

Infrastructural Pedagogy in Post-Agreement Colombia: Social Sciences Teachers and the Reconstruction of Historical Memory in PDET Zones

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Abstract

Teaching the historical memory of the Colombian armed conflict in schools within Development Programs with a Territorial Approach (PDET) remains under-theorized despite its policy visibility. Frontier scholarship on trauma-informed practice, embedded curricula, and teacher well-being rarely engages Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare, treating teachers as bearers of emotional cost rather than agents constituting a local public sphere. This study asked how Social Sciences secondary school teachers in these three departments reconstruct memory pedagogically. A systematic Grounded Theory design was applied across three semi-structured interviews (60–90 minutes); sample adequacy was justified through the 3S Continuum at Summation and Saliency levels and through Information Power. Six categories organized around a selective core: Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation. Findings identify fear as an agentic strategy of care, infrastructural pedagogy compensating for state absence, and teachers acting as political brokers. The study advances trauma-informed peace pedagogy beyond individualized burnout frames.

Keywords: Memory; Pedagogy; Teachers; Peacebuilding; Colombia; Trauma-informed

1. INTRODUCTION

Colombia's transition from armed conflict toward post-agreement governance has positioned the school as one of the principal sites where the nation's memory of violence is contested, articulated, and transmitted (Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024; CNMH, 2018). Within the 170 rural municipalities designated as Development Programs with a Territorial Approach (PDET) – those most affected by the war – Social Sciences teachers have inherited a demanding assignment: to reconstruct historical memory in classrooms attended, at once, by the children of victims, of ex-combatants, of paramilitary sympathizers, and of state agents (Guerrero et al., 2024; Louis et al., 2024). What the state administers as curricular implementation is, in these territories, an act of political and emotional mediation performed with limited resources and thin institutional support (Corredor et al., 2026; Kester, 2021). The classroom becomes a mediating space between traumatic personal memory, community narrative, and the official history the curriculum authorizes (Halbwachs, 2004; Jelin, 2002; Ricoeur, 2004).

The international literature published between 2024 and 2026 has consolidated three interlocking claims about pedagogy in conflict-affected schools. First, historical memory education is inescapably non-neutral and is most sustainable when embedded transversally across the social sciences rather than delivered as a standalone module (Corredor et al., 2026; Kester & Misiaszek, 2024; Gunzelmann et al., 2024). Second, teachers who work in such contexts bear a documented emotional cost – secondary traumatic stress, compassion fatigue, and exhaustion – that shapes what can be taught, when, and to whom (Oberg et al.,

2023; Ormiston et al., 2022; Paradies, 2024; Brunzell et al., 2022). Third, the same act of teaching memory can operate as a source of professional meaning and psychosocial recovery, provided that institutional and collective supports are in place (Brunzell et al., 2022; González-Ballesteros et al., 2026; Guerrero et al., 2024). Read together, these claims outline a coherent research programme: identify context-sensitive practices, quantify their emotional burden on teachers, and design supports capable of sustaining them.

These three claims sit in tension with one another. A body of critical work argues that framing teachers as first-line healers privatizes what is a systemic failure of the state and accelerates the erosion of the profession (Kester & Misiaszek, 2024; Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024). Locating the emotional burden inside the teacher's psyche and prescribing individual trauma-awareness programs risks obscuring the material conditions – connectivity gaps, criminalization of critical pedagogy, absent commemorative infrastructure – that generate the burden in the first place (Lara-Salcedo et al., 2024; Cabra-Torres et al., 2025). Comparable tensions have been documented in Armenia, England, Indonesia, and the Philippines, where teachers of contested pasts calibrate silence, disclosure, and creative risk against political pressure (Gulumyan, 2026; Whitehouse & Jones, 2024; Latupapua et al., 2026). These studies, however, rarely engage the specific configuration of Colombia's PDET geographies, where paramilitary control, guerrilla dissidence, coca economies, and infrastructural neglect operate simultaneously and often within a single classroom.

Two voids follow from this state of the field. Empirically, frontier scholarship has concentrated on urban centers, on Andean flagship regions, or on comparative cases from other conflict zones; the eastern departments of Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare – each with a distinct armed actor and a distinct history of state absence – remain largely outside the international evidence base on how Social Sciences teachers actually reconstruct memory of the Colombian armed conflict. Ramos (2017), the closest Colombian precedent, established the vocabulary of teaching practices in conflict schools but did not compare distinct territorial ecologies within a single grounded design. Theoretically, the extant literature centers either the student (as recipient of memory work) or the teacher's inner life (compassion fatigue, meaning-making), while the teacher's function as a political broker – mediating strikes, running community peace-judge programs, documenting displacement, building media literacy without electricity – is under-theorized (Amador-Baquiro, 2022; Mollès & Parada-Ulloa, 2025; Latupapua et al., 2026). What is missing is a framework in which the pedagogical form itself is treated as a response to the material and political absence of the state, rather than as a soft supplement to a curriculum the state supposedly guarantees.

This study addresses both voids. The central question is: how do Social Sciences secondary school teachers in three conflict-affected Colombian departments – Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare – reconstruct the historical memory of the armed conflict through their pedagogical practices, and how do these situated practices contribute to local history and peacebuilding within their educational communities? Three sub-questions structure the analysis: (i) which strategies do teachers deploy in the classroom, and how are those strategies calibrated to territorial conditions; (ii) how do teachers manage the emotional and political weight of memory work in the absence of institutional support; and (iii) what community-level effects do their practices produce, and what structural limits do they encounter.

The contribution is threefold. Empirically, the study documents three under-represented territorial ecologies – a paramilitary-shadowed municipality in Casanare, a displacement-saturated corridor in Meta, and an infrastructurally precarious frontier in Guaviare – and reconstructs the pedagogical repertoires each teacher has assembled. Methodologically, the three-case design is owned as a boundary and justified explicitly through the 3S Continuum at the Summation and Saliency levels (Chepp et al., 2025) and through the Information Power framework (Roberts et al., 2026), rather than concealed behind an unearned appeal to theoretical saturation (Squire et al., 2024). Theoretically, the study advances the notion of infrastructural pedagogy: the pedagogical form that emerges when teachers must respond to, and compensate for, the material and political absence of the state. Within this form, silence, cine-foro, radio, and community conversatorios operate not as auxiliary methods but as the primary means through which the local public sphere is constituted. The remainder of the article proceeds as follows. Section 2 describes the research design and analytic strategy. Section 3 presents the six emergent categories. Section 4 discusses the findings in dialogue with the recent literature, distributing limitations alongside the findings they qualify. Section 5 offers a brief conclusion.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research paradigm and design

The study was framed within a constructivist–interpretive paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Three assumptions govern the design. Knowledge about the historical memory of the Colombian armed conflict is treated as a situated production of teachers embedded in specific territorial ecologies, not as a neutral reproduction of curricular content (González-Ballesteros et al., 2026). Meaning about that memory emerges dialogically, in the exchange between teacher and researcher, rather than being extracted from a pre-existing subject (Latupapua et al., 2026). Pedagogical practice in PDET zones is read as a performative act that simultaneously reproduces and resists hegemonic narratives (Kester, 2021; Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024). These commitments make the interpretive paradigm methodologically adequate for a question centered on how teachers, not the state, reconstruct memory.

Within this paradigm, the study followed a systematic Grounded Theory design (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) adapted to the constraints of research in active conflict zones (Lassig, 2022; Sosa-Díaz & Valverde-Berrocso, 2022). Two design choices merit explicit statement. First, the analytic procedure retained the three canonical coding cycles – open, axial, and selective – with constant comparison and analytic memoing throughout (Flenady et al., 2025; Kruasom et al., 2025). Second, the study did not claim theoretical saturation. Following the 3S Continuum (Chepp et al., 2025), the analytic target was set at the levels of Summation (documenting the range of pedagogical ecologies) and Saliency (identifying conceptually rich, cross-cutting patterns), reserving Saturation for a later, larger-scale study. This calibration responds to the recurring criticism that qualitative research in education invokes Grounded Theory as a decorative label without enacting it (Tight, 2024; Wutich et al., 2024).

