Local Reintegration as Peacebuilding Strategy
The Experiences of the Colombian Peace Communities

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This thesis is submitted for obtaining the Joint Master’s Degree in International Humanitarian Action. By submitting the thesis, the author certifies that the text is from her own hand, does not include the work of someone else unless clearly indicated, and that the thesis has been produced in accordance with proper academic practices.
Abstract

This thesis looks at the complicated task Colombia is facing in the light of the decades-long conflict between government, guerrilla, paramilitary, and criminal groups and the current peace agreements. Reintegration of ex-combatants was, is, and will be an important part of Colombia’s peacebuilding strategy. By analysing the concepts peacebuilding and reintegration a theoretical framework has been developed that proposes a bottom-up approach. Field research has been conducted in Santander and Cauca to learn from the local reintegration processes of the Association of Farmer Workers of Carare (ATCC) and the indigenous Nasa community. Based on the literature research and the interviews conducted in the communities lessons and recommendations were formulated for the national reintegration strategy as part of the Colombian peacebuilding process. For the Colombian reintegration process to be part of a successful peacebuilding strategy, it should be a comprehensive process that takes into account the needs of the ex-combatants as well as the needs of the receiving communities. In addition, a flexible design should enable the adoption of reintegration programmes to local preferences and ideas. Moreover, local reintegration initiatives that enjoy a high level of local acceptance and legitimacy should be recognised, accepted, and supported in order to enhance the success, impact, and contribution to peacebuilding. The national peacebuilding process, and the reintegration process in particular, should be firmly rooted in the communities in order for Colombia to win its post conflict.
Acknowledgements
The writing of my thesis has been much more than an academic exercise. The past few months in Colombia have been an amazing experience in which I developed myself personally and professionally. I got to know Colombia as a beautiful country, inhabited by beautiful people. Unfortunately, the legacy of the decades of conflict is intertwined with daily life. The troubled history has left the country divided between urban and rural areas, indigenous people and farmer communities, guerrillas, paramilitaries, and criminal groups. It is against this background that the country tries to move forward and will soon attempt to win the post-conflict. I am grateful that I had the opportunity to learn more about the complicated situation through the research for my thesis and through my internship at the Norwegian Refugee Council in Bogotá. I want to take this space to thank everyone who has played an important role during the last semester of my NOHA Master’s Programme in International Humanitarian Action. First and foremost I want to thank my great friends, roommates, and fellow students Doutsen and Krista with whom I shared many hours of studying and writing in the library. I could not have done it without their unfailing support and moments of laughter and fun. I am also grateful to Pedro, Johanna, and Andrea who provided me with information about and access to the two peace communities studied in this thesis. The field trips that where possible due to their help have enriched me intellectually and personally. Both the members of the ATCC and the Nasa community have been amazing in receiving me in their territories and responding all my questions. I also want thank my supervisor Andrej for his feedback and his confidence in my independence during the research. My Colombian, Peruvian, and Venezuelan friends have been very helpful in filling in the gaps in the transcriptions of my interviews. Finally, I want to thank everyone I met during these months in Colombia and who made the country feel like home. Colombia will always remain a special place for me and with whole my heart I hope that the Colombian people will be able to win their post-conflict.
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| ACIN         | Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte de Cauca  
*Association of Indigenous Cabildos of the North of Cauca*  
ACR          | Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración  
*Colombian Agency for Reintegration*  
ATCC         | Asociación de Trabajadores y Campesinos de Carare  
*Association of Farmer Workers of Carare*  
BACRIM       | Bandas Criminales  
*Criminal Gangs*  
DDR          | Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration  
ELN          | Ejército de Liberación Nacional  
*National Liberation Army*  
EPL          | Ejército Popular de Liberación  
*Popular Liberation Army*  
FARC         | Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas  
*Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia*  
GAHD         | Grupo de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado  
*Group of Humanitarian Attention to Demobilised*  
IDDRS        | Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards  
M19          | Movimiento 19 de Abril  
*19th of April Movement*  
PAHD         | Programa de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado  
*Programme of Humanitarian Attention to the Demobilised*  
PRVC         | Programa para la Reincorporación a la Vida Civil de Excombatientes y Alzados de Armas  
*Programme for Reincorporation of Former Combatants and Weapon Barriers into Civil Life*
1. Research Outline

1.1. Introduction

Violence and civil strife are ingrained in Colombian society which has a tradition of favouring force over dialogue.¹ Since its independence in 1810, the country has experienced various violent wars and the current conflict between the government and numerous non-state armed groups finds its origins in the barbarous period known as La Violencia (1948-1958). The power-sharing accord that ended these ten years of conflict between the Colombian Liberal Party and the Colombian Conservative Party resulted in the severe reduction of political competition.² The structural violence of political, social, and economic exclusion and lack of opportunities led to the creation of various leftist guerrilla groups in the 1960s.³ The most significant are the farmer and Marxist based Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas (FARC) and the Christian-Marxist based Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN).⁴ Paramilitary groups were created as auto-defence mechanisms against the violence of the guerrillas and soon became armed actors with influence in the whole country.⁵ Over the years, the conflict dynamics have changed and evolved. The intractable, protracted conflict is now characterized by a weak state that lacks control over parts of its territories, the struggle over control of land and natural resources, the presence of a dangerous mix of guerrillas, neo-paramilitaries, and criminal gangs, and the penetration of narco-traffic. This all occurs against the background of a polarized civil population, high levels of crime, corruption, forced displacement, and kidnapping.⁶⁷⁸⁹

Since the 1980s there have been attempts to reach negotiated solutions. Different approaches and models have been applied. Although some attempts led to the demobilisation of guerrilla

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³ Henriques, “‘Laboratorios de Paz’ en Territorios de Violencia(s),” 116.
⁶ McDougall, “State Power and its Implications for Civil War Colombia,” 327.
⁷ Henriques, “‘Laboratorios de Paz’ en Territorios de Violencia(s),” 120.
⁸ Nieto and García, “Las Autodefensas y el Paramilitarismo en Colombia,” 49.
and paramilitary groups, the war against the FARC and ELN continues until today.\(^{10}\) The most recent peace process, initiated by president Juan Manuel Santos in 2012, seemed to be a breakthrough in the history of the Colombian conflict. The negotiation agenda of the government and the FARC covers six issues: rural reform, political participation, end of the conflict, illicit drugs, reparation of victims, and implementation and verification.\(^{11}\) On June 23\(^{rd}\) 2016 the FARC and the Colombian government agreed on a “Bilateral and Definitive Ceasefire, Cessation of Hostilities, and Laying Aside of Weapons” which constituted a historical milestone and raised expectations for a final peace accord.\(^{12}\) However, the peace accord was rejected by the Colombian population during a plebiscite on October 2 and the country has again entered a period of uncertainty.

