

## Political Subjectivation: Apathy and Participation in the Colombian Diaspora in Rome

### Subjetivación política: apatía y participación en la diáspora colombiana en Roma

Alessandra Ciurlo<sup>1</sup> & Diego Meza<sup>2</sup>

#### ABSTRACT

Through the application of the concept of *political subjectivation* to qualitative research, this article analyzes the modalities of political participation or apathy among Colombian migrants living in Rome. Both manners involve the contexts of origin and destination, where different micro-social relationships play a part, in addition to the classic citizen-State link. Furthermore, it is addressed how apathy, rather than a distorted way of approaching the political system, is a strategy through which people understand and deal with their world.

*Keywords:* 1. Colombian migration, 2. political attitudes, 3. overseas voting, 4. Colombia, 5. Italy.

#### RESUMEN

A través de la aplicación del concepto de *subjetivación política* a una investigación cualitativa, en este artículo se analizan las modalidades de participación y de apatía política en el colectivo de migrantes de origen colombiano que residen en Roma. En ambas se involucran los contextos de origen y destino donde contribuyen diversas relaciones microsociales, además del vínculo clásico ciudadano-Estado. Además, se concluye que la apatía, más que una deformación del sistema político, es un modo-estrategia a través del cual las personas entienden su mundo y se ocupan de él.

*Palabras clave:* 1. migración colombiana, 2. actitud política, 3. voto exterior, 4. Colombia, 5. Italia.

Date received: October 01, 2022

Date accepted: March 03, 2023

Published online: May 30, 2024

Translation (English) published online: May 30, 2024

<sup>1</sup> Pontifical Gregorian University (*Pontificia Università Gregoriana*), Rome, [alessandra.ciurlo@gmail.com](mailto:alessandra.ciurlo@gmail.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6134-3937>

<sup>2</sup> Pontifical Gregorian University (*Pontificia Università Gregoriana*), Rome, [diegomegav@gmail.com](mailto:diegomegav@gmail.com), <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4221-0343>



## INTRODUCTION

The field of studies on diasporas and political participation is broad and has been widely approached from different perspectives. Some have focused on the analysis of conventional forms of political participation, such as the voting process (electing and being elected). Other research has focused on migrants' lesser formal modes of political participation, such as their participation in protests, demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of civil disobedience. Furthermore, non-State political participation, which encompasses collaboration in political parties, unions, and other advocacy groups, ethnic, and community mobilizations, etc. (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007).

From a transnational perspective, it is crucial to consider both the country of origin and the destination, as both significantly influence the experiences of migrants, whose actions and behaviors transcend borders (Bauböck, 2003; Lafleur, 2012; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). This interpretative framework has brought to the forefront the fact that integration in the destination country does not necessarily mean breaking away from the country of origin, with which political and symbolic ties remain (Itzigsohn et al., 1999), also evidencing the active role of the migrant as an agent who participates in politics with practices that can involve their different contexts of reference (Pérez-Armendáriz & Crow, 2010; Vogel, 2007).

This article analyzes some aspects of the political behavior of Colombian migrants living in Rome. As such, when analyzing studies on the political participation of the Colombian diaspora, some of them evidence how the practices of migrants are permeated by apathy, mistrust, and the lack of involvement in politics (Guarnizo et al., 2003). In other studies, however, transnational political participation is highlighted as formal and informal practices that operate at both the individual and collective levels (Escobar, 2004; Bermúdez, 2010; McCann et al., 2019). Other research even shows that migrants join forces with other social organizations to mobilize for the protection of their rights in terms of their immigration status in the host countries, or their political rights in Colombia (Bermúdez Torres, 2021; Guarnizo et al., 2019; Martínez Leguízamo, 2015; Pardo, 2013).

The current scenario evidences contradictions. On the one hand, there is a certain mid-sized prominence of migrants in some social mobilizations and unconventional political participations, and on the other, there is this lack of attention and a sort of apathy towards political issues and formal voting. Faced with this landscape, two questions arise: what are the foundations of citizen action, and what is the basis of the indifference that has characterized Colombians in Rome over time? To this end, and by means of a qualitative study with in-depth interviews, this article analyzes conventional and unconventional political participation, before and after emigration, including the actions developed from the peace process with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia–People's Army) (2012-2016), as well as the vision of politics that people build along their life experiences through a process of subjectivation, a core conceptual instrument of this work's theoretical approach.

## BACKGROUND

Before delving fully into the theoretical framework, it is important to introduce the Colombian social and political conflict. In the last six decades, in a society marked by strong inequalities and poverty, the sociopolitical conflict has worsened with the emergence and continuous struggles of guerrillas, paramilitary groups, and drug traffickers with the army, for territorial, political, and economic control. State repression and the systematic use of violence by armed groups have served as mechanisms of domination and power that have directly or indirectly impacted a large part of the civilian population, their effects being complex and of a diverse order, magnitude, and nature.

The significance of the armed conflict and its effects on social, economic, and political life is undeniable despite the various attempts at dialogue and the complex Peace Process that put an end to the conflict between the government of Juan Manuel Santos and the FARC-EP guerrilla on November 24, 2016. However, the Final Peace Agreement has not been fully implemented due to a long series of delays, administrative objections, and a belligerence and political resistance that have contributed to slowing it down. Factors are still in play today that make the conflict persist, resulting in new exiles and an increase in insecurity and violence. This situation mainly affects those who seek to promote peace, social leaders, human rights, and environmental defenders, reintegrated ex-combatants, and, in general, entire communities located in areas of great economic interest and at the center of several disputes.

The rise in violence is attributed to a lack of promotion of the different local peace projects, and to the decrease in citizen participation, elements that characterized the first stages in the process of implementation of the peace agreements. This pattern is seen again in the way social discontent is handled, as attempts at agreements are not executed or disregarded by the executive. It is worth noting, however, that an attempt at peace can again be seen with the change of government in August 2022. The new government, in an effort to fully implement the peace agreements, has adopted a renewed and more proactive approach towards *Paz Total* policy.

Turning back to the political attitudes and behaviors of Colombians living in Rome, some studies show that, in part, these attitudes are rooted in the effects of the armed conflict and its aftermath on the internal and external population movements themselves (Bermúdez Torres, 2021). Internal forced displacement places Colombia as the second country in the world with the highest number of displaced people (Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2022). A large amount of the population is also forced to migrate to the borders of neighboring countries, and a considerable flow of economic and labor migrants move to other destinations. In many cases, these people emigrate for reasons indirectly related to the armed conflict and its socioeconomic impact. However, to determine exactly whether migrants are economic migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, students, or if they belong to other categories is a complex matter, since the reasons for migrating are generally several and intertwined (Bermúdez, 2016).