2.2. Study setting: three territorial ecologies within the PDET geography

Three Colombian departments were selected as the setting: Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare. All three fall inside the geography of the Development Programs with a Territorial Approach (PDET) – the 170 municipalities identified by the 2016 Peace Agreement as most affected by the armed conflict – and share broadly comparable features in terms of economy, relief, ecosystems, and history (Corredor et al., 2026; Guerrero et al., 2024). The three departments differ, however, in the armed actor exercising dominant territorial influence, in the depth of state infrastructure, and in the ethnic composition of the school population. Casanare presents a legacy of paramilitary control interlocked with an extractive-livestock economy. Meta operates as a corridor of forced displacement and dissident presence around a regional urban node. Guaviare occupies a frontier position, historically shaped by guerrilla and cartel dynamics, indigenous territories, and severe infrastructural precariousness. This deliberate territorial contrast – rather than territorial homogeneity – is what makes the three-case configuration analytically productive for the study's central question.

2.3. Participant selection and recruitment

Purposive sampling was applied (Ting et al., 2023). The sampling frame was defined by four inclusion criteria, each linked to the study objective. Participants had to hold a Licenciatura in Social Sciences from the same higher education institution, ensuring a common pedagogical formation baseline against which territorial variation could be read. They had to be currently teaching secondary Social Sciences, which is the curricular locus of historical memory content in Colombian schools (Corredor et al., 2026). They had to be active in a school located inside a PDET municipality, the territorial category that anchors the study. They had to provide informed consent on a voluntary basis, in line with the ethical protocols detailed in Section 2.9. Exclusion criteria were the mirror image: teachers not currently active, teachers in non-PDET municipalities, and teachers of subjects other than Social Sciences were not eligible.

Recruitment took place through the alumni network of the licensure program. Three teachers meeting all four criteria – one per department – agreed to participate; no eligible candidate declined, so the refusal rate was zero within the invited pool. The demographic profile of each participant is reported in Table 1, providing the thick description that a Q1 qualitative report requires (Ni Raghallaigh & O'Reilly, 2026). The three-case configuration is not defended here as sufficient for theoretical saturation; it is defended as adequate for Summation and Saliency targets, and this argument is developed formally in Section 2.6.

Table 1. Participant profiles and territorial ecologies. *Anonymized demographic and contextual profile of the three Social Sciences teachers, presented at the level of detail required for transferability in qualitative research. Individual identifiers are replaced by codes P1–P3.*

Participant code	Department	Municipality	Institution type	Years of experience	Grade levels taught	Dominant armed actor in territory	Reported access to basic infrastructure	Dominant pedagogical strategy
P1	Casanare	Withheld ^a	Public secondary	> 10	Secondary (Básica and Media)	Paramilitary groups; ex-guerrilla presence	Available; no reported connectivity gaps	Conversations; commemorative events; Jueces de Paz program
P2	Meta	Withheld ^a	Public secondary (INEM model; Humanities Dept. head)	> 10	Secondary (Básica and Media)	Urban displacement dynamics; FARC dissidences; sicariato	Available; urban node with standard school connectivity	Social-work projects; displacement documentation; research-based inquiry
P3	Guaviare	Withheld ^a	Public secondary; multiethnic context (32+ ethnic groups)	> 10	Secondary (Básica and Media)	FARC dissidences; illicit crop economies; forced recruitment	Severely limited; permanent electricity only since ca. 2008; no internet at time of data collection	Cine-foro; radio transmedia; cultural comparative analysis

Note. All participants are graduates of the same *Licenciatura en Ciencias Sociales* program at a Colombian public university and were active teachers in schools located within Development Programs with a Territorial Approach (PDET) municipalities at the time of data collection (August 2021). Data were collected through individual semi-structured interviews (60–90 minutes) conducted virtually via video-conference. Years of experience are reported categorically (> 10 years) because exact figures were not disclosed during the interviews. The "Dominant pedagogical strategy" column reports the primary memory-reconstruction method identified through selective coding, not an exhaustive inventory of classroom activities.

^a Municipality names are withheld to preserve participant anonymity, consistent with the journal's double-anonymized review policy and with the ethical protocols described in Section 2.9. The presence of active armed actors in each territory makes geographic identification a potential safety risk for the participants.

2.4. Data collection: semi-structured interviews

The primary data source was a semi-structured interview conducted with each participant. The interview guide was developed in four staged phases, following the protocol synthesized by (Kallio et al., 2016) and applied by (Ibarra-Sáiz et al., 2023). Phase 1 established the conceptual prerequisites – pedagogical strategies, emotional management of sensitive content, curricular constraints, and community impact – by mapping them against the study's central question. Phase 2 translated the prerequisites into open-ended questions with prompted probes for narrative depth. Phase 3 piloted the instrument with one non-participant Social Sciences teacher outside the PDET geography; on the basis of this pilot, wording and sequencing were refined to reduce leading formulations. Phase 4 finalized the guide in five thematic blocks: (i) pedagogical context and territorial reading, (ii) strategies deployed to reconstruct memory in the classroom, (iii) management of sensitive content and emotional load, (iv) reported effects on students, families, and the wider community, and (v) reflections on the contribution of memory work to peacebuilding and local history.

Interviews were conducted virtually via video-conference on 14 August 2021, in the public-health context of the COVID-19 pandemic, which precluded in-person data collection. Each session lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, was audio- and video-recorded with prior consent, and was conducted individually to prevent cross-influence between participants. Verbatim transcription was carried out by two research assistants working independently, with a subsequent cross-check for fidelity. The construct-validity limitation that follows from a single virtual contact – namely, that the data capture reported practices rather than enacted practices in the classroom – is discussed openly in Section 2.10 and revisited in the Discussion.

2.5. Data analysis: three coding cycles with constant comparison

Analysis followed the three coding cycles specified by (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and operationalized for educational research by (Sosa-Díaz & Valverde-Berrocso, 2022) and (Kruasom et al., 2025). Figure 1 depicts the full analytic spiral, from transcription to theoretical contribution, and is referenced across the remainder of this section.