After decades of conflict peace at national level finally seems to be in reach. However, as various contexts have shown, the signing of a peace agreement does not always represent a structural, positive peace. The period that follows is often a time of great uncertainty, characterized by a continued threat of violence posed by former combatants, armed gangs, and hostile communities.\(^{13}\) Whether the peace will also be reflected at local level is therefore a crucial question. Although the peace negotiations are conducted with a clear statement of ‘local ownership’ (“this will be a negotiation by Colombians and for Colombians”\(^{14}\)) the level of community involvement and acceptance can be questioned. One of the main challenges in the Colombian peace process is the possible gap between national and local levels of peacebuilding. Sergio Jeramillo, the Colombian High Commissioner for Peace, accurately stated that the negotiated agreements only establish the ‘what’ and not the ‘how’ of the peace process. The success of the implementation will be highly dependent on the citizens of the regions and community participation is paramount to the joint construction of peace.\(^{15}\)


\(^{14}\) Nasi and Rettberg, “Colombia’s Farewell to Civil War,” 13.

term peace implementation and long term peacebuilding efforts upheld by community support are essential for the successful transition towards peace. Proactive involvement of the civil society is crucial to create a sense of local ownership. After all, a peace process that is not supported by the communities is very likely to fail. In the words of Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez, one of the two rapporteurs of the Historical Commission of the Conflict and its Victims, Colombia should not only win the conflict, but “hay que ganar el posconflicto” (must win the post-conflict).

According to Pizarro, the absolute priority should be the reintegration of the demobilized combatants to avoid high levels of crime in the future and to “win the post-conflict”. Reintegration is the third component of the process of Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration (DDR) and aims at the political, economic, and social reincorporation of ex-combatants in civil life. It is a sensitive issue because of the traumatic experiences and grievances of the victims. To address the attitudes and reactions of the receiving communities towards ex-combatants, a justice and reconciliation component to DDR is suggested by some authors. Community-based reconciliation processes that enjoy a high degree of acceptance and legitimacy would benefit reintegration and in turn benefit the community. It would help to improve social relations and rebuild social capital and social cohesion that is necessary to overcome polarisation of the population and avoid relapse into criminal conduct.

A clear example of peacebuilding from below with clear local ownership in Colombia is the establishment of the so-called peace communities. After experiencing violations of

19 Ardila Arias, “ ‘Hay que ganar el posconflicto’”
fundamental rights, expropriation of land, forced displacement, restrictions on movement, threats, murders, and violence, various communities decided to withdraw from the dynamics of war by declaring themselves and their territories neutral. These peace communities function as a safe haven for its inhabitants and as a mechanism for conflict mitigation. By raising their voice and promoting a culture of peace and conviviality, the communities strengthened their problem solving and decision-making capacities and repaired the social systems at local level. The philosophy of the peace communities fits well with the aim of the reintegration of ex-combatants in establishing social relationships in communities and encourage active participation in society. Local justice and reconciliation processes distinct to national processes are adopted to deal with cases of injustice and the integration of ex-combatants.

1.2. Rationale

The idea that successful peacebuilding is dependent on local involvement and a sense of local ownership is accepted in theory but the practice is lagging behind. Local actors remain an underexploited peacebuilding resource. Even worse, national elites can undermine local peacebuilding efforts through direct criticism or disapproval, or incorporation of community-based initiatives in national projects. For the first time in Colombia, the need for decentralised peacebuilding policies is recognised through the introduction of the concept paz territorial which reflects the importance of the regional dimensions of the peace process. In order to bring a final end to the conflict and to change conditions on the ground, the peace process should be rooted in the regions, using the strength and capacities of the

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25 Pedro Valenzuela, “Neutrality in Internal Armed Conflicts: Experiences at the Grassroots Level in Colombia” (PhD diss., Uppsala University, 2009).
28 Donais, “Empowerment or Imposition?” 3–4, 11.
communities. This acknowledges the fact that an initiative for peace may be made at national level, but that the solution should be sought at regional level (“la paz es nacional como propuesta, pero es regional como solución”). This realisation is very important for the development of peacebuilding initiatives in Colombia. However, the question remains whether this recognition is also put into practice. Colombia has a very active civil society and this peacebuilding source should extensively be explored and used to ensure the successful course of the peace process.

Peace communities are rarely (internationally) researched because of the novelty of the concept. It is important to pay attention to the attitudes of the peace communities towards the reintegration of ex-combatants. In the end, it is the communities that will (or will not) ensure their reintegration. To avoid local resistance and ensure sustainability, the peace process should be on a self-enforcing basis. That is to say, the process should be borne by society so that it will continue and not resume after the implementers and observers withdraw. However, there is not sufficiently theoretical research done about the link between social integration and transitional justice to inform policies and self-enforcing processes. Moreover, reintegration is sometimes called the forgotten R in DDR. Consequently, reintegration activities are implemented that do not contribute to reconciliation, local processes are superficially treated, and processes are adopted without considering the problems or impacts they may have.

This study contributes to the academic literature by pointing to the role of local actors as peacebuilding resources. In the context of Colombia it analyses the compatibility between theory and practice and explores the local experiences of peace communities in order to formulate recommendations for the reintegration process at national level.

32 Jeramillo, “Transition in Colombia”
34 Chavorro and Rampi, “Repensar el Diálogo,” 12.
35 Valenzuela, “Neutrality in Armed Conflicts,” 27.
1.3. Research Question
This research is meant to contribute to the knowledge about the role of communities as agents of change and contributors to the construction of peace. Reconciliation and empowerment processes at local level should enable communities to mobilise towards positive change. The research is applied on the Colombian context where the communities could and should have much influence in the (post)conflict. The study does so by answering the following question: *What lessons can be drawn from local reintegration experiences for the national peacebuilding process in Colombia?* To operationalise this question, the study is divided in three main sections.

The first theoretical section discusses the existing literature on peacebuilding and explains the rationale behind peacebuilding from below. Different concepts are clarified such as ‘local’ (which agents are considered local?) and ‘local ownership’ (is it a means to an end or an end in itself?). The discussion is linked to the case of Colombia in which effective peacebuilding at different levels will determine the success of the peace process. By doing so, this section answers the following question: *How can peacebuilding from below benefit the peace process in Colombia?*

Thereafter, a second theoretical section focuses on the reintegration element of DDR. It examines different understandings and objectives of reintegration and links it to the quest for reconciliation. The concept of ‘reintegration from below’ is introduced which refers to the importance of community involvement in the process. This section also touches upon the Colombian reintegration processes both at national and local level. The central question is: *How can reintegration from below benefit the peace process in Colombia?*

Finally, experiences of peace communities with the reintegration of ex-combatants is dealt with in the third section. This section seeks to provide a thorough understanding of local reintegration processes and its challenges, opportunities, and benefits. The aim of the section is to answer the question: *What are the experiences of Colombian peace communities with the reintegration of ex-combatants?*

Combined these sections enable the formulation of a conclusion and a recommendation for the national peacebuilding process in Colombia.

