

Palacký University Olomouc
University of Clermont Auvergne
University of Pavia

MASTER THESIS

The Role of Land in the Colombian Peacebuilding
Process After the Peace Agreement with FARC-EP
in 2016. Perspectives from Putumayo's Rural
Communities.

Lisa Cani

Supervisor: Lenka Dušková

Co-supervisor: Andrés Macías Tolosa

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 _____

Podklad pro zadání DIPLOMOVÉ práce studenta

Jméno a příjmení:	Lisa CANI
Osobní číslo:	R220476
Adresa:	Via Antonio Meucci 8, Modena, 41124 Modena, Italská republika
Téma práce:	The Role of Land in the Colombian Peacebuilding Process After the Peace Agreement with FARC-EP in 2016. Perspectives of Ex-Combatant and Conflict-Affected Communities.
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Jazyk práce:	Angličtina
Vedoucí práce:	Mgr. Lenka Dušková, PhD. Katedra rozvojových a environmentálních studií

Zásady pro vypracování:

For six decades, Colombia has been both shocked and shaped by armed conflicts that have inflicted harm upon millions of people. In 2016 the government successfully signed a peace treaty with the FARC guerrilla group, leading to the demobilization of the main armed groups but also to the need for structural reforms. The agreement aims to address some of the root causes of the conflict, including unequal or lack of access to land, social and political exclusion, and low levels of economic development in peripheral areas.

From the literature, land emerges as an essential element in both past and present of Colombia, and it has the potential for being a driver of an enduring peace for the country. Nevertheless, Peace is builded by the people and the communities that are living in this land, therefore, it is essential to understand their perspectives and their needs in order to better understand the whole process and support the peacebuilding.

In particular, this thesis aims at answering to 3 sub-questions:

1. At which state of implementation the rural reforms promised by the peace treaty are? Meaning: who benefited from it, in which way, to which extent.
2. How do ex-combatants benefiting from land reforms, sustainable agricultural projects or other "reintegration in civil life" projects perceive the current and future situation in Colombia? (In terms of security, stability, integration in the society and level of conflict)
3. What impact did the rural reforms have on the conflict-affected communities living on the land interested by the reforms? (Reparation process, level of integration or conflict with the ex-combatant, perceived relevance in the decision process on the use of land...)

Seznam doporučené literatury:

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Abstract

For six decades, Colombia has been shaped by armed conflicts, inflicting harm upon millions of people. The 2016 peace agreement between the government and FARC-EP established a framework for reforms targeting conflict root causes, with land use and access as key components. These reforms are critical for rural areas, especially in regions like Putumayo, known for its geographical and ecological significance and history of state neglect. This neglect has led to high levels of informality and illegality, yet the post-agreement period has spurred local initiatives and opportunities.

This study employs qualitative research to explore Putumayo rural communities' perspectives on land use and access in peacebuilding. It enhances understanding by linking local knowledge with global insights, contributing to both academic and practical peacebuilding discourses.

I find that environmental peacebuilding holds a huge potential, in Putumayo context, local communities act as key catalysts, of land-use and land-access reforms, but a coordinated, inclusive efforts from multiple actors is also needed. Finally, I discuss environmental peacebuilding is crucial, linking territory engagement with education, solidarity, and economic development, enhancing actors' agency and legitimacy.

Keywords:

Putumayo, Peace-agreement, Peacebuilding, land, Communities, Territory

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ART	From Spanish ‘Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio’. Agency for Territory Renovation
ANT	From Spanish ‘Agencia Nacional de Tierra’ National Agency for Land
EP	Environmental Peacebuilding
ETCR	From Spanish ‘Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación’. Territorial Spaces for Training and Reincorporation
FARC-EP:	From the Spanish ‘Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia - Ejército del Pueblo’. Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People’s Army
FPA	Final Peace Agreement
NAR	From the Spanish ‘Nueva Area de Reincorporación’. New Reincorporation Areas
NRM	Natural Resources Management
PATR	from Spanish ‘Planes de Acción para la Transformación Regional’. Regional Transformation Action Plan
PDET	From Spanish ‘Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial’. Development Programs with a Territorial-based Focus
PMI	From Spanish ‘Plan Marco de Implementación Framework Implementation Plan
PNIS	From Spanish ‘Programa Nacional Integral de Sustitución de Cultivos Ilícitos’. Integrated National Program for the Substitution of Illicitly Used Crops.
RRI	From the Spanish ‘Reforma Rural Integral’. Comprehensive Rural Reform
ZVTN	From Spanish ‘Zonas Veredales Transitorias de Normalizacion’. Transitional Local Zones for Normalisation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Conflict is an intrinsic aspect of human societies, shaping interactions among individuals and communities. Throughout history, the way actors engage with each other and their environment, their perceived ability to meet needs and interests, and their capacity to transform conflicting positions into opportunities for dialogue and mutual understanding have determined whether conflicts escalate into violence or are resolved peacefully. The literature in peacebuilding illustrates how intricate and multifaceted this process is, having both local and international causes and implications (Bruch et al., 2016; Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019; Lederach, 1997; Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006). Additionally, the role of nature in shaping human societies has been increasingly recognized in social science, underscoring the importance of considering environmental factors in peacebuilding efforts.

These elements motivated the present study, which aims at understanding *what role land use and land access have in peacebuilding projects from the point of view of conflict affected communities and ex-combatants, in the Putumayo subregion of Colombia*. While doing so, this study enhances the understanding of peacebuilding by connecting local, practical knowledge with global, theoretical insights, thus contributing to both academic and practical discourses on peacebuilding.

To explore this theme, 3 sub-research question are defined:

1. At which state of implementation the rural reforms promised by the peace treaty are?
2. What impact did the rural reforms have on rural communities in Putumayo? (Which tools and mechanisms does the rural reform provide and which action the communities are undertaking as an answer to it)
3. How do rural communities in Putumayo, benefitting from land reforms, sustainable agricultural projects or “reincorporation in civil life” projects perceive the current and future situation? (In terms of security, stability, opportunities, level of integration in the society and level of conflict)

While the motivation behind the country identification is that Colombia is an exemplary case of the role that environment and natural resources can have both in sustaining conflict and as a potential tool for peacebuilding (Amaya Arias, 2022). De facto, the peace agreement signed in 2016 between the Government and the FARC-EP, has a significant value on the theoretical plan, establishing a comprehensive framework for reforms and programs, addressing the root causes of conflict and building sustainable peace, with land use and access as key components. Furthermore, it outlines a post-agreement framework in which both parties recognize that violence is an inappropriate tool for resolving disputes and commit to implementing peaceful conflict resolution mechanisms. Because Colombia is a megadiverse country with a variety of territorial, political, and socio-economic characteristics, it is necessary to even define even more sharply the territory of interest. Putumayo department represent an interesting case study as it is a rural department where land and natural resources play a significant role in the livelihoods of its inhabitants. Furthermore, the presence of the Amazon rainforest and an advancing agricultural frontier create a unique blend of geographical and ecological importance, coupled with a history of state neglect. In the post-agreement framework, Putumayo presents an interesting concoction of actors and interests, as

illegal armed groups, illicit economies, and deforestation dynamics evolves in parallels with the rising of projects and initiatives originating from local actors and communities, NGOs, State agencies and international actors.

The first chapter describes the general context. Starting with the Colombian territory characterization and then focusing on Putumayo department. An overview is given of the main causes of enduring inequalities and conflicting interests, which eventually lead to violent explosion of the conflict.

The second chapter defines the theoretical and conceptual framework. It outlines the research's approach to the concepts of peace and peacebuilding, and establishes an analytical framework based on the existing literature.

The methodology chapter illustrates the concepts, practices and techniques guiding the research. It details the strategies implemented for data collection and analysis, discusses the limitations of the analysis and its context validity, and addresses ethical concerns.

The results and discussion chapter presents the findings and connects them with the literature. First, it studies the connections between the peace agreement and the existing literature on environmental peacebuilding, and afterwards, the peace agreement implementation status is critically analyzed under this framework. The second section of this chapter is dedicated to the emerging mechanisms activated by local communities in Putumayo. Finally, in the last section needs, envisions, and challenges emerging are illustrated.

The conclusive chapter provides an overall analysis of the findings to answering to the research question and sub-questions driving this study.

Finally, in the Appendices, the reader can find additional characterizations, definition, and documents which can help to better understand the framework, the context, and the analysis.

2. CONTEXT

2.1 The Colombian Territory

Colombia is the 5th largest country of South America (OECD, 2022) Over 40% of Colombian land is now used for agriculture, with agricultural land expanding from 10 million to 44 million hectares in the first 70 years of the 20th century. This growth was mainly due to increased grazing land, which now covers about 40 million hectares, while cropland occupies only 4 million hectares (Our World in Data, 2023). Of the total tree-cover loss due to agricultural expansion, 52% occurred in five departments: Caquetá, Meta, Antioquia, Guaviare, and Putumayo, four of which are in the Amazon region (Global Forest Watch, 2023). Currently, 53% of the national territory is forested (WWF Colombia, n.d.).

In the last two decades, the Colombian economy has nearly doubled, with rural areas growing faster, but the rural-urban gap remained high, as of 2018 being the highest among OECD countries (OECD, 2022). In 2022, the most remote departments had a GDP per capita just 20% of Bogotá's (DANE, 2023). This gap extends to education, opportunities, security, informality, and multidimensional poverty. Contributing factors include historical structural barriers such as inadequate infrastructure (e.g., aqueducts, roads, broadband), high labor informality, concentrated land tenure, small farm sizes (<4 ha) leading to low productivity, lack of official land and road information, poor basic services (e.g., education, health, water, electricity), and low levels of rule of law and trust in institutions (Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 2017; OECD, 2022).

Nevertheless, rural regions have many potentials which are not expressed at their full potential yet: ethnic diversity, which brings diverse perspectives, know-how and traditional knowledge; 15% of planet's biodiversity; natural resources wealth, both in terms of minerals and agricultural products; cultural and eco-tourism potential; and renewable and bio-energy opportunities (OECD, 2022).



Map 1 Colombian territory geography. Source (DANE, n.d.)

2.2 Putumayo

Putumayo is a department in the southern part of Colombia, bordered by Peru and Ecuador. It is divided in three geographical areas: high Putumayo, characterized by Andes Mountain range, low Putumayo, characterized by the Amazon Forest, and middle Putumayo which is the transition area between the high mountain and the flat Amazon land (Duarte et al., 2015). It covers a total area of 2.597.702 hectares, with over half of the department covered by forests, which is a hint of Putumayo's forestry vocation. However, Although, this data is in a steady decline (Sistema de Información Ambiental Territorial & de la Amazonia colombiana - SIAT-AC, 2024) reflecting the encroachment of the agrarian frontier driven largely by illegal crops and extensive grazing. Nonetheless, 19% of the territory is protected, and 24% is considered a "Special Environmental Relevance Area".

Putumayo's colonization is relatively recent. Until the early 20th century, most Colombians perceived the region as a savage and impenetrable jungle, leaving it almost untouched by Western society. But in the 20th century the state started to prompt measures to encourage colonization and integrate the department into the global market through extractive activities. Initially focusing on quinine, rubber, and wood, and later on oil and coca, Putumayo became a national and international supplier of raw materials, attracting migrants seeking job opportunities and land (Duarte et al., 2015; La Via Campesina, 2016). This influx led

to the multicultural and multiethnic character of modern-day Putumayo, but it also fostered an economic model marked by high multidimensional poverty rates (46.4% in 2018) and limited access to infrastructure and basic services (ART & Presidencia de la Republica, 2018; La Via Campesina, 2016).

The petroleum industry has significantly shaped Putumayo's configuration. From 1960 to 1970, extractive activities initiated, opening roads that made "new" lands accessible, and attracting people, which spurred the creation of new settlements characterized by informal work and a fleeting economic boom. Additionally, the construction of roads and settlements drew displaced farmers from the nearby department of Nariño, seeking new opportunities and larger land tenures, hoping to integrate into the national and international markets (CNMH, 2015).

In the early 80s, the petroleum industry faced a prolonged crisis coinciding with the rise of coca industry. Dispossessed subsistence farmers and informal workers, lacking guarantees and access to basic services, became part of the drug trafficking production chain that was expanding in the country (CNMH, 2015; Duarte et al., 2015; Fundacion Ideas para la Paz, 2018).

This led to the militarization of the area by various illegal armed groups. Initially, the Medellín Cartel's private army controlled the area, until their expulsion by the FARC-EP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army). The FARC-EP controlled the area and benefited from the coca business for a decade until the paramilitary forces, drawn by the lucrative coca trade, took over, bringing violence and death (CNMH, 2015; Duarte et al., 2015; Fundacion Ideas para la Paz, 2018; La Via Campesina, 2016).

Nowadays, hydrocarbon extraction drives economic activity in Putumayo, while also fueling social conflict and environmental degradation. Additionally, the complex dynamics of land use, ownership, and occupation contribute to tensions within the region, exacerbated by limited land access, conflicting interests among stakeholders, and insufficient infrastructure and state institutions (ART & Presidencia de la Republica, 2018; Díaz Díaz & López Bayona, 2021; La Via Campesina, 2016; Rentería, 2022).

The illegal coca business persists, fueling conflict and violence, and hindering sustainable development and the region's potential. Putumayo is a major coca producer with the highest expansion rate of this crop between 2021 and 2022, accounting for 77% of the national increase in coca plantations (UNODC, 2023).

2.3 Colombian Conflict: from the roots to the peace agreement

The Colombian conflict is a complex phenomenon characterized by an enduring and multifaceted violence employed by diverse societal, political, economic, and institutional actors to resolve disputes spanning from ideological conflicts to everyday grievances. Throughout history, this violence has left a profound impact, shaping the nation's political culture and societal fabric. To understand the origin of the most recent conflict it is necessary to look back at historically unresolved agrarian, cultural, ethnic, political, and institutional conflicts.

At the beginning of the 20th century, when Colombian governments started to implement policies for entering the global market and promoting "modernization", agricultural "enclaves" started to establish in the territory, characterized by huge inequality and segregation. Additionally, the colonial heritage of

extensive farms, cultivated by small farmers or workers with no land tenancy rights, was perpetuating systematic inequalities and informality (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022; Estrada Alvarez, 2015; Tobón Yagarí, 2016). As capitalistic economy was growing, so did the population, starting to generate pressure on the territory and on the government, looking for land or for better working conditions.

In the mid-20th century, the de-facto political exclusion of any minoritarian party, the US influence in a cold-war international asset, and the army modernization, started to create a climate of increasing violently repression of any insurgency and manifestation. The idea that violence was the only way to be heard started to grow in some groups and guerrillas groups started to consolidate (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022; Díaz Díaz & López Bayona, 2021; Ramirez Sarmiento, 2022).

Various guerrilla movements emerged advocating for political and agrarian reforms that would benefit landless farmers, precarious workers, and most of the rural population which was being increasingly excluded and marginalized (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022; Comision Internacional FARC-EP, 2005; Villamizar, 2017). This coupled with state repression and the strengthening of paramilitary groups aligned with the US' cold war policy and supported by the government. In addition, to the already problematic situation, drug-trafficking started to arise, and cocaine became the major funder of the conflict, as much as a cause of violent clashes between guerrillas, paramilitaries, and other illegal armed groups, for the control of it (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022; Ugalde Zubiri & Perea Ozerin, 2022; Vargas-Reina, 2010).

The 90s and the 2000 were signed by failed peace attempts and an increasing militarization of the territories, leading to several human-rights violations and justice manipulation from the State. Meanwhile, national and international actors started to increasingly express their dissent (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022; González Muñoz, 2015; Ugalde Zubiri & Perea Ozerin, 2022).

All these years of violence have been marked by land dispossession, which went in favor of illegal armed groups, politicians, banks, and transnational fruit companies, while creating deaths and forced displacement among millions of farmers (Comision de la Verdad, 2021; Estrada Alvarez, 2015; Ramirez Sarmiento, 2022). In 2012 the president met with 20.000 farmers and, acknowledging the State's role in the conflict, formulated the "victims and land restitution law". Santos went further, and in September 2012 the negotiation between the state and the FARC-EP started in La Habana, Cuba (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022)

Finally, with the signatures of the Colombian government and the FARC-EP, on November 12th, 2016 the Final Peace Agreement (FPA) became official. The parts agreed on a series of 6 points, which jointly create the FPA: Towards A New Colombian Countryside: The Comprehensive Rural Reform; Political Participation: Democratic opening for building peace; End of the Conflict; Solving the Illegal Drugs Issue; Agreement on the Conflict's Victims; On implementation, verification and public endorsement (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is to set the theoretical framework within which the discussion of the thesis will be developed.