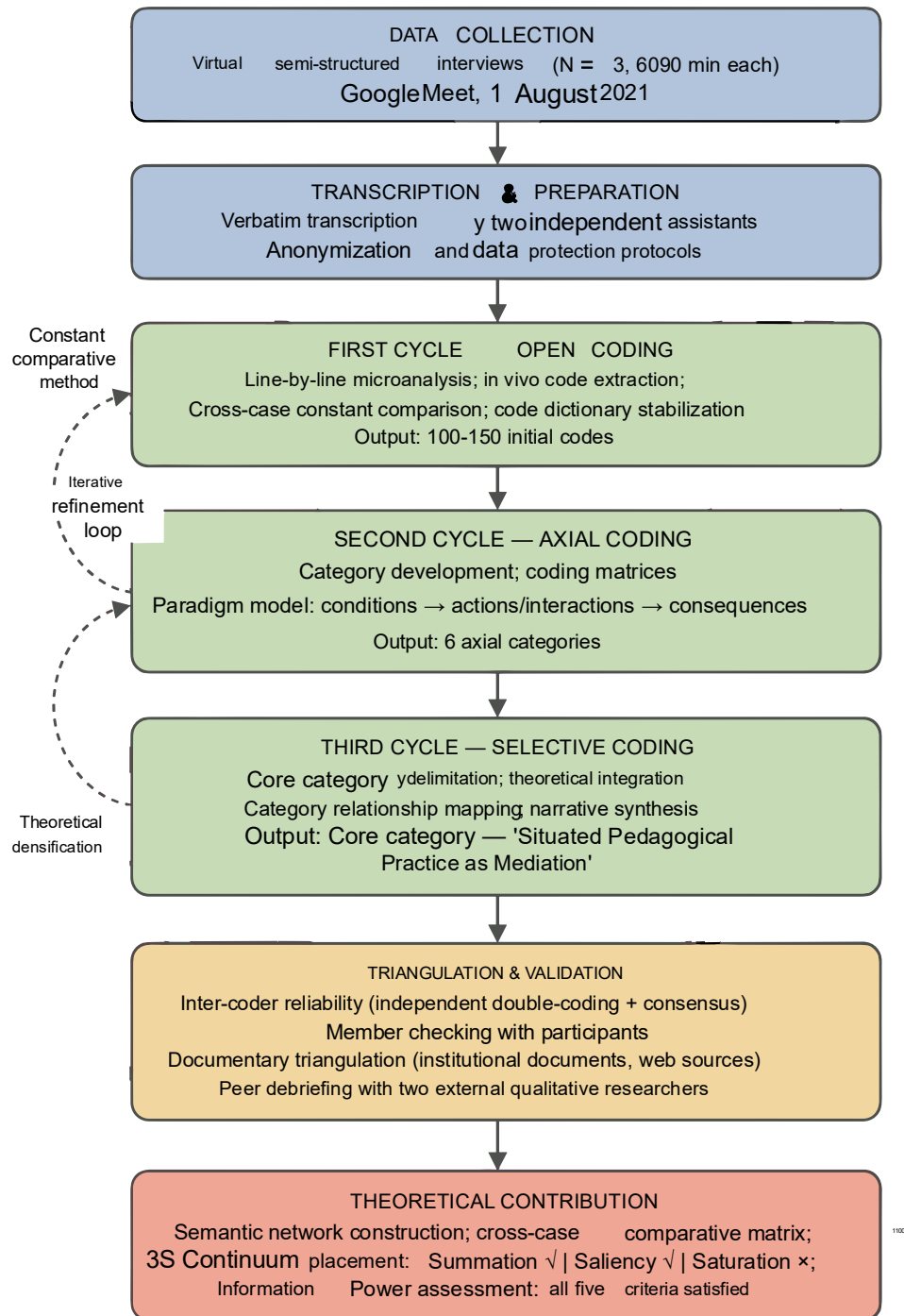


Figure 1. Methodological spiral: from raw interview data to theoretical contribution. Sequential and iterative representation of the analytic procedure, comprising the collection and transcription phases, three coding cycles (open, axial, selective) with constant-comparative loops, the triangulation and validation phase, and the theoretical-contribution phase in which the core category is delimited and mapped onto the 3S Continuum.

Open coding proceeded line by line, prioritizing in vivo codes drawn from the participants' own formulations. The unit of analysis was the utterance, understood as a discursive fragment expressing one identifiable idea. Two researchers coded each transcript independently and met weekly to reconcile discrepancies, following the collaborative-analysis protocol described by (Jonsen & Jehn, 2009) and applied by (González-Ballesteros et al., 2026). Consensus coding was documented as an audit record, with disagreements resolved through return to the raw transcript rather than through majority rule. Constant comparison across cases operated from the first cycle, so that codes emerging in one department were

tested against the transcripts from the other two (Lassig, 2022).

Axial coding organized open codes into categories by identifying their properties, dimensions, and relational structure. The paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin was applied without dogmatism: for each category, the analysts identified the causal conditions, the actions and interactions, and the consequences reported by participants. This produced six axial categories that later stabilized as the study's thematic architecture (fear and self-censorship; situated strategies; emotional burden and resilience; territorial identity versus official narratives; community impact and reconciliation; structural betrayal and scarcity). Selective coding then integrated these six categories around a single core category – Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation – reported and defended in Section 3.

Coding was managed with a qualitative data analysis package. Analytic memos, coding logs, and decision records were maintained throughout, in line with the audit-trail requirement documented by (Price & Smith, 2021) and (Gatwiri et al., 2025). The audit trail is available from the authors on reasonable request, subject to the anonymization commitments described in Section 2.9.

2.6. Sample adequacy: 3S Continuum and Information Power

The three-participant design was owned as an analytic boundary and justified through two convergent frameworks, rather than being defended by an unearned appeal to theoretical saturation (Squire et al., 2024; Tight, 2024). Figure 2 combines both frameworks into a single justification chart.

3S Continuum Assessment			JOINT JUSTIFICATION: Sample adequacy under a Summation / Saliency target	Information Power Assessment	
SUMMATION ✓ Achieved	SALIENCY ✓ Achieved	SATURATION X Not Claimed		1. Study Aim	Narrow and focused: memory pedagogy in three PDET departments ✓
- Range of pedagogical strategies documented across three departments - Three unique territorial ecologies captured (Casanare, Meta, Guaviare) - Descriptive coverage of the phenomenon's scope	- Cross-cutting themes converge across contrasting ecologies - Conceptually rich patterns identified (fear, infrastructural pedagogy, political brokering) - Convergence despite territorial heterogeneity	- Theoretical completeness requires 20–30+ interviews - Explicitly reserved for a follow-on study - Not invoked; boundary stated transparently		2. Sample Specificity	Dense — same licensure program; PDET-zone schools; Social Sciences teachers ✓
				3. Established Theory	Trauma-informed peace pedagogy + decolonial framework; theory-driven analytic sensitivity ✓
				4. Quality of Dialogue	60–90 min semi-structured interviews; full transcription; constant-comparative revisits ✓
				5. Analysis Strategy	Case analysis with cross-case comparison; not cross-case generalization ✓

Figure 2. Sample adequacy: joint assessment through the 3S Continuum and the Information Power framework. Visual justification for a three-participant design. The left panel places the study on the 3S Continuum, marking Summation and Saliency as achieved analytical targets and Saturation as an explicitly non-claimed target. The right panel scores the study against the five Information Power criteria – study aim, sample specificity, use of established theory, quality of dialogue, and analysis strategy – indicating why a small, highly specific sample can carry adequate information for the study's stated objective.

The 3S Continuum (Chepp et al., 2025) disaggregates what is often collapsed under the single label of saturation: Summation names the descriptive coverage of a phenomenon's range; Saliency names the analytic identification of conceptually rich and cross-cutting patterns; Saturation names the theoretical closure at which additional data yield no new properties or relationships. The present design targets Summation and Saliency and states so explicitly. The Information Power framework (Malterud et al., 2016; Roberts et al., 2026) complements this by identifying the conditions under which small samples carry adequate information: a narrow study aim, high sample specificity, use of established theory, dense dialogue, and case-focused (rather than cross-case-generalizing) analysis. All five conditions apply to the present study. This joint justification replaces the earlier draft's absent saturation argument, which was the single most consequential objection raised in the pre-submission technical audit.

2.7. Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness was addressed across the four Lincoln-Guba criteria – credibility, dependability, confirmability, transferability – with the specific techniques listed below and the shortfalls disclosed openly.

Credibility was pursued through three techniques. First, prolonged analytic engagement with each

transcript replaced the impossibility of prolonged field engagement, with each transcript re-read at least three times across the coding cycles. Second, member checking was carried out by returning preliminary category descriptions and illustrative quotations to each participant for verification and correction. Third, peer debriefing was undertaken with two qualitative researchers external to the author team, who reviewed the coding tree and the emerging categories independently (Brown & Danaher, 2019).

Dependability rested on a documented audit trail: dated memos, coding logs, and decision records were maintained from open coding through selective coding. A code–recode consistency check was performed by re-coding a purposively selected subset of transcript segments two weeks after initial coding; consistency was monitored qualitatively through discrepancy discussion rather than a single numerical index, given the small analytic corpus.

Confirmability was supported by two devices. Raw quotations are foregrounded in Section 3 alongside the codes they instantiate, so that the interpretive link between data and category is visible to the reader. Negative-case attention was built into axial coding: analysts actively sought disconfirming instances within each transcript, and one such instance – reported student disinterest in memory recovery – is analyzed rather than concealed. Transferability was addressed through the thick description of each territorial ecology reported in Section 2.2 and in Table 1, allowing readers to judge the applicability of the findings to other PDET or comparably conflict-affected settings.

Triangulation operated across four dimensions. Investigator triangulation was enacted through independent double-coding and consensus meetings. Theoretical triangulation combined trauma-informed pedagogy (Brunzell et al., 2022; Oberg et al., 2023), decolonial peace pedagogy (Kester & Misiaszek, 2024), and situated practice frameworks (Amador-Baquiro, 2022) to read the same data through different lenses. Data-source triangulation combined interview transcripts with publicly available institutional documents and territorial context sources cited in the participants' own accounts. Cross-case triangulation compared the three departments to each other, treating convergence across contrasting ecologies as an index of Saliency (Chepp et al., 2025).