1.4. Methodology
The research has adopted a qualitative approach not only because of the absence of quantitative data but more importantly because it adopts an interpretivist epistemological
position that seeks an understanding of the social world through the interpretation and experiences of the participants. In this way the peace process and the reintegration policies can be studied from the perspective of the peace communities. Instead of deduction or induction, the study uses abductive reasoning which means that a theoretical understanding is developed from the worldview of the context and people at study. A cross-sectional design is used to analyse the views and experiences of the peace communities in relation to peacebuilding, reintegration, and reconciliation. This design is useful to look at numerous things at once and allows to make inferences about the relationship between peace at national and local level, and processes of reintegration and reconciliation. The methods that are used to implement the qualitative, cross-sectional research and collect the data include secondary research and interviews and are elaborated below.

1.4.1. Secondary Research
An extensive literature review is done to gain an understanding of the existing literature in the field and to avoid duplication. The gap in the literature can be identified so that the research will be cumulative. A conceptual framework is developed through a critical review and synthesis of previous research. This framework includes a clarification of the concepts used in this study to enhance the understanding and facilitate the operationalisation of the research question. The information derived from the secondary research is used to do field research.

1.4.2. Field Research
To identify the experiences and perspectives of Colombian peace communities on the reintegration of ex-combatants, the units of analysis in this research are the Association of Farmer Workers of Carare (Asociación de Trabajadores y Campesinos de Carare, ATCC) and the Indigenous Nasa community. Both communities are examples of well-organised communities that seek a peaceful response to the violence of the conflict and have endured for a long time. Most importantly, the communities contribute to sustainable peacebuilding in the region and have experience with the reintegration of ex-combatants. Elements of accessibility, safety, and openness of the community have also been taken into account by choosing these communities.

40 Ibid, 401.
42 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 59.
43 Ibid, 98.
From 10 to 13 November 2016 the researcher has visited the ATCC together with a group of students and professors of the Universidad Santo Tomás Bogotá. Three leaders of the community were consulted during roundtable conversations and interviews. Their input is aggregated in the analysis of the local reintegration experiences. The interviewees were chosen on the basis of a non-probability sampling method. A contact person at the Universidad Santo Tomás Bogotá helped to define key informants that were thought to be relevant for the research and were able to talk about the local reintegration process. Since the researcher spent three days with the community, also other individuals that the researcher came into contact with were considered. All participants gave consent to the use of their names in this thesis.

From 24 to 27 November 2016 the researcher was accompanied by a fellow researcher on a visit to the Nasa community. Five members of the community were interviewed. Similarly to the interviewees of the ATCC, a non-probability sampling method was used in which participants were chosen based on their relevance and knowledge. All interviewees have consented that their name is being published in this research.

The interviews were conducted in line with the interpretivist epistemology to acquire knowledge about local reintegration processes, the attitudes of the communities towards reintegration processes, and the experiences with the reception of ex-combatants. This allows the study to be based on the local experiences with and perspectives on violence, reconciliation, and reintegration, acknowledging their subjective views. The interview method is chosen because the personal interaction and open ended questions will allow for more flexibility, elaboration, and spontaneity.

A semi-structured approach was used to enhance flexibility and the opportunity to reveal the perspective of the people. This form of interview offers topics to the interviewee and guides the conversation with pre-determined questions but allows for a degree of freedom for the interviewee to express his or her opinions and ideas. This method is perceived to be more useful than a highly structured, closed-ended interview that leads the answers to a certain direction or preconceived responses. Instead, a semi-structured interview gives space for

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44 Braulio A. Mosquira M., Isabel Cristina Serna, and Mauricia Hernandez.
45 Germán Valencia Medina, José Adelmo Valencia Medina, José Leandro Guetio, Juan David, and Pablo Andres Tenorio.
46 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 399-400.
48 Bryman, Social Research Methods, 403.
follow-up questions and deviations of the main questions when interesting and relevant topics come up. This will provide a more in-depth understanding of the topic under research. To guide and structure the interview, an interview guide had been developed to ensure the questions are relevant, focused, and clear (see appendix IV).

1.4.3. Ethical Considerations

It is crucial to uphold high ethical standards while carrying out social research. Research ethics are guidelines for good practice in conducting research and are concerned with the topic (sensitive topics should be carefully dealt with and transparency, explanation, anonymity, consent, confidentiality are very important), people (the researcher has to avoid harm and deception and respect privacy, anonymity, confidentiality), and process (the researcher has to uphold professional standards, avoid plagiarism and respect authorship). 49

To ensure compliance with the ethical standards while conducting the interviews for this research, the interview process has been carefully planned. The interviews took place in the communities and were therefore conducted in a secure and familiar environment. A clear procedure was developed for the course of the interviews and provided to the participants in the form of an information sheet including an explanation of the purpose of the interviews and the research, a request for permission to record the interview, and a statement of confidentiality (see appendix III). In addition, it was verbally discussed and explained before the start of the interview.

1.4.4. Limitations

The chosen research methodology has some unavoidable limitations. The first limitation is related to the generalisability and external validity of the study which refer to the ability to draw broad conclusions and inferences from particular instances and the degree to which this is generalisable to other settings respectively. 50 Generalisability in qualitative research is a complicated issues and some researchers even challenge the possibility of generalising studies to other contexts, time periods, or people. 51 Others argue that the aim of qualitative study is not a broad generalisation but rather to provide a rich, contextualised understanding of a

specific issue, in a particular context, and of a certain population.\textsuperscript{52, 53} Either way, it is important to acknowledge the limited generalisability of the qualitative research that is conducted in a very specific context, in this instance the case of two Colombian peace communities. An important element of the generalisability is the representativeness of the study which determines the extent to which the results tell the story of the target population and to which findings can be generalised.\textsuperscript{54} The limited representativeness of the samples due to the use of a non-probability sampling method contributes to the limited generalisability. This is based on the premise that one should be careful with making generalisations from results that are drawn from a sample that is not statistically representative of the whole population in question.\textsuperscript{55} Indeed, this research focuses on two very specific experiences of the reintegration of ex-combatants within the Colombian context. The use of two peace communities as units of analysis is also a limitation in the sense that each peace community in Colombia has experienced the violence differently and therefore developed its own characteristics, mechanisms of protection, and resistance.\textsuperscript{56} Consequently, the peace communities differ in their reason of foundation, structure, goal etc.\textsuperscript{57} However, a degree of generalisability can be warranted through a thick, rich, and sufficient description that will ensure that the research is articulated in a manner that is authentic and credible.\textsuperscript{58} The limited generalisability of the study to other settings is taken into consideration and will be further discussed in section 7.2.

