynamics related to memory, representation, and cultural patrimony.

2. Methodology

I conducted an ethnography of the subjectivity, focused toward «what matters most in people's lives in the making and unmaking of meaning» (BIHEL, GOOD, KLEINMAN, 2007: 15) in order to inquire into the subjective perceptions of people that attend communitarian cinema processes.

During the fieldwork, in March 2018, I participated in the activities of the collective, observing and taking part. I also interviewed people with different roles inside the collective. The two collective's founders, Soraya Bayuelo and Beatriz Ochoa (**Interview 5**), provided me with the general frameworks from which the collective's processes have been thought and carried out. Inty, one of the professor and coordinator, introduced me to the community's perspective on the political violence and the conflict, as well as the main passages of the methodology used by the collective (**Interview 1, 2, 3**). Diana (**Interview 6**) and Alejandra (**Interview 7, 8**), two girls that graduated from a two years audiovisual training process while I was there, told me about their personal experience with the collective processes, focusing on the changes it encouraged in their worldview and in their wellbeing. In addition, I conducted a group interview with Edilberto (who is a collective's professor and the general coordinator, and who started to attend the collective as a student at the end on 90's), Saray (who is the Soraya's assistant and who participated in the collective processes as student first and then as professor) and Luis David (a student of the two-year training that finished in March 2018). In this group interview, they recalled episodes of the conflict that marked their life and the benefits of the communitarian cinema processes (**Interview 4**). The interviews have been recorded and transcribed in Spanish; only the most important fragments have been translated in English.

2.1. A reflexive parenthesis

Since this research views knowledge as situated (HARAWAY, 1988), I address a reflexive parenthesis to provide a brief introduction about the standpoint from which I accessed and saw communitarian cinema. Formally, I conducted this research from January to July 2018, as my graduate thesis project in "Psychosocial Disciplines". However, I consider that I started this ethnography six years ago when I moved to Colombia. During this time, I have been working and living in different parts of the country, spending a considerable amount of time on the Caribbean coast. The interest in the socio-political context leads me to meet social organizations, collectives, and movements that were working with the communities affected by the conflict. Even if I cannot consider myself an activist, these encounters have deeply influenced my perspectives and intentions, positioning my work inside the decolonial network thinking. It was a collective of communitarian cinema active in Aguablanca, a vulnerable neighborhood of Cali (Colombia), that connected me with the collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21", allowing me to access the community from a local network. This background enabled me to arrive in Montes de Maria from a specific, mainly privileged, trail. As a Western, middle class, psychology student, I entered the fieldwork belonging to the ruling epistemology (DE SOUSA SANTOS, 2014). However, as a friend of another communication collective, I could bypass the distrust social organizations may reserve to Western students. As a woman, in a collective coordinated and managed mainly by women, I could benefit from possible gender bias. This is an important detail since it has strongly impacted the relationships I could establish with the subjects of the study. Since the region Montes de Maria has been one of the most affected by the conflict (MORO, 2010), many journalists, NGOs, scholars, and officials have often come in order to find a story or "impose their help" (**Alejandra, int. 7**). When I interviewed Alejandra, for instance, she told me that people from her community are tired of telling their story to somebody who represents them as the passive victims or the "poor peasants" (**Alejandra, int. 7**), or to meet people that

come from the capital pretending to know what these communities need, without involving them. In this scenario, being introduced by another communitarian collective has allowed me to bridge the distances. From my perspective, getting to know this situation and becoming personally involved, led me to explore ethical concerns about the researcher role and the power she/he has in the knowledge construction. This alerted me to research with caution in conflict and post-conflict landscapes and how to listen to subjectivities exposed to risk factors. Even if self-reflection is not a cure to avoid reproducing inequalities in ethnography, as Naples and Sachas highlight (2000), "that researchers can be self-conscious about the ways in which they reproduce power through their work and that sustained attention to these dynamics will enrich ethnographic accounts (NAPLES, SACHS, 2000: 196)".