2.8. Reflexivity and positionality

The research team consists of Social Sciences faculty at the same university from which the three participants graduated. This alumni relationship is an asset – it eases access, shared vocabulary, and rapport – and a risk. The risk is asymmetrical power and social-desirability bias: participants may frame their practice more affirmatively when interviewed by their former instructors (Ni Raghallaigh & O'Reilly, 2026). Three mitigations were adopted. First, the positionality was declared to participants at the start of each interview, and consent was framed around freedom to disagree with, or contradict, the interviewers' expectations. Second, interview questions were formulated in non-leading, experience-eliciting form, avoiding cues about desired responses. Third, one member of the author team held no prior teaching relationship with any of the participants and served as the primary interviewer, while colleagues who had taught the participants were assigned coding and analytic roles rather than data-collection ones. Reflexivity was operationalized through dated memos, weekly team debriefs, and explicit documentation of interpretive decisions (Gatwiri et al., 2025).

2.9. Ethical framework

The study was designed under an ethics-of-care framework (Ni Raghallaigh & O'Reilly, 2026) appropriate to research with participants embedded in contexts of structural and armed violence. Five principles governed the protocol: reciprocity, processual informed consent, non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice. Informed consent was obtained in a two-stage process – an initial written invitation outlining the study's purpose, procedure, and use of data, and a verbal confirmation recorded at the start of each interview, with the explicit reminder that consent could be withdrawn at any point without consequence. Anonymization applied to participants, institutions, and specific municipalities where identifying detail could jeopardize the participant given the presence of armed actors. Data were stored under encrypted access.

Trauma-sensitive procedures were implemented before, during, and after each interview (Močnik, 2026). Before, interviewers rehearsed the guide to identify questions with potential emotional charge and to prepare non-directive follow-ups. During, participants were reminded of their right to skip questions, pause the recording, or end the session; emotionally intense moments were acknowledged rather than

accelerated. After, each participant was debriefed and, where relevant, was informed of psychosocial support resources available through the alumni network. The research team also implemented an internal debriefing protocol to attend to the vicarious emotional load carried by analysts working with trauma-related narratives (Burke et al., 2024).

2.10. Limitations acknowledged prospectively

Three methodological limitations are stated here in advance, where they can be recognized alongside the design choices that generate them, and are revisited alongside the findings they qualify in the Discussion. First, a three-participant corpus supports Summation and Saliency but not theoretical saturation; claims are therefore framed at the level of situated patterns rather than universal generalizations. Second, a single virtual interview per participant captures reported rather than enacted practice; the gap between what teachers say they do and what they do in classrooms is a real construct-validity limit, mitigated but not eliminated by documentary and cross-case triangulation. Third, the alumni relationship between researchers and participants may exert a residual social-desirability effect that reflexive procedures narrow but do not remove. These three limitations, rather than being warehoused at the end of the manuscript, are distributed through the Discussion so that each finding is read with its boundary conditions visible.

3. Results

3.1. Analytical overture: six categories around a selective core

The three coding cycles described in Section 2.5 yielded six axial categories that stabilized around a single selective core: Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation between Traumatic Memory and Peacebuilding in Structurally Violent Contexts. The six categories are – T1, Pedagogical Fear and Self-Censorship; T2, Situated Pedagogical Strategies; T3, Emotional Burden and Resilience; T4, Territorial Identity versus Official Narratives; T5, Community Impact and Reconciliation; and T6, Structural Betrayal and Scarcity. Consistent with the 3S Continuum target declared in Section 2.6 (Chepp et al., 2025), findings are reported at the Summation level (documenting the range of pedagogical ecologies) and the Saliency level (identifying cross-cutting, conceptually rich patterns). Theoretical saturation is not claimed. What follows is the empirical record; interpretation is deferred to Section 4.

Table 2 maps the six categories onto their open codes, participant frequency, an illustrative in vivo quotation, and the literature strand each category places in conversation. It is offered as a reading key for Sections 3.2 through 3.7, each of which develops one category through verbatim evidence from P1 (Casanare), P2 (Meta), and P3 (Guaviare).

Table 2. Emergent categories: from open codes to axial themes, with frequency and in vivo evidence. *Grid mapping the six axial categories (T1–T6) that stabilized around the selective core 'Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation.' For each category the table reports a sample of the open codes that fed into it, the number of participants in whose transcripts the category was instantiated (out of N = 3), one illustrative verbatim quotation, and the literature strand the category is positioned to engage in the Discussion.*

Selective core	Axial category (theme)	Open codes (sample)	Frequency (n/3)	Illustrative in vivo quote	Supporting literature strand
Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation	T1: Pedagogical fear and self-censorship	Temor a tocar fibras sensibles; adoctrinamiento accusation; stigma of danger zone; strategic avoidance; selective disclosure	3/3 (100%)	"Siempre existe el temor de dar a conocer... se pueden tocar fibras sensibles" (P1)	Gulumyan, 2026; Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024; Whitehouse & Jones, 2024
Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation	T2: Situated pedagogical strategies (cine-foro, radio, conversatorios)	Cine-foro as comparative device; displacement documentation projects; local commemorations (15-Sep 1953); radio as youth voice; transmedia	3/3 (100%)	"El cine como dispositivo pedagógico... una imagen vale más que mil palabras" (P3)	Amador-Baquiro, 2022; Corredor et al., 2026; González-Vázquez et al., 2021

		without connectivity			
Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation	T3: Emotional burden and resilience	Constructores sociales; puerta de la esperanza; fatigues vs. meaning dialectic; commemorative rhythm as continuity; civic identity reframing	3/3 (100%)	"Somos constructores sociales, buscando que sean generadores de cambios" (P2)	González-Ballesteros et al., 2026; Brunzell et al., 2022; Oberg et al., 2023
Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation	T4: Territorial identity vs. official narratives	1953 local peace as counter-memory; structural violence critique; displacement corridors as referent; no podemos hablar de paz	3/3 (100%)	"No podemos hablar de paz, mientras no se solucione las necesidades básicas" (P3)	Guerrero et al., 2024; Kester & Misiaszek, 2024; Chavez-Miguel et al., 2022
Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation	T5: Community impact and reconciliation	Jueces de Paz programme; student leadership formation; mediation of municipal strikes; community needs diagnosis	2/3 (67%)	"Algunos jueces ya son egresados y fueron mediadores de paz... con el municipio" (P1)	Mollès & Parada-Ulloa, 2025; Latupapua et al., 2026
Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation	T6: Structural betrayal and scarcity	Permanent electricity only since ca. 2008; no internet at time of data collection; criminalization of critical pedagogy; curricular fragmentation	3/3 (100%)	"Apenas se empezó a tener energía permanente, apenas hace trece años" (P3)	Lara-Salcedo et al., 2024; Cabra-Torres et al., 2025; Corredor et al., 2026

Note. Frequency reports the number of participants in whose transcripts the category was instantiated (categorical presence), not the raw count of coded segments. The selective core – "Situated Pedagogical Practice as Mediation between Traumatic Memory and Peacebuilding in Structurally Violent Contexts" – was delimited during selective coding and is common to all six axial categories. In vivo quotes are presented in the original Spanish; full English translations appear in Sections 3.2 through 3.7 of the main text. T5 is the only category with below-unanimous instantiation (2/3); this asymmetry is analyzed in Section 3.6 and revisited in the Discussion.

3.2. T1 – Pedagogical fear and the architecture of self-censorship

Fear was the most uniformly documented phenomenon across the three transcripts. All three participants (3/3) reported strategic caution about which topics they would open, in whose presence, and with what phrasing. Fear was not framed as a consequence of memory work; it was framed as an operating condition that shaped, before any lesson plan, what memory work could be attempted.