According to the latest figures available from Colombia Nos Une, around 10% of the total population is outside the country, and a good part is so by force (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2018). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recorded that

between 2007 and 2016 the number of refugees per year ranged between 350 000 and 550 000 people. By the end of 2019, there were 189 454 Colombians under refugee status, while 75 500 were waiting for the ruling on their asylum application. To these figures should be added the experiences of many other Colombians who escape violence but are not recorded in the statistics due to the difficulty of accessing forms of protection and/or due to their lack of awareness of their condition, their rights, and the forms of international or national guardianship available in the destination States (UNHCR, 2020). Among other victimizing events, according to the analysis of the Comisión de la Verdad (2022), the reasons for forced exile are related to the persecution of political opponents, social organizations, unions, and social leaders. In addition, territorial control and generalized sociopolitical violence against the civilian population are also included, as well as the lack of protection within the framework of State responsibility. Among the causes for emigrating, kidnapping and extortion, the persecution of ex-combatants who signed the 2016 Peace Agreement, as well as threats and harassment against relatives of the millions of victims of the armed conflict who demand justice are also quite relevant.<sup>3</sup>

In such a context in which the social fabric has been deeply ruptured, although not all of the Colombian population nor all of its migrants have been direct victims of the conflict, fear and distrust still permeate throughout (Villa et al., 2021), as well as the insensitivity towards violence and a marked cultural tendency towards political apathy (Giraldo, 2021). In parallel, a growing polarization and intolerance towards the political opposition becomes evident among more than half of Colombians (Rivera & Plata, 2019). Under this phenomenon, the political opposition represents the enemy, what is different, what must be disqualified, whose rights must be denied, with whom there is no dialogue, and whom, under certain some conditions, one even seeks to eliminate (Villa et al., 2021).

Following this order of ideas regarding the distance of Colombian migrants from politics, the analysis of the formal exercise of the right to vote becomes useful. When observing the voting data of Colombians living in Italy, they reveal that the levels of voting absenteeism are very high. According to the Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil de Colombia (National Civil Registry of Colombia) (2022), the participation percentage of people with the right to vote in the 2018 presidential elections was 17% in the first round, and 14% in the second. The percentage was even lower in the plebiscite to endorse the Peace Agreements in 2016 (8%) and the 2018 Senate and House elections (8%), and barely better in the 2018 anti-corruption consultation (11%). Participation in Italy increased in the 2022 parliamentary elections with 18.1% for the Chamber and 18.7% for the Senate, figures that are somewhat higher than in Spain (14.9% Chamber, and 14.7% Senate) where

---

<sup>3</sup> According to the Unidad para las Víctimas (2021), as of June 15, 2021, the number of victims was 9 146 456. This is a very heterogeneous category of people who suffer various acts of victimization, such as forced displacement, forced disappearance, persecution and harassment, murder, kidnapping, torture, combats, attacks, threats, anti-personnel mines, forced recruitment of minors, sexual violence, and other reasons, by different armed parties, the State included.

Colombians are very numerous. Still, these figures are far below the voting in Germany, a European country where participation is the highest (47.4% Chamber and 30.4% Senate).

This empirical evidence points to a slight increase in formal participation, but also to a deep-rooted detachment of the Colombian population in Italy from voting towards their country of origin. However, there are also Colombians who show a certain interest in the politics of their country, which is particularly expressed by them trying to stay informed about the national situation, and through more or less structured social participation in the social sphere (Ciurlo, 2013). It should also be noted that in 2021 some Colombians in Italy showed a strong interest in the social demonstration related to the National Strike in Colombia. This peaceful mobilization had an unprecedented participation in Colombia and in the world, especially among young people who protested against economic, political, and social exclusion. This demonstration began in November 2019 and, after a year of pandemic, which exacerbated existing social and economic inequalities, it exploded again in April 2021, lasting then throughout that year. In such context, many migrants have been played central roles in demonstrations and initiatives of various kinds in some Italian cities, showing a strong political and assertive nature.

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of political apathy was the starting point to examine what may be the reasons for the indifference at the social and political level among the population object of this study. This notion is conventionally accepted as a social problem; however, its definition and consequences are disputed in the academic community (Eliasoph, 1998; Gilens, 2012). Generally, political apathy refers to a lack of interest in political issues or processes (Fox, 2015), and is exclusively associated with not voting. However, it is important not to see apathy only as a formal defect of democratic systems, but to explore the sense and meaning of this practice for citizens (Dahl et al., 2018).

Factors that determine apathy may include a low degree of empowerment, the perception of political activities as useless, and the lack of stimuli that motivate participation (Dahl et al., 2018). On the other hand, the idea that politics is confusing and contradictory (Campbell et al., 1954), the feeling of illegitimacy, injustice, and corruption (Clemens, 2016), growing interest in individual projects (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008), and the manipulation of the media can also be found among the determining factors of apathy; as well as elements associated with social class, education, ethnicity, gender, and income.

Studying political apathy in a migration context requires also making visible other categories and relationships that help to understand it more broadly. Works such as that of McCann et al. (2019) show that for Mexican and Colombian migrants in the United States, living abroad is not associated with a decline in *political attention* paid to the country of origin. As such, the social and political capital accumulated in one country may be transferred to the other (Kastoryano, 2005; Levitt, 2004; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Waldinger et al., 2012), a reality that contrasts with the findings of Schlenker et al. (2017), for whom political participation in the receiving country could be inversely proportional to that of the country of origin. Therefore, some questions arise: what

happens when the political interest prior to migration was not significant? Is there continuity or rupture? Does the eventual persistence occur only at the level of elections or is it pertaining other political dimensions? Furthermore, what happens when participation/apathy bears the weight of violence, as in the case of Colombia? As can be seen, this is a scenario in which, as held by Staeheli and Hammett (2010), the promotion of a new national and political participation narrative can be particularly difficult.

In order to answer these questions, the concept of political subjectivation as a heuristic tool, focused on the context of migration, was made use of. Subjectivation is understood as the “process of production of a subject” (Tarragoni, 2016, p. 115) through reflective acts that place said subject on a collective level “where the other is of interest to me as potential for the constitution of an us (another)” (Díaz Gómez, 2012, p. 99). A process that, according to Boucher et al. (2017) is provisional and evolutionary, since it is not acquired just once and then set. Furthermore, subjectivation is rooted in a principle of opposition to the alienating dimensions of social life.