2.2. Subjective resilience and wellbeing

The collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21" is active in a post-conflict context where several risk factors are present. These risk factors include any «psychosocial adversity or event that would be considered a stressor to most people and that may hinder normal functioning» (MASTEN, 1994), such as are war, violence, loss of security, unpredictability, lack of structure in daily life and poorness (BETANCOURT, KHAN, 2009). Scholars have framed and measured resilience through several different theories and methodologies (SCHIPPER, LANGSTONE, 2015). In this research, resilience is considered as «the ability for some people to resist or reject the potential negative effects caused by adversity or risk factors that make people vulnerable to diminished wellbeing» (BACHAY, CINGE, 1999: 164). It is important to emphasize that resilience is addressed as a skill, which, as a result, can be supported and promoted by the environment through processes and dynamics (BETANCOURT, KHAN, 2009) and not as an innate feature or an individual trait (BLOCK, BLOCK, 1980). Literature that has studied resilience among children specifies that "resilient outcomes" (LUTHAR, 1993) can be fostered by "protective factors" and "protective processes" (HAMMEN, 2003). Furthermore, it is important to consider that the resilience construct can gain different meanings if analyzed from the subject perspective or from the social environment. **«**From the subjective point of view, the individual may be manifesting resilience, while from the social point of view the individual may be manifesting vulnerability**»** (KAPLAN, 1999: 31-32). In this research, resilience is considered from the subjective perspective and in relation to subjective wellbeing. In a study that investigates subjective resilience to quantify household resilience to climate extremes and disasters, the authors consider that «perhaps the field most closely related to subjective resilience is wellbeing» (JONES, TANNER 2017: 235). Many scholars frame subjective wellbeing as a multidimensional evaluation of people's life, including cognitive judgments and affective evaluations of mood and emotions (JONES, TANNER, 2016; FREY, STUTZER, 2002; DIENER, 2000). This ethnography will draw upon previous research into subjective wellbeing. Diener (2000) identifies the components of subjective wellbeing with life satisfaction, satisfaction with important domains (such as work and relationships), positive affect (such as happiness) and low levels of negative affect (DIENER, 2000: 34). The study "Personal goals and subjective wellbeing: A longitudinal study" (BRUNSTEIN, 1995) looks into subjective wellbeing relating it to the presence of personal goals. In this ethnography, life satisfaction, positive affect, personal goals and investment in the future will be considered in relation to subjective resilience.

3. The communitarian cinema: self-representation and education

The communitarian cinema belongs to the wider field of the independent media, i.e. radio, press and audiovisuals, that aim to give a voice to the many topics and people excluded from the mass media and from the social, economic and political scene. Marginalization is also performed through the exclusion from the access, production, and distribution of media contents, since media is the privileged space to negotiate meanings and positions, such as relationships and identity (BUCKINGHAM, 2003; HALL, 2014). The communitarian cinema is a Latin American phenomenon. It is a cinema made by amateur filmmakers about topics of interest for a specific group of people. Its core is the universal right to communicate and the necessity for the self-representation of marginalized communities. Experiences of communitarian cinema are prompted by the necessity to communicate without intermediaries, in a language that has not been predetermined by others. The purpose of communitarian cinema is the social and political representation of silent and excluded communities (DAGRON, 2014: 17-20). Theoretically, it is rooted in the Freire works "Pedagogy of the oppressed" (1970), which conceives education as a liberation tool and not as a disciplinary one, and "Cultural action for Freedom" (1972), which explores the relationship amongst a marginalized and oppressed community, its silence and its political disengagement.