P1, teaching in a municipality with active paramilitary influence and residual ex-guerrilla presence, described the classroom as a stratified audience:

"Es un tema que, como docente de las ciencias sociales, no puede evadir, pero siempre existe el temor de dar a conocer, porque con los estudiantes hay que tener mucho cuidado porque hay hijos tanto de comandantes paramilitares, como guerrilleros entonces existe el miedo y esos temas a veces se vuelven vedados, y se pueden tocar fibras sensibles" (P1)

"It is a topic that, as a Social Sciences teacher, one cannot evade, but there is always the fear of disclosing it, because with the students one must be very careful – there are children of paramilitary commanders

and of guerrilla members, so there is fear and these topics sometimes become forbidden, and one can touch sensitive nerves" [translation]

P2, working in an urban corridor in Meta, reported that surveillance came not primarily from external armed actors but from the school hierarchy itself:

"Inclusive algunas veces las directivas han entrado a las clases y le dicen que estoy adoctrinando: 'yo les contesto pues denúncienme y me hacen famosa'. Es ardua la labor de enseñar a pensar a los estudiantes" (P2)

"Sometimes the school authorities have entered the classroom and told me I am indoctrinating: 'I reply, well denounce me and make me famous.' It is an arduous task to teach students to think" [translation]

P3, on the Guaviare frontier, framed the fear at the level of territorial stigma rather than of specific classroom disclosure:

"Sobre la región se tiene un estigma, porque en ella se desarrolló hechos de violencia muy grandes... por eso se considera que es una zona de peligro" (P3)

"The region carries a stigma, because very large acts of violence unfolded there... which is why it is considered a danger zone" [translation]

Across the three cases the source of the pressure differed – paramilitary presence in Casanare, institutional surveillance in Meta, territorial stigma in Guaviare – while the effect converged: teachers reported calibrating disclosure rather than avoiding memory content. None of the three participants reported abandoning the topic. All three reported reformulating how it entered the classroom.

3.3. T2 – *Situated pedagogical strategies*

Under conditions of calibrated disclosure and infrastructural scarcity, each teacher assembled a distinctive strategic repertoire (3/3). The three repertoires shared a structural feature – none relied on the standard curricular delivery formats favored by national policy – but differed in the pedagogical form each teacher elevated to primacy.

P1 anchored memory work in intergenerational commemorative events tied to a local peace narrative and in community-based dialogic formats. The 15 September commemoration of the 1953 local peace agreement, and the conversatorios organized around it, functioned as the pedagogical spine of the school year:

"El 15 de septiembre se hace la conmemoración de la firma de la paz de 1953... es una fecha muy importante porque los muchachos entienden que la paz no es un discurso lejano, sino que aquí ya hubo una experiencia" (P1)

"On 15 September we hold the commemoration of the 1953 peace signing... it is a very important date because the students understand that peace is not a distant discourse – here there has already been an experience" [translation]

P2 anchored her practice in investigative social-work projects with students, in which classes documented displacement trajectories from their own municipalities of origin toward Villavicencio, and analyzed the sicariato and narco-trafficking dynamics that received them:

"Se hacen trabajos investigativos, al analizar el posconflicto desde su municipio de origen como Puerto Rico, Mapiripán, Villavicencio, entre otros... ello le permite entender y convivir con el sicariato y el narcotráfico" (P2)

"They carry out research projects analyzing the post-conflict from their municipality of origin – Puerto Rico, Mapiripán, Villavicencio, among others... this allows them to understand and to live with the sicariato and the drug trade" [translation]

P3 elevated cine-foro (film-forum) and radio to central pedagogical devices, explicitly framed as compensations for absent connectivity and as instruments of comparative historical analysis. Cinema functioned as a device for confronting students with realities beyond the department, radio as a device for youth voice on themes the official peace discourse tends to occlude:

"Ahora las herramientas virtuales se van a fortalecer, por ello el cine fue fundamental. Hay otros escenarios

que están incursionando como es la radio, que es una herramienta donde los chicos también participan y donde se enfrentan a los problemas que ellos están viviendo, porque no es solo el discurso de la paz, la guerra, la violencia, sino que hay otras situaciones que los chicos están soportando: la drogadicción, la prostitución, y el reclutamiento forzado" (P3)

"Now the virtual tools will be strengthened, which is why cinema was essential. There are other channels emerging, such as radio, a tool where the students also participate and where they confront the problems they are living, because it is not only the discourse of peace, war, and violence, but also other situations the students are enduring: drug addiction, prostitution, and forced recruitment" [translation]

Cine-foro, radio, and conversatorios were reported by the participants as context-specific pedagogical devices rather than as generic active-learning methods. Each device carried, in the participants' own accounts, the additional function of substituting for infrastructure, institutional scaffolding, or curricular content that the state did not supply.

3.4. T3 – Emotional burden and the reframing of teaching as meaning-making

All three participants (3/3) reported an emotional load associated with memory work, and all three reported reframing that load as a source of professional meaning. The two reports coexisted in the same transcript for each teacher; burden and meaning were not presented as sequential stages but as simultaneous properties of the practice.

P2 articulated the reframing most explicitly, describing herself and her colleagues in a vocabulary of civic construction rather than of curriculum delivery:

"Somos constructores sociales, buscando que sean generadores de cambios" (P2)

"We are social constructors, seeking that they [the students] become generators of change" [translation]

P3 mobilized a territorial-identity resource – the local reading of Guaviare as the puerta de la esperanza (door of hope) – to reframe both the emotional load and the stigma attached to the region:

"A pesar de eso los jóvenes están empecinados a salir adelante, se debe al esfuerzo de los docentes que todos los días en esta región están construyendo país, en medio de las grandes dificultades" (P3)

"Despite all this, the young people are determined to move forward – this is owed to the effort of the teachers who, every day in this region, are building country, in the midst of great difficulties" [translation]

P1 reported the burden more elliptically, but consistently described the commemorative cycle and the conversatorio format as sources of continuity that sustained him across school years marked by fear and territorial pressure. The three accounts converge on a single empirical pattern: emotional load was named, not concealed, and each participant paired the naming with a reframing device – civic identity (P2), territorial hope narrative (P3), commemorative rhythm (P1).

3.5. T4 – Territorial identity versus official narratives

The three participants (3/3) articulated a distinction between the memory of the conflict as it is written into the curriculum and post-2016 policy discourse, on the one hand, and the memory of the conflict as it is anchored in the participants' territories, on the other. The distinction was neither rhetorical nor incidental; it structured the content selection of each teacher.

P1 grounded local memory in the 1953 peace event and treated the national framing of the Havana Agreement as one moment in a longer, locally-anchored sequence rather than as its origin point. P3 rejected the official conflation of the Havana signing with peace itself, insisting on the structural determinants the agreement left untouched:

"No podemos hablar de paz, mientras no se solucione las necesidades básicas... es importante que el gobierno trace su mirada a esos lugares donde el Estado tradicionalmente ha abandonado al pueblo colombiano y en especial en el sector rural" (P3)

"We cannot speak of peace as long as basic needs are not addressed... it is important that the government direct its attention to those places where the state has traditionally abandoned the Colombian people, and especially the rural sector" [translation]

P2 anchored the counter-narrative in ethnographic documentation of displacement, presenting the

corridor from Puerto Rico and Mapiripán into Villavicencio as the referent against which official reconciliation vocabulary had to be judged. In all three cases the local narrative was not deployed against national memory in opposition; it was deployed as a criterion of adequacy – a test the official narrative had to pass in order to be usable in the classroom.

3.6. T5 – *Community impact and reconciliation*

Category T5 was instantiated in two of the three transcripts (2/3). P1 and P2 reported observable community-level effects tied to their memory pedagogy; P3 reported effects framed at the level of youth cultural resistance and de-stigmatization of the territory, but did not report a formalized community mechanism comparable to those documented by P1 and P2. This is the only category in which case frequency was below unanimous, and the divergence is reported here rather than absorbed.

P1 described a direct pathway from classroom conversatorios to a municipal Jueces de Paz (Peace Judges) programme staffed in part by his former students:

"Algunos jueces ya son egresados y fueron mediadores de paz... con el municipio" (P1)

"Some of the judges are already alumni and were peace mediators... with the municipality" [translation]

P2 described the formation of community leaders capable of diagnosing local needs and articulating them politically – a pathway grounded in her investigative social-work projects rather than in a discrete civic mechanism:

"Ha formado líderes de su comunidad que se preocupan por superar las necesidades de su sociedad" (P2)

"She has formed community leaders concerned with addressing the needs of their society" [translation]

P3, by contrast, reported community effects at the level of cultural repertoire and territorial re-signification, rather than at the level of an identifiable civic institution. The three cases converge on the fact that memory pedagogy produces community-level effects; they diverge on the institutional form those effects take.