3.1 Peace and Environmental Peacebuilding

This thesis aligns with the “Conflict Transformation School” described by (Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006) and assumes Lederach (1997) definition of peacebuilding: *“a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships [...] We are not merely interested in ‘ending’ something that is not desired. We are oriented towards building relationships that, in their totality, form new patterns, processes, and structures”*.

In parallel this thesis adopts the concept of “positive peace” as not only the absence of violence is important here but also the creation of an environment in which people and societies are allowed to flourish (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019).

- **Environmental Peacebuilding**

Since the aim of this research is to understand the role of land use and land access in the peacebuilding process, the analysis will be framed by the environmental peacebuilding (EP) theory. According to Amaya Arias (2022), the intersection of natural resources, environment, and peacebuilding facilitates the reintegration process and the building of trust, supports the development of resilient and sustainable livelihood, and may enhance good governance practices and transparency. Citing Dresse et al. (2019), “Environmental peacebuilding (is) the process through which environmental challenges shared by the (former) parties to a violent conflict are turned into opportunities to build lasting cooperation and peace.” Colombia appears as an exemplary case of the role that environment and natural resources can have both in sustaining conflict and as a potential tool for peacebuilding (Amaya Arias, 2022).

Four dimension of peace are identified in this analysis’ theoretical framework: “Absence Of Violent Conflict”; “Symbolic rapprochement”, which means establishing trust and positive narratives towards the other group, and forming a collective identity; “Substantial Integration”; and “Capabilities”, which pertains to the freedoms and the opportunities that individuals have to maintain their livelihoods, engage in social and political activities, and adapt to climate change (Ide, 2019; Johnson et al., 2021).

Recognizing the existence of various mechanisms which influence these dimensions, this study focuses on Natural Resources Management (NRM) as strategic tool for building peace. In its work, Ide (2021) surveys the existent literature on peacebuilding and environment and identifies four main mechanisms through which NRM can contribute to peacebuilding: Avoiding Resources Conflicts, Building Understanding and Trust, Increasing Interdependence, and Establishing Institutions. They are below analyzed and expanded using further literature.

- **Avoiding Resources Conflicts:**

NRM can ease frictions and reduce the likelihood of further conflicts (Ide, 2021). Involving historically marginalized groups in the design and implementation of NRM strategies provides more expertise and knowledge, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of available options and populations' needs. Moreover, effective and equitable NRM practices can offer significant livelihood opportunities to citizens, stimulate the economy and contribute to both peacebuilding and state-building (Bruch et al., 2016). Additionally, Bruch et al. (2016) show that, in a contexts of natural resources abundance, whether peace endures or collapses depends a lot on the government's ability to: restore government legitimacy, decentralize the power, extend spatial authority, have a long-term vision and jointly provide short-term solutions, manage power sharing, attract responsible investments, define and formalize properties and rights, equitably distribute revenues, promote economic diversification, and engage in public consultations and communication.

Finally, in conditions of safety and stability, nature-based tourism potential grows. In this case, local communities gain both from the direct management of environment and from all the economic activities that develop from an increased tourists' flow, creating a solid economic alternative, it is the case, for example, of Rwanda's gorilla that in the post-conflict period create a tourism project profitable enough to cover the operation costs of three national parks (Maekawa et al., 2013)

- **Building Understanding and Trust**

Accountability and Transparency in NRM and revenue management are two essential elements for strengthening post-war economies and allowing peace to endure. In this sense, environmental issues discussion platforms both make NRM information more accessible to the population empowering people, and provide an opportunity for confrontation and exchange for opposite parties. Shared interests can then be utilized to enhance dialogue or to start cooperation, which in turn helps strengthen trust and mutual understanding (UNEP, 2009).

- **Increasing Interdependence**

Environmental cooperation, civil society networks, and economic activities have the potential to create interdependence and situations in which an armed conflict would damage both parties, therefore the probability of a violent escalation of the conflict is reduced (Ide, 2021)

- **Establishing Institutions**

Formal or informal institutions are established when communities engage in environmental cooperation or collective and participatory NRM. These institutions can in turn serve as communication channels, encouraging conflict resolution, and knowledge and technology exchange which might contribute to closing existing gaps and increasing economic revenues (Dresse et al., 2019). Well-designed institutions also affect all the other mechanisms by regulating resources' governance, providing spaces for trust building, and consolidating interdependence (Ide, 2021)

Figure 1 illustrate a schematic summary of the identified framework. This will be used in the following sections to analyze the role of land and NRM in the post-agreement era.

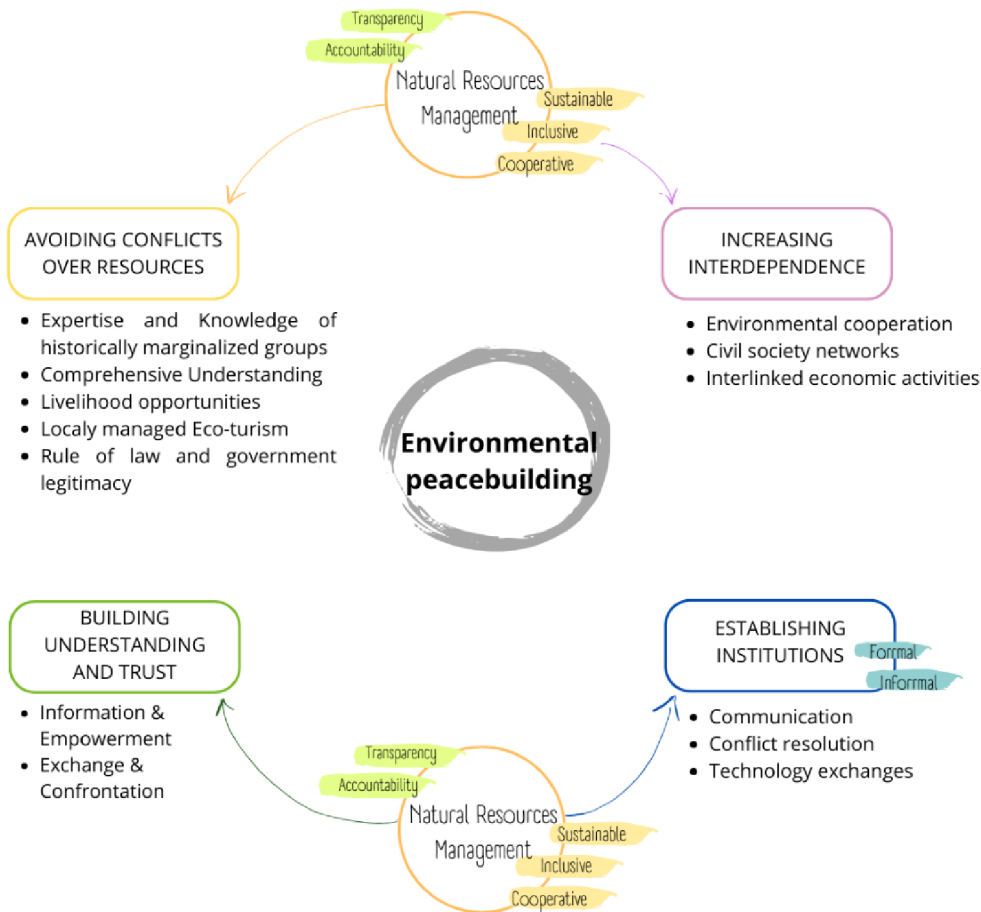


Figure 1 Theoretical Framework. Personal elaboration

Finally, environmental issues bring social stakeholder together encouraging them to cooperate both at local and international level. Through environmental information, education and participation, the civil society can gain more strength and power, and fortify linkages with academia, the government and its institutions can gain legitimacy and trust, and international actors can enter at different levels to support the process (Carius, 2006).

The actors' role in environmental peacebuilding is going to be a cross-cutting theme of this analysis, therefore, for a deeper analysis of it please look at Appendix 1.

4. METHODOLOGY

This section is dedicated to illustrating the concepts, practices and techniques guiding the research. The aim of this analysis is to grasp the rural population's perception of the role of land in the peacebuilding process in the Putumayo department of Colombia. To achieve this, a qualitative approach was employed, which is particularly suited because it allows for a deeper understanding of the complexities of the context, highlighting the lived experiences and personal interpretations that are central to this study. Furthermore, understanding social actors' subjectivity, how they interpret their world, and the meanings they attach to their experiences is particularly relevant in studying peacebuilding processes, where personal narratives and local perceptions play a crucial role in shaping and sustaining peace efforts. The research design included data collection and data analysis; the adopted strategies are illustrated in the following paragraphs.

4.1 Data Collection

The initial phase of data collection involved an extensive literature review, covering general literature on environmental peacebuilding, and context specific studies on Colombian conflict and post-conflict dynamics, including territorial and actor dynamics. Special attention was given to analyzing sources from different actors, including official documents, international cooperation organizations, national and foreign universities, newspapers, and think-tanks, having different approaches and perspectives. This is important because it provides a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved in the peacebuilding process, acknowledging the perspectives and experiences of different stakeholders. Additionally, the literature review was instrumental in identifying a theoretical framework, which guided the successive data collection and analysis phases.

4.1.1 Identification Strategy

The identification strategy involved selecting the Putumayo department as the primary study site and identifying key actors within this territory. This process was informed by the literature review and involved two steps:

Contextual Analysis: Which included reviewing existing literature to understand the historical and socio-political context of Putumayo, particularly in relation to the Colombian conflict and post-conflict dynamics.

Stakeholder Mapping (figure 2): Identifying key actors in the territory, including rural communities, ex-combatants, civil society, international cooperation, and government, and the main relationship occurring between them in the post-peace agreement context.

Because of the RQs motivating this study, the interviewed actors had to respect some essential criteria: living and working in rural low Putumayo, benefitting from projects rose in the post-agreement environment (directly from the FPA or from international cooperation for peacebuilding), and being actively part of initiatives, associations or businesses involving NRM and land use.

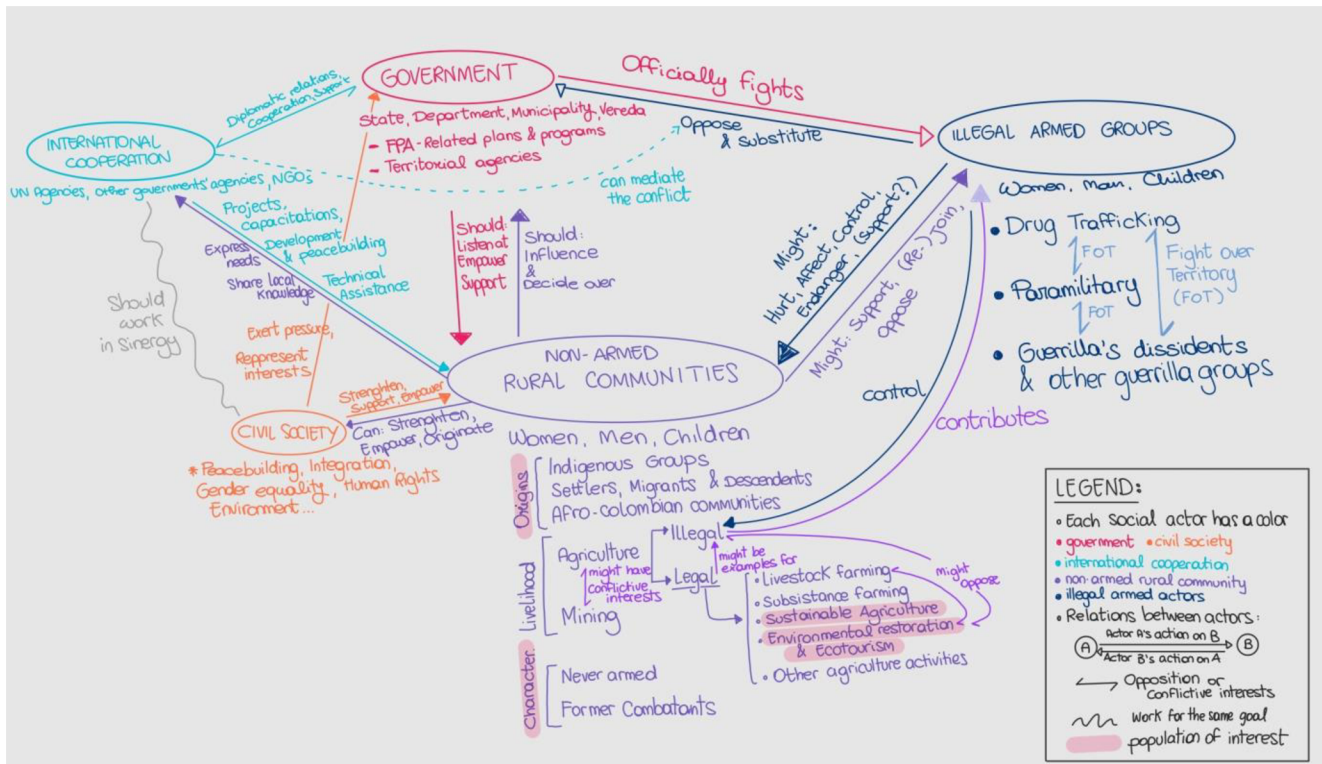


Figure 2 Actors map, Personal elaboration

However, practical challenges significantly influenced the sampling strategy. The difficult accessibility to social actors in the territory, coupled with the department's distance from the capital and the limited time for conducting research, necessitated pragmatic entry points. Initially, two ecotourism enterprises (led by interviewees 3 and 6) acted as gatekeepers. These gatekeepers facilitated contact with additional participant and helped develop a chain referral sampling strategy (Heckathorn, 1997). This strategy was particularly appropriate given the fragile post-conflict situation in Putumayo. The region's history of conflict, ongoing presence of armed groups, and pervasive illegality made it challenging to gain trust and access participant. Gatekeepers, who were trusted members of the community, played a vital role facilitating introductions to other potential interviewees.

Figure 3 illustrates interviewees 1 to 10 connections.

gate-keepers

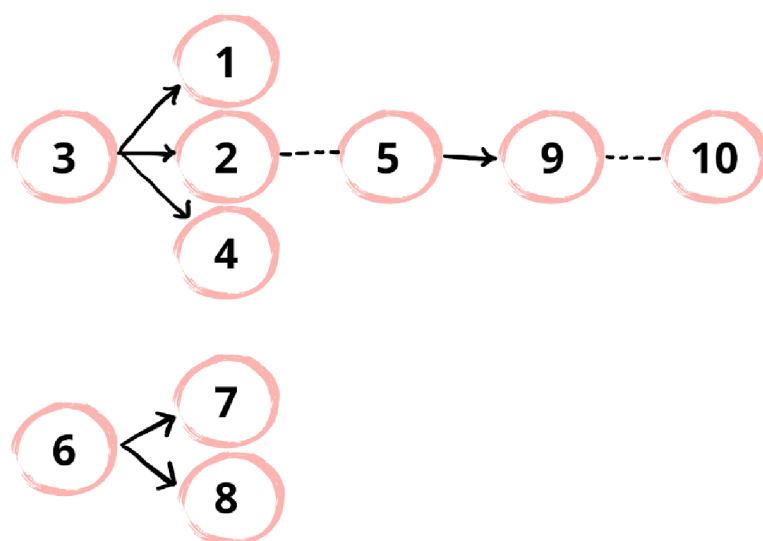


Figure 3 Connections among actors. Direct connection is indicated by an arrow and indirect connection by a dotted line

Interviews 11 to 16 were conducted within a NAR located on the agrarian frontier, whose focus was on projects involving forest restoration, closure of the agrarian frontier, and sustainable agriculture and farming, inside a solidarity economy model and in connection with various local actors. The limited size of the area allowed for a direct search for willing participant. Access to the NAR was granted by two gatekeepers known in the field: interviewee 17 and another individual who was not interviewed as he did not meet the sampling criteria.

In Appendix 3 is reported the respondents' characterization. The youngest interviewee was 19, and the oldest was 50, aligning with the requirement for participant to be of working age and actively involved in peacebuilding through land use and access. Regarding gender, 7 respondents self-identified as female and 10 as male. In terms of origins, 2 respondents identified as Afro-Colombian descendant, 2 as indigenous (though from another region, having moved to Putumayo independently and outside their original group), 7 were not born in Putumayo but relocated for various reasons, and the remaining respondents were born and raised in Putumayo.