The development of information and communication technology (TIC) has narrowed the gap between who produces and who uses media contents and the gap between who does and does not have media access. However, the gap is still deep. The Colombian Ministry of TIC announced that in 2017 61.7% of the population had Internet access (MINTIC, 2018). In 2016 the "Comisión Económica para Latino América y El Caribe" report estimated that just 10% of the rural areas had this privilege. Those who produce media content are also those who can speak out and represent themselves and "the other" through their own language, with their own power and control. «The representation of the subordinate has been one of the strategies through which hegemonic groups have confirmed their domination assuming the function of watching and speaking for themselves» (MURATORIO, 1994: 15, *personal translation*). As Hall writes, identity does not exist outside representation (HALL, 2014: 385). Thus, those who represent have control over "the other" can determine the identity of "the other". Hall describes identities as dynamic processes, which are historic, relational and crossed by power relations (HALL, 2003). Representation, identity and power are interdependent forces, which influence every aspect of the human experience. As such, the communitarian cinema, in supporting the production of a movie, supports a complex psychosocial process of liberation and self-determination within which people that are accustomed to seeing themselves through the eyes of others.

As long as they (the oppressed) live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor, this contribution (the pedagogy of the oppressed) is impossible. The pedagogy of the oppressed is an instrument for their critical discovery that both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanization (FREIRE, 1970: 48).

Thus, communitarian cinema, and independent media in general, hold a deep political and social purpose. In the research, I carried out, my objective was to frame the impact that these practices have on the subjectivities that experience and perform them. More specifically, my inquiry has focused on the relationship between attending communitarian cinema workshops and the development of subjective wellbeing.

4. Montes de Maria: a picture of the region

The territory known as Montes de Maria is a region of the Caribbean coast of Colombia, composed of fifteen municipalities extended over the district of Bolivar and Sucre, amongst which El Carmen de Bolivar is the largest (MORO, 2010). Due to the abundance of its fields, Montes de Maria was called "the Caribbean kitchen pantry" (MORO, 2010) and its economy is still based on agricultural activities (AGUILERA, 2013). Many typical instruments and rhythms of the Colombian tradition belong to this area. Montes de Maria is well known for the *Gaiteros* groups, who perform the typical *cumbia*, *porro* and *puya*, as well as the *vallenato* tradition or the drums technique and the *bullerengue* music (LIST, 1989: 43). Every year many cultural festivals take place in Montes de Maria towns and villages, as Oveja, El Carmen, San Gacinto and Palenque. The population is composed of African, European and indigenous descendants (FALS BORDA, 2002). In 2005, the latest available census recorded that 45% of the population was living in the rural areas. (DANE, 2005). The peasant identity and traditions is a characterizing piece of the regional identity.

Montes de Maria is rich in traditions and natural resources (forest and arable land) as well as exploitation, inequalities, struggle, and resistance. The population has high indexes of poverty and serious lack of access to basic services. The 85% of the population is member of the State subsidized plan (Fundacion Semana, 2014). Data from the latest available census reported that the average income of Montes de Maria population was 50% less of the minimum required in order to satisfy the basic needs and that the 59.9% of the population lived below the poverty line. The 25% of the children under five years old presented acute malnutrition, and just the 12.8% of the housing was provided with the basic service such as water, energy, and sewerage (DANE, 2005). The internal armed conflict has hardly affected the region. In 2014, 194,000 people have been recognized as victims by the Law 1448 of Victims and Land Restitution (Fundacion Semana, 2014). For several years, the civil population has been caught in an escalation of violence amongst the paramilitary forces, the guerrilla commands and the Army (MORO, 2010). Between 1997 and 2003, the paramilitary commandos, known as "Heroes Montes de Maria", displaced around 100,000 people and officially killed 115 people in the massacres of Las Palmas, Bajo Grande, La Sierrita, El Salado, Mampuján, El Chengue y Macayepo (MORO, 2010, 19).