3.7. T6 – *Structural betrayal and infrastructural scarcity*

All three participants (3/3) reported that their memory pedagogy operated against, rather than through, the material and institutional apparatus of the state. The reports were specific and asymmetrical across territories.

P3 documented that permanent electricity in the department dated to approximately 2008, and that internet connectivity was not available in his school at the time of data collection:

"Apenas se empezó a tener energía permanente, apenas hace trece años" (P3)

"We have only begun to have permanent electricity in the last thirteen years" [translation]

The relevance of this datum is direct: cine-foro and radio (§3.3) are not aesthetic choices; they are the pedagogical forms that can be sustained under the material conditions the state has left in place. P2 reported the criminalization dimension of the same structural failure – accusations of adoctrinamiento entering the classroom (§3.2) function, in her account, as a second-order sanction on the pedagogy that fills the vacuum. P1 reported paramilitary surveillance as the corresponding limit in Casanare. Category T6, which the coders initially framed as a background condition, emerged in selective coding as a constitutive property of the pedagogical practice itself.

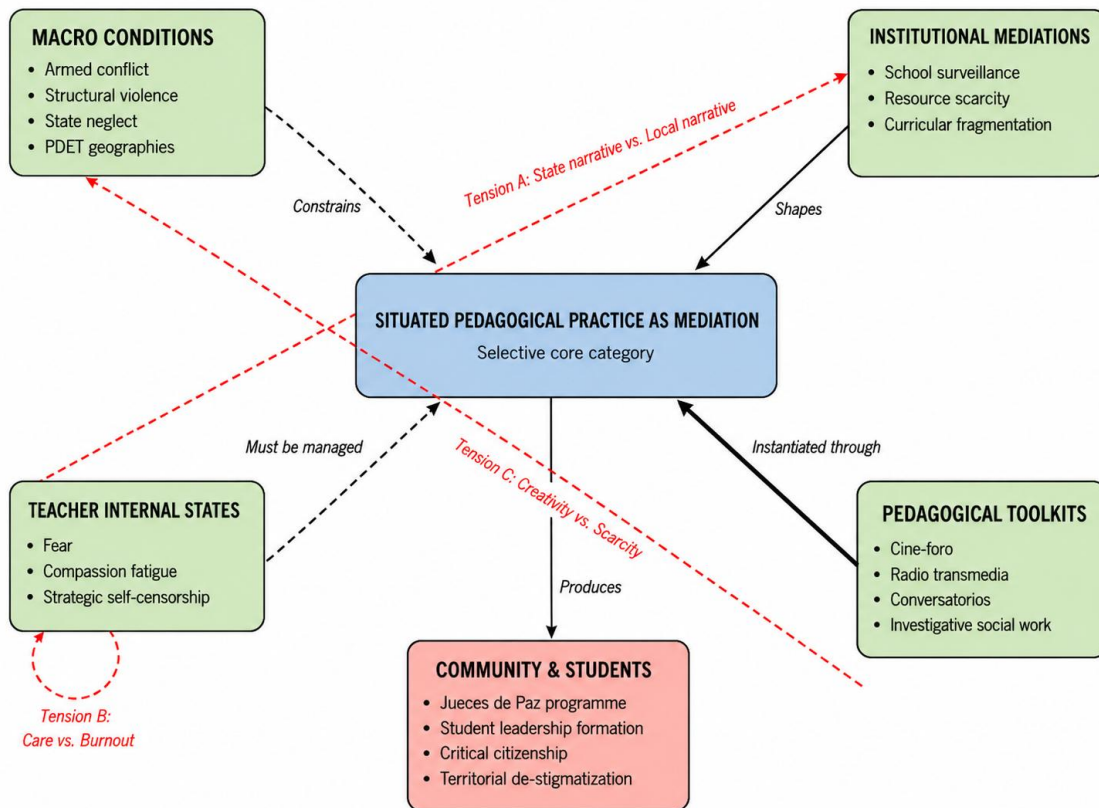


Figure 3 synthesizes the relational architecture across the six categories, showing how the four external forces documented above (macro conditions, institutional mediations, teacher internal states, and pedagogical toolkits) converge on the selective core and produce community-level outcomes.

Figure 3. Conceptual network: the relational architecture of situated pedagogical practice as mediation. Category map organized around the selective core. Solid arrows indicate constitutive or productive relations; dashed arrows indicate restrictive or shaping relations. Four peripheral clusters (macro conditions; institutional mediations; teacher internal states; pedagogical toolkits) converge on the core, which in turn produces the community and student outcomes cluster. Three tensions internal to the network are marked explicitly: state versus local peace narratives, care versus burnout, and creativity versus scarcity.

3.8. Cross-case synthesis

The six categories operate differently across the three territorial ecologies. Table 3 traces the pathway from each teacher's dominant strategy through the immediate pedagogical mechanism to the intermediate classroom outcome and the long-term community outcome, and identifies the structural barrier the pathway is required to overcome in each case. Figure 4 arranges the three cases across nine analytical dimensions to make the divergences and convergences readable at a single glance.

Table 3. Impact matrix: pedagogical strategies, immediate mechanisms, and community outcomes. For each participant, the table traces the causal-contextual pathway from the dominant pedagogical strategy documented in §3.3 to the community-level outcome documented in §3.6, and reports the structural barrier – from §3.7 – that the pathway is required to overcome.

Teacher (case)	Dominant strategy	Immediate pedagogical mechanism	Intermediate classroom outcome	Long-term community outcome	Structural barrier overcome
P1 (Casanare)	Conversatorios + commemorative events (15-Sep 1953 local peace anniversary)	Intergenerational dialogue with ex-combatants and community elders within a ritualized commemorative cycle	Historical empathy; local identity formation anchored in territorial peace memory rather than in national Havana narrative	Jueces de Paz programme staffed in part by alumni; peer mediation of municipal strikes; political agency formation	Paramilitary surveillance and residual ex-guerrilla presence constraining disclosure in the classroom

P2 (Meta)	Investigative social-work projects on forced displacement	Ethnographic documentation of the Puerto Rico–Mapiripán–Villavicencio displacement corridor; student-led inquiry into sicariato and narco-trafficking dynamics	Critical understanding of socio-economic inequality; acquisition of research skills; identification as constructores sociales	Community leader formation; graduates capable of diagnosing local needs and articulating them politically	State criminalization of critical pedagogy (accusations of adoctrinamiento); institutional surveillance by school authorities
P3 (Guaviare)	Cine-foro + radio transmedia	Comparative historical analysis of other wars and peace processes via film; radio as platform for youth voice on drug addiction, prostitution, and forced recruitment	Critical media literacy; de-stigmatization of the department; confrontation of consequences of armed conflict beyond the official peace/war binary	Youth cultural resistance; confrontation of forced recruitment and drug addiction; territorial re-signification (puerta de la esperanza)	Absolute infrastructural scarcity: permanent electricity available only since ca. 2008; no internet connectivity at time of data collection

Note. The impact chain (strategy → mechanism → classroom outcome → community outcome) is reported as documented by participants in their interview narratives and does not include third-party verification of the stated outcomes. The structural barriers reported in the final column correspond to category T6 (Structural Betrayal and Scarcity) as described in Section 3.7. Municipality names are withheld per the anonymization protocol described in Section 2.9.

Analytical dimension	P1 (Casanare)	P2 (Meta)	P3 (Guaviare)
Dominant armed actor	Paramilitary groups; ex-guerrilleros	Urban displacement dynamics; FARC dissidences; sicariato	FARC dissidences; illicit crop economies; forced recruitment
Institutional culture	Passive surveillance; commemorative emphasis	Active political surveillance (adoctrinamiento actions)	Resource starvation; emerging connectivity
Primary pedagogical strategy	Conversatorios + 15-Sep ritual commemoration	Investigative social work (displacement documentation)	Cine-foro + radio (transmedia without internet)
Emotional register	Anxious avoidance; relational caution	Defensive defiance; constructor social identification	Hope reframing (puerta de la esperanza); critical pragmatism
Memory anchor	Local commemorative (1953 peace)	Displacement and its social consequences	Comparative peace/war narratives
Community impact	Peace judges; local mediators	Student-leader formation	Youth cultural resistance; de-stigmatization
Structural barrier	Paramilitary reprisal risk	State criminalization	Absolute infrastructural isolation
Agency expression	Building institutional alternatives (Jueces de Paz)	Building community leaders through research	Building critical citizens through cultural comparison
Peacebuilding contribution	Local reconciliation via peer mediation	Formation of socio-politically conscious professionals	Cultural resistance and territorial re-signification

Figure 4. Cross-case comparative matrix across nine analytical dimensions. Visual synthesis positioning P1 (Casanare), P2 (Meta), and P3 (Guaviare) across the nine dimensions that emerged as analytically productive during axial coding. The matrix reads convergences and divergences simultaneously: dimensions in which the three cases converge (pedagogical fear; presence of situated strategies; territorial identity as counter-criterion) and dimensions in which they diverge (source of surveillance; institutional form of community impact; type of structural barrier).