In the processes of political subjectivation, the subject is formed within a context in which economy, politics, violence, and social suffering are all important (Biehl et al., 2007). This formative trajectory is dynamic and changing. Political subjectivation is a contingent process in which both institutional and cultural forms interact, and in which subjects can change or follow what usually appears as normal and desirable. In this work, the idea is assumed that subjectivation enables the subject to adopt a distinctive symbolic relationship with the world and, from it, understand their own life experience (Biehl et al., 2007). From this perspective, it becomes evident how some social phenomena such as political apathy work and intensify, and how, in some cases, these can be contradictory for some groups and effective for the purposes of others.

The processes of subjectivation do not necessarily constitute emancipatory movements, nor do they imply collective organization (Manrique & Quintana, 2016). Although it is true that oftentimes the creation of political subjects implies a contestation to the established social order, its reformation or transformation, responses do not follow that line all the time. On the contrary, they can be ambivalent, and even reinforce prevailing frameworks of interpretation. Hence, it is necessary to pay attention to social conditioning and dominant values, and even to certain forms of oppression able to influence the processes of subjectivation.

As asserted by Kleinman and Fitz-Henry (2007), subjectivities have a biology and a history, but also cultural specificity, political location, and economic position. Political subjectivation, therefore, has a human and social geography that must be identified and described. It is in the recesses of everyday life where social actors reinterpret discourses, domesticate symbols, combine strategies, and reconfigure relationships, so as to recreate their worlds, political systems, and future. The individual is, however, not so free in this process. This is what Manrique and Quintana (2016) point at:

(...) we begin by recognizing that the ethical and/or political subject is not a rational-sovereign agent, that is, one able to constitute itself as the whole owner of itself, of its intentions, acts, and words; nor is it a universal rational consciousness or capacity that can be transparent to

itself; rather, the ethical and political subject is configured in the plasticity of the materiality itself of what is real-contingent, as a body or a set of bodies, made and not naturalized, always the effect of practices which it has been historically thrown in, where forces, affections, systems of meaning, ways of being, thinking, and feeling are articulated, which these subjects can also twist and reconfigure from the very moment they are throw there into (p. 12).

From the above, it can be deduced that the analysis of political apathy from the view of political subjectivation should include the examination of cultural representations and of political economy in the collective experience, and their influence on the subjectivity of the individual (Biehl et al., 2007). By working in this way, one can observe both the conditioning that acts on the subject and the subject's capacity for agency.

Through the notion of subjectivation, the changes in political stance experienced during migration are analyzed, not only from the perspective of voting and citizenship, or from the technical restrictions of State institutions, but also from the series of interactions-relationships in which political positions are formed, as well as from the imaginaries, desires, and expectations inherent to this domain (Krause & Schramm, 2011). Subjectivation is still not accepted as always synonymous with emancipation and therefore referring exclusively to the way in which a person or a group of actors are in a position to claim, have a voice, and be recognized by the authorities (Tarragoni, 2016). It is rather proposed for this process to account for the production of apathetic or indifferent individuals; thus, the political subject appears as potential, possibility, constituent power, resistance, will to action, and solidarity; but also, as weakness, selfishness, instituted power, and social function (Martínez & Cubides, 2012); this way, the opposition between subject and antisubject proposed by Wieviorka<sup>4</sup> is overcome.

## METHODOLOGY

Considering the nature of the problem, the concept of subjectivation as a key to the analysis and the cognitive objectives on which this study is based, the qualitative approach was chosen. As Nobile (2022) asserts, research from this perspective allowed to analyze social reality as the result of an ongoing process of meaning negotiation in which nothing is taken for granted. This study focuses on understanding in depth the meanings that subjects give to social actions and behaviors, as well as the processes derived from them.

Before proceeding with the elucidation of our methodology, it should be noted that the Colombian population in Italy and also in Rome, is a relatively small group. Although the first

---

<sup>4</sup> Wieviorka (2012, p. 6) states that the processes of subjectivation and de-subjectivation are those through which the awareness of individuals is constructed and transformed, awareness from which decisions are then made. Subjectivation leads the *subject*, as conceptualized by Touraine or Joas, to be able to act because he is capable of thinking of himself as an actor and of finding modalities of action. De-subjectivation leads, however, to the decomposed and inverted forms of the anti-subject or non-subject and, from there, to destructive and self-destructive behaviors.

arrivals of Colombians to Italy date back to the 1970s with the arrival, on the one hand, of some intellectuals and artists and, on the other, of domestic workers employed among Colombian diplomatic families, Italy is not as of yet a destination particularly favored by Colombian migrants in Europe. However, they have indeed favored Spain, especially from the year 2000 onwards, Spain being a country with which Colombia has strong historical ties in addition to sharing the same language, also having a certain ease of entry and settlement that have been taken advantage for some years now also by some other Latin American migrants.

According to data from the Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT) on January 1, 2021, there were 19 848 Colombians in Italy, ranking seventh among Latin American migrants living in that country. This group was followed by Peruvians (96 546), Ecuadorians (72 193), Brazilians (50 666), Dominicans (30 255), Cubans (22 958), and Salvadorans (20 038). It must be considered that the real figures should be higher, since the statistics do not include those who do not have a regular residence permit, nor those who have acquired Italian citizenship or are under refugee status. In fact, United Nations (2019) estimates record the presence in Italy of 40 769 Colombians, of which 14 553 are men and 26 216 women.

This is a heterogeneous population when it comes to education levels and socioeconomic status, and, although the reasons for migrating are diverse, there is a significant number of economic migrants who generally come from the most developed areas of Colombia and those with a better-established migratory tradition; although there is also a minority from rural areas (Ciurlo, 2013). Data from the ISTAT (2021) show that Colombians are to a certain degree integrated into Italian society, which can be seen in marriages between Colombian women and Italian men being quite common, which results in a consistent presence of mixed couples.<sup>5</sup> Their integration is also noticeable in the reasons for entering Italy during 2020 (1 146 total), among which family reasons are the most frequent (937 people). This is followed by humanitarian reasons (333), study (151), elective residence, religion and health (102), and finally work (23). The Colombian population is well distributed over the Italian territory, but a little more than half of the total is concentrated in the north of the country where industrial development is highest. In Rome, one of the cities with the highest concentration of Colombians in Italy, this population is made up of 3 170 people, 56.6% being women.