To complete this brief sketch of the region Montes de Maria, it is important to recognize the role played by the practices of dispossession and displacement. Heritage of the European colonization, dispossession became a power practice performed as State policy (ALVAREZ, 2014: 258), while displacement, used as a conflict weapon in the whole country, became the main war strategy in Montes de Maria (IBAÑEZ, VELEZ, 2008). Ibañez and Velez, who analyzed the determinants of displacement in Colombia, wrote:

Forcing out population may be a war strategy to impede collective action, to damage social networks as well as to intimidate and control the civil population. Attacks on the population weaken their support for the opponent and obstruct rise up of a civil population (Henao et al., 1998). Lozano and Osorio (1999) estimate that 65 percent of the displaced population were active members of community organizations and 11 percent participated in labor and political organizations in their hometown. (IBAÑEZ, VELEZ, 2008: 2.2)

Montes de Maria is a region that knows the violence of the conquest and dispossession for more than two centuries. However, its inhabitants have always struggled to claim their rights. Fights for land redistribution already characterized the beginning of the 20th Century. In fact, the first Colombian agricultural union was founded in Montes de Maria. Between the 1930 and 1940, these unions became the "ligas campesinas", i.e. organized movements that were campaigning

for land redistribution and that in the 1960s started to invade the estates organized in the National Agrarian Federation (FALS BORDA, 2002). In the seventies, these movements converged toward the National Association of Farmers Users (ANUC), which was one of the strongest Colombian social organizations.

In a document published by the Colombian Ministry of Agriculture (2011), the Government publicly declares that it has been founded 1,600 irregularities in the recorded selling of 251 crops in Montes de Maria. The report ends declaring that more than 40,000 hectares previously owned by peasants displaced, stayed in the properties of big entrepreneurs (Colombian Ministry of Agriculture, 2011).

Today, the region inhabitants share the conflict histories in the main squares, but they still whisper when pronouncing the name of the paramilitary members. Legal and illegal actors are still displacing peasants. In San Onofre, paramilitary groups have never left their power position and they are still threatening the ANUC leaders (the National Association of Farmers Users). In a report of the Ngo ILSA, it is declared that between 2012 and 2013 in San Onofre, 136 social leaders have been threatened and 13 of them have been killed (Fundacion Semana, 2014). In May 2010, during a collective act of reparation in Mampujan, the ex-paramilitary chiefs Juancho Dique and Diego Vecino ensured that the demobilization process failed, that many illegal armed groups were still rooted in the territory and that the population intimidation was not ended (MORO, 2010: 34). In the urban areas, drug trafficking became the main cause of a high daily violence (RCN, 2017), while in the rural area's dispossession practices have not stopped yet. In 2010 in El Carmen de Bolivar, for examples, 1,000 hectares belonging to 40 peasants' families have been expropriated and sold to a big agricultural company (MORO, 2010: 36). Recently, the population of El Carmen and Oveja has reported new threats and killing against their social leaders and activists (TOSCANO, 2016; CARACOL, 2018).

5. The communication collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21"

Founded by Soraya Bayuelo and Beatriz Ochoa in 1994, the communication collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21" is based in El Carmen de Bolivar and is active in the whole region Montes de Maria. It has always struggled against political silence and the destruction of the social fabric. The first activities of the collective were related to communitarian radio, followed by the communitarian television and cinema. Communitarian communication for social change is the cornerstone of the collective. In fact, it encourages, not only the community organization but also the development of the communitarian voice. Through education the collective aims to prevent, mitigate and overcome the use of violence as a daily practice. The promotion of independent media and activities in public spaces are the collective's tools to break the fear sown by violence and to convert the collective itself into a medium which multiplies the voices of the communities. It is estimated that between 2002 and 2011 around 30,000 people have been involved in the collective's processes (Bayuelo, 2011). The two main axes on which these activities have been developed are: (1) the formation of a knowledge about people's rights and the promotion of its exercise; and (2) the implementation of political skills and active citizenship developing collective projects for a social and political transformation of Montes de Maria (BAYUELO, 2011).