4.1.2 Fieldwork

The second phase of data collection was conducted during a one-month fieldwork in Putumayo, aiming at primary data collection.

This involved non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews, two techniques that allow a direct contact with respondents, helping to gain their trust and to collect more reliable and comprehensive responses. Furthermore, these tools are effective in capturing the complexities of post-conflict settings and the diverse ways in which people engage with peacebuilding processes in a (post-)conflict area (Lederach, 1997)

Non-participant observation allowed to immerse in the context, capturing daily dynamics and interactions within the community. An observations-diary was maintained throughout the fieldwork, with daily reports including informal social interactions and observed elements within the territory. Notes were also taken immediately after interviews to connect observations with interview content, complemented by accurate notes on social dynamics observed during meetings and social events.

The semi-structured interviews aimed to understand how rural communities and ex-combatants in Putumayo experience and perceive the peacebuilding process, and how they participate and contribute to it. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for their flexibility, allowing interviewees to elaborate on their responses and share stories and experiences, thus revealing unexpected mechanisms and insights. The open, conversational format facilitated mutual understanding, particularly important given participant' potential unfamiliarity with concepts such as "social actors", "social fabric", or "environmental peacebuilding". Furthermore, interview questions ranged over a variety of topics related to the territory, such as access to land, sustainability, and resource management, focusing on personal interpretations of these concepts. This approach ensured the interviewee's perspectives to have a central role, reducing the imposition of the interviewer's views.

A central element of the interview was understanding how actors interact in the area, their self-perceived agency, and the role of projects in building and shaping the social fabric. Interviews also explored present and future perceptions of the peacebuilding process, identifying challenges, needs, and visions. Each interview concluded with an open-ended opportunity for interviewees to share additional information or feedback.

Interviews were slightly different for former-combatants and for other respondents, to better grasp their perspectives over the covered topics and better understand them in connection with their life experiences . The interview guidelines can be found in Appendix 4.

Each interview was recorded and transcribed verbatim, then coded using MAXQDA2022 software as described in the following section.

4.2 Data Analysis

This study is grounded in a constructivist epistemology, which posits that knowledge is constructed through social interactions and personal experiences (Tennyson & Volk, 2015). This approach is particularly relevant for exploring the subjective realities of conflict-affected communities and ex-combatants in Putumayo, Colombia, as it allows us to understand how these individuals interpret and make sense of their experiences with land use and peacebuilding.

Constructivist epistemology aligns well with the Thematic analysis method outlined by (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which was chosen as the main analytical tool. Thematic analysis offers flexibility and provides a comprehensive understanding of the qualitative data collected. By employing this method, the research aims to ensure a thorough exploration of the data that aligns with the research objectives.

After an extensive literature review, a theoretical framework was identified to inform the analysis process. This framework guided the categorization of the collected data into four main thematic areas: "*Avoiding conflicts over resources*," "*Building understanding and trust*," "*Increasing interdependence*," and "*Establishing institutions*." By aligning the analysis with the established thematic areas, the study aims to provide comprehensive answers to sub-research questions 1 and 2, indeed the established categories facilitate an examination of both the implementation status of the RRI and the peacebuilding mechanisms activated by local communities in response to these reforms.

Simultaneously, five transversal categories were employed to delineate various actors involved in the peacebuilding process: "*International Organizations*," "*State*," "*Civil Society*," "*Local Community*," and

"*Armed Actors*". This categorization allows for an exploration of emerging actors and the dynamics of their relationships within the context-specific peacebuilding efforts.

Finally, two categories were designated to address the sub-research question 3: "*Challenges*," and "*Needs*" which aim to elucidate how these communities perceive their current and future situations in terms of security, stability, opportunities, level of society integration, and the level of conflict.

The data analysis commenced with the organization of transcribed interviews in MAXQDA2022 software, facilitating the codification phase. Respondents' answers and perspectives were meticulously read and coded according to the predefined categories for systematic analysis. Following Braun & Clarke (2006), an iterative process of themes definition, redefinition, and comparison was conducted, enabling the identification of patterns and interpretations within the data.

The emerging themes by category were:

- **Avoiding conflicts over resources:** "*Solidarity*", "*Alternative & cooperative economies*", "*PNIS*", and "*Land tenure formalization*";
- **Building understanding and trust:** "*General state's compliance*", "*Discussion spaces*", and "*Ex-combatants reincorporation*";
- **Increasing interdependence:** "*Shared interests*", "*Stimulating environment*", "*RRI implementation*";
- **Establishing institutions:** "*Discussion spaces*", and "*Rural schools and counseling spaces*";
- **Needs:** "*State's compliance to the FPA*", "*External support*", "*Change in local economy*", and "*Market*";
- **Challenges:** "*Lack of security*", "*Stigma*", "*Institutions*", and "*Conflicting interests*".

The successive phase employed both deductive and inductive codes, as outlined by (Bingham, 2023) To analyze the RRI implementation state, a predominantly deductive coding approach was adopted, except for codes related to the "general state's compliance" theme. This approach was chosen to align with the defined evaluation framework while concurrently giving relevance to the communities' general perception about the state's compliance to the FPA. This perception is particularly important for the analysis as it forms part of the individuals' constructed reality and can significantly influence the peacebuilding process by increasing or decreasing "trust and understanding" between the parties. Within the "mechanisms" category, themes were identified through both deductive and inductive approaches, capturing emerging dynamics, ideas, and activities. Additionally, pure inductive coding was employed for "*needs*," and "*challenges*," allowing for the exploration of unanticipated themes and insights in alignment with the study's objectives.

The emerging codes, and their connections will be better described in the "Results and Discussion" chapter. For a better clarity, in the discussion the **themes** will be written in bold, while the *codes* will be in italic.

4.3 Limitation and Context Validity

The first limitation of this study arises from the challenges of establishing contact with actors in the territory within a short period and without prior connections or support from a recognized entity. Consequently, the perspectives acquired are limited to categories of social actors who are generally more

outward-looking and more inclined to share and connect with actors outside their community. Notably, the following groups were excluded from this analysis:

- Indigenous group members.
- Members of Farmers' Reserve Areas (Zonas de Reservas Campesinas).
- Communities residing in extremely inaccessible areas.

The perceptions and experiences of these excluded groups could significantly contribute to the analysis of RRI implementation and the identification of local mechanisms, needs, and challenges for peacebuilding. Future research should prioritize engaging with these groups to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the rural reforms and their impacts, and to ensure that their voices are also heard and considered in the analysis, thus presenting a more holistic view of the peacebuilding process.

Additionally, constraints of time and resources necessitated a narrow focus, resulting in interviews only with those actors who benefit from rural reform and sustainable development projects. This presents an opportunity for follow-up research to include insights from other social actors excluded from these benefits, such as peasants without land titles or those not participating in the PNIS, and actors representing opposing interests like the mining, industrial, or large landholding sectors. Such an expansion would allow for a more balanced analysis, capturing the diverse range of experiences and viewpoints within the region.

Moreover, interviews could not be conducted across the entire departmental territory due to time and safety constraints. The study's reliability is therefore limited to specific rural "veredas"¹ of Putumayo, located in the agrarian frontier and within PDET municipalities. These areas were characterized by partially paved access roads and a driving distance of 15 to 20 minutes from the nearest urban center. No extremely inaccessible or remote areas were included for practical reasons. The studied areas featured a mix of legal and illegal agricultural activities, with illegal crops being commonly discussed despite not being directly observable. Additionally, mining activities significantly contribute to the local economy.

A second limitation concerns the sampling method. Specifically, for interviewees 1 to 10, the chain-referral sampling method introduces biases as described by Cohen & Arieli (2011), Erickson (1979), and Heckathorn (1997), potentially excluding individuals outside specific networks. While using two access points mitigates this bias to some extent (Cohen & Arieli, 2011), it does not eliminate it, as the two access points operate within the same sector, leading to overlapping networks and common interests. Given the context's specificities, this was considered the most suitable sampling method. Nevertheless, follow-up research should explore perspectives from actors in different environments, engaged in diverse activities, and belonging to other networks. This approach would enhance the diversity and representativeness of the sample, providing a broader base for understanding the complexities of the peacebuilding process. Finally, recognizing ex-combatants as essential actors in the peacebuilding process, efforts were made to include a diverse range of ex-combatants in the study. However, two main categories were missing: first, those who entered and remained in the ETCR (Territorial Spaces for Training and Reincorporation), and second, those who rejoined dissident armed groups. The sample is biased towards ex-combatants who

¹ "vereda" is the Colombian identification for rural areas which form municipality's subdivisions. Typically, every vereda has its own "junta" which is a neighborhood action committee in charge of taking decisions over a multitude of locally relevant issues.

left or never entered an ETCR, potentially skewing the results towards those dissatisfied with or distrustful of this official reincorporation mechanism. The perspectives of those who rejoined dissident groups could be crucial in understanding where the FPA (Final Peace Agreement) and related initiatives are lacking.

These limitations highlight the need for further research to encompass a broader range of perspectives and experiences, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the peacebuilding process in Putumayo. Such an inclusive approach would not only address the current study's limitations but also contribute to a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the diverse dynamics at play in the region's peacebuilding efforts.

4.4 Ethical Concerns

To ensure ethical integrity, each participant was carefully informed about the research's aims and scope. Prior to the commencement of interviews, a Q&A session was conducted, allowing participant to ask questions and seek clarifications. They were informed about the voluntary nature of their participation and their right to decline to answer any questions they found uncomfortable. Informed consent was obtained from each participant, and the consent form is provided in Appendix 5.

Given the close-knit nature of the communities and the small number of individuals corresponding to each characterization, preserving the privacy of participants was essential. Therefore, all participants were anonymous in the study. Only the analysis results are shared in this document due to the confidential nature of the interview transcripts. Since the interviews were conducted in Spanish, the reported citations are personal translations of the original statements.

A significant concern during the fieldwork was how to appropriately compensate participants for their time, participation, and support. To address this without imposing external values over their real needs, the compensation was discussed individually with each respondent, with the stipulation that it could not be monetary. In some instances, cooperation in daily activities was possible, which also provided deeper insights into social relations, interactions, and decision-making processes. In other cases, participants expressed no interest in any form of compensation; instead, they appreciated the opportunity to share their stories and have someone take an interest in their experiences. This element will be further discussed in the conclusions.

Finally, there is an ethical obligation to "give back" to those who contributed their knowledge and experiences to the study. Recognizing the potential language barrier that may prevent them from reading the thesis in English, a Spanish summary of the work will be prepared and distributed to the respondents. Additionally, communication channels will be kept open to receive their feedback.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents and discusses the findings of the analysis.

First, I analyze the FPA through the lens of EP theory, focusing on how land use and access is expected to contribute to the Colombian peacebuilding process. This analysis will highlight the theoretical framework and its practical implications.

Second, I evaluate the implementation state of the RRI. After delineating the complex network of plans and programs that have emerged, and the various possibilities and limitations to the evaluation, I focus on local perspectives. Given the constructivist approach of this study, these local viewpoints are crucial as the success of peace efforts heavily depends on the subjective experiences and interpretations of those directly involved. To capture a broad range of knowledge and perspectives, better showing the complexity of the phenomenon and reducing the biases given by the identification strategy, I triangulate official documents and secondary sources from different stakeholders (Fush et al., 2018)

Third, I explore the local mechanisms activated in response to and as drivers of the peacebuilding process. Doing so, I primarily employ thematic analysis of field observations and interviews, headlining grassroots initiatives and local dynamics.

Finally, I address challenges and needs of local communities in this peacebuilding journey. Our findings underscore the local actors' belief that peace transcends the mere signing of agreements and formulation of plans; involving among others: the consolidation of improved living conditions, the access to and the creation of more opportunities, and advances in equity and safety.

5.1 The Peace Agreement Under the Environmental Peacebuilding Theory

The following analysis focuses on how land is expected to contribute to the Colombian peacebuilding process, still, acknowledging the multiplicity of aspects the agreement addresses to achieve peace. The FPA seeks to end suffering, forced displacement, and loss of life, and to bridge the gap between rural and urban areas by enhancing territorial integration and breaking the cycle of violence. It establishes a comprehensive framework for reforms and programs to address the root causes of conflict and build sustainable peace, with land use and access highlighted as key components, being both an underlying cause of the conflict, and a way to build peace (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

It is especially through the RRI, at point 1, and the PNIS, at point 4, that the agreement identifies land use and access as a tool for peacebuilding. Indeed, the PDET and PNIS' participatory planning and inclusion of different social groups, the support to association building and to the economy of solidarity models, and the institution of the land found create opportunities for different social actors to dialogue and cooperate in a way to rebuild the social fabric and strengthen the peace process.

Hereafter, the FPA is analyzed in more detail to see if and how the envisaged reforms can activate the 4 peacebuilding mechanisms identified by EP theory.

- Avoiding conflicts over resources:

In a first place, the FPA commits to land tenures formalization and rural cadaster updating, guaranteeing legitimate landowners' rights and land returning to victims of displacement or dispossession, aiming at no more violence being used in land-related disputes resolution. Here we can see the connection with one of the factors identified by Bruch et al. (2016) as making the difference between the enduring or failure of peace in resource-rich countries, which is the "government's ability to define and formalize properties and rights".

Furthermore, among the FPA principles stands the "Democratization of access to and appropriate use of land" one.

Primarily, this implies the institution of mechanisms, like the land fund, guaranteeing to farmers, without or with not-enough land, to gain access to it. Additionally, it addresses all these social or institutional conditions responsible for limiting women's access to productive access and social benefits (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016)). The emphasis on reducing inequalities and poverty, and improving food security, are all ways to increase the war's opportunity cost.

Secondarily, the principle talks about the "appropriate use of land", which goes hand in hand with the concepts of environmental sustainability, land suitability, territorial vocation, community participation and planning. In the task to guarantee an appropriate use of land the FPA recalls the territorial characteristics diversity and the different potentials that might arise from it. For this reason, it recognizes local actors as focal axes for the territory planification, it insists on participatory planification and inclusion, see for example PDET and PATR, and it identifies farmers, men and women of any ethnic community, as essential actors in the territory transformation process. Additionally, it recognizes the importance of the variety of ways of production existing, committing to the support and protection of family-run and community-based economies.

This inclusive, sustainable, and participatory way of managing natural resources, land in this case, is what is required by the theory to avoid conflicts over resources. Also, by committing to this, the government is trying to: decentralize and share power, attract responsible investments, equitably distribute revenues, promote economic diversification, and engage in public consultation and communication.

The PNIS is another mechanism envisioned by the FPA which, if properly implemented, has the potential of reducing conflict over natural resources. First, because of its participatory, volunteer and territory characterization, it can produce positive changes in the territory and in the society, activating the mechanisms we just saw in the case of the RRI. Second, because it addresses directly what we have seen being one of the main fuels of the conflict. Third, the substitution of coca crops can strengthen food security, reduce the pressure on the environment, especially on the forest, and open spaces for other economic activities.

- Building understanding and trust:

The FPA provides for the creation of forums ensuring citizens the right to take part in the decision-making process, with regards to the RRI implementation, at various territorial levels. Furthermore, active communities' participation is expected to secure transparency and accountability (Gobierno Nacional de

Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016). Therefore, these forums have a huge potential as places of exchange, peaceful confrontation, understanding of mutual interests and needs, and cooperation development.

Finally, building understanding and trust has a crucial role in the reincorporation of ex-combatants described at point 3 of the FPA. While the government commits to financially support the new productive projects that former-guerrillas undertake, FARC-EP commits to an active role in the reintegration process and in the diffusion of a culture of peace. Additionally, FARC-EP engaged in developing “Social Economies of the Common” (Economías Sociales del Común, ECOMÚN), a national entity with local, territory-specific initiatives (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016). Seen in our theoretical framework, these projects are an opportunity for their members to meet the surrounding communities on a neutral space, where enhanced by cooperation on shared interests dialogue can start, improving mutual understanding and building trust.

- Increasing interdependence:

The government commits to support community and solidarity associations and cooperatives, giving priority to those engaged with food production and supply, especially for organic and agroecological production (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016). The support given to cooperative and solidarity economy initiatives, not only allows for local economy and cooperation development, but it also contributes to build stronger social fabric and interdependence.

Furthermore, the economic development is strictly interconnected with the territorial renovation, supporting community organization also means providing basic infrastructures and services, for which realization, establishes to employ local workers and use, primarily, local resources. In this way a strong connection is created between the local economies and between productive activities and the territory.