Another challenge is the interview process and the language used (Spanish). The researcher has a basic to good understanding of Spanish but does not have a level of complete fluency. This might form a barrier between the interviewer and the interviewee. This will be partly solved by a profound preparation of the interviews and a extensive dedication to the analysis of the results. Moreover, by translating responses from Spanish to English, some of the original intentions and meanings may go lost. Furthermore, the interview may touch upon sensitive issues that may be difficult or undesirable for the interviewee to discuss. Another

\textsuperscript{52} Polit and Tatano Beck, “Generalization in Quantitative and Qualitative Research,” 1452.
\textsuperscript{57} Valenzuela, “Neutrality in Armed Conflicts,” 43.
\textsuperscript{58} Polit and Tatano Beck, “Generalization in Quantitative and Qualitative Research,” 1452.
challenge is the possible existence of a interviewer bias by which the researcher might search for a desired response. The formulation and order of the questions can influence the responses given. Also the interpretation and presentation of the results might reflect a bias. The researcher has sought to keep personal values and views out of the research process to minimise prejudice and bias and to maximise objectivity.
2. **Peacebuilding**

This chapter provides a synthesis of the existing literature on peacebuilding and peacebuilding from below and the significance of different key concepts are clarified. In doing so, the rationale behind peacebuilding from below is shown which helps to answer the first sub question about the benefits of peacebuilding from below for the Colombian peace process. This is regarded as an important step towards answering the research question since it provides a theoretical foundation for the analysis of the local experiences and the recommendations made for the national peace process.

2.1. **Conceptualising Peacebuilding**

The concept of peacebuilding is closely linked to the research of Johan Galtung who analysed the relationship between conflict, violence, and peace. He recognised that conflict is not only the existence of direct, physical violence but that the structural and cultural roots are equally important.\(^{59}\) A conflict situation is created by the interaction between contradictions (incompatibility of goals), attitudes (perceptions and misperceptions of each other and oneself), and behaviour (cooperation or coercion). The cessation of direct violence is the result of a change in behaviour and has been labelled ‘negative peace’. The attainment of ‘positive peace’ requires the overcoming of structural and cultural violence which are the result of respectively changes in relationships and clashing interests and a change in attitudes.\(^{60}\) Peacebuilding as a concept was introduced as an approach to overcome structural violence and contradictions.\(^{61}\) These ideas are captured in the triangle models shown in figure 1. below.

![Figure 1. Galtung’s models of conflict, violence and peace](image)


In 1992 the Secretary General of the United Nations at the time, Boutros Boutros-Ghali gave attention to post-conflict peacebuilding in its Agenda for Peace by declaring it one of the four areas of action. Post-conflict peacebuilding was defined as an action to “identify and support structures which would tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict.” Peacebuilding was understood as the “construction of a new environment” with a focus on the prevention of recurrence of conflict. In the supplement to the Agenda for Peace was the “creation of structures for the institutionalization of peace” mentioned as the essential goal of peacebuilding. However, as Barnett et al. demonstrate, the perception of peacebuilding has shifted from the elimination of armed conflict (negative peace) to the elimination of root causes (positive peace). In very broad terms peacebuilding is the “process of achieving peace”. The scope ranges from the “disarming of warring factions to the rebuilding of political, economic, judicial and civil society institutions” while seeking to “prevent, reduce, transform, and help people to recover from violence in all forms” and to empower people “to foster relationships at all levels that sustain them and their environment.” As suggested by Lederach, peacebuilding both precedes and follows formal peace accords. It is not a single stage but a dynamic social process of building peace.

Besides differences in definitions, the objectives of peacebuilding are also defined differently. Schirch divides the objectives of peacebuilding in reducing direct violence, building capacity, and transforming relationships. Barnett et al. mention three components which are stability creation, restoration of state institutions, and addressing the socio-economic dimensions of the

64 Ibid, 825.
70 Ibid, 9.
72 Ibid, 6.
conflict. Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall distinguish between security, a political framework, socio-economic foundations, and reconciliation and justice. The United Nations identifies five main areas being support to basic safety and security, support to national and sub-national level, support to provision of basic services, support to restore governmental functions, and support to economic revitalisation. Ricigliano argues that successful peacebuilding demands progress in three different but linked forms of peacebuilding. Political peacebuilding focuses on reaching an agreement between leaders or organisations. Social peacebuilding seeks to change widely held perceptions and attitudes to transform the relationships between conflicting parties. Structural peacebuilding is directed at repairing or rebuilding underlying systems that can fulfil the needs of the people and that supports and sustains a peaceful society.

These approaches have in common the desire to reach a positive peace by bringing about a peaceful social change to prevent the start or resumption of violence. Peacebuilding goes beyond the support of physical safety by seeking to create a peaceful environment for conflict resolution by promoting economic, political, and social stability, and building capacity at different levels. Peacebuilding does not only take place in post-conflict situations but is an ongoing process.

2.2. Approaches to Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is widely associated with international intervention in (post-)conflict situations. However, international organisations and states have been criticised for implementing their version of a ‘liberal peace’. Through the promotion of liberalism and conformity with the standards and values of the international system, peace and prosperity would come to conflict-affected states. The main elements of this approach include security, democracy, rule of law,

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73 Barnett et al., “Peacebuilding,” 49.
74 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 229.
development, and administration and techniques of governance. The goal of peacebuilding is the attainment of liberal democratic peace.\textsuperscript{79} This approach reflects a so-called top-down approach, associated with track 1 peacebuilding in which external agencies or top leaders are involved in high-level negotiations.\textsuperscript{81} Track 2 peacebuilding involves the middle-level leaders consisting of outsiders that offer forums for addressing conflicts.\textsuperscript{82} Recently, a shift in thinking has taken place with a greater recognition of the importance of local values, traditions, and practices in order to respond better to the needs and priorities of the affected population.\textsuperscript{83} This relates to track 3 peacebuilding that advocates a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding, emphasizing the importance of grassroots actors and domestic cultures and knowledge on how to manage conflicts.\textsuperscript{84} In the first-mentioned liberal approach local actors adopt pre-determined ideas developed by external actors, whereas in the second more communitarian approach local actors manage the process, design, and implementation.\textsuperscript{85} This last approach has become associated with the idea of ‘peacebuilding from below’. Figure 2 shows the actors and approaches to achieve peace as identified by Lederach, that vary from top-down to bottom-up.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{actors_approaches_peacebuilding.png}
\caption{Actors and approaches to peacebuilding (adopted from Lederach)\textsuperscript{86}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{81} Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 28, 29.
\textsuperscript{82} Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 28.
\textsuperscript{84} Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 28, 29.
\textsuperscript{85} Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 6, 7.
\textsuperscript{86} Lederach, Building Peace, 19.
2.3. Peacebuilding From Below