Soraya, one of the collective founders, and Inty, a collective professor and coordinator, always underline the double marginality of the people involved in the collective processes. In fact, all the communities of Montes de Maria are marginalized with respect to the country, since the «centralized and oligarchic State» (**Inty, Interview 2**) has always been absent on the territory. «While the country was watching on television a simulated version of the war, we were escaping

from our lands, our women were violated, millions of us were displaced and compelled to live in the cities indifference» (BAYUELO, 2016). However, inside this marginalized community, there are more vulnerable segments than others. The collective works with the marginalized among the marginalized: woman, adolescents, and children, mainly peasants from the low-income range.

The main program prompted by the collective is called "Cinta de Sueños: Estrategia para la Promoción y Acción de la Convivencia Pacífica en los Montes de María" (Dream's ribbon: a strategy for the promotion and action of pacific coexistence in Montes de Maria). In this program two projects converge: (1) the School of Audiovisual Production, through which the collective develops training programs for the appropriation of communication tools and the generation of audiovisual products distributed on a local, regional and national level; and (2) the Cine Club Intinerante: "La Rosa Purpurea de El Cairo", a mobile cinema which brings both commercial and independent movies to the Montes de Maria squares and football fields. The objective is to encourage social mobilization and organization, take back the public space and re-signify it.

6. "To me the collective is…"

The subjects that contributed to this research reported that the communitarian cinema experience has encouraged several positive changes, which, in turn, have increased their subjective wellbeing, allowing them to transform and overcome life difficulties. «The collective has been a life vest», said Edilberto (**Interview 4**). «If Soraya had not arrived, I would have probably become a guerrilla, or I would have died. For me the collective has been a balm» accounts Edilberto reporting Juan Martinez words (**Interview 4**), who is another collective' s student. Alejandra smiled when she told me «With the collective has arrived hope» (**Interview 7**). When I focused in more depth on the passages, they felt more important for their wellbeing, it emerged that the pedagogy used by the collective enabled them to: remember in a positive way; re-signify their past, territory, and identity; recognize they belong to a community; and also, develop and perceive their agency.

Diana told me: «Now, I am very happy to speak about me and about my life» (**Interview 6**).

Before I was crying when I was speaking of my childhood. Today, instead, I see it as a positive thing since it helped me to think differently, to become a person that wants social change, and this makes me feel very satisfied with myself… This important shift has been encouraged by the collective training processes (**Interview 6**).

Diana ascribed positive changes to the collective's processes, such as feeling hope for the future, healing psychological wounds and making her feel a capable agent. Diana, like Alejandra and Edilberto, talked about their dreams and goals for the future, such as their social commitment and effort for the peace construction. Diana is aiming to become a journalist; Edilberto is working in the collective and hopes to get more involved in the political scene; while Alejandra is motivated in carrying out the communitarian cinema processes with her community and in studying ecological management. Diana, Edilberto and Alejandra show personal goals, positive affect, and life satisfaction. As I addressed above, literature (DIENER, 2000; BRUNSTEIN, 1995) has linked the presence of these affects and dynamics to subjective wellbeing. Considering also the research conducted by Jones and Tenner 2017, which links subjective wellbeing to resilience, this paper affirms that Diana, Alejandra and Edilberto manifests resilient strategies. According to their accounts the participation in the communitarian cinema processes, through different dynamics, has supported these developments. However, they have attended the collective processes for many years, during which they grew up. Studies of resilient children have

underscored the importance of both internal and external factors in facing difficulties and developing resilience (KUPFER 1999; YATES, MASTEN, 2004). Thus, the paper does not allocate to the collective the whole responsibility for the developing of resilience strategies amongst them. I recognize that there are many dynamics that participate in the development of resilience strategies, amongst which experiences of communitarian cinema strongly contribute.