- Establishing institutions:

First, the established measures to guarantee access to land, such as the National Land Found, the cadastre, and the Land Restitution Unit, need the establishment of formal institutions that manage and verify the process. Additionally, it is essential that institutions gain power at the local level for an actual implementation of the measure (Tobón Yagarí, 2016). If these institutions succeed in this consolidation process, they may act as Ide (2021) described, regulating resources’ governance in a transparent and accountable way, and building trust.

Second, the FPA stands for the institutionalization of “participatory and democratic forums” (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016), if initiated and developed, those forums not only have the role of building trust and initiate cooperation, but they may also be a channel for peaceful resolution of NRM conflicts.

Third, effective access to land is also through knowledge and ability to innovate, invest, access the market and the credit (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016). The institution of rural schools, capacity-building and legal counseling spaces, farmers associations, multi-level and multi-ethnic dialogue

spaces, allows the exchange of knowledge and technologies, contributing to closing the gap and improving life conditions in remote areas (Dresse et al., 2019).

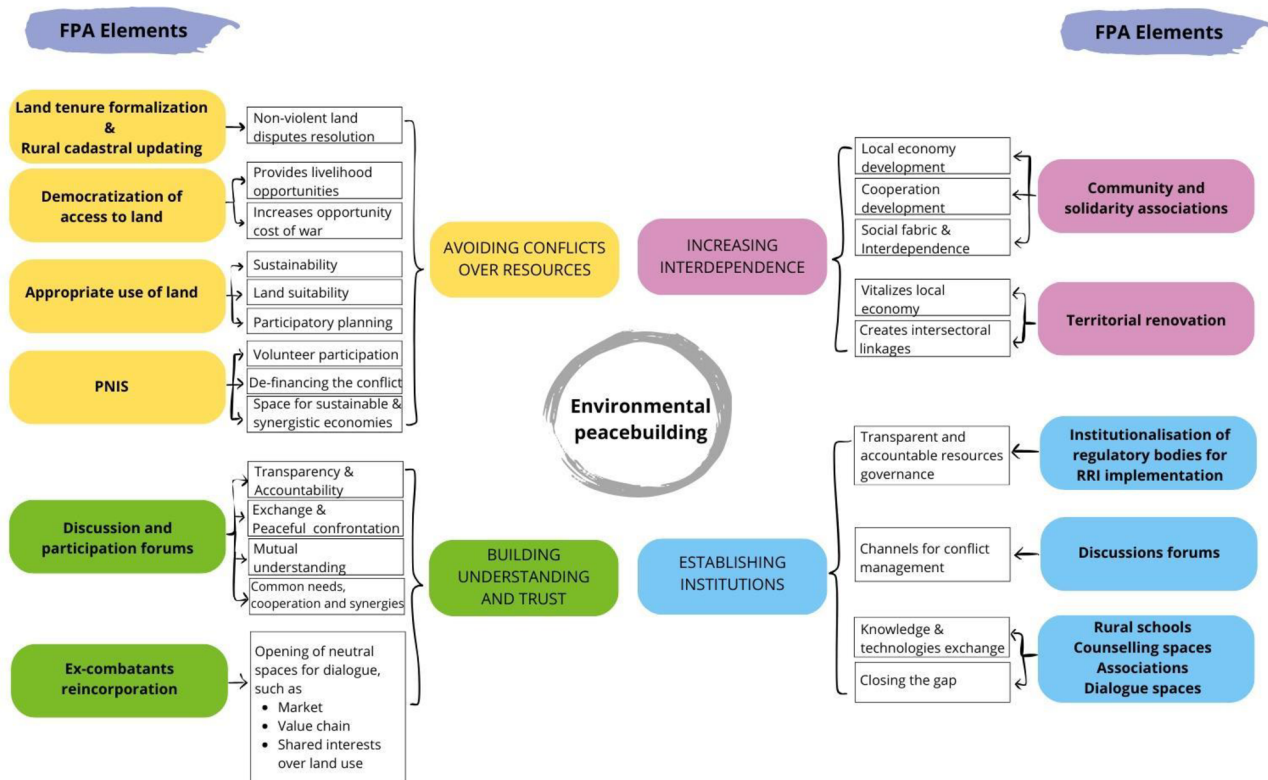


Figure 4 FPA elements that could potentially activate EP mechanisms

5.1.1 The RRI: progress and Setbacks

This subsection examines the implementation state of the RRI, therefore it is useful to first report the specific goals and requirements set by the FPA.

The RRI must achieve:	Therefore, it requires:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Greater inclusion at regional level · Poverty eradication · Food security · Greater equality · Guaranteed citizen's rights · Violence eradication 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Appropriate land use <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Suitable use - Stimulate land titling 2. Progressive access to rural property (equitable distribution) 3. Equality between men and women 4. National plans for public services access 5. large communities' participation and institutionalization of participatory and democratic forums allowing them to change and to affect the planning.

Figure 5 Goals and requirements of the RRI

GENERALITIES: NATIONAL LEVEL

Analyzing the implementation state of the RRI is a complex task due to the multiplicity of plans and programs outlined in the FPA (and reported in figure 6), which often lack coherence. From the document revision and the literature review emerges that when coming to the design of PDET’s roadmaps, the territorial vision was lost, the communities’ participation limited, and the established priorities deviate from the ones established in the PATR, creating an incoherent framework and a distortion in the development programs and budgeting.

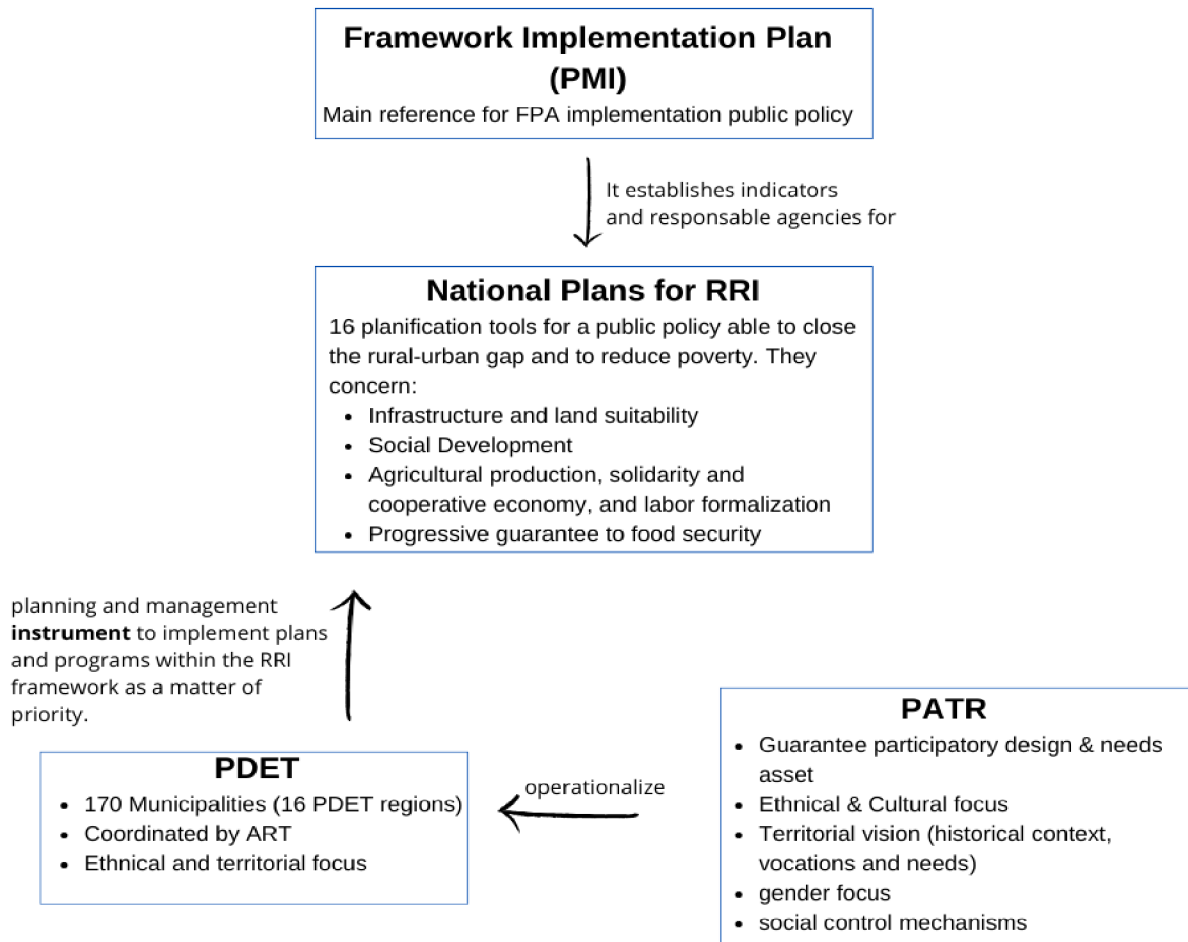


Figure 6 Relation among national and regional plans for the implementation of the RRI. Personal elaboration from the FPA

Nevertheless, capturing this complexity and its territorial-specific impacts on socio-economic and political conditions is the aim of this sub-question. For this reason various authors were included in the analysis of the main outlines regarding the implementation advances and failures.

Estrada Álvarez et al. (2021) make an analysis for the Center for Political Thought and Dialogue “CEPDIPO”, and supports the thesis that, because of this deviation from the territorial focus, the government has disattended the accomplishment of what agreed at point 1.

Bedoya Bedoya (2022) analyzes laws and policies adopted in the period 2016 till 2022 by two different governments to show how governments' priorities prevail over FPA and communities' needs, with a tendency to centralize rather than territorialize the reforms' design.

Ramirez Sarmiento (2022) approaches the study of PDET's design and implementation, starting from the perspective of participatory development and participation in transitional justice theories, to analyze which power dynamics and which kind of participation did the PDET trigger, and especially if it led to any transformation.

The "Procurator General's Office of the Nation" (Procuraduría General de la Nación in Spanish) elaborates a yearly report considering both the qualitative aspect given by the PMI indicators and the major needs and challenges reported from various community leaders.

(Robayo Corredor et al., 2023) write a report for the Kroc institute, identified by the Commission for Implementation Monitoring and Verification as provider of technical assistance for impartial and rigorous evaluation of the FPA implementation progresses, making a mixed method analysis and focuses both on the percentage of implemented provisions for each point and on the transversal focuses on gender and ethnicity.

Starting from those analysis key observations emerge:

First, the implementation has been slow, this is particularly problematic in regions where the withdrawal of FARC-EP left a power vacuum filled by other armed groups, as it is the case of Putumayo. This caused an increase in violence and insecurity, especially for social leaders, environmental defenders, and ex-combatants, further inhibiting a fair and full implementation of the RRI (Amaya Arias, 2022; Estrada Álvarez et al., 2021; Robayo Corredor et al., 2023). Additionally, in areas where land registry do not exists and formal institutional power is weak, the delay of the Environmental Zoning Plan adoption has further undermined the RRI, resulting in advance of the agricultural frontier, and overlapping of different land-use interests (Robayo Corredor et al., 2023)

Second, the current government's initiatives for enlarge the amount of land available for the land fund, are valued positively both from the Kroc institute's report (Robayo Corredor et al., 2023) and from the procurator general's office of the nation's report (2023), but the estimated advances in land distribution are still very low (below 1% of the expected hectares have been distributed to landless farmers). But the most relevant data, is the lack of transparency and the significant discordance among different actors regarding the actual progress in land distribution and formal land ownership recognition (Forero Rueda, 2021; Hernandez Bonilla, 2023; Procuraduría General de la Nación, 2023; Robayo Corredor et al., 2023).

Third, inequality persists between men and women in access to land and participation in collective life and in community decision-making (Robayo Corredor et al., 2023).

Forth, every government accomplished to the requisite of elaborating a National Plan for Development, followed by regional ones, nevertheless priorities where given according to the specific government's orientation and interests, rather than an actual consultation of the communities, and in certain cases even deviates from the original intentions of the FPA (Bedoya Bedoya, 2022; Estrada Álvarez et al., 2021; Ramirez Sarmiento, 2022; Robayo Corredor et al., 2023)

Fifth, while the participation in PATR discussion was widespread, the discussion was kept on general terms of needs, problematics, and possible solutions, but it lacked a more solid discussion over budgeting and priority, this part was reserved to “competent bodies” which have the possibility to revise and prioritize initiatives. Thus, the actual community’s participation in the PDET design and implementation was limited, as it was their transformation power (Estrada Álvarez et al., 2021; Ramirez Sarmiento, 2022; Robayo Corredor et al., 2023)

TERRITORIAL FOCUS: PUTUMAYO

Evaluating the RRI implementation in Putumayo is particularly challenging. Post-agreement, numerous goals, objectives, plans, and programs emerged, but what is crucial here is to assess which EP mechanisms are strengthened or disincentivized in Putumayo specific context.

Two mayor challenges for the evaluation emerge:

First is the incomplete coherence and coordination between various plans. A comparison between PATR and PDET roadmaps for Putumayo reveals significant discordance in objectives, justifying part of the debate over the actual RRI fulfillment state. While PATR involved extensive local actor participation, the PDET roadmap often prioritized different initiatives and lacked genuine community engagement, especially from ethnic and indigenous groups. For a more extensive analysis of the PATR and PDET roadmap’s goals and design strategy see Appendix 6.

Second is the lack of specific departmental targets for land distribution and formal recognition. Although progress in land distribution and formalization is reported (ANT, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023) the overall impact is unclear without knowing the full extent of the population's needs.

The **FPA elements** (for a better clarity reported in bold) intended to activate the EP mechanisms (see figure 4) are analyzed below.

- Avoiding Conflicts over resources

The **land tenure formalization** in Putumayo is a critical step in reducing conflicts over resources, and it also emerge as a theme from the interviews’ analysis. According to estimates from the Agropecuary Rural Planification Unit (UPRA), the percentage of informally owned land plots decreased from 79% in 2020 to 68% in 2022 ((FAO & Agencia de Desarrollo Rural, 2021; UPRA, 2022). Despite this progress, a significant portion of land remains informal.

Three major “*Limits to land formalization*” emerge from the analysis:

“I believe that being a landowner is one of the best possibilities that a Colombian or any person has, [...] most of the inhabitant of this municipality and of the department, only have a document of sale and purchase². And this happens because many of the areas where we are located are either in the zone of the second law of 1959, which is a forest reserve zone, or they are very close to the mouths of a mine, either

² In Colombia, even being the “sell and purchase document” officially recognized, it does not automatically provide the official land tenure.

hydrocarbon or otherwise, where the law does not allow land titling, so there are many families who do not have access to land or have it, but they are not owners as such, and this prevents them from many guarantees.”(i8, personal communication, March 10, 2024).

In Putumayo high informality context, the Forestry Law (Law 2 of 1959), designed to protect forest reserves by preventing land exploitation and ownership within these areas, has therefore inadvertently contributed to land tenure informality rather than preventing deforestation (ART, 2021; Duarte et al., 2015). Jointly, the law 1728 of 2014 forbid land adjudication for lands that are closer than 2.5 km from a mine, restricting the ownable land area by 3.172,04 km in the department and hitting 7 municipalities of the department (ART, 2021).

Additionally, the physical distance between people and the institutions in charge to recognize the land property could be an additional obstacle as reported by i5: *“That is a very complex, very difficult point. In fact, most of them do not own land. Why? Because what they have is an authenticated purchase and sale document, but they do not have titles... Now we have tried and worked with the State and with the proposals to have a land office... That can provide us with this service. Because we depend on Nariño, through the central office, in order to title a property or deed a property, you have to go to see them and make the request to Pasto³, so it is always complicated, but we are working to achieve this.”* (Personal communication, March 9, 2024)

The “*no-tenure consequences*” refers to the fact that “this (not having official tenure recognition) does not provide you with guarantees [...] does not allow you to access credit [...] and to participate in the PNIS” (i8, personal communication, March 10, 2024).

Therefore, the matter of **appropriate land use** is intertwined with the land access and formalization issue. In Putumayo, only 47% of “productive land” is in “appropriate land” and 4% is in land areas forbidden by law (ART, 2021). This generates various problems, making it hard for a share of the population to receive institutional help, affecting the general level of legality in the territory, and jeopardizing formal land disputes resolution mechanisms.