The sample for data collection was carried out following the subjective technique of reasoned choice, thanks to the researchers' prior knowledge of Colombians in Rome through previous studies. Although all people come from urban areas and are middle class, the sample aims to partially reflect the heterogeneity of the analyzed universe. Therefore, people with diverse characteristics were chosen in terms of time of residence in Italy, type of work or occupation, and their participation in or proximity to groups or forms of aggregation. The sample is made up of 15 people: 11 women and 4 men living in Rome, aged between 30 and 60 years. Many of them are professionals who have managed to obtain mid- and high-skilled jobs; others are less educated and

---

<sup>5</sup> In 2019, Colombia ranked eleventh in mixed marriages between foreign women and Italian men, after Romania, Ukraine, Brazil, Russia, Albania, Morocco, Moldova, Poland, Peru, and Cuba.



have low-skilled jobs; and then there are people who are temporarily unemployed. Some of the people did not arrive straight to Rome, but only after having lived in other countries and other cities in Italy; the time of residence in the city ranges between just under 1 and 30 years.

The in-depth interview was adopted as research instrument; according to Taylor and Bogdan (1987), this tool, by means of questions, explores, details, and tracks what information is most relevant to the research interests. This technique also allows getting to know people to an extent that enables one to understand what their statements mean. Corbetta (2014) stated, regarding this tool, that through it the interviewer puts on the table the topics they want to discuss, letting the people interviewed develop their vision of things, the interviewer then limiting themselves to intervening at certain points so as to stimulate the speaker, or to check that the conversation does not deviate.

The interviews, in which anonymity was guaranteed using fictitious names, were carried out during the months of February and March 2020. The first were done in person; however, due to the emergence of COVID-19 and the subsequent social isolation, the rest had to be carried out by telephone. The NVivo software was used to analyze all interviews.

Due to the small sample size, the results cannot be generalized to the entire Colombian population living in Rome. However, even with this limitation, significant cognitive elements are provided regarding the population under study.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Social and Political Participation Before Migration*

Participation is one of the fundamental elements for political life and democratic systems. Both the concept of politics and the various forms of democracy assume personal agency in determining the objectives, modes of collective action, and the norms that regulate life in the *polis*. Political participation has been defined as “the inclusion of the individual in the political system at various levels, ranging from total disinterest to holding political office” (Rush, 1992, p. 121). This definition goes beyond the conception that limits this praxis to voting, and rather includes a series of actions aimed at conveying and influencing the political process. Such actions include having political discussions, trying to convince other people to vote in a certain way, wearing a political badge, attending political assemblies, etc. (Milbrath, 1965); but it also relates apathy to a form of relating to or taking a position before this system. Along these lines, some researchers (Dahl, 1990; Milbrath & Goel, 1977) state that the intensity of participation is influenced by factors such as education level, time available, social class, gender, age, ethnicity, and some forms of group membership and action.

When accounting for migration, it is necessary to question the transformations in political participation during such process, and observe whether political attention declines over time, and what happens to apathetic or indifferent individuals. Since the electoral experience prior to migration is a good predictor of participation in the receiving countries (Waldinger et al., 2012),

some routines were analyzed, paying close attention not only to voting, but also to other forms of social connection, such as social commitment and the relations with the State and its institutions. This allows one to contrast not only the changes, but also the foundation on which a certain political behavior is based.

Most of our interviewees claim to have worked in volunteer groups and religious associations—particularly Catholic—in their youth, as well as having collaborated in civic and charitable actions, and having participated in mandatory social service programs—such as literacy campaigns—; two dominant elements in these forms of participation are the family and religious ones. An interviewee relates: “My mother is a minister of the Catholic Church, she can give communion and perform various other duties... and I went with her to visit women in prison and to work with the elderly” (Rubén, personal communication, March 15, 2020).

It is likely that belonging to a family of faith, attending a Catholic school, or having been linked to a parish has allowed some people to develop an awareness of those in need, the same with belonging to family circles linked to social assistance and the subsequent contact with clubs and civil organizations dedicated to it. However, these activities seem to have been carried out in a certain confrontation to or with disregard for the political dimension; yes, social help, but not as politics: “I was with the Civil Defense... I helped poor children... but involved in politics, no” (Luis, personal communication, March 7, 2020).

Only two people claim to have been directly involved in the political arena since their youth, and in these cases the family also played an undeniable role: “I was active in the Galanist Youth... a Red Cross volunteer since I was 15... in my family there have been politicians for many years now, I have always been involved with that” (Sara, personal communication, March 11, 2020). The other interviewee told us that his family was linked to “the opposition” and, furthermore, that exclusion and stigmatization were the reasons why he had to leave the country along with his relatives since “history as told by a part of the Colombian State has made communists, leftists, and guerrillas be seen as something negative [...] everything tends to be silenced and covered up with violence” (Rodrigo, personal communication, July 25, 2019).

It should be noted that some interviewees expressed disinterest not only in the political world, but also in other forms of social participation; in the words of two of them: “I had little awareness of the reality of my country, of the economic, social, and political situation of my country” (Julia, personal communication, February 27, 2020).

I lived very focused on myself... let’s say, how to say it? Having been so busy defending myself all my life, even from my mother, I never thought about politics, I never thought about the overall situation in the country (Marta, personal communication, February 29, 2020).

Clearly, this last testimony shows that having no time to spare can be a reason for not taking care of public affairs, delegating them to others (Dahl, 1990), to the point of even becoming completely disinterested in social reality.

When it comes to voting, two thirds of our interviewees claim to have voted when they lived in Colombia, although one interviewee clarifies that, despite having exercised that right, her choice was conditioned by the opinions held in her family: “I think I did vote a few times, but always for the family candidate; my father and mother are conservative, so I voted as they told me, just like that, with my eyes closed” (Diana, personal communication, March 12, 2020). For those who did not vote in Colombia, or claimed having done so rarely, the family dimension, as well as the disappointment of what was happening in the political sphere, played a substantial role:

I never voted once in my life [...] Because my mother, when Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was a candidate, she wanted to vote for him and they killed him, so she told me that she was never going to vote for anyone ever again, because she didn't like any politicians, that they were all demagogues. She put a lot of horrible things in my head about politics since I was a child, telling me that no politician was any good, that they were all thieves; since then I was never interested in politics and I don't even follow political news [...] She put ideas in my head against politics since I was a child, so much that I got traumatized (Laura, personal communication, March 7, 2020).