Peacebuilding from below is a form of track 3 grassroots peacebuilding, distinct from top-down initiatives. Through the transformation of society and the “cultivation of cultures and structures of peace,” the grassroots initiatives strive for the attainment of Galtung’s form of positive peace. In this sense, peacebuilding is not about the resolution of conflict but about transformation through dialogue and social justice. It reflects the idea that peace is not achieved by political accommodation at elite level, but rather through the restoration and reconciliation of relationships in the everyday lives of the people. An element of empowerment of communities affected by conflict is important through which sustainable citizen-based peacebuilding initiatives can develop and civil society can emerge or strengthen. This bottom-up approach emphasises the right of societies to make their own choices and favours the importance of tradition and social context. Peacebuilding from below acknowledges that the road to peace is not captured in an universal template but derives from and resonates with the habits and traditions of the people experiencing and living with the consequences of the conflict. It is based on traditional and indigenous peacebuilding practices that include dispute-resolution and conflict management techniques based on long-established practice and local custom. Peacebuilding from below is closely linked to the work of John Paul Lederach. He highlights the importance of local input and rejects the idea of external conflict resolution experts having all the wisdom and knowledge.

Oliver Richmond explains bottom-up peacebuilding by linking the concept of infrapolitics (as coined by James C. Scott in his studies of farmer resistance) to peacebuilding. Infrapolitics involves the study of collective action or social movements that are not conceived as political action per se. The infrapolitics of peacebuilding covers the mobilisation of individuals and communities to develop as critical peace agencies. A platform is created at local level in which agency is expressed through opposition and resistance to the agenda of others and the development of an own agenda for the construction of peace based on their perception of the

87 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 235.
89 Lederach, Building Peace, 29.
90 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 233, 234.
91 Ibid, 6.
94 Ibid, 141.
roots of the conflict. This agency forms the core of bottom-up peacebuilding that enjoys local legitimacy and represents “a practice which occurs with its subjects in order to produce a synthesis, not for its subjects in order to produce an invasive or externalized form of peace.”

2.3.1. Local Ownership
An important element of peacebuilding from below is the concept of local ownership. Peacebuilding actions should be led locally rather than being imposed by decision-making elites. In the field of conflict resolution, peacebuilding from below and local ownership are predominantly linked to external interventions, writings about the involvement of local actors are connected to externally led processes, and literature that looks exclusively at grassroots peacebuilding is very limited. By juxtaposing the ‘local’ with the ‘international’, scholars and organisations involved in conflict resolution focus on domestic/national elite levels and bypass the important role of communities. Since Colombia is not a case of international conflict resolution with large scale international involvement, it is important to look at peacebuilding in a domestic context, juxtaposing the national elite level with the national grassroots level. To be able to do so, literature from the field of conflict resolution (that is heavily influenced by political science and international relations) has to be complemented with literature from different disciplines such as humanitarian action, social anthropology, and international development.

From an international perspective, Pietz and Carlowitz see local ownership as “both the process and outcome of engaging local actors in international peacebuilding activities.” Local partners should be included in decision-making processes at early stages of the mission so that policies relevant for a country are in principle determined by local actors. Related to this approach is the explanation of local ownership by Donais as the “extent to which domestic actors control both the design and implementation of political processes.”

97 Ibid, 124.
99 Ibid, 1, 2.
101 Ibid.
102 Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 3.
actors should be able to identify, develop, and employ the resources they deem necessary to build a peaceful society.\textsuperscript{103} Drawn from the field of international development, Tony Killick adds that local ownership will ensure that programmes and initiatives are tailored to local circumstances, priorities, and political realities.\textsuperscript{104}

These definitions immediately raise the question who or what is considered a domestic or local actor. The concept is widely used but lacks specificity and clarity.\textsuperscript{105} In the literature, often a wide array of national actors at different levels is meant as opposed to international, external actors. In the context of the Colombian peace process however, the argument can be made that the external actors are the elite-level decision-makers whereas the local actors are the grassroots level community members who have to deal with the implications of the peace agreement and the externally imposed arrangements. This view is supported by Casey Ehrlich who classifies local actors as people from the communities impacted by the conflict and working to reconstruct, recuperate, or rebuild collective goods destroyed by the war.\textsuperscript{106} While years of conflict, violence, and insecurity might have weakened or broken down formal structures, traditional and informal structures often continue to work.\textsuperscript{107} The community becomes an important source for surviving and coping strategies.\textsuperscript{108}

Critics however, hold that conflict affected societies are characterised by division and diversity and often lack a concerted and coherent set of local actors.\textsuperscript{109} The local community itself may hold conflicting views and priorities.\textsuperscript{110} Furthermore, locals may not have the capacity or will to pool efforts for a commonality of purpose.\textsuperscript{111} Moreover, it can be difficult to discern who or what constitutes grassroots level since local actors are receptive to external pressures.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid, 6.
\textsuperscript{104} Donais, “Making Sense of Local Ownership in Peacebuilding Contexts,” 4.
\textsuperscript{106} Ehrlich, “Grassroots Peace,” 3, 4.
\textsuperscript{107} Pietz and Von Carlowitz, “Local Ownership in Peacebuilding Processes in Failed States.”
\textsuperscript{109} Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 11.
\textsuperscript{110} Hughes, Öjendal and Schierenbeck, “The Struggle Versus the Song,” 820.
\textsuperscript{111} Donais, “Making Sense of Local Ownership in Peacebuilding Contexts,” 9, 10.
\textsuperscript{112} Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, Contemporary Conflict Resolution, 244.
2.3.2. Rationale

The reasons to support peacebuilding from below can be categorised into three rationales, being normative, instrumental, and emancipatory rationale.