7. The "pedagogy of peace": memory, cultural patrimony and empowerment

The audiovisual training managed by the collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21" follows a special pedagogy, which Soraya calls "the pedagogy of peace" (BAYUELO, 2011). The first workshops encourage the students to remember their painful memories and to share them with the community. This exercise motivates individuals to lean on others to transform their pain together. The work on memory includes workshops that aim to investigate the local traditions and culture, focusing on the re-signification of the peasant identity. During this stage, students discover new features from their own story, which most of the time become an important piece of their identity. It seems highly important for people to explore their cultural patrimony using the exercise of memory to knit together positive meanings with painful memories. The workshops investigate human rights, environmental issues, victims' laws, and the unbalanced media system. This provides students with tools to read their reality and view themselves as active subjects with rights and responsibilities toward their community i.e. renewed social awareness to students. Technical workshops help to improve self-efficacy perception. The combination of the aforementioned social awareness and the improved self-efficacy perception support the development of empowerment dynamics. Before approaching technical workshops, the methodology sets out workshops that explore techniques to question and listen; encourage reflections around the subjectivity of observation; and invite students to consider the value of many different points of view. The workshops focus on the teaching of technical skills, which is directly promoted through working in a group, leading strategies, as well as the teaching of practical skills that help people to feel that they have an impact on their environment. The communitarian cinema seems to be a phenomenon that supports and empowers individual and social wellbeing for individuals inside their community. In this paper, I am interested in framing questions about how to remember, as well as investigating the impact of memory and cultural patrimony over subjectivities.

7.1. Remembering to resist and re-exist

The first workshops are always focused on personal narratives and memories. Through different dynamics, students are encouraged to share their life and collectively process their painful memories.

The exercise of remembering, that comes before the narration, implies a high cost for the community. Remembering implies to experience events another time, which re-activates what happened in its shape, its contents, and its effects; fear appears again, anger scares away the explications and pain digs deep inside (BAYUELO, 2011: 38).

Thus, the action of rememebering is practiced as something difficult but necessary and powerful. Remembering in a group of people that have experienced similar events helps the comprehension, the critique reflection upon it and the identification of the emotions that

appear. «Thoughts, dreams, nightmares, fears, illusions, hope and willing come together to be processed by a mirror called community» (BAYUELO, 2011: 40). Inty specified, «to understand that one's own story is connected to others and that these belong to the same collective history heals» (Interview 2). The strength of these processes is in the role of the community and the way in which students are encouraged to remember. In fact, students take part in the processes from their individuality, which is collectivized through language (BAYUELO, 2011: 40). Memory, narratives and the community became «collective devices» (ibidem) able to build new realities. «Memory, narrated collectively, is a resistance act, which actives the re-existence» (BAYUELO, 2011: 41). Alejandra remembered a workshop, conducted by Inty, where students were invited into making a rag doll while remembering and sharing their life. During this experience, most of the people cried. «However, through this, you heal your wounds. I liked it» (**Interview 8**). «When you speak about the painful stories of your life, you free yourself. The processes of the collective I attended have helped me a lot. You take out all the things you usually keep inside» (**Interview 7**). During the graduation ceremony of Alejandra's group, Inty, after congratulating everybody, thanked Alejandra. «When Alejandra arrived here, she was, almost, speechless. We both know how difficult these years have been. I am extremely proud of the woman she is today» (**Interview 9**). Alejandra, in fact, has survived one of the bloodiest massacres of the region (1), she experienced displacement and bullying at school. Diana spoke about Alejandra in the interview, saying «I don't know how she could tolerate so much violence, that period was so hard, some children have seen people choking other people…however thank god now everything has changed» (**Interview 6**). Alejandra told me that when she started the collective processes, she was feeling shy, but that the workshops helped her relax. As much as she was participating, as much she started to «run her mouth, gaining awareness over herself and becoming more confident» (**Interview 7**). Remembering the first processes Alejandra attended, Diana said, «during the first workshops we started sharing our personal lives, many of us were really shy and were not speaking a lot. Many people cried talking about how their life was. It hurt me a lot hearing that some guys were bullied at school and were suffering for it… I feel that speaking about what do you have inside helps because your mind calms down» (**Interview 6**). Furthermore, she said «it has helped me a lot to hear others' stories and see that what had happened to me was less serious in comparison to what some of the others experienced. This gave me the strength to keep struggling» (**Interview 6**). Edilberto as well spoke about the necessity of sharing painful memories. He told me, «groups of people that tell their story to each other, recognizing that also others have experienced similar events, don't feel lonely. And the community identity is reinforced». Additionally, the collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21" has encouraged a different way of remembering. «Before them, it was performed just the memory of the pain. The collective, instead, works with memory recalling positive and negative moments, remembering the pain but also tradition and the important places or people of the past» (**Interview 4**). For Inty it is fundamental how to remember, she pointed out: «for us, it's very important that the community could say: this is what happened, it was terrible, but I want to say how to be remembered, not as the massacred folk. We are people who exist since before the conflict, we have traditions and we are not defined by violence» (**Interview 2**). Thus, the work of exploring and documenting the regional cultural traditions become an exercise of agency and control over the reality. Beel et al. (2017) used two case studies of community heritage archives in rural Scotland to show how cultural heritage projects are both «method of rehabilitation in collective psyches for dealing with past grievances» (ibid.: 462) as well as political action «to express an historical narrative collectively that reflects the interests of a particular place» (ibidem: 462). Documenting, recording and exploring community heritage «led to a variety of different outcomes and benefits for the local communities, acting as catalysts for human agency and resilient activity» (ibidem: 463). In this paper, I argue that activities with cultural patrimony benefit both the community and the subjective wellbeing, increasing resilience due to the support of human agency as well as due to a shift of meaning in the way to remember.