With regards to **democratization of land access**, relevant gender inequalities persist. Data from the national institute of statistics (DANE) indicates that over 60% of single-owner land plots are owned by men. Additionally, 75% of women own micro-plots (<3ha), whereas men have higher access to small and medium plots. This inequality in land distribution reflects broader social and economic disparities, with less than 1% of the population owning large estates (>200ha), while the majority have less than 3ha (DANE & ONU mujeres, 2022).

Finally, the implementation of **PNIS**, also emerging as a theme from interviews and observations, has faced several challenges. As of 2020, the program included 20,331 families (Consejería Presidencial para la Estabilización y la Consolidación, 2022). But, despite initial successes in reducing coca cultivation, the area under coca cultivation began to increase again in 2021, doubling in some municipalities between 2021 and 2022 (UNODC, 2023).

³ Pasto is the capital city of the Nariño department. This department borders Putumayo, nevertheless, they are separated by the Ande mountain range, which, in addition to the bad quality of roads, makes the trip very costly in terms of time and money, especially for those people living in remotes and rural areas that would need it the most.

A new promising program was launched in 2023, when the government initiated territorial forums to design a participatory drug policy involving social leaders and farmers' associations (Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho, 2023), but the results are still uncertain.

Several factors contribute to the difficulties in illegal-use crops substitution:

First, we already saw how the lack of formal property is one of the causes of the *“impossible participation”*. Second, due to *“lack of profitable alternatives”* and the difficulties in accessing other crops markets, *“to the peasant, to the indigenous communities, no other choice (than cultivating coca) remains, because in one way or another, one has to provide for one's family”* (i1, personal communication, March6, 2024).

Third, the persistence in the territory of *“armed groups influence”* complicates the efforts to transition away from coca cultivation. *“Because we work with legal agriculture, there has been a bit of conflict and fear on the topic”* (i5, personal communication, March9, 2024) These groups often control the coca trade and may threaten or coerce farmers.

Finally, field observations indicate a stagnation in the local coca market, attributed to increased risks for drug traffickers under current government policies and the absence of a dominant illegal armed group to control the trade. According to Alvarez & Forero (2023), the sudden drop of the coca market can negatively impact small farmers' income, leading to increased poverty and food insecurity, therefore, there is a need for significant changes to the local economy and infrastructure, while carefully implementing the anti-drug policy.

- Building understanding and trust

First, **ex-combatants' reincorporation** still faces many challenges, mainly connected with stigmatization and enduring presence of illegal armed groups. But being this section dedicated to the RRI implementation, this element is going to be better explored in the “Needs and Challenges” section.

Second, *“We are being heard, and we are precisely creating those advocacy tables where we are present, where we can discuss the plan and even the development plan[...]so we are being listened to. We are with the institution there.”* (i15, personal communication, March26, 2024). **Discussion and participation spaces** are widespread, even if not always guarantees of an actual transformatory participation (Ramirez Sarmiento, 2022), they arise from FPA implementation bodies and mechanisms, from vereda-level decision making and from associations. This element will be better illustrated as an activated mechanism of EP in the territory, in the following section.

Finally, a very important element of this section is the **general State's compliance** perception. While some actors never fully trust the state's ability to implement the FPA and now show *dissatisfaction*: *“I am not very satisfied, but I think the important thing is that we are fulfilling our commitments... we are doing our part, but the other part is not.”* (i11 personal communication, March24, 2024), others after an initial burst of enthusiasm entered a phase of *delusion* or disillusionment *“We really believed that the peace agreement was going to be fulfilled[...] which was disappointing for us.”* (i10, personal communication, March15, 2024). In a more moderate position are found those who recognize a *slow work in progress*, *“So let's hope that we can work, so far we are doing well and we hope to continue, and that everything they said really comes true”* (i3, personal communication, March6, 2024), and others who highlight the *incompleteness* of the FPA, especially *“this (not considering other armed groups) has allowed them to grow”* (i2, personal communication, March6, 2024).

- Increasing interdependence

This mechanism is expected to be activated through **community and solidarity associations support** and **territorial renovation**. (In our framework they emerge both as FPA elements intended to activate the EP mechanisms and as codes for thematic analysis).

The first important element emerging from the transversal analysis is that in supporting PDET initiatives, founding territorial renovation programs and supporting community and solidarity associations, a more important role is given to international organizations and NGOs than to the State: *“The EU is one of the entities that has supported us the most in terms of infrastructure, marketing, accounting and financial issues, among others”* (i2, personal communication, March6, 2024). This finding aligns with the broader negative perception of state compliance in peacebuilding efforts. Nevertheless, it reveals a latent potential as in regions like Putumayo, which have experienced prolonged state neglect, non-state actors can often gain trust more easily. International organizations and NGOs can engage with local communities in ways that are sometimes more effective than state interventions, helping to bridge gaps and address immediate needs (Evans-Kent & Bleiker, 2003). And, respondents show gratitude and good acceptance toward international institutions, *“UNDP has been, let’s say like our, our dad”* (i15, personal communication, March25, 2024) and are aware of the importance of weaving relationships that go beyond one’s locality. First, *“the alliance they have with the EU is good for all our territories because they work, and they have much more resources to invest here”*(i3, personal communication, March6, 2024). Second, *“ These projects are the ones that have been strengthening us and have taught us to go, to go in practice”* (i15, personal communication, March25, 2024). Finally, *“This is something very nice because it is an integration, we are accompanied by different entities, and it is good that you from the different countries have a concept of this (what happened and it is happening)”*(i10, personal communication, March15, 2024)

- Establishing institutions

Different institutions rose in the territory, either formally or informally, which can in certain cases originate **discussion spaces**. Among the former, the “junta” emerges as a recurrent mechanism for collective decision at “vereda” level, and it will be discussed in the following section. Additionally, **RRI implementation bodies** are supposed to install in the territory, nevertheless, the perspectives emerging for this thematic highlight the *“difficult access”* to agencies and programs, even if *“sometimes there are calls for applications that help, honestly these calls have many requirements, and one is left in the middle. When you are from the countryside and suddenly you have not had the opportunity to go out or get a better education. Those technical words are too big for you”* (i1, personal communication, March6, 2024). and a *“lack of accountability”* as *“there is an agreement of the national land agency where it mentions that rights of use can be given, but unfortunately in the department this type of rights of use are still not implemented, which at least would be an important guarantee for the families that are, let’s say, settled in those places that do not have the possibility of acquiring a title or a public deed”*(i8, personal communication, March10, 2024) Finally, regarding the institutionalization of **rural schools and counseling spaces**, a proliferation of rural schools, and capacitation and knowledge exchange spaces can be observed, and *“Technicians came from everywhere”*(i13, personal communication, March24, 2024). The transversal analysis of actors reports the coexistence of efforts coming from *State, International Organizations, Civil Society, and Local*

Community. However, respondents stress the poor education level and the need for more investment in this field, suggesting that while progress has been made, significant gaps remain that need to be addressed to ensure sustainable development and peace.

5.2 Emerging Mechanisms Driving Territorial Peacebuilding

This section analyzes the EP mechanisms activated by local communities' actions and initiatives. Due to time and methodological constraints, the analysis focuses on actors interviewed and engaged with during the fieldwork. The analysis includes both deductive and inductive themes which are reported in the coding tree below (figure 7).

Before delving into the analysis, one essential element needs to be noted as a comprehensive reading of interview transcripts reveals the interconnection among mechanisms. Sustainable and cooperative economies, eventually stemming from participation in PNIS, create spaces for dialogue, peer-to-peer learning, and a stimulating environment. Actors involved in these activities share a common goal of rebuilding Putumayo's image and support each other through solidarity activities. Additionally, ex-combatants' reintegration involves multiple mechanisms, even though it is primarily analyzed under the "building understanding and trust" category. Their commitment to supporting farmers and rural communities, and to repairing damages, helps overcome stigma as they engage with society in various ways, including market interactions, providing safe livelihood opportunities, and sharing knowledge, spaces, and interests.

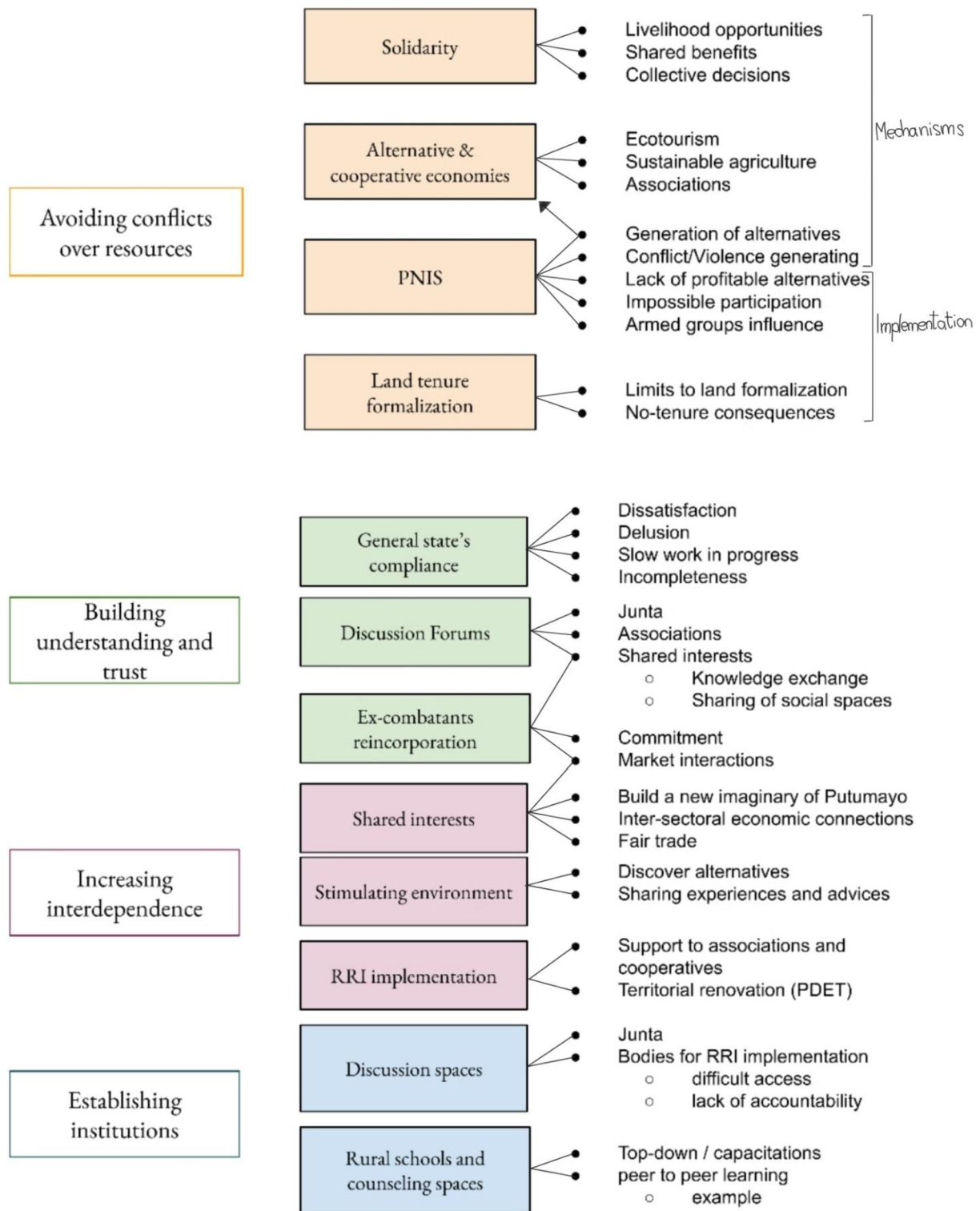


Figure 7 Coding tree. As the 4 categories are used for both the implementation analysis and the present one, the themes are jointly represented, while they will be separately discussed.

The following paragraphs will illustrate the results, mechanism by mechanism, providing a detailed analysis of how local communities are driving peacebuilding in Putumayo.

- Avoiding conflicts over resources

Having already discussed the problematics in participation and inclusiveness of territorial planning, as well as the persistence of conflict-generating elements such as coca cultivation, mining activities, and land tenure informality, and recognizing among the causes of the endurance of the Colombian conflict the lack of opportunities and livelihood of rural communities, together with a weak decisional power and uncertain rule of law. The following paragraphs will illustrate how local initiatives are contributing to the improvement of local conditions, generating **alternative livelihoods and cooperative economies**, fostered by an environment of **solidarity**, which allow the strengthening of the social fabric, and thereby easing disputes over resources.

First, the national and international support to small local businesses have the potential to generate virtuous circles and positive leakages. **PNIS** is seen as a tool allowing the transition from *Violence generating* cultivations to *Generation of alternative(s)*(safer) livelihoods.

Interviewee i4 first explicits how coca cultivation generates violence: *“I was about to plant coca bushes, but the truth is that I never liked that job, because that job has many enemies. You, as a farmer, you go there and you plant, you normally plant, you harvest and you get 2/3 kilos of coca base, you go to sell it to the town, and for stealing that they also kill you”* (i4, personal communication, March 8, 2024) then (s)he found job in an ecotouristic project financed by PNIS, which allowed her/him to *“let it go (with the coca business) and go ahead with my job”* and to explore alternatives *“When I arrived here, I came to do my job as a master builder [...] I had nothing to do with cultivation, no. [...] Now I've become more immersed in it and I'm starting to feel like I want to see what a project is”*.

Furthermore, **Alternative & cooperative economies** emerge as an important theme illustrating the intricate network between *ecotourism, sustainable agriculture* projects and *associations*. The former are two economic activities that can be developed in the same space and that can favor and are benefitted from environmental protection and restoration (as emerging from interviews 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8). Furthermore, the new economy created is not producing hostilities as *“the idea of this is not to create a site, but to create a destination so that people say I'm going to visit this destination, which is called the department of Putumayo”* (i8, personal communication, March10, 2024), therefore, *“the initiatives that have come here are new and what they have done is to share their knowledge, to recommend each other”* (i1, personal communication, March6, 2024). Additionally, various respondents describe how they are generating livelihood opportunities, intersectoral linkages, cooperation and increasing the opportunity cost of conflicts.

The latter are born from *“the need to [...] change the way of cultivating and to show people that it is possible to live in a legal manner (meaning without cultivating coca plant).”* (i5, personal communication, March10, 2024) or *“because it is important to make ourselves heard as a group”* (i6, personal communication, March11, 2024). While grouping people with similar interests, associations serve as a place for exchange while generating a stimulating environment as described below.

Another important theme emerging is **Solidarity**, the will of these businesses to share benefits and resources deriving from their activities and from national and international support to them. Not only respondents state their attempt to improve local *Livelihood opportunities* *“when there is need for work, they (the rest of the local community) are offered a job”* (i11, personal communication, March24, 2024), they also *“work hand in hand with the community in order to obtain benefits that are good for all of us”* (i3, personal communication, March6, 2024). *Sharing benefits* include inviting neighbors to technical capacitation classes as *“if I have the opportunity to receive training, people of the ‘vereda’ who want to do so can also do*

it”(i3, personal communication, March6, 2024). Furthermore, “*collective decisions*” are taken when “*For example, they fixed the road, because of the tourist center, then we, those of the vereda, the junta, everyone, decided that the best thing was to make the most critical parts of the road. And not only I benefit, but also the community*”(i6, personal communication, March11, 2024).

- The role of land in Understanding and Trust

Two interrelated processes are evident in the role of land in peacebuilding in Putumayo, Colombia: the strengthening of the social fabric within local communities and the reincorporation of ex-combatants into civil society.

Discussion spaces emerge both in social fabric strengthening and ex-combatants reincorporation, and act as places where collective decisions about resources use are taken, and where social relationships are strengthened, together with trust and understanding among actors.

The *juntas* play a critical role in supporting peacebuilding efforts, even if their primary purpose is not peacebuilding. These committees facilitate collective decision-making and transparency, contributing to understanding and trust.

As we saw in the previous paragraph, *associations* emerge as an important element supporting peacebuilding efforts even if not directly born for the scope. They contribute to building understanding and trust as “*nothing is done without the approval or disapproval of the associates. This ensures reliability [...] and there is a bond as of a family [...] there are many more reasons to always find an agreement [...] it is difficult, but not impossible, it is simply to dialogue*”(i5, personal communication, March10, 2024)

Furthermore, platforms that emerge from shared environmental interests act as knowledge exchange spaces. They bridge the gap between national and international initiatives and the local farmers, who often lack the means or knowledge to navigate bureaucratic and academic systems. *In the annual assembly of [Name of Association], key decisions about the association's structure and future actions are made collectively. This includes comprehensive explanations, updates, and discussions about external partnerships, programs, and projects, ensuring that every farmer is informed about the available options* (Field Notes, March10, 2024).