The normative rationale is based on the values, standards, and principles that have been developed to guide peace processes. Locally run processes ensure a respect for the fundamental rights and dignity of conflict affected communities. One of those fundamental rights is captured in article 1, paragraph 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that “all people have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely (...) pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”\(^{113}\) From a humanitarian perspective as mentioned in the World Humanitarian Summit synthesis report, affected people and local communities are the first responders and therefore have an active role in the field.\(^{114}\) The United Nations declared the years 1995-2004 as the International Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples, followed by a second decade which sparked attention for the rights, plight, and capacity of indigenous people.\(^{115}\) This also led to a greater recognition of the peace-making techniques and practices from indigenous groups.\(^{116}\) In 2007 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, reinforcing their right to “maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs.”\(^{117}\)

The instrumental rationale or pragmatic reason for bottom-up processes is to make peacebuilding more effective and ensure that it will contribute to the foundations of sustainable peace. Donais points out that peace processes tend to be path-dependent. The signing of an agreement locks in key elements and processes that will define the peacebuilding path for the population. However, civil society and the local population are often excluded from the peace negotiations and consequently their influence over the peacebuilding processes is heavily limited.\(^{118}\) Pietz and Von Carlowitz add that a lack of

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\(^{118}\) Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 9.
sustainability in peace processes is to a large extent the result of a lack of local ownership.\textsuperscript{119}

Also the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has experienced that “reform processes will not succeed in the absence of commitment and ownership on the part of those undertaking reforms.”\textsuperscript{120} A shift in approach is necessary for peacebuilding to be sustainable. Bottom-up approaches are expected to have a more profound and lasting impact on building peace. Extensive local involvement and ownership of the processes will make peacebuilding more effective and sustainable. One very straightforward argument is that a peace process not supported by those who have to live with it is very likely to fail.\textsuperscript{121} Without legitimacy at grassroots level, any process will be resisted or modified.\textsuperscript{122} Peace cannot be bluntly imposed by external actors. In contrary, to ensure legitimacy and durability of the processes, peacebuilding must be firmly rooted in domestic social realities and based on locally defined solutions.\textsuperscript{123, 124} The aim is not just conflict resolution but a transformation of the situation and circumstances, treating local actors as agents of change. These actors possess the local wisdom and historical, cultural, and linguistic resources that are essential for sustainable peacebuilding.\textsuperscript{125} Peacebuilding will only be successful when local actors take responsibility for managing the processes.\textsuperscript{126} The challenge is to create a process that is capable of repeating and reinforcing itself over time, forming a spiral of peace and development.\textsuperscript{127}

The \textit{emancipatory} rationale of peacebuilding from below refers to the ability to strengthen society and address underlying vulnerability and inequality. This liberal approach to peacebuilding and local ownership is sometimes called a disempowering form of local ownership. Local actors are supposed to implement a pre-existing and externally defined set of policy prescriptions.\textsuperscript{128} Instead, peacebuilding from below gives a voice to the people, reminding external actors that they do not speak for the grassroots level.\textsuperscript{129} Peacebuilding from below contributes to a process of community empowerment through civil society

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{119} Pietz and Von Carlowitz, “Local Ownership in Peacebuilding Processes in Failed States.”
  \item \textsuperscript{121} Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Richmond, “A Pedagogy of Peacebuilding” 122.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 3, 4, 10.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Donais, “Making Sense of Local Ownership in Peacebuilding Contexts,” 17.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid, 13, 17.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Pietz and Von Carlowitz, “Local Ownership in Peacebuilding Processes in Failed States.”
  \item \textsuperscript{127} Lederach, \textit{Building Peace}, 38, 40.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Donais, “Empowerment or imposition?” 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{129} Hughes, Öjendal and Schierenbeck, “The Struggle Versus the Song,” 818.
\end{itemize}
enhancement and cultural appropriate approaches.\textsuperscript{130} Local peacebuilding processes strengthen the social fabric of a community, enhancing the social capital by encouraging and boosting bonds and bridges.\textsuperscript{131} By regarding local actors as agents of change and peace, a space is created in which individuals or communities can build on their own capacities, empower themselves, have greater control over their lives, and bring about social change that is sustainable and effective. Instead of victims they become actors in their own rehabilitation and development.

\section*{2.4. Peacebuilding From Below in Colombia}

In Colombia, a top-down approach has been applied until now, but according to Virginia Bouvier the several track 1 negotiations have failed since the conflict still persists after many years.\textsuperscript{132} The political settlement of the conflict at national level will be tested against local realities and a national peace will only be consolidated when put into effect at local level. Although years of violence may damage and degrade a community’s social fabric, Colombia is a case in which the social interactions among the community is retained and organised around grassroots peacebuilding.\textsuperscript{133} The experiences of the Colombian peace communities show that “cultures of peace can survive in small pockets and spaces” as articulated by Elise Boulding.\textsuperscript{134} With relatively little external involvement, communitarian forms of peacebuilding emerged throughout the country, forming examples of peacebuilding from below. The next chapter looks at reintegration of ex-combatants as a part of Colombian’s peacebuilding strategy before turning to bottom-up peace processes as experienced by two different peace communities.

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\textsuperscript{130} Mac Ginty, “Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace,” 142.
\textsuperscript{131} Pouligny, “Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding,” 499.
\textsuperscript{133} Ehrlich, “Grassroots Peace,” 5, 6.
\textsuperscript{134} Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, \textit{Contemporary Conflict Resolution}, 234.
\end{flushleft}
3. **Reintegration**

As already mentioned in chapter 1, the main challenge for Colombia is to win the post-conflict which requires, amongst others, a successful reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life. This chapter explores the concept of Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration with a special focus on the requirements of successful community-based reintegration. Similarly to the previous chapter, this will provide a theoretical foundation to underpin the answer to the research question.

3.1. **Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration**

DDR is a process that aims for a permanent disarmament and a sustainable peace.\(^{135}\) The United Nations defines it as a process of “comprehensively disarming combatants, preparing them for civilian life and providing them with opportunities for sustainable social and economic reintegration.”\(^{136}\) As the concept already implies, DDR consists of three components. *Disarmament* is the first step in which weapons, ammunition, and explosives are removed, indicating the end of someone’s role as combatant. This should build confidence in the sequel of the peace process.\(^{137}\) This phase is followed by *demobilisation* that reflects the physical and psychological transformation from being a member of an armed group to being a civilian.\(^{138}\) The ex-combatants receive a support package, also called reinsertion, which is a short-term measure that includes financial and material assistance to satisfy basic and immediate needs.\(^{139}\) The ultimate goal is sustainable *reintegration* at individual, community, national, and sometimes regional level. It is a long-term process by which ex-combatants “acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income.”\(^{140}\) It aims to return demobilised persons to civilian life, break cycles of violence, and reconcile members of society.\(^{141}\)


\(^{137}\) Ibid, 121, 122.

\(^{138}\) Ibid, 143.


\(^{140}\) UNDDR, *Operational Guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards*, 157, 158.