It is likely that the dynamic described above, based on the widespread perception that the political class does nothing for the well-being of citizens, explains the adoption of the idea that voting is useless. The prevailing attitudes in this group of people regarding the Colombian State and its institutions are also linked in this direction: distrust, disappointment, and indifference.

### *Views on Politics*

In a recent essay, Fassin (2014) describes the growing phenomenon of the world's disenchantment with politics; he explains how this trend could be fueled by “the numerous scandals of corruption, bribery, abuse of power, conflicts of interest, and more generally, the many forms of perversion of government practices that have characterized the recent history of Western countries.” He goes on and expresses that in order to “re-enchant” politics it would be necessary to call into question again what this concept means (Fassin, 2014, p. 9).

Rather than proceeding with a normative approach to identify what should be understood by politics, our study proceeded by looking at how the interviewees understood politics when they were in Colombia, exploring their conceptualizations before migration. These evidence a strong disinterest in politics, regarding which, in addition, a pejorative vision prevails. A first element that emerges is that all those interviewed circumscribe politics to the world of government in a delegative sense, as the sphere of those who have been nominated through a commission, a sphere in which citizens participate and are functional only through voting. In this sense, the members of the sample pointed out to the absolute power of the elites that have controlled the country for centuries, and to the lack of an authentic leadership able to reverse the situation in the country. They always stressed delegation, not a *political us*: referring to those who were elected, not to those they elected; to those who represent the people, not to the political community.

Another important and widespread element is the fact that politics is constantly associated with corruption. An interviewee pointed out: “Politics in Colombia is, in my opinion, more similar to a circus” (Lucía, personal communication, March 18, 2020); and another one stated:

The way I see it, absolutely all of the politicians are corrupt... no one is spared, not even those new ones that are coming out, they are all the same, here too [in Italy] [laughs], both here and there it’s just... all of them are just thinking how they can make the most money, they are not interested in anything else (Catalina, personal communication, March 6, 2020).

There is a consensus of sorts that the vices of politics are due to a lack of education of both politicians and citizens in this field, which results in people’s disinterest, in turn exacerbated by the country’s historical problems: war, social inequality, and drug trafficking. These conflicts, instead of motivating political awareness, seem to push it away:

Oddly enough, since I left the country at a very young age and my political spirit was still not very well formed, and at the same time was very uninformed... I did not learn about politics through them, but I grew up with the pain of war (Rubén, personal communication, March 15, 2020).

Disinterest is expressed in a disaffection with popular elections, parties, and the ruling class, and undermines the attention given to politics in daily life. Politics, although sometimes arousing curiosity, ends up being the uncomfortable guest that no one wants to see, greet, or welcome; as Diana and Luis told us: “I don’t follow politics, I try not to make any comments on it. I rather not talk about it and even prefer to look stupid, because it has already happened to me that one ends up in arguments” (Diana, personal communication, March 12, 2020). For his part, Luis stated: “I don’t get involved much, it doesn’t catch my attention, but one tries to understand how politics works” (Luis, personal communication, March 7, 2020). Thus, for many people, apathy does not represent a disturbance of the political system but rather a way of neglecting the conflicts that politics generates in their daily lives.

### *Changes in the Views on Politics After Migration*

Although some people do not radically modify their voting behavior once they arrive in Italy, there are others who completely change their habits in this new context. Among the reasons that negatively influence participation in elections, administrative or logistical factors (McCann et al., 2019), such as living far from the consular headquarters (Rome and Milan) where migrants can register and vote can be counted. There are those who explain that due to the progressive distance perceived with respect to Colombian culture and the greater proximity to Italian culture, they rather disregard what is happening in their country. On the other hand, having dual citizenship, they do vote and participate in Italian elections with some interest.

This behavior is in line with one of Tsuda’s (2012) hypotheses according to which, with greater integration of the migrant into the receiving society, interest in the country of origin decreases. However, this change may also respond to an instrumentalization of the exercise of

citizenship for reasons of convenience, perceiving it (citizenship) as a useful asset and not with a real sense of belonging and political responsibility (Escobar et al., 2015; Schlenker et al., 2017). From this point of view, Rancière (2007) comes to mind, who asserted that people do not necessarily have a way of being and thinking firmly determined by the place and position they occupy in the social order, and that gives rise to a particular type of awareness. If individuals are in the social world, their political behaviors surpass the relationship established through membership to a nation State, also settling themselves in other microsocial instances such as the family, work environments, social networks, etc.

Focusing back on voting, low participation is sometimes influenced by violence and its different expressions, which in turn end up wearing down the relationship between the State and its diaspora at different levels. An interviewee argued that insecurity and violence have led her to strong political apathy: “Now when I came to live here in Italy I stopped voting, it was basically because of something that happened to us, so it was like a rejection of the Colombian State” (Helena, personal communication, March 14, 2020). This testimony exemplifies how political subjectivation is not limited to an invariable political trajectory, but often depends on biographical ruptures that may create a new system of meanings and behaviors against the State. These do not necessarily become forms of emancipation and collective action, but are sometimes also result in individualistic rejection. Not paying attention to politics could be seen as a form of negotiation, a survival tactic in the face of the threats that political participation or social commitment poses in the Colombian context.

When referring to participation in elections, special consideration is deserved by those people who did not vote when they lived in Colombia, but do so now living in Rome, where politics also acquires a new meaning for them, and reinforces their sense of belonging to their country of origin. Living in a context where they have more time at their disposal, in which the social State provides them with access to health, free education, social benefits, and training, allows them to develop an awareness of the injustices that exist in Colombia, and thus a desire to vote:

I started to compare and to realize. First of all, that I never did anything for my country, and second that everything was unfair. Then that spirit of belonging to Colombia, of doing something, even if I lived here in Italy, of doing something for my country, was awakened in me (Julia, personal communication, February 27, 2020).

Some interviewees related having developed political maturity in Italy. They have realized the weight and importance of civil society, the greater solidity of the democratic system, and that, despite different ideologies, there is space for respectful dialogue based on the exercise of rights. They also perceive those differences hardly become the cause of conflicts capable of damaging interpersonal relationships. In fact, there is a clash between the restrictive and limited ideas about the State and politics shaped in Colombia, on the one hand, and the more open and free discourse that favors the emergence of new political subjects capable of observing and questioning the world in which they lived, on the other hand.