Additionally, the *general dynamization of the economy in the rural localities, and the international support to sustainable crops such as cocoa, allows the development of infrastructures and social spaces* (Field Notes, March12, 2024), which in turn “*allows to share interests and build relations*” (i13, personal communication, March24, 2024).

In the context of **ex-combatants' reincorporation**, a vital emerging element is their *commitment* “*to engage with people, to contribute to the community*”(i9), “*to protect the peasant [...] to continue our struggle without weapons*”(i10), and “*to develop social projects bringing more opportunities to the community, compensating the victims, asking sorry in a more concrete way, and advancing the reincorporation process*” (i15). Interviewing ex-combatants show how they engage in various local projects to demonstrate their genuine commitment and to enable the surrounding communities to know them as individuals.

Moreover, the NAR connects with the local population in a neutral space, through *market interactions* and *shared interests*, fostering *knowledge exchange* and social integration.

“*People mainly started to buy here because it is cheap [...] (and now) there are associates from outside, not only ex-combatants, but people who are looking for a job*”(i13, personal communication, March24, 2024).

Additionally, “*People who do not understand, come and ask, and they leave satisfied*” (i12, personal communication, March24, 2024), and “*People come from outside to participate to trainings*” (i11,

personal communication, March24, 2024). The *knowledge exchange* assumes a pivotal role and makes a positive leakage effect to emerge. “ *Technicians came [...] and I learned many things [...] and now people that have issues with their [specific farming activity] come and ask and we can help them too*”(i13, personal communication, March24, 2024).

The reincorporation process is therefore progressing “ *at the beginning they did not want us to be here, and now lately we have been working with them and showing them that we are working, and now, at least they accept us being here*”(i11, personal communication, March24, 2024)

Finally, the engagement of non-ex-combatants in the cooperative’s activities reveal huge potential also in connection with the literature which reveal the importance of community engagement in the social reintegration of ex-combatants (Kaplan & Nussio, 2018)

- Increasing interdependence

The observed elements of cooperation, associationism, employment generation, and infrastructure development significantly contribute to increasing interdependence among local communities in Putumayo. These elements encourage **shared interests** and mutual reliance, which are essential for sustainable peace. An interesting perspective is shared by respondent 15, reporting a process of “ *collective strengthening in the territory [...] based on an economy of solidarity which can integrate everyone, and where the surplus is enjoyed by everyone in terms of services and goods, especially helping those who need it the most [...] (and through) a collective decision process.*”

Other elements emerge from the interviews which are ascribable to this theme.

Market interactions emerging from various interviews have the potential to foster interdependence, as local communities engage in trade and economic activities, they become economically intertwined, creating a mutual dependency that benefits all parties involved. This, both contributes to ex-combatants’ reincorporation, and to increase opportunity cost of conflict.

Interdependence is further reinforced by the *shared interest* of “ *Building a new imaginary of Putumayo [...] (from) a "red zone" associated with conflict [...] (to) a "green zone" known for its peace and nature*” (i8, personal communication, March11, 2024). “ *Because you can’t do tourism in a conflict area*”(i2, personal communication, March6, 2024) and “ *as people started to come here, things started to move. Then they (people from the vereda) started to see it with a positive perspective. Because there is more job, and I buy the chicken from the lady... and also the markets, the hotel... and there are more initiatives in the vereda, and also external support start to come [...] the whole community benefits from it*” (i6, personal communication, March11, 2024), accordingly, *inter-sectoral economic connections* emerge.

The connections increase opportunity cost of conflict, as the benefits derived from a peaceful environment outweigh those from continued violence. This concept aligns with the broader literature on the economic dimensions of peacebuilding, where increasing the opportunity cost of conflict is seen as a deterrent to violent escalation (Ide, 2021)

Also, the respondents 5, 6, and 7 detached the importance of *fair-trade*, if we want to generate a “ *solid social fabric and harmonious relations among workers*”(i7, personal communication, March11, 2024).

Another theme emerging from the interviews is the creation of a **stimulating environment** that encourages innovation and entrepreneurship. “ *It was thanks to [association name] that we started to do tourism, because we had the opportunity to know another family working in the field [...] and they started to advise us and to bring us visitors*”(i3, personal communication, March6, 2024). Together with the idea that “ *if they can do it, I can do it!*” (i6, personal communication, March11, 2024).

This sharing of experiences and advice fosters a culture of collaboration and mutual support, which is essential for sustainable peacebuilding.

- Establishing Institution

In the Putumayo region, both formal and informal institutions for NRM play crucial roles. These institutions facilitate the creation of **discussion spaces** whose role in peacebuilding have been widely discussed. Interviews 3, 4, 6 reveal the role of *juntas*, in taking decisions at the sub-municipal level, especially regarding infrastructure improvements, fund allocation, and managing relations with oil companies.

Associations and cooperatives also serve as formal institutions, arising from shared interests in NRM. They function as communication and exchange channels, facilitating trust-building and collective decision-making in the ways already described.

In addition to this, the creation of **rural schools and counseling spaces** contributes significantly to peacebuilding.

Top down “capacitation” classes not only provide education but also create the opportunity to connect with other actors with similar interests, potentially initiating mechanisms of cooperation, and trust-building previously illustrated.

Informal channels, referred to as *“peer-to-peer learning,”* are another critical element of knowledge exchange. It emerged in the reincorporation process as they *“implement rural schools and exchange knowledge”* (i15, personal communication, March26, 2024), and it is part of the cooperative spirit of tourism development in the department. *“I had the opportunity to share with the population how the thing works (talking about nature-tourism) These are important issues, because although there are people who are being reincorporated, many of them do not know what possibilities exist. So, by sharing with this population and telling them ‘Look, we are making progress on this, or we are doing these other activities’ many times they are motivated to be able to do these types of activities too.”* (i8, personal communication, March11, 2024).

Finally, it emerges that *“these projects serve as an example because one goes and knows and says look, it is difficult, but I also have a farm, I can also do it.”* (i1, personal communication, March6, 2024).

5.3 Local Communities’ Needs and Envisions

This section aims to explore the perceptions of rural communities in Putumayo, Colombia, regarding their current and future situation, by understanding their needs and future envisions, while the next one will reveal remaining challenges for achieving lasting and sustainable peace. The interviews’ analysis was purely inductive, and the emerging codes and themes schematized in figure 8.

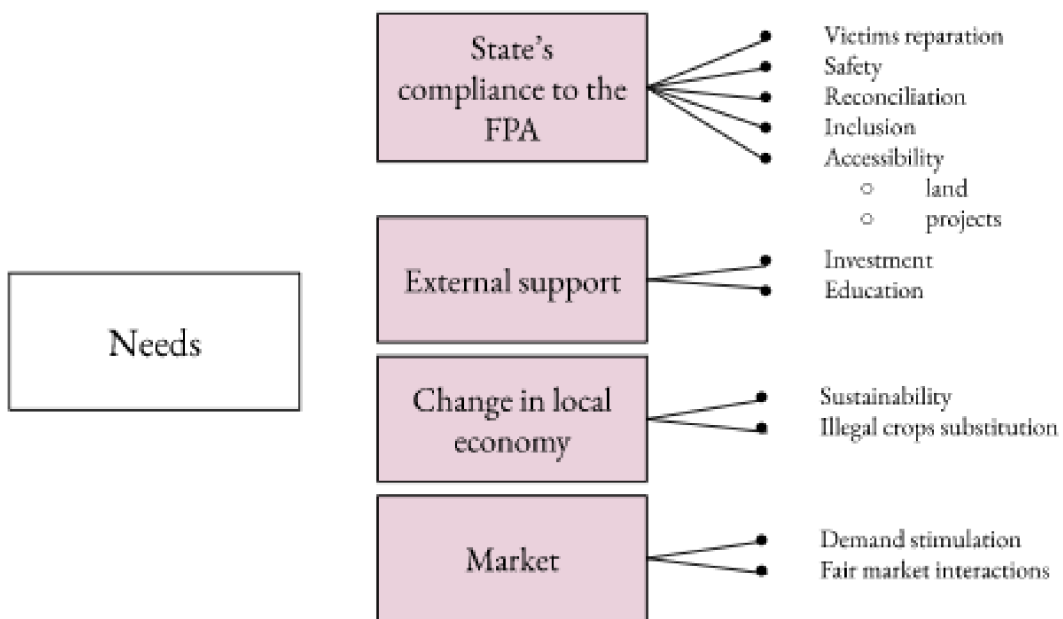


Figure 8 coding tree. Needs

“You see, what we do ask of the government, not so much for my sake, but for the sake of our companions, is that in the time that is left they really fulfill their obligations. In land, in housing, the strengthening of different businesses, entrepreneurship...” (i10, personal communication, March15, 2024). This assertion exemplifies the critical need for **State’s compliance with the FPA**. Interviewee i14 reflects on future visions: “I don’t know... we expect government aid, for the victims” (personal communication, March25, 2024); showing how needs and envisions can overlap and interweave in this context, and what is a right, such as “*victims reparation*”, become more of a hope than a certainty.

Personal “*safety*” is another crucial need and hope: “Yes, I would like that at some point we could have a kind of tranquility just like any other person without the need to have any armed guards, army.... Like living with that peace and tranquility that nothing is going to happen” (i16, personal communication, March26, 2024). This sentiment is echoed by i10: “And that they respect our right to live. It cannot be that this year we have already had so many former combatants killed. That we really have the right to live and that they do not take that right away from us”.

The safety topic is intrinsically linked with the “*reconciliation*” one, both a need and envision of civilians and ex-combatants. “I believe that we are all Colombians. And we all deserve a chance, I mean they, they must have had their reasons at the time they created the groups and well, we have to be in scenarios of peace and reconciliation. I hope that actors or those people who were once in the illegal armed groups, really enter the framework of legality and can also move forward in their life projects. [...] (we need) To be famous for the good things that the country has and not be seen as the media always sees it, which is the bad things that Colombia has and not the wonders that it really has” (i8, personal communication, March10, 2024).

Additionally, there is a pressing need for “*inclusion*”. On one hand “Vereda governments should have a very collective, very participatory vision” (i7, personal communication, March10, 2024). On the other hand “really we, as former-guerrillas, we also have the mentality of being equal to any other member of society, we can be involved in the work, in the programs, because we are really human beings and all human

beings have the right to everything [...] the idea is that we do not need to go back there (in the guerrilla), but that we can really feel good where we live, together”(i10, personal communication, March15, 2024).

Finally, as discussed regarding the RRI implementation, there are still significant difficulties in “accessibility” to both “land” and “projects”. This emerges as a quintessential need as “*being a landowner really gives you guarantees*”(i8, personal communication, March10, 2024).

The need for state compliance with the FPA aligns with the theoretical framework of environmental peacebuilding, which emphasizes the role of government and institutions in creating sustainable peace through good governance practices (Bruch et al., 2016; Ratner et al., 2017). Compliance with agreements and provision of basic rights such as land and safety are crucial for building trust and stability in post-conflict societies (Kaplan & Nussio, 2018). Moreover, the emphasis on reconciliation and inclusion is consistent with the literature on social integration and the importance of inclusive governance for lasting peace (Amaya Arias, 2022).

The **external support** theme highlights the acknowledgement by local communities that peacebuilding requires a concerted effort among various actors, and that “everything from those who support us, is a great help and a great blessing, because you cannot do it alone” (i6, personal communication, March10, 2024). Particularly, there is an emphasis on the interconnectedness of *education*, entrepreneurship, and land tenure : “*We need emphasis on education, technical, technological and university education, this is how we realize all those dreams. And after that, there is a cross-cutting theme: entrepreneurship, your passion, your business, your future, your life plan. Then land, territory, tenure come to play an important role, then it all comes together, that golden dream*”(i7, personal communication, March10, 2024).

Additionally, external *investment* is considered fundamental to development of infrastructures and territorial improvement as: “*These are start-ups that are just beginning, that can barely sustain themselves. Who can afford to pay for paving the roads? Then, those associations that finance the road improvement are really helping us*”(i4, personal communication, March8, 2024).

The need for external support aligns with theories of collaborative governance and the role of external actors in peacebuilding. External support can provide the necessary resources and expertise to complement local efforts, as discussed by scholars like Dresse et al. (2019), who emphasize the importance of capacity building and institutional strengthening. Additionally, the role of education and entrepreneurship in peacebuilding is well-documented, highlighting how these elements contribute to economic stability and social cohesion (Bruch et al., 2016)

The **change in the local economy** is a recurring need that also relates to the theme of shared interests previously analyzed and constitutes a foundation for the realization of other needs, such as safety.

First, the need for “*illicit-use crops substitution*” aligns with the envisions of a Putumayo where “the main economy is to plant trees [...] And that really peace develops, and zero coca [...] So that people and tourists can live and walk without worrying for their safety” (i6, personal communication, March10, 2024) and “it would be nice if we could move forward without the need for illicit crops, because what illicit crops bring is bloodshed and enemies” (i4, personal communication, March8, 2024). This need also underscores a significant challenge as “*the apogee of illicit-use crops did not allow other lines of agricultural production to exist*”(i5, personal communication, March9, 2024).

Second, the respondents expose the need for a sustainable economy, first addressing the value of the natural environment “*The truth is that we live in a paradise and we have to take care of it [...] Because we are the lungs of the world, the others destroy, we conserve*”(i5, personal communication, March9, 2024) and then the necessity to develop an inclusive economy which allows people living there to sustain themselves “*Logically, with the component of economic reactivation, there must be income to be able to move the value*

chains as such, but without affecting our entire environment” (i8, personal communication, March10, 2024).

Finally, the **market** emerges as a crucial theme in the success of the peacebuilding process in two major ways.

On the one hand, “What is important for a project, is the market, that one sows, and someone buys. Because if not, one can sow to consume oneself, but one needs clothes, one needs other things, to buy some other things that are necessary for life, or for the education of one’s children” (i1, personal communication, March6, 2024). Nevertheless, “here we have to both produce and consume [...] Those programs that the government gave us, if we implement them, what do we do next? ” (i10, personal communication, March15, 2024). While it would need that “we produce, and the State take care of extracting those products to the capital, that they really market the products” (i10, personal communication, March15, 2024) or “the possibility to create collection and marketing hubs” (i15, personal communication, March25, 2024). Remembering that the commercialization of products needs to have “a fair-trade character”(i5, personal communication, March9, 2024).

5.4 The Remaining Challenges

The emerging challenges serve to complete the framework about local communities’ perception of current and future situation.