\(^{141}\) Jaramillo, Giha and Torres, “Transitional Justice and DDR,” 21.
Security enhancement is one of the main elements of DDR. The aim is to avoid the marginalisation of potential spoilers of the peace process. A failure to integrate ex-combatants into society might cause them to mobilise again and relapse into violence. From a development perspective, the pool of ex-combatants forms a potential of human capital, and a humanitarian or needs-based approach acknowledges the vulnerability of the ex-combatants that lack education, skills, and social links. Besides these different approaches, there are also different understandings of DDR. A narrow understanding addresses DDR solely as a technical issue based on military and security concerns, also called the “guns, camps, cash” approach. Consultation, let alone participation of the civil population, is almost nonexistent which undermines the sense of ownership over the programmes and weakens the sustainability. A very broad understanding on the contrary, has the risk of raising too high expectations which are impossible to satisfy. In 2006 the United Nations introduced the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) to broaden the understanding of DDR and to emphasise the “long-term humanitarian and development impact of sustainable reintegration processes and the effects these have in consolidating long-lasting peace and security.”

3.1.1. Challenges
Implementing DDR processes does not go without challenges. DDR processes have been criticised for over-emphasising security concerns and failing to recognise the importance of reintegration in facilitating the return to civility and community development in accordance with different local contexts. Disarmament and demobilisation are often conducted by military or security organisations whereas reintegration is dealt with by development agencies. This can be problematic because of the differences in culture and perspective. This

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143 McFate, “The Link Between DDR and SSR in Conflict-Affected Countries,” 7.
146 De Greiff, “Contributing to Peace and Justice.”
147 Ibid.
might hinder efficient transition between the phases, funds may run out, or the process is not perceived credible. A traditional focus on disarmament and demobilisation has resulted in reintegration sometimes being called the forgotten R of DDR.\textsuperscript{150}

Another challenge is defining the beneficiaries of the programme. Beneficiaries can vary from those who hand in weapons, to members without weapons or non-armed supporters.\textsuperscript{151} A related challenge is the risk that DDR programmes turn ex-combatants into a privileged group that receives all kinds of benefits. This can be seen as a reward for bad behaviour by the rest of the population leading to resistance and new grievances. Therefore, it is important that the programme is not regarded as a special treatment for the ex-combatants but rather as enhancing the security of the population as a whole.\textsuperscript{152}

Defining what will be included in the benefits of the ex-combatants without disturbing existing social and market structures is another challenge. These structures often function suboptimal during or right after war, ex-combatants have little formal education and skills other than waging war, and the civil society has been disarticulated under pressure of the conflict. It is therefore important to take into account the local context in the design and implementation of the DDR process.\textsuperscript{153}

Although reintegration into civilian life is experienced very differently by men, women, and children, these differences are seldom taken into account. Women frequently feel empowered by war and disempowered by reintegration. However, their voice is hardly heard in the DDR process.\textsuperscript{154}

### 3.2. Reintegration & Reconciliation

Placing DDR in relation to Galtung’s negative versus positive peace debate, leads to a shift in focus from primarily military and security concerns to more political and justice considerations.\textsuperscript{155} Although the disarmament and demobilisation processes can be separated from the reintegration programme, it will likely not end successfully without adequate planning for reintegration.\textsuperscript{156} As emphasized by Andres Macias and other scholars, the

\textsuperscript{150} McFate, “The Link Between DDR and SSR in Conflict-Affected Countries,” 8.
\textsuperscript{151} De Greiff, “Contributing to Peace and Justice.”
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{154} Jaramillo, Giha and Torres, “Transitional Justice and DDR,” 15.
\textsuperscript{155} De Greiff, “Contributing to Peace and Justice.”
\textsuperscript{156} ACR, “First Global Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Summit,” (paper presented after the DDR Summit, Santa Marta, Colombia, December 1-4, 2013), accessed October 19, 2016, http://www.reintegracion.gov.co/es/la-reintegracion/centro-de-
reintegration phase is particularly important in the DDR process because it “becomes one of the foundations to rebuild a reconciled society.”

A reconciled society is characterised by a peaceful coexistence between ex-combatants, victims, and receiving communities and an environment of “economic stability, justice, and personal and emotional reparations.”

Although there is no single conception of the word nor of its use in armed conflict, reconciliation can be understood as both a goal and a process. It is the construction or reconstruction of relationships that are weakened, broken, strained, or non-existent because of conflict and violence (goal) through the construction of meeting places and the generation of agreements between members of the community to accept the past and integrate hopes for the future in order to face the present (process). In other words, reconciliation is not only something to aim for in the future, rather actions of reconciliation can take place even in times of persisting violence.

Reconciliation has an interpersonal dimension, as well as a political and social or collective dimension. The interpersonal dimension refers to individual feelings and relationships between victims, host communities, and ex-combatants. The political dimension refers to the construction or reconstruction of trust between citizens and institutions and aims to address the structural causes of the conflict by strengthening the contribution of the state to human rights, including socioeconomic, civil, and political rights. The social or collective dimension aims at transforming attitudes, prejudices and negative stereotypes, and the finding of a collective consensus.

In this dual process of reintegration and reconciliation the construction or reconstruction of social capital is a key aspect. Social capital is formed through relations and interactions between individuals, families, and communities. Rules and conditions for the interaction are established, as well as an enabling environment for the creation of collective goals and respect
for the rights of group members.\textsuperscript{163} The forming of a social fabric allows individuals to feel part of a group and may promote acceptance and reconciliation which in turn minimises recidivism.\textsuperscript{164, 165} However, this can be very challenging for ex-combatants, since they tend to reintegrate in regions different than their places of origin which requires them to build completely new social networks.\textsuperscript{166} The ability of ex-combatants to become part of a new social network and to reintegrate into the community not only depends on ex-combatants’ disposition but also on the reactions of the receiving communities. To diminish resistance on the part of the receiving community, a justice component to the reintegration programme is important. It is the communities who have to reintegrate the ex-combatants and it is therefore important to address the feelings and attitudes of the communities and the victims in particular.\textsuperscript{167, 168} It is not only important to focus on the specific needs of the ex-combatants, but also on the impact of the re-entry on community life and the absorption capacity of the community.\textsuperscript{169} In line with the rationale for peacebuilding from below, a process of “reintegration from below” could take into account processes of justice, reconciliation, and social reintegration.