7.2*.* The region cultural patrimony and the good memories

During the whole process, the collective focuses on the traditional culture of Montes de Maria. As Inty said, traditions are important to remind oneself and the world that they pre-existed the conflict and that they are not defined by the violence (**Interview 2**). The region of Montes de Maria is the birthplace of the most famous Colombian instruments, as the *gaita* (an instrument that belongs to the indigenous culture), and rhythms, such as the *cumbia*, *vallenato*, and *porro*. Edilberto specified that the collective use to work a lot with the traditional instruments and traditional rhythms because «music is an important transformation element» (**Interview 4**). For this reason, the workshops that approach students' personal memories also address memories about traditions. Students are invited to research their cultural tradition such as the life habits of the elder community members. These types of research often became useful material during the scriptwriting and seem to have two interesting outcomes: strengthening community identity and increasing pride in belonging to that specific community. Diana told me that she has always thought that the conflict has weakened the cultural traditions and that «to recuperate it is an act of resistance» (**Interview 6**). This perspective is not far from the "culture of resistance" deployed by Said (1994: 209-210) according to whom: cultural initiatives collecting marginalized memories allow to reclaim, rename and reinhabit land (SAID, 1994: 226). For Alejandra, traditions are very important for any community, «in fact, a community without tradition is like if it had died, if it had no sense…traditions can't disappear because otherwise a community is lost» (**Interview 7**). Diana said that through these collective processes she started to have a better relationship with her grandfather. In fact, she said, «the collective helped me to speak with the elders. With my grandfather, I was almost not speaking at all. Instead, during the training I have started asking how he was living before, and now I like to know which habits people had before» (**Interview 6**). During this stage, students discover new features of their own story, which most of the time become an important piece of their identity. In fact, most of the short movies stories involve the local culture. The short movie, "Notas del retorno (2)" written, performed and directed by Alejandra, Diana and their group, it is an example of the role traditional music is perceived to play, transforming painful memories. In this short movie, the local instrument *gaita* fosters the development of community relationships, helping the main character, a child who is coming back to his original village after displacement, connecting with other children, as well as with his mother and with elders of his community. "Notas del retorno" addresses the conflict and its impacts without naming it. The cultural patrimony and the importance of keeping it alive is the focus. The conflict, violence and cultural traditions are intertwined with the *gaita* becoming a key element for increasing the child's wellbeing. Soraya said, «when students decide the topic of the short movie it almost always prevails the necessity to narrate topics related to the cultural patrimony, showing these lands differently from the scenario of extreme violence with which these are usually identified» (BAYUELO, 2011: 53). Cultural patrimony enables the community to re-map the territory and the individuals to find a different way of remembering, which escapes the "memory of the pain" (**Interview 4**). "The production of historical narrative is as much about developing the present and envisioning the future as it is about mining the past" (BEEL et al., 2017). Thus, in Montes de Maria, remembering is a protective process that can encourage subjective wellbeing and, in turn, resilience, when personal memories are intertwined with collective history and cultural patrimony. Keeping alive and building "heritage from below" (ROBERTSON, 2016), memory became a collective process, which suggests new imaginaries.