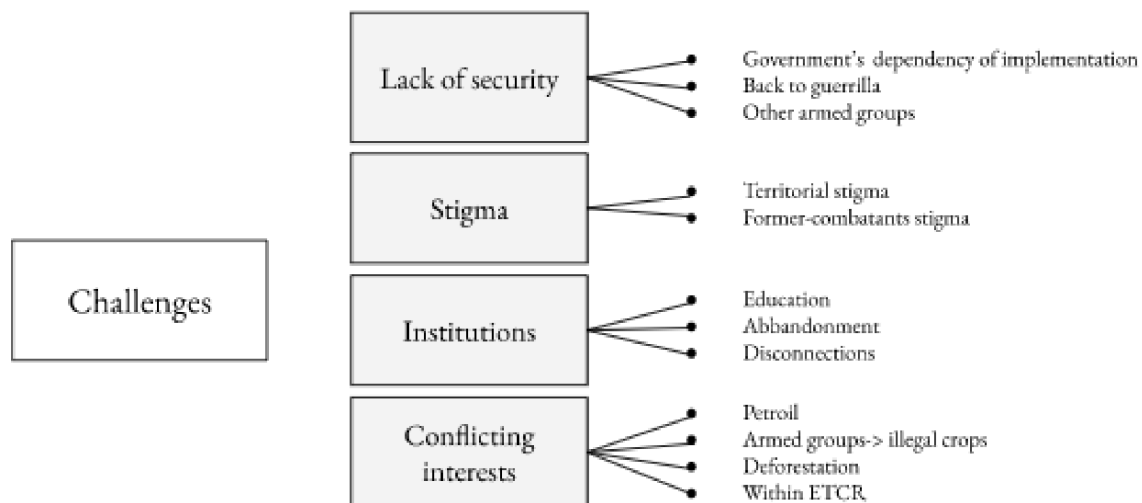


Figure 9 Coding tree. Challenges

First, it persists a “legal insecurity that doesn’t allows us to walk well, suddenly they capture a comrade, or they kill someone, we don’t know [...] (this **Lack of security** and predictability) makes it hard to think about the future”(i15, personal communication, March25, 2024). Furthermore, it is reflected in various

dynamics interweaved with local needs of State's compliance with the FPA. The *implementation dependency on government* is expressed by various interviewees, i10 affirms: *"Since the peace agreement was signed, all presidents have taken advantage to be reelected on the issue of the peace agreement"*. Furthermore, some identify it as one cause of the implementation state itself *"the change in government was also important because they have another focus. They are more interested in listening to us and at our needs"*(i3, personal communication, March6, 2024). And the lack of security emerges when *"today we have a piece of land, but many say: 'if I do build my house, what if tomorrow they take it away from us?'"*(i13, personal communication, March24, 2024). Additionally, *"when the peace agreement was not complied, they (ex-comrade of i10) returned to the armed groups"*(i10, personal communication, March15, 2024). This makes the problem of *"back to guerrilla"* emerging. Also, *other armed groups* remain in the area posing several problems of safety and security. *"Yes, we have great concern for the future. Personally, I believed that the current government was going to do more, when it talked about total peace [...] So we are worried that in the region the small groups that exist will grow and that we will return to the conflict that we had before. And these projects that today are providing food for many families are going backwards"*(i2, personal communication, March6, 2024). The respondent i11 reports the gravity of the issue and the effect on people life *"As since 2018 the war has increased again. We even have 475 peace signatories killed in Colombia. And many social leaders [...] Well, we are surviving here until they tell us to go and come and take us out of here."*

Second, overcoming **Stigmas** is a cardinal challenge for the territory. Firstly, it is necessary to break the stigma about the territory because *"People do not want to come to Putumayo, but it is more like stigmatization"* (i3, personal communication, March6, 2024) which affects the opportunities to really develop alternatives livelihood as tourism and inter-related sectors. Secondly, and very essential for a real reconciliation, the existing stigma on ex-combatants needs to be overcome and an interesting hint comes from i14 *"people sometimes don't understand, right? Like they don't have knowledge. I mean, they judge without knowing"*.

Lack of knowledge, coded as *education* and grouped under **institutions** theme, is also responsible for the gap existing between rural areas and the capital, and it poses challenges, first supporting the perpetuation of disadvantageous conditions for those who have been hit the most from the conflict, and we already saw the limited accessibility to official calls for people less educated. Additionally, *"To have a job requires a lot of preparation. Well, at that time it was so difficult for us that we were never able to train ourselves, because the violence was already very focused on the territories. So, it was difficult for us to prepare ourselves"*(i9, personal communication, March14, 2024), affecting even further the actual reincorporation process, and the stigma deconstruction.

Institutional *abandonment* emerges as a further challenge *"One cannot ignore this because in the regions here where we have been abandoned by the government, there has been little investment. So, for the peasant, for the indigenous communities, we have had no other choice (than cultivating coca)."* (i1, personal communication, March6, 2024) allowing the persistence of illegal and arming activities, which also pose danger to the general territorial security.

Moreover *"The municipalities, the offices that represent the countryside, are not connected... there is a broken telephone between productivity, the farmer, the support offices in the village.... The governor's*

office, if it is disconnected from the mayor, the governor also remains disconnected” (i7, personal communication, March10, 2024).

As various authors affirm, for an effective peacebuilding, institutions should be soundly established as to prevent inequalities, and provide people with actual agency and power (Bruch et al., 2016; Carius, 2006; Ratner et al., 2017). The emerging challenges in this theme, if not properly addressed, might be a destabilizing factor in the future of the department.

Finally, respondents highlighted the persistence of **conflictive interests** about use and access to land. In particular referring to *Petroleum* exploitation *“Everything is for hydrocarbon exploitation, and this affects land tenure [...] and to go against these multinationals... there are also risks.”* (i15, personal communication, March25, 2024), and *illegal-use crops*, which threaten the general stability of the department by financing illegal armed groups and foster *deforestation*. Additionally, a challenge emerges when the ex-combatants are only supported by the government as an association while *“a very different thing would have been if the government would have given each one his land, and you work it. Many comrades did not agree [...] So, the programs were leading us to clashes”* (i10, personal communication, March15, 2024).

Discussing this point requires going back to the peacebuilding approach adopted, which does not necessitate the absence of conflicts but emphasizes the ability to transform them (Lederach, 1997). This transformation can be achieved when sound mechanisms are implemented. Therefore, effectively addressing this challenge means ensuring the functioning of mechanisms for expressing and addressing the needs and concerns of various stakeholders. This includes fostering people’s agency, enhancing their capacity for expression, promoting confrontation and dialogue, and actively listening to different stakeholders. Additionally, it is essential to guarantee a legal framework for dispute resolution, ensure the rule of law, and the implementation of the agreement undertaken.

6. CONCLUSION

Altogether, this thesis has explored territorial dynamics and local perspective of a share of the Putumayo's rural population, providing with a better understanding of the land-peacebuilding relationship in a context characterized by the coexistence of: legal and illegal agriculture economies, natural resources abundance, marginalization, violence, historical state absence, while also being particularly attractive for international cooperation and NGOs.

More concretely, answering to the three sub-research questions suggests that:

First, the RRI implementation by the state did not reach a satisfactory point. Two observations originate from this: on one hand this poses a great treat to the construction of peace, as the expectations of one of the conflict parties are disattended and the root causes of the conflict are not adequately addressed. On the other hand, "people do not wait seated with crossed harms" (i7) and grassroots initiatives have a huge transformation power. After the 2016-FPA, on a wave of hope and opportunities, initiatives and projects rose and proliferated. This created an expanding network of associations, cooperatives, and individuals who, while building their livelihood, share spaces, interests, and knowledge, thereby strengthening the social fabric and setting foundations for peace. Additionally, the role of non-state actors in supporting local peacebuilding efforts emerges strongly, creating opportunities for cooperation and reciprocity that further enhance the peacebuilding process.

Second, even if not completely fulfilled the RRI provided some bases for EP mechanisms to activate and triggered virtuous circles. Especially important is the creation of alternative livelihoods, partially supported by the PNIS and PDET, but also by the ex-combatant's commitment so support local community and repair the damage. Furthermore, community-led initiatives and knowledge exchange were allowed to proliferate and grow in the territory, supported by local, national, and international actors. Solidarity is spread and reinforced by cooperative economies based on shared interests.

Third, many challenges and unheard needs still shape population's experience of life, alongside their hopes and dreams for their land and future. The security theme is undoubtedly crucial in peacebuilding, and it should focus on addressing the causes of the ongoing violence, such as the persistence of illegal armed-groups and drug-trafficking, the incompleteness of forgiveness and understanding process, and the absence of reliable and widely accepted legal frameworks for land-use disputes resolution. Additionally, for the development of an enduring peace, violence must end and conditions for "the creation of an environment in which people and societies are allowed to flourish" (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019) must be set. This implies the satisfaction of essential needs as education, food security, housing, and livelihood and the ability to please individuals' SCARF needs as identified by Rock (2008).

Lastly, I have the duty to highlight the strength and resilience of the local communities. After years of deprivation, dispossession, and death, and in a post-agreement context which provides them with very little certainties, people invest in their dreams, working for "the golden dream" (i7), for a "Putumayo of peace and nature" (i6).

To conclude on the role of land-use and land-access in peacebuilding, many potentialities emerge as local communities act as powerful catalyst forces of external support, whether this involves access to land, financing, or training for a legal agricultural project, or assistance in nature protection and restoration. Nevertheless, it is not enough alone. Coordinated actions and efforts among multiple actors are needed, as it is needed to have an inclusive approach and not leaving any actor outside. Finally, environmental peacebuilding emerges as being just one facet of the intricate process of peacebuilding. Acknowledged this, the potentials of EP are substantial, as it can be a very well-known and widely accepted instrument for engaging with the territory, while creating connections and supporting other fields as education, solidarity, and economic development, and strengthening actors' agency and legitimacy in the territory.

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APPENDIX

1. Actors' role in peacebuilding

Multiple actors take decisions and interact, creating a unique context-specific peacebuilding experience. Nevertheless, from the literature it is possible to identify certain roles that different social actors, at different levels, can assume to influence the peacebuilding process.

Environmental issues bring social stakeholder together encouraging them to cooperate both at local and international level. Through environmental information, education and participation, the civil society can gain more strength and power, and fortify linkages with academia, the government and its institutions can gain legitimacy and trust, and international actors can enter at different levels to support the process (Carius, 2006).

Government: "Governance reform is impossible without high-level political will" (Bruch et al., 2016). This sentence clearly states the fundamental role of the government and its institution in creating those good governance practices needed for the NRM to sustain the peacebuilding.

Also, the government is responsible for: formulating and implementing rules that allow different interests and perspectives to be expressed, and that clarify resource tenure rights; implementing conflict resolution mechanisms; and establishing institutions which prevent inequality and discrimination, especially in natural resources access and management (Bruch et al., 2016; Ratner et al., 2017)

Civil Society: In some cases of collectively managed natural resources, the cost of direct state monitoring would be very high, while it might be convenient for people already in the territory to engage in collective actions of monitoring and managing. Different institutions might emerge that promote collective actions for improving resources allocation and management and generating economic returns. These collective actions might not be born with the purpose of peacebuilding, but they end up strengthening the civil society and local communities, triggering mechanisms of trust-building, justice and reconciliation (Ratner et al., 2017). Similarly, in rural areas far from state control, social leaders or community assemblies exert the power and are in charge of many state's duties (Amaya Arias, 2022), this gave them an essential role in how the resources are managed and in the reconciliation process.

Furthermore, Civil society can exert pressure on the government, pretending transparency and accountability, advocating for institutional changes, equity and inclusion (Ratner et al., 2017) and manifesting the society's own diversity, allowing different actors a space of expression.

International actors: Governmental and non-governmental international actors can intervene in the peacebuilding process at different levels and with different purposes. Development cooperation agencies have a role in financing and providing technical assistance (Ratner et al., 2017) which have a role in capacity building and institutional strengthening (Dresse et al., 2019). The International Community can encourage reforms and exert pressure on governments and markets (Bruch et al., 2016).

Many UN agencies also enter the environmental cooperation and EP field, providing coordination, expertise, advice, and monitoring services.

Finally, foreign states, organizations or institutes can be part of the peacebuilding process as neutral actors guaranteeing the accomplishment of the peace agreement, as it is the case with the Colombian FPA (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016)

Non-state armed actors: a too often forgotten actor which is, nonetheless, the expression of social unsolved problems (Hofmann & Schneckener, 2011). Therefore, engagement with armed actors, though potentially legitimizing them and creating power imbalances, can provide valuable insights into their perspectives and roles in EP processes, potentially leading to better outcomes. Also, analyses focused on armed actors' relationships with civilians are crucial for accurately anticipating intervention impacts on conflict dynamics (Verweijen et al., 2022).

Former combatants: It is fundamental to consider this actor in the peacebuilding process, to involve it in NRM strategies, and to allow it to benefit from the livelihood opportunities that arise from Natural Resources access (Amaya Arias, 2022).

2. Relevant concepts from Colombian peacebuilding

Comprehensive Rural Reform (RRI)

The Comprehensive Rural Reform (RRI), derived from point 1 of the FPA, set the basis for a structural transformation of rural Colombia. It aims to reverse the conflict's effects and the conditions that reinforce the persistence of violence in the territory, and to solve the root causes of the armed conflict. Therefore, it addresses the questions of land tenure, rural development, and effective widespread access to citizenship rights. Furthermore, the success of this reform depends on communities' engagement, through democratic spaces which ensure transformative participation processes. Finally, the RRI institutes a Land Fund, conflict-affected and neglected areas via PDET, and commits the government to bridge the rural-urban gap through National Plans for the RRI (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

Agency for Territory Renovation (ART)

Established by the Executive Order 2366 of 2015 it has to: coordinate multi-level interventions, implement participatory planning spaces, and formulate and implement a "general plan for territory renewal" in the conflict-affected rural areas prioritized by the government (ART, 2024)

Development Programs with a Territorial-based Focus (PDET)

Development Programs with a Territorial-based Focus (PDET) arise from the point 1 of the Final Peace Agreement as a tool of reconciliation and peacebuilding. They were officially created with the law 893 of 2017 (Decreto Ley 893, 2017) as a mechanism for a prioritized implementation of the "sectoral national plans" aiming at transforming the countryside and its relationship with urban areas, guaranteeing the actual access of everybody to political, economic, social, and cultural rights, and developing the farmers' economy and way of production, while protecting the multiethnic richness and the knowledge arising from the multiculturalism of the territory.

PDET prioritization is based on: poverty level, grade at which the territory was hit by the conflict, the institutional capacity, and the presence of illegal crops or other illegal economies (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

Regional Transformation Action Plan (PATR)

The FPA provides for a Regional Transformation Action Plan (PATR) for every PDET region, elaborated in a participatory and multilevel way, so as to account for socio-historical, cultural, environmental, and productive characteristics, and the specific needs of people living in the territory. The citizens' participation would also invigorate local democracy and promote associationism and solidarity (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

Sectoral National Plans

They are 16 tools originating from the first point of FPA, which aim at addressing public policy, projects and investments in a way to close the gap between the rural and urban population and end poverty and inequalities. Four main focuses are identified: infrastructures and land adaptation, social development, support to agriculture and economies of cooperation and solidarity, and progressive guarantee to food rights (Unidad de Implementación del Acuerdo de Paz, 2021).

Reintegration vs Reincorporation in Colombian debate.

Until 2017, it existed in Colombia the National Agency for reintegration, this agency used to take in charge deserters from illegal armed groups, no matter the side, and help them to reinsert in civil life. After the peace agreement, the FARC members who laid down the weapons did not agree with entering this same program for various reasons, and a new Agency was created: the National Agency for reincorporation.

First, the reintegration concept and the agency were strictly connected to deserters, on the one hand this generated mistrust (Bechara & Herrera, 2018) and on the other hand the ex-guerrilleros did not want to be associated to or identified as deserters as they had not abandoned the cause for which they had fought, but had entered as political actors to pursue it (Interview 17). Accordingly, the reincorporation of ex-guerrilleros includes political reincorporation, something that was not present in the reintegration agency program (Bechara & Herrera, 2018)

Second, the reincorporation council is made of 2 government representatives and 2 ex-FARC members (Agencia para la Reincorporación y la Normalización - ARN, n.d.).

Third, the reintegration model was based on individual experience, while the FARC looked at a collective process which allows its members to keep connections and cooperation, among each other and in the territory (Bechara, 2018). This is an essential part of the commitment undertaken by the FARC-EP to actively work for reincorporation, damages reparation, and communities wellbeing.

Transitional Local Zones for Normalisation (ZVTN)

At point 3 of the FPA it was established the creation of transitory areas for the ex-combatants to enter civil life, originally called “Zonas Veredales Transitorias de Normalización” (ZVTN) (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

Territorial Spaces for Training and Reincorporation (ETCR)

Since August 2017, a new juridical subject was created for the ex-members of FARC-EP who wanted to take part of it: the ETCR (from Spanish Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación) which are spaces of capacitation and adaptation to civil life for ex-combatants, and which also aim at being beneficial for the surrounding community (Agencia para la Reincorporación y la Normalización - ARN, n.d.).

New Reincorporation Areas (NAR)

Since 2017 another subject started to arise autonomously: the New Reincorporation Areas (NAR From the Spanish ‘Nueva Area de Reincorporación’), those are collective settlement where ex-combatants, their families and the local communities live together bringing on practices of solidarity and participatory decision over land use and constructing production linkages in the community. Nevertheless this particular system has not been officially recognized by the government (Saavedra, 2020).

National Program for the Substitution of Illicitly Used Crops (PNIS)

The new Integrated National Program for the Substitution of Illicitly Used Crops (PNIS from the Spanish “Programa Nacional Integral de Sustitución de Cultivos Ilícitos”) is part of the point 4 of the FPA, and it aims at the volunteer participation of farmers cultivating or working in illicit crops plantation (e.g. plantation used to produce illegal drugs). Being also part of the RRI, the PNIS must impulse a participatory planification process and keep its focus on the territory, and its specific economic potentials, on gender issues, and on the communities living there, especially considering the needs of rural, indigenous, and afro-descendant populations, and their culture and tradition heterogeneity. Furthermore, the program arranges some measures for the transition phase livelihood of involved farmers, and a more agile process for land tenure recognition. Among the final goals of this program there are: to overcome the poverty conditions of involved farmers, to generate new opportunities for the communities and new participation space, to strengthen trust, solidarity, and peaceful coexistence, to contribute to the closure of the agrarian frontier and to strengthen institutions and state presence in the territory (Gobierno Nacional de Colombia y FARC-EP, 2016).