I found Colombia's politics only when outside of Colombia. When I began to understand the politics of the United Kingdom and its importance within the political arena as such, my work acquired an element of politics; I didn't understand that before, I began to understand that little by little through the United Kingdom, since it was there that I was educated on politics (Rubén, personal communication, March 15, 2020).

The above information makes think that there is a kind of resocialization of the political sphere abroad, in which the family may lose its role. It must be remembered that the family nucleus is a fundamental matrix of political subjectivation, not only for the sociability it enables, but mainly for the definition of roles and identities among its members, and for the production of values and symbols through which political life is thought and lived. Normally, under these circumstances, family loyalties go hand in hand with political options; but during migration, as some interviewees reported, there is a break with the family world, which allows migrants to access new perspectives on politics that are unknown when the family bond remains intact.

#### *Current Forms of Social and Political Participation*

After the vote, what follows is to account for other, less conventional modes of citizen participation in the sociopolitical sphere. These can include associations, protests and demonstrations, but also, as Bermúdez and Cajal (2016) point out, participation in civil society organizations, in less institutionalized social movements, both in the country of origin and that of destination.

It is interesting to note how many of the people who had carried out activities in this field in Colombia before migration, also develop various forms of citizen participation in Italy. A minority of interviewees reported that, since their arrival in Rome, and due to their proximity to the religious world, they approached groups and associations of the Catholic Church, just as they did in Colombia. These groups are generally essential, especially in the initial stages of migration, as they provide key information that makes integration in the new context easier, in addition to serving as a space for grouping to share free time. Our interviewees stated having distanced themselves from these structures over time, largely because they have managed to consolidate a network of friends more aligned with their personal interests. In the end, only a few people, and for reasons predominantly linked to the religious sphere, maintain this connection in accordance with the initial conception they had of politics.

Religion plays a central role in the process of political subjectivation. Traditional Colombian Catholicism represents an immense symbolic reservoir to sustain and reproduce the aversion to politics, particularly for its ability to articulate communication with rural and poor community environments, and for its apolitical vision of compassion and charity. Catholicism, predominant in Colombia, appears as a compact ideology close to the elites, through which the criticism of different forms of oppression and inequality is avoided. In this sense, some of our interviewees testified having participated in social assistance activities organized by the church in Colombia, but they assert having done so amid disinterest in politics and its groups. Once in Italy, the link

with the ecclesiastical institution is broken, and new subjectivities emerge thanks to the liberation from the limitations imposed by its authority.

Turning back to participation, among our interviewees there are those who were linked to the world of culture in their country, and once in Italy this space became an area wherein to develop social interaction. Three interviewees stated that, by joining with other migrants, not only Colombians but also of other nationalities, they managed to carry out cultural activities, jointly in some circumstances with other organizations and with the local administration. Two interviewees were certain that the dissemination of culture and art has the potential to transform social reality, which is why they give a political character to their work. This matches the findings of other research, which describes political subjectivation from certain environments usually deemed *infra-political*: musical education that becomes citizen education (Gómez, 2011), and the creation of resistance from aesthetic-cultural identities (Garcés, 2011).

There is also a certain political commitment to issues related to the vindication of the rights of migrants. Some interviewees were or had been part of more or less formal groups dedicated to this issue in Italy, and also in relation to the Colombian State. This type of participation is subject to the voluntary nature of the commitment, the limits of bureaucracy, the time and resources available, and therefore the few activities that can be carried out and that, if not constant, lose weight and capacity for impact. The above confirms that there is enormous difficulty in consolidating groups, as these lack a true structure capable of organizing collective work and guaranteeing their permanence over time. However, since the peace process with the FARC, some interviewees who were already socially committed in Colombia have managed to articulate new efforts and generate synergies with other organizations, to promote initiatives. These, although very timidly, are moving in the direction of exerting political pressure, participating in the migration agenda, and supporting the implementation of the peace agreements.

In line with the preceding idea, some interviewees showed a certain interest in the protests that began in November 2021 in Colombia and expressed their desire to support them. However, it is difficult for intentions to become concrete and effective actions, and there are those who considered them useless practices and denied them political value. What has been said so far evidences a certain level of social participation among the Colombian community in Rome, but the data also reveal that a good part of the interviewees do not meet with their compatriots to carry out any activities. This is due to certain forms of mistrust and classism that, although not openly expressed, can be read between the lines. It is evident, therefore, that the social-political commitment to Colombia and citizen participation are manifested through individual projects, rather than collective ones.

Finally, the testimonies of our interviewees show that despite the limited and often indirect participation in politics, the various modes of grouping and working for the country can broaden the vision of politics itself or radically transform it, as indeed happened to some apathetic and indifferent individuals. These modes also stimulate and strengthen the awareness, willingness, and frequency of different forms of participation, as well as the possibility of opening up to new avenues of collective work.

## CONCLUSIONS

By adopting political subjectivation as a hermeneutic key, this analysis has confirmed that the ways of conceiving politics among our interviewees partake of a dynamic process that begins before migration and goes on throughout the entire migration project. A path of cognitive construction that never ends, where individuals continuously adjust political attitudes, values, and behaviors based on a variety of relationships that not only have to do with the State(s), but also with scenarios and relationships from everyday life, wherein activities and hobbies are carried out.

As for relationships of the micro-type, the influence of family and religion are essential. In this regard, it was verified that some individuals, when they maintain their political conceptions in the new context, give continuity to the system of values and rules held prior to migrating; while others make changes when they manage to make breaks that allow them to adopt new symbolic references capable of modifying behaviors and their very conception of politics. Other significant factors in the subjectivation process are social commitment, art, and culture. The experiencing of or the proximity to the previous scenarios seems to stimulate modes of participation that individuals then internalize, thus becoming a catalyst for transformations in the existential dimension of politics. Consequently, a virtuous circle seems to be activated this way, one capable of producing new subjectivities.

Still, it was confirmed that, generally speaking, Colombian women and men living in Rome produce and reproduce a reduced and pejorative vision of politics and political participation. This transcends the mere sense of disappointment derived from the phenomena associated with corruption and other dysfunctions of the Colombian political and social system, establishing itself in people as a sense of deep disaffection. Hence, a good part of the subjects studied determinedly reject the negotiated solution to the armed conflict and the violence in Colombia, the political debate, and collective actions and projects.