8. Conclusions

The research related to this paper stems from questions about the subjective outcomes of people that attend processes of communitarian media, which are not directly related to psychological interventions. Communitarian cinema experiences are processes that emerge in a political context of resistance, where the social actors claim the social and political representation of silent and excluded communities (DAGRON, 2014: 17-20). The aim of this paper is to focus the subjective experience of the students that attend the communitarian cinema workshops fostered by the collective "Montes de Maria Linea 21", questioning if, and how, these experiences support the development of subjective resilience. Through an ethnography of the subjectivity, I have attempted to inquire into the subjective perception of the collective processes from the student's perspective, applying the framework of resilience in relation to possible positive outcomes of subjective wellbeing. The audiovisual training is composed of workshops that approach memory, personal life accounts; explore local culture, media systems, and social awareness; and teach audiovisual technical skills all of which contribute to a final realization of an audiovisual product. The collective has developed a specific methodology, called "the pedagogy of peace" (BAYUELO, 2011), which through community media aims to approach the following topics: (1) to train trainers for social change (Edilberto, **Interview 4**), (2) to provide tools to young people in order to see, represent and communicate themselves (Inty, **Interview 2**), (3) to support the training of active political subjects and empower them (BAYUELO, 2011), (4) to give a chance to emarginated communities to say how they want to be represented (Inty, **Interview 2**), (5) to process collectively the fear and the pain for the violence experienced (BAYUELO, 2011), (6) to offer an alternate life in contrast with revenge, violence and criminality (Beatriz, **Interview 5**). The subjects that contributed to this research reported that the communitarian cinema experience has encouraged several positive changes, which, in turn, have increased their subjective wellbeing, allowing them to transform and overcome life difficulties. Diana, Alejandra and Edilberto highlighted the importance of the interaction between memory and cultural patrimony. All of them recognized the role of cultural traditions in the perception of their identity and in relation to the memory of a painful past. It is not just important to remember; it is important how to remember. Exploring and documenting cultural patrimony seems to be an ally for remembering in a constructive way, impacting both the community and the individual wellbeing. This paper aims to raise questions about the study of resilience in relation with cultural patrimony, since, as Beel et al. noticed, "within the social sciences the concept of resilience has not engaged with thinking through the ways culture and cultural activity produce resilient behavior through practice" (2017: 460). How to remember in such a way that is conducive to heal and empower? Which relations intertwine culture, power, resistance and resilience? Which tools and frameworks should be used to focus the meanings of cultural patrimony in non-Western postcolonial subjectivities and societies?

why they thought the collective's processes were positive experiences, their memories of the conflict.

NOTES

(1) www:<URL:http://pacifista.co/la-masacre-de-el-salado-segun-sus-sobrevivientes/>.

(2) www:<URL:https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usEMTY0CO2s>.

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