Reading Table 3 alongside Figure 4 makes visible three patterns to be developed in Section 4. First, all

three cases share the four-part sequence – fear, situated strategy, territorial counter-narrative, community output – while differing in the substance of each term. Second, the source of the constraint shifts across territories (armed surveillance in Casanare, institutional surveillance in Meta, infrastructural isolation in Guaviare), and the pedagogical form correspondingly shifts (commemorative dialogic in Casanare, investigative documentation in Meta, transmedia comparative analysis in Guaviare). Third, category T5 diverges from the other five in that its instantiation is 2/3 rather than 3/3 – an asymmetry that is reported here and returned to in the Discussion.

4. Discussion

4.1. Overture: what the six categories are together

The six categories reported in Section 3 organize around a single theoretical claim: in the PDET geographies of Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare, memory pedagogy is not a curricular activity that happens to be performed under adverse conditions; it is a pedagogical form generated by those conditions. Teachers do not deliver a script authored elsewhere. They compose the classroom against, and inside, the material and political absence of the state. The remainder of the Discussion reads each of the six categories against the 2024–2026 literature, acknowledges the limitations that qualify each reading in the paragraph where the finding sits, and consolidates the theoretical contribution – infrastructural pedagogy – in §4.7.

4.2. Fear as an agentic strategy of care, not a paralysis

The uniform reporting of pedagogical fear (T1, 3/3) initially reads as confirmation of what (Gulumyan, 2026) documents for Armenian history teachers facing the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, (Whitehouse & Jones, 2024) describe as 'survival professionalism' among English teachers of contested pasts, and (Latupapua et al., 2026) identify in post-conflict Maluku. A closer reading diverges. In our three cases fear does not shrink the pedagogical repertoire; it calibrates the repertoire's disclosure. P1 does not abandon commemorative work in a paramilitary-shadowed municipality – he ritualizes it around the 1953 local peace event, which the surrounding armed actors cannot easily contest. P2 does not withdraw from displacement content – she reframes it as student-authored ethnography and dares the school hierarchy to prosecute the reframing. P3 does not evade the stigma attached to Guaviare – he inverts it through the 'puerta de la esperanza' vocabulary. The reframing aligns most closely with (Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024), who argue that pedagogical-political discourses in PDET zones constitute a relational power dynamic in which silence is not submission but a strategy of care calibrated to protect students who are themselves witnesses or family members of combatants.

The reading has a genuine boundary. A single virtual interview cannot verify the practices participants describe; teachers may reasonably present a more coherent, more agentic account than daily classroom conduct sustains. The construct-validity gap noted in Section 2.10 applies here directly. What the data license is a claim about how these teachers narrate their fear-management practices, not a claim about what unfolds when the recorder is off. A longitudinal design with classroom observation would be required to close that gap, and (Distefano & Yang, 2024) provide the multi-source methodology for doing so. The narrative pattern itself, however, is not weakened by this limitation: three teachers in three contrasting ecologies converge on the same reframing move, and the convergence is what the Saliency target of the 3S Continuum (Chepp et al., 2025) was designed to identify.

4.3. Cine-foro, radio, and conversatorios as infrastructural pedagogy

The three situated strategies documented in T2 read, in the first pass, as an instance of the transversal, active-learning approach the recent literature endorses (Corredor et al., 2026; Kester & Misiaszek, 2024; Gunzelmann et al., 2024). Cine-foro converts a lesson into comparative historical analysis; radio opens youth voice on themes the official peace discourse tends to displace; conversatorios anchor content in intergenerational dialogue rather than in textbook chronology. These are the practices (Amador-Baquirol, 2022) operationalized as research-creation, and the transmedia repertoire (González-Vázquez et al., 2021) identifies as increasingly common in Latin-American memory pedagogy.

A second reading, forced by category T6, reframes this convergence. P3's adoption of cine-foro and radio is not primarily a pedagogical preference. It is the pedagogical form that survives when the state has supplied permanent electricity only since roughly 2008 and no internet at the time of data collection. P1's ritual commemoration substitutes for civic infrastructure that the municipality does not otherwise sustain. P2's investigative social-work projects operate in the absence of the psychosocial and legal services that

displaced students would, in a functioning state, encounter through non-school channels. The three practices are not additions to a curricular baseline; they compensate for what the baseline should have supplied and does not. This reading aligns with (Lara-Salcedo et al., 2024) on the inadequate budgetary and territorial support reported by rural Colombian school directors, and with (Cabra-Torres et al., 2025) on the aspirational rather than actual character of restorative infrastructure in Colombian rural schools. It aligns most sharply with (Dugasan et al., 2026), who describe Philippine teachers in state-absent zones as *de facto* state, assuming functions that formal institutions have vacated.

The theoretical stake follows. If *cine-foro* is a compensatory rather than a supplementary practice, the recent literature's endorsement of active-learning methods for memory pedagogy needs qualification. The methods are effective, but their effectiveness in these territories is partly a function of the infrastructural vacuum they occupy. Transferring the methods to well-resourced settings, or evaluating them without their compensatory function in view, would misread what they do here. Two data-source limitations qualify the claim. The impact chain reported in Table 3 rests on participant self-report and was not verified through third-party observation of the community outcomes described. And the frequency 3/3 for T2 does not license generalization to teachers working with a different formation, in non-PDET municipalities, or under different armed configurations – the boundary condition stated in Section 2.6 applies.

4.4. The care/burnout dialectic reframed: metabolization, not resolution

T3 documents a pattern that the trauma-informed pedagogy literature treats as a live paradox. (Brunzell et al., 2022), (Oberg et al., 2023), (Ormiston et al., 2022), and (Paradies, 2024) establish that teachers working with traumatized students bear a documented emotional cost – secondary traumatic stress, compassion fatigue – while simultaneously reporting that the same work is a source of professional meaning. (Brunzell et al., 2022) frames this as trauma-informed positive education; (González-Ballesteros et al., 2026), reporting from Tumaco, extends the framing into a *Connmigo, Contigo, Con Todo* model that ties well-being to collective and community layers rather than to individual coping.

Our three participants report both sides of the paradox, and the resolution they narrate is neither individual coping nor institutional support. P2's identification with '*constructores sociales*' is a civic reframing that converts the load into a role. P3's '*puerta de la esperanza*' is a territorial reframing that converts the load into a place. P1's commemorative rhythm is a temporal reframing that converts the load into a cycle. None of the three moves relies on the institutional supports that (González-Ballesteros et al., 2026) identify as pre-conditions in the Tumaco intervention. The load is metabolized rather than resolved – a reframing that expands the trauma-informed model beyond the individual-vulnerability frame that (Quarmby et al., 2024) criticize as a privatization of collective harm.

The claim is bounded. Metabolization is not equivalent to sustainability; a reframing that works across a single school year may not carry across a career, and the study captured one moment in each teacher's trajectory. Longitudinal follow-up is required to establish whether the reframing devices continue to operate as the teachers move through the professional life-course, and this is stated as an explicit direction in §4.9. The residual social-desirability risk described in Section 2.8 also applies: teachers interviewed by former instructors may report reframing devices more affirmatively than they experience them. The convergence of three distinct reframing devices across three ecologies remains, however, the kind of finding the Saliency target of the design was intended to identify.