3. Respondents' characterization

INTERVIEWS	CHARACTERIZATION	FPA Connected Program
i1	Worker in cacao and chocolate enterprise + land owner	PNIS, PDET
i2	Entrepreneur (cacao crops, chocolate factory and ecotourism)	PNIS, PDET
i3	Entrepreneur (cacao crops, chocolate factory and ecotourism)	PNIS, PDET
i4	Worker in ecotourism and cacao enterprise	PDET
i5	President of association	PDET
i6	Entrepreneur (organic cacao, reforestation, and ecotourism)	PDET
i7	Entrepreneur (inclusive economy project)	PDET
i8	Entrepreneur (organic cacao, reforestation, and ecotourism) + ART worker	PDET
i9	Ex-guerrillero/a moved out from the ATCR, now working in international cooperation agricultural production projects	PDET / ETCR
i10	Ex-guerrillero/a now in politics	PDET, "Comunes" political party
i11	Ex-guerrillero/a living in a NAR	PDET/ETCR
i12	Ex-guerrillero/a moved in the NAR as security guard	PDET/ETCR/SECURITY
i13	Ex-guerrillero/a living in the NAR	PDET/ETCR
i14	Worker in the NAR	PDET
i15	Ex-guerrillero/a living in the NAR	PDET/ETCR
i16	Worker living in the NAR	PDET

i17	Ex-guerrillero/a + political scientist, involved in the pre-agreement Habana discussions	This subject is not part of Putumayo's rural community, the interview focused on the FPA, its implementation and critics, and allowed access to secondary sources.
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4. Interviews guidelines

Guidelines were needed for the interviewer to be sure that all topics of interest were covered, while the asked questions were designed to allow interviewees to provide an extended and subjective account of their reality, thereby enabling the emergence of important elements that were not directly introduced by the interviewer.

4.1 never armed civilians, Spanish

1. Datos del participante

1. Edad
2. Educacion
3. Empleo
4. Familia
5. Lugar de nacimiento
6. Lugar de residencia al momento presente
7. razón de desplazamiento (si hay)

2. Descripción del proyecto

1. ¿Cómo llegaron a esta tierra?
2. Hace cuantos años empezaron
3. Porquè eligieron hacer esto
4. ¿El proyecto tiene alguna relación con iniciativas de sustitución de cultivos ilícitos?
5. Quien hace parte del proyecto
6. Solo o parte de una rete mas larga
7. Recibes o recibiste algún soporte institucional para empezar este proyecto
8. Recibes o recibiste algún soporte de organizaciones no gubernamentales (NGO) o de cooperación internacional para empezar este proyecto

3. Agroecología / Sostenibilidad

1. Porque
2. Qué significa para ti

4. El sentido del territorio

1. Que es la tierra

2. El papel de la tierra en su vida
3. Que significa tener tierra

5. Tierra y Guerra o Tierra y Paz

1. ¿Qué tanto ha estado afectado por la violencia y por la guerra?
2. ¿Ha pasado algún cambio en los últimos años, si sí cual?
3. ¿Cómo el proyecto se ha integrado en la comunidad donde se desarrolla?
4. ¿Siente que este proyecto le ha permitido tejer relaciones más fuertes o profundas en el territorio? Con otros miembros de la comunidad, campesinos, emprendedores, u otros actores...
5. ¿Porque estas relaciones se han ido fortaleciendo, como, y que es que vos motiva en mantenerlas y trabajar en esas? (si aplica)
6. ¿Su proyecto se ha visto beneficiado de alguna manera por la Reforma Rural Integral derivada del acuerdo de paz con las FARC-EP de 2016?

6. Cooperación en el territorio

1. ¿Siente que su comunidad le brinda su soporte?
2. ¿Está trabajando junto con otras organizaciones o emprendimientos?
3. ***MAPEO DE LOS ACTORES?

7. Más allá de su localidad

1. ¿Cómo siente que este proyecto se pueda conectar a la cuestión del conflicto colombiano?
2. Soporte y conexiones de otras regiones o países

8. Visión presente y futura

1. Nivel de conflictualidad y su cambio en el tiempo
2. sentimiento de seguridad actual
3. Confianza en la capacidad de responder a cuestiones sociales sin el uso de violencia en su comunidad
4. Confianza en el futuro y en la capacidad de cooperación entre los actores del territorio

4.2 Never armed civilians English

Participant's data

Age

Education

Employment

Family

Place of birth

Current place of residence

Reason for travel (if any)

Description of the project

How did you come to this land?

How many years ago did you start

Why did you choose to do this

Does the project have any relationship with illicit crop substitution initiatives?

Who is part of the project

Alone or part of a larger network

Do you or did you receive any institutional support to start this project?

Did you receive or did you receive any support from non-governmental organizations (NGO) or international cooperation to start this project?

Agroecology / Sustainability

Why

What does it mean to you

The meaning of territory

What is land

The role of land in your life

What it means to have land

Land and War or Land and Peace

How much have you been affected by violence and war?

Have there been any changes in recent years, if yes, which ones?

How has the project been integrated into the community where it is being developed?

Do you feel that this project has allowed you to weave stronger or deeper relationships in the territory?

With other members of the community, farmers, entrepreneurs, or other actors?

Why have these relationships been strengthened, how, and what is it that motivates you to maintain and work on them (if applicable)?

Has your project benefited in any way from the Comprehensive Rural Reform derived from the 2016 peace agreement with FARC-EP?

Cooperation in the territory

Do you feel that your community supports you?

Are you working together with other organizations or enterprises?

***STAKEHOLDER MAPPING? Proposal

Beyond your locality

How do you feel this project can be connected to the issue of the Colombian conflict?

Support and connections from other regions or countries

Present and future vision

Level of conflictuality and its change over time

Current sense of security

Confidence in ability to respond to social issues without the use of violence in your community

Confidence in the future and in the ability to cooperate among actors in the territory

4.3 Ex-combatants Spanish

Datos del participante

- Edad
- Educacion
- Empleo
- Familia (Familia biológica o compañeros)
- Lugar de nacimiento
- Lugar de residencia al momento presente
- razón de desplazamiento (si hay)

Descripción del proyecto

- ¿Cómo llegaron a esta tierra?
- Hace cuantos años empezaron
- Porque eligieron hacer esto
- Porque eligieron/ no eligieron entrar en una etcr
- ¿El proyecto tiene alguna relación con iniciativas de sustitución de cultivos ilícitos?
- Quien hace parte del proyecto
- Solo o parte de una rete mas larga
- Recibes o recibiste algún soporte institucional para empezar este proyecto
- Recibes o recibiste algún soporte de organizaciones no gubernamentales (NGO) o de cooperación internacional para empezar este proyecto

Más allá de su localidad

- ¿Cómo siente que este proyecto se pueda conectar a la cuestión del conflicto colombiano?
- Soporte y conexiones de otras regiones o países

Cooperación en el territorio

- ¿Siente que su comunidad le brinda su soporte?
- Desde su perspectiva, como está avanzando el proceso de integración
- Factores y actores positivos y negativos
- Cómo se siente en tema de seguridad
- Como se siente usted hacia quien llega de afuera de la Cooperativa
- ¿Siente que este proyecto le ha permitido tejer relaciones más fuertes o profundas en el territorio? Con otros miembros de la comunidad, campesinos, emprendedores, u otros actores...
- ¿Porque estas relaciones se han ido fortaleciendo, como, y que es que vos motivas en mantenerlas y trabajar en esas? (si applica)

- Cuáles fueron las motivaciones que la hicieron entrar en la guerrilla
- Qué fue lo que le hizo elegir entregar las armas y volverse a la vida civil?
- Que es la paz por usted
- Cuáles siente que sean los mayores logros que ganó después del acuerdo de paz?
- Cuales los desafíos
- Que tal la relación entre la cooperativa y el demás de las personas viviendo en el territorio
- Usted tiene compañeros que regresaron?

Agroecología / Sostenibilidad

- Porque
- Qué significa para ti

El sentido del territorio

- Que es la tierra
- El papel de la tierra en su vida
- Que significa tener tierra

Visión presente y futura

- Nivel de conflictualidad y su cambio en el tiempo
- sentimiento de seguridad actual
- Confianza en la capacidad de responder a cuestiones sociales sin el uso de violencia en su comunidad
- Confianza en el futuro y en la capacidad de cooperación entre los actores del territorio

4.4 Ex-combatants Spanish

Participant's data

Age

Education

Employment

Family (Biological family or partners)

Place of birth

Place of residence at present

Reason for displacement (if any)

Description of the project

How did you come to this land?

How many years ago did you start

Why did you choose to do this

Why did you choose to enter (or not) into an etcr

Does the project have any relationship with illicit crop substitution initiatives?

Who is part of the project?

Alone or part of a larger network

Did you receive or did you receive any institutional support to start this project?

Did you receive or did you receive any support from non-governmental organizations (NGO) or international cooperation to start this project?

Beyond your locality

How do you feel this project can be connected to the issue of the Colombian conflict?

Support and connections from other regions or countries

Cooperation in the territory

Do you feel that your community supports you?

From your perspective, how is the integration process progressing?

Positive and negative factors and actors

How do you feel about security

How do you feel towards those who come from outside the Cooperative?

Do you feel that this project has allowed you to build stronger or deeper relationships in the territory?

With other members of the community, farmers, entrepreneurs, or other actors?

Why have these relationships been strengthened, how, and what is it that motivates you to maintain and work on them? (if applicable)

Land and War or Land and Peace

What were the motivations that made you join the guerrilla?

What was it that made you choose to turn in your weapons and return to civilian life?

What is peace for you?

What do you feel are the greatest achievements you gained after the peace agreement?

What are the challenges?

How is the relationship between the cooperative and the other people living in the territory?

Do you have colleagues who have returned?

Agroecology / Sustainability

Why

What does it mean to you

The meaning of the territory

What is land

The role of land in your life

What it means to have land

Present and future vision

Level of conflictuality and its change over time

Current sense of security

Confidence in the ability to respond to social issues without the use of violence in their community.

Confidence in the future and in the ability to cooperate among act

5. Consent form



Consentimiento Informado para Participantes del Proyecto de Investigación titulado "El papel de la tierra en el proceso de construcción de paz en Colombia tras el acuerdo de paz de 2016 con las FARC-EP. La perspectiva de las comunidades afectadas por el conflicto"

El propósito de esta ficha de consentimiento es proveer a los participantes en esta investigación con una clara explicación de la naturaleza de la misma, así como de su rol en ella como participantes.

La presente investigación es conducida por Lisa Cani, investigadora italiana realizando una estancia de investigación en la Universidad Externado de Colombia. El propósito general de este estudio es examinar el rol que ha jugado el acceso a la tierra y su uso en el proceso de construcción de paz, posterior a 2016 en Colombia.

Si usted accede a participar en este proyecto, se le pedirá responder preguntas en una entrevista. Lo que se converse durante estas sesiones se grabará, de modo que el investigador pueda transcribir después las ideas que usted haya expresado (si usted prefiere que no se grabe, por favor indíquelo de forma explícita).

La participación en este estudio es estrictamente voluntaria. La información que se recoja será confidencial y no se usará para ningún otro propósito fuera de los objetivos de esta investigación.

Si alguna de las preguntas le parece incómoda, tiene usted el derecho de hacérselo saber al investigador o de no responderlas.

Si tuviera alguna pregunta respecto a mi participación en cualquiera de sus aspectos, puedo contactarme con la investigadora Lisa Cani en el correo electrónico lisa.cani01@universitadipavia.it o con el profesor e investigador Andrés Macías de la Universidad Externado de Colombia, a través del correo electrónico hector.macias@uexternado.edu.co o del teléfono 3420288, extensión 2002.

Desde ya le agradecemos su participación.

Yo, _____, identificado(a) con cédula de ciudadanía No. _____, de la ciudad de _____, acepto participar voluntariamente, y sin contraprestación alguna, en esta investigación, conducida por una investigadora italiana realizando una estancia de investigación en la Universidad Externado de Colombia. He sido informado(a) acerca del objetivo de este estudio.

Me han indicado también que tendré que responder preguntas en una entrevista.

Reconozco que la información que yo provea en el curso de esta investigación es estrictamente confidencial y no será usada para ningún otro propósito fuera de los de este estudio. He sido informado(a) que puedo hacer preguntas sobre el proyecto en cualquier momento y que puedo retirarme del mismo cuando así lo decida, sin que esto acarree perjuicio alguno para mi persona.

Autorizo que la entrevista sea grabada: SI NO

Autorizo el uso de mi nombre en el documento que resulte de la investigación: SI NO

(Si respondió NO en la anterior) Autorizo que se use la palabra "Anónimo" en lugar de mi nombre: SI NO

Firma
Nombre del Participante
Fecha

6. PATR and PDET roadmap: a comparison

For the design of its PATR, the ART involved 9081 local actors at vereda level, municipality level and subregional level, with the creation of 3 agreements containing local initiatives, needs, and problematics emerged, which were analyzed around 8 pillars and prioritized by competent local and national entities (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio & Presidencia de la Republica, 2018).

As a result, the following territorial vision emerged: "By 2028 communities in Putumayo will have consolidated a comprehensive sustainable rural development and a harmonious and autonomous life, coherent with the Andean-Amazonian conditions and identity. These communities will be inclusive, reconciled and educated; they will respect the differential, ethnic and gender approach and their cosmovision. They will be conscious, empowered, defenders of the territory and of life in all its manifestations, and permanent builders of a new citizenship" (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio & Presidencia de la Republica, 2018).

As of the greatest potentials for the territory, Ecotourism, Environmental Preservation and Ecosystem services emerge, while the main threats reside in extensive cattle breeding and illegal-use crops as drivers of deforestation. Furthermore, it is important to notice that mining is recognized as a cause of social conflicts and especially minerals mines are considered rather as a threat than as an opportunity (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio & Presidencia de la Republica, 2018).

Finally, 8 pillars are built to group the emerged initiatives:

- 1) Social Planning of Rural Property and Land Use (8 subregional and 361 municipal initiatives);
 - 2) Infrastructure and Land Adequacy (8 subregional and 304 municipal initiatives);
 - 3) Rural Health (7 subregional and 347 municipal initiatives);
 - 4) Rural Education (9 subregional and 782 municipal initiatives);
 - 5) Rural Housing, Drinking Water and Basic Rural Sanitation (2 subregional and 270 municipal initiatives);
 - 6) Economy Reactivation and Agribusiness (10 subregional and 610 municipal initiatives);
 - 7) Progressive food-security guarantee (4 subregional and 146 municipal initiatives);
 - 8) Reconciliation, Co-existence and Peacebuilding (8 subregional and 550 municipal initiatives)
- (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio & Presidencia de la Republica, 2018).

On the other hand, the PDET roadmap for Putumayo establishes objectives, challenges, and priorities that differ from the PATR ones. The identified objectives are Security and Reconciliation, Sustainable Development, and Connectivity. While the main identified challenge is the promotion of a sound socio-economic environment for illegal-use crops reduction, formal employment and better market access and connections (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio, 2021).

Additionally, even recognizing the role of the mining sector in generating social conflicts and dependency, the PDET roadmap identifies it as a strategic sector for economic dynamization, and when coming to the selection and prioritization of the initiatives emerged in the PATR, it is possible to observe a very different percentage of initiatives per pillar than the one emerged in the PATR, as an example, the Roadmap's selected initiatives for pillar 6, Economy Reactivation and Agribusiness, are 62% of the total selected initiatives, while in the PATR the pillars that received the most of the initiatives was the number 4, Rural Education (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio, 2021). Also, the actual society participation in the PDET roadmap design has been questioned by various authors and it rather look like a top-down acknowledge of the roadmap, than a proper construction from the bottom (Diaz, 2022; Valencia Toro, 2021), furthermore, by reading the PDET roadmaps methodology (Agencia de Renovacion del Territorio,

2021) it is possible to see that delegates from ethnic and indigenous communities are not called to establishing priorities over the initiatives. Finally, when checking at the roadmap's targets, there is no reference to adequate use of land or democratization of land access.

We can therefore conclude that Putumayo's PDET roadmap goes far from the RRI concepts of communities' ability to affect planning and appropriate and inclusive land use, therefore using its indicator would return an incomplete image of the RRI implementation.