In spite of this, this study shows how apathy and indifference towards politics are not exclusively the product of poor education in this field or the mere result of ignorance, alienation, delusion, or exclusion. Politically apathetic people are simply citizens who do not formally participate, because in the world in which they grew up, politics mutilates, silences, persecutes, and makes disappear. Therefore, their apathy cannot be judged by the simplistic criteria of good and bad citizenship that would overlook the complexity of the games and chances of political violence. The dynamics of apathy, not its apparent immobility, are understandable when considering the long thread of political violence and exclusion, partisanship, and corruption. Only this way can the motivations, structure, and effects of this apathy, and how it is shaped by the political economy of the context these personas have inhabited can be glimpsed.

Migrants understand the world, take ownership of their existence, and manage the diverse experiences of daily life through the various form that apathy assumes, both in the context of origin and that of destination. It is a survival strategy of sorts first developed by migrants-to-be in the face of the Colombian social environment, which rejects and criminalizes political commitment as well as polarizes and stigmatizes dissident voices. It is, at times, a useful procedure to avoid the



small but annoying contrasts that politics produces at the family level, and between friends and neighbors, such avoidance enabling the individual to better take care of their most immediate needs. Therefore, rather than merely endowed with a negative value, apathy could be understood as a form of renegotiation through which people provide solutions to conflicts or dilemmas, thus becoming a form of agency. However, and despite this evidence, there is still much to be investigated about how political apathy mutates, disappears, or becomes radicalized in the context of migration.

Translation: Fernando Llanas.

#### REFERENCES

- Bauböck, R. (2003). Towards a political theory of migrant transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 700-723. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00155.x>
- Bermúdez, A. (2010). The transnational political practices of Colombians in Spain and the United Kingdom: Politics 'here' and 'there'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(1), 75-91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903125838>
- Bermúdez, A. (2016). *International migration, transnational politics and conflict. The gendered experiences of Colombian migrants in Europe*. Palgrave Mcmillan.
- Bermúdez Torres, A. (2021). *La diáspora colombiana en Europa y su relación con el conflicto armado en Colombia* (Informe ICIP 18/2021). Instituto Catalán Internacional para la Paz. <https://www.icip.cat/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Informe-ICIP-18-2021.pdf>
- Bermúdez, A., & Cajal, R. (2016). La participación política de los inmigrantes en España: elecciones, representación y otros espacios. *Anuario CIDOB de la Inmigración 2015-2016*, 296-317.
- Biehl, J., Good, B. & Kleinman, A. (2007). Introduction: Rethinking subjectivity. In J. Biehl & A. Kleinman (Eds.), *Subjectivity. Ethnographic investigations* (pp. 1-24). University of California Press.
- Boucher, M., Pleyers, G., & Rebughini, P. (2017). Introduction générale. In M. Boucher, G. Pleyers & P. Rebughini (Eds.), *Subjectivation et désobjectivation* (pp. 13-23). Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- Campbell, A., Gurin, G. & Miller, W. E. (1954). *The voter decides*. Row, Peterson.
- Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. (2018). *Huellas del conflicto armado más allá de las fronteras*. Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- Ciurlo, A. (2013). *Migración colombiana hacia Italia a la luz del género y la familia transnacional*. Universidad Antonio Nariño.
- Clemens, E. S. (2016). *What is political sociology?* Polity Press.
- Comisión de la Verdad. (2022). Hay futuro si hay verdad. Informe final: Tomo 10. La Colombia fuera de Colombia. Las verdades del exilio. de la Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la

Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición.  
[https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/sites/default/files/descargables/2022-09/CEV\\_LA](https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/sites/default/files/descargables/2022-09/CEV_LA)

Corbetta, P. (2014). *La ricerca sociale: Metodologia e tecniche. III. Le tecniche qualitative*. Il Mulino.

Dahl, R. (1990). *La democrazia e i suoi ciritici*. Editori Riuniti.

Dahl, V., Amnå, E., Banaji, S., Landberg, M., Šerek, J., Ribeiro, N., Beilmann, M., Pavlopoulos, V., & Zani, B. (2018). Apathy or alienation? Political passivity among youths across eight European Union countries. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 15(3), 284-301.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2017.1404985>

Díaz Gómez, A. (2012). *Devenir subjetividad política: un punto de referencia sobre el sujeto político*. [Doctoral Dissertation, Universidad de Manizales].  
<http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/Colombia/alianza-cinde-umz/20130401053108/TesisAlvaroDG.pdf>

Eliasoph, N. (1998). *Avoiding politics: How Americans produce apathy in everyday life*. Cambridge University Press.

Escobar, C. (2004). Dual citizenship and political participation: Migrants in the interplay of United States and Colombian politics. *Latino Studies*, 2(1), 45-69.  
<https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.lst.8600060>

Escobar, C., Arana, R., & McCann, J. A. (2015). Expatriate voting and migrants' place of residence: Explaining transnational participation in Colombian elections. *Migration Studies*, 3(1), 1-31. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnt030>

Fassin, D. (2014). *Ripoliticizzare il mondo: Studi antropologici sulla vita, il corpo e la morale*. Ombre Corte.

Fox, S. (2015). *Apathy, alienation and young people: The political engagement of British millennials*. [Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Nottingham].  
<http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/30532/>

Garcés, Á. (2011). Juventud y comunicación. Reflexiones sobre prácticas comunicativas de resistencia en la cultura hip hop de Medellín. *Signo y Pensamiento*, 30(58), 108-128.  
<https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=86020038008>

Gilens, M. (2012). *Affluence and influence: Economic inequality and political power in America*. Russell Sage Foundation; Princeton University Press.