4.5. Counter-memory and the disjuncture of official peace

T4 places the three cases directly inside the recent critical peace-pedagogy conversation. The state-issued memory of the conflict, canonized in the Cátedra de la Paz and organized around the 2016 Havana signing, functions as a homogenizing narrative that (Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024) and (Kester & Misiaszek, 2024) identify as a source of friction with the fragmented, locally-anchored memories communities carry. Our data documents that friction not as a theoretical possibility but as an operating condition. P1's 1953 local peace event is not a supplementary reference; it is the criterion against which the Havana narrative is judged in his classroom. P3's '*no podemos hablar de paz mientras no se solucionen las necesidades básicas*' echoes precisely the Galtungian distinction between negative peace (the end of armed confrontation) and positive peace (structural material wellbeing) that (Guerrero et al., 2024) operationalize through their decolonial framework for rural Colombian children.

Our data extends the framework in one direction. In (Guerrero et al., 2024) the counter-narrative is co-

created between children, teachers, parents, and community leaders over five months of ethnographic engagement. In our three cases the teacher is the primary vector — the one who has to hold the counter-memory in the classroom against the institutional discourse that surrounds it. This is the operational meaning of what (Kester, 2021) describes as pedagogy inside physical and epistemic violence: not that teachers evade the violence, but that they carry the counter-narrative through the classroom despite it. The finding does not license a generalization about all Colombian teachers, and the ethnographic depth of (Guerrero et al., 2024) is not matched by our single-contact design. What our design does offer is a comparative reading across three departments — a reading the ethnographic method structurally cannot supply.

4.6. Community effects and the T5 asymmetry

T5 was the only category with 2/3 rather than 3/3 instantiation, and the asymmetry is analytically productive rather than incidental. P1 and P2 report community-level effects tied to identifiable civic mechanisms: the Jueces de Paz programme in Casanare, community-leader formation in Meta. P3 reports community-level effects at the level of cultural repertoire and territorial re-signification, but does not report an equivalent formalized mechanism. Two readings compete for the divergence.

The first reading, which the (Mollès & Parada-Ulloa, 2025) framework supports, treats P3's absence of formal mechanism as itself a form of civic effect — cultural resistance in (Latupapua et al., 2026) terms operates through de-stigmatization and youth voice rather than through peer-mediation programmes. On this reading the divergence is one of civic form, not of civic strength. The second reading treats P3's absence of formal mechanism as a real limit — the infrastructural scarcity that made cine-foro necessary may also constrain the elaboration of the civic outputs that P1 and P2 could build. On this reading Guaviare is not less impactful; it is impactful at the level of the pedagogical process, while the community output stage is still emerging.

The data do not resolve between the two readings, and the honest report is that our three-case design cannot resolve them. Both readings are compatible with the transcripts, and a larger study — either longitudinal in Guaviare or comparative with other frontier departments — would be needed to adjudicate. The asymmetry is reported here because concealing it would have produced a smoother but empirically inaccurate picture. This aligns with the negative-case discipline described in Section 2.7 and the transparency requirement (Chepp et al., 2025) identify as essential to Saliency-level reporting.

4.7. Infrastructural pedagogy: what the six categories together propose

The consolidated theoretical claim reads across the six categories rather than through any one of them. In territories where the state supplies neither the material infrastructure of ordinary schooling nor the civic infrastructure of ordinary post-agreement peacebuilding, the pedagogical practice of the classroom absorbs both functions. Cine-foro is not a method; it is a substitute for the connectivity the ministry did not extend. The commemorative cycle is not an activity; it is a substitute for the civic calendar the municipality does not carry. Investigative social work is not a research project; it is a substitute for the documentation apparatus the state should have supplied to displaced families. The pedagogical form that emerges under these conditions has three distinguishing properties: it is infrastructural (it compensates for absent material and institutional supports), it is political-broker in character (the teacher mediates between official narratives and local counter-memories, between institutional surveillance and community demand), and it is generative of the local public sphere (Jueces de Paz, community leader formation, territorial re-signification are civic outputs of the classroom itself).

The recent literature approaches this configuration from adjacent angles without naming it. (Amador-Baquiro, 2022) documents multimodal creativity in low-connectivity rural schools without theorizing it as compensation. (Dugasan et al., 2026) identifies the teacher-as-state substitute in the Philippines without theorizing the pedagogical form the substitution takes. (Kester & Misiaszek, 2024) specify what critical peace pedagogy should disrupt without specifying what its infrastructural conditions of possibility are. Infrastructural pedagogy names the point at which these adjacencies converge: a pedagogical form generated by state absence, sustained through situated methods, and productive of civic outputs that in a differently-resourced setting would be assumed rather than produced. The claim is theoretical, not universal — it identifies a form that appears clearly in these three ecologies and would need to be tested in comparable territories elsewhere. It is offered as a framework for further inquiry rather than as a settled category.

4.8. Consolidated limitations

The substantive limitations were distributed alongside the findings they qualify. Three warrant a consolidated statement here. First, a three-case corpus supports Summation and Saliency but not theoretical saturation (Chepp et al., 2025; Squire et al., 2024). Extension across additional PDET departments – the Pacific coast, the Catatumbo, the southern Amazonian frontier – is the direct next step and would test the boundary of the infrastructural-pedagogy framework proposed in §4.7. Second, a single virtual interview per participant captures reported rather than enacted practice. A follow-on multi-source design of the kind (Distefano & Yang, 2024) describe – interviews, classroom observation, documentary triangulation, and student-narrative collection – is required to convert the reported pattern into an observed pattern. Third, the alumni relationship between researchers and participants, reflexively addressed in Section 2.8, exerts a residual social-desirability effect that no design device fully neutralizes. Independent replication with participants who share no formation background with the research team would strengthen the external validity of the claims. None of these limitations undermines the central theoretical contribution; each specifies the boundary within which the contribution operates.

4.9. Implications for research and policy

For research, the framework of infrastructural pedagogy invites a research programme that couples memory-pedagogy analysis with an explicit accounting of the material infrastructures that pedagogy is compensating for. A classroom without connectivity, without institutional counseling services, without a functional civic calendar is not the same classroom as one with these supports, and analytic frameworks that treat pedagogy in isolation from its infrastructural conditions will read the same practices differently. Comparative work across PDET departments – beyond the three reported here – and across other post-conflict geographies would allow the framework to be tested and refined (Gulumyan, 2026; Latupapua et al., 2026; Dugasan et al., 2026).

For policy, three implications follow from the empirical record without requiring further inference. Trauma-informed support for teachers in PDET zones cannot be designed as a personal-resilience intervention without reproducing the very frame (Quarmby et al., 2024) and (Leal-Leal & Cataldo-González, 2024) identify as pathological: the privatization of collective harm as individual self-care. Curricular frameworks that treat the Havana narrative as the single legitimate memory of the conflict will continue to operate at cross-purposes with the local counter-memories that sustain teacher legitimacy in the territories. And infrastructural interventions – connectivity, commemorative infrastructure, displacement-documentation apparatus – are educational interventions in these territories, whether the ministry names them as such or not. Recognizing this equivalence in policy design would allow the infrastructural burden currently absorbed by individual teachers to be redistributed to the institutions that owe it.

5. Conclusion

Three Social Sciences teachers in Casanare, Meta, and Guaviare reconstruct the historical memory of the Colombian armed conflict through pedagogical practices that are not additions to a curriculum but responses to the material and political absence of the state. Fear operates as an agentic strategy of care rather than as a paralysis; cine-foro, radio, and conversatorios compensate for infrastructural voids the state has not filled; the emotional load of memory work is metabolized through civic, territorial, and commemorative reframings rather than through individual coping; the state-issued peace narrative is measured against locally-anchored counter-memories the teachers hold; and the classroom itself produces the civic outputs – peace-judge programmes, community-leader formation, territorial re-signification – that in a differently-resourced setting would be supplied by institutions outside the school. Read together, the six categories propose infrastructural pedagogy as the pedagogical form these conditions generate: a form that is infrastructural in what it compensates for, political-broker in what it mediates, and generative of the local public sphere in what it produces. The framework advances trauma-informed peace pedagogy beyond the individualized burnout frame and situates the teacher not as the recipient of a curricular directive but as the agent through whom, in these territories, memory and peace become practicable at all.

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