\section*{3.2.1. Reintegration From Below}

Reintegration on the ground, in the communities, can be very different than the understanding of reintegration processes at the national, policy level. It is therefore important to find mechanisms for reintegration that are based on the day-to-day realities in the communities.\textsuperscript{170} Moreover, the fact that conflict changes the needs, demands, and conditions of life of almost everyone in society, demands that other affected groups are identified and taken into account besides the primary target group of ex-combatants.\textsuperscript{171} Community-based reintegration seeks to address issues such as community security, reconciliation, recovery, and development by including ex-combatants, family members, victims, and receiving communities in the reintegration process.\textsuperscript{172} Eleni goes as far to call community participation the “vertebral
column” that sustains all aspects of successful reintegration.\footnote{Eleni, “From Ex-Combatants to Citizens,” 174.} According to Duthie, local justice mechanisms have the potential to address the reintegration aspect of DDR directly, quickly, and efficiently.\footnote{Roger Duthie, “Local Justice and Reintegration Processes as Complements to Transitional Justice and DDR,” In Disarming the Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-combatants, ed. Ana Cutter Patel, Pablo de Greiff and Lars Waldorf (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2009), 230.} These local processes can help to avoid the marginalisation of potential spoilers and reduce stigmatisation, discrimination, or reprisal against ex-combatants on the part of victims and communities.\footnote{De Greiff, “Contributing to Peace and Justice.”}\footnote{Waldorf, “Introduction: Linking DDR and Transitional Justice,” 24.} These justice enhancing measures can provide a degree of reconciliation that will improve social relations within the community, which fosters reintegration.\footnote{Duthie, “Local Justice and Reintegration Processes as Complements to Transitional Justice and DDR,” 233, 234.} In this way, the process of reintegration of former combatants transcends the individual dimension focused on the demobilised to the attempt to repair the social fabric in a community. It thereby contributes the necessary tools and mechanisms to assist both the reintegration of ex-combatants and the vulnerable groups affected by the conflict and improves the welfare of the entire community.\footnote{Macias, “Community Reintegration in Colombia.”}

Community-based reintegration initiatives work directly to improve or create new forms of social binding through projects that actively relate ex-combatants, community members and conflict-affected population to construct and reconstruct bondages among them. Ex-combatants should be encouraged to participate in local activities as a way for the ex-combatants to build a new social network, to feel socially fulfilled, included, and accepted.\footnote{Kaplan and Nussio, “Community Counts,” 2.} Moreover, it helps preparing the community to accept them, build mutual trust, and facilitate reconciliation.\footnote{Macias, “Community Reintegration in Colombia.”} This increased and better interaction contributes to social reintegration which is the emphasis of this research. Social reintegration is the process by which ex-combatants become involved in and accepted by their communities.\footnote{Ibid, 2.} It is a challenging form of reintegration because of the dependency on relationships with other actors. A bottom-up approach is required to overcome stigma, jealousies, animosities, fear, distrust, and security-dilemmas.\footnote{Ibid, 2.} Although difficult, it is an important form of reintegration because of the risk of the “eternal yesterday effect” which refers to the weight of the past and the need to
“reintegrate the minds and hearts of citizens in the transition from war to peace.” As Annan and Cutter explain, social reintegration is closely linked to reconciliation, justice, and psychological healing to be able to reconstruct the social fabric. For social reintegration to happen, local reconciliation processes can be used. Those processes can function to demonstrate an ex-combatant’s knowledge and acceptance of society’s rules and norms. Participation can also show willingness to be part of community again and to make reparations, as a way of addressing issues of accountability, and to build trust. By taking into account local reconciliation processes, reintegration and growing interaction between ex-combatants and the community can be stimulated. In this way, a sense of solidarity in the community can emerge and develop over time which allows for different groups and viewpoints to be included.

Just as is the case with peacebuilding from below, community-based reintegration processes contribute to a degree of local ownership and capacity building which stimulates sustainability and self-reinforcing processes of integration and reconciliation. Moreover, the initiatives tend to be more accessible and legitimate because they are based on local practices, customs, norms, and values. It does not only provide assistance for ex-combatants but benefits for the community as well, including increased empowerment, transparency, and accountability which contributes to the sustainability. The performance of shared activities between ex-combatants and communities would empower social actors to influence the dynamics of social relations and consolidate a civilian identity based on agency, social responsibility, and mutual recognition.

3.3. Reintegration Processes in Colombia

In Colombia, decades of conflict have led to the fragmentation and polarisation of society and the emergence of social dichotomies such as victims and victimisers, displaced and

184 Ibid, 4.
186 UNDDR, Operational Guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards, 284.
188 ACR, “First Global Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Summit.”
189 UNDDR, Operational Guide to the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards, 158.
192 Eleni, “From Ex-Combatants to Citizens,” 185.
demobilised, subversive and civilians, citizens and non-citizens. A vicious cycle of confirming (negative) identities and retributive collective action is the result.\textsuperscript{193} The DDR rhetoric of distinguishing between ex-combatants (the perpetrators) and the Colombian society (the victims) is also part of this process of ‘othering,’ hindering reintegration.\textsuperscript{194} In this perspective, reintegration in Colombia reflects a problem of collective action and interdependence and implies the cooperation and consent of the demobilised as well as the society to live together.\textsuperscript{195} The Colombian society has to deal with the loss of human, social, and economic capital due to the loss of many lives and high levels of displacement resulting from the conflict. Providing reparations for the human and social damage seems to be a sine qua non for successful peacebuilding.\textsuperscript{196}

In the last hundred years, Colombia has experienced many DDR processes; collective processes with the demobilisation of guerrilla and paramilitary groups as well as processes of individuals deserting from illegal armed groups. DDR in Colombia was and is characterised by fragmented processes through negotiations with various groups such as M19, EPL, FARC, ELN.\textsuperscript{197} Rather than being part of a peacebuilding effort, DDR has been an important part of counter-insurgency strategies during continuing war, resulting in a “multi-dimensional trust-deficit.”\textsuperscript{198} Some have argued that DDR has been used more as an instrument to deal with the consequences of the conflict (lack of security and political instability) rather than with its original causes (social, economic, political exclusion, unresolved social conflicts) or the current factors that maintain it (conflict is profitable for interest groups).\textsuperscript{199}

Because of the many shortcomings in the Colombian DDR programmes, many changes have been made throughout the years. In 2001 the Programme of Humanitarian Attention to the Demobilised (\emph{Programa de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado}, PAHD) which later became the Group of Humanitarian Attention to Demobilised (\emph{Grupo de Atención Humanitaria al Desmovilizado}, GAHD), was created to deal with the disarmament and

\textsuperscript{193} Eleni, “From Ex-Combatants to Citizens,” 172.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid, 176, 177.
\textsuperscript{195} Casas-Casas and Guzmán-Gómez, “The Eternal Yesterday?” 72.
\textsuperscript{196} Eleni, “From Ex-Combatants to Citizens,” 173.
\textsuperscript{197} Jaramillo, Giha and Torres, “Transitional Justice and DDR,” 8.
demobilisation of ex-combatants.\textsuperscript{200} The Programme for Reincorporation of Former Combatants and Weapon Barriers into