Giraldo, I. (2021). 'Pedagogies of cruelty' and the patriarchal order of the nation state: The falsos positivos as a paradigmatic example. *Postcolonial Studies*, 24(1), 63-81.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2020.1764267>

Gómez, M. R. (2011). Batuta Caldas - Colombia: Un programa de formación musical que deviene en formación ciudadana. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, 9(2), 649-668.  
<https://revistaumanizales.cinde.org.co/rlicsnj/index.php/Revista-Latinoamericana/article/view/465>

- Guarnizo, L. E., Chaudhary, A. R., & Sørensen, N. N. (2019). Migrants' transnational political engagement in Spain and Italy. *Migration Studies*, 7(3), 281-322. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnx061>
- Guarnizo, L. E., Portes, A., & Haller, W. (2003). Assimilation and transnationalism: Determinants of transnational political action among contemporary migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6), 1211-1248. <https://doi.org/10.1086/375195>
- Haralambos, M., & Holborn, M. (2008). *Sociology themes and perspectives* (7th ed.). Collins Educational.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Center. (2022). *Informe mundial sobre desplazamiento interno 2021*. Observatorio de Desplazamiento Interno. <https://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2021/spanish.html>
- Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT). (2021). Dati e indicatori su immigrati e nuovi cittadini. <http://stra-dati.istat.it/>
- Itzigsohn, J., Cabral, C. D., Medina, E. H., & Vazquez, O. (1999). Mapping Dominican transnationalism: Narrow and broad transnational practices. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 316-339. <https://doi.org/10.1080/014198799329503>
- Kastoryano, R. (2005). Citizenship, nationhood, and non-territoriality: Transnational participation in Europe. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 38(4), 693-696. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30044352>
- Kleinman, A., & Fitz-Henry, E. (2007). The experiential basis of subjectivity. How individuals change in the context of societal transformation. In J. Biehl, B. Good, & A. Kleinman (Eds.), *Subjectivity. Ethnographic investigations* (pp. 52-65). University of California Press.
- Krause, K., & Schramm, K. (2011). Thinking through political subjectivity. *African Diaspora*, 4(2), 115-134. <https://doi.org/10.1163/187254611X607741>
- Lafleur, J. M. (2012). *Transnational politics and the state: The external voting rights of diasporas*. Routledge.
- Levitt, P. (2004, October 1). Transnational migrants: When "home" means more than one country. *Migration Policy*. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/transnational-migrants-when-home-means-more-one-country>
- Levitt, P., & Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational migration studies: Past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1), 129-156. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131816>
- Manrique, C. A., & Quintana, L. (2016). Introducción. Repensar el sujeto político desde la contingencia de lo social. In C. A. Manrique, & L. Quintana (Eds.), *¿Cómo se forma un sujeto político? Prácticas estéticas y acciones colectivas* (pp. 9-26). Universidad de los Andes.
- Martínez, C., & Cubides, J. (2012). Acercamientos al uso de la categoría de 'subjectividad política' en procesos investigativos. In C. Piedrahita, Á. Díaz, & P. Vommaro (Eds.), *Subjectividades*

- políticas: desafíos y debates latinoamericanos* (pp. 169-190). Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas.
- Martínez Leguizamó, J. O. (2015). Exiliados colombianos en España: participación política transnacional en el marco de oportunidad de los diálogos de paz. In F. J. García Castaño, A. Megías Megías, & J. Ortega Torres (Eds.), *Actas del VIII Congreso sobre Migraciones Internacionales en España* (pp. 85-96). Universidad de Granada.
- McCann, J. A., Escobar, C., & Arana, R. (2019). Mexicans and Colombians at home and abroad: A comparative study of political engagement. *Latin American Research Review*, 54(1), 16-34. <https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.191>
- Milbrath, L. (1965). *Political participation*. Rand McNally.
- Milbrath, L., & Goel, M. (1977). *Political participation*. Rand McNally.
- Nobile, S. (2022). *Introduzione alla metodologia della ricerca sociale*. Carocci.
- Østergaard-Nielsen, E. (2003). The politics of migrants' transnational political practices. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 760-786. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00157.x>
- Pardo, F. (2013). *Inmigración, multiculturalidad y políticas de integración en Europa. Colombianos en Amsterdam, Londres y Madrid*. Universidad Externado de Colombia.
- Pérez-Armendáriz, C., & Crow, D. (2010). Do migrants remit democracy? International migration, political beliefs, and behavior in Mexico. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(1), 119-148. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414009331733>
- Rancière, J. (2007). *Le philosophe et ses pauvres*. Champs Flammarion.
- Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil de Colombia. (2022). Resultados electorales. <https://ainteractivo.net/cedaesite/exploradatos-re/>
- Rivera, D., & Plata, J. (2019). *Barómetro de las Américas. Colombia 2018. Democracia e instituciones*. [https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/colombia/Colombia\\_2018\\_Democracia\\_e\\_Instituciones\\_W\\_11.07.19.pdf](https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/colombia/Colombia_2018_Democracia_e_Instituciones_W_11.07.19.pdf)
- Rush, M. (1992). *Politics and society. An introduction to political sociology*. Routledge.
- Schlenker, A., Blatter, J., & Birka, I. (2017). Practising transnational citizenship: Dual nationality and simultaneous political involvement among emigrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(3), 418-440. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1185941>
- Staheli, L. A., & Hammett, D. (2010). Educating the new national citizen: Education, political subjectivity and divided societies. *Citizenship Studies*, 14(6), 667-680. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2010.522353>
- Tarragoni, F. (2016). Du rapport de la subjectivation politique au monde social: Les raisons d'une mésentente entre sociologie et philosophie politique. *Raisons Politiques*, 62, 115-130. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-raisons-politiques-2016-2-page-115.htm>

- Taylor, S., & Bogdan, R. (1987). *Introducción a los métodos cualitativos de investigación: La búsqueda de significados*. Paidós.
- Tsuda, T. (2012). Whatever happened to simultaneity? Transnational migration theory and dual engagement in sending and receiving countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(4), 631-649. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.659126>
- Unidad para las Víctimas. (2021). Registro único de víctimas (RUV). <https://www.unidadvictimas.gov.co/es/registro-unico-de-victimas-ruv/>
- United Nations. (2019). *UN International migrant stock 2019*. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/docs/MigrationStockDocumentation\\_2019.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/docs/MigrationStockDocumentation_2019.pdf)
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2020). *Global trends. Forced displacement in 2019*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- Villa, J. D., Díaz-Pérez, I. L., Barrera, D., Velásquez, Y. N., & Ramírez, M. (2021). ¿Por qué hablar de barreras psicosociales para la paz en el contexto colombiano? In J. D. Villa, V. Andrade, & L. M. Quinceno (Eds.), *Ethos del conflicto y creencias como barreras psicosociales para la paz y la reconciliación en Colombia* (pp. 24-50). Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana. <https://repository.upb.edu.co/handle/20.500.11912/9578>
- Vogel, D. (2007). *Highly active immigrants—A resource for European civil societies*. Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.
- Waldinger, R., Soehl, T., & Lim, N. (2012). Emigrants and the body politic left behind: Results from the Latino National Survey. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(5), 711-736. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.667978>
- Wieviorka, M. (2012). *Du concept de sujet à celui de subjectivation/dé-subjectivation* (Working Paper Series, no. 16). Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00717835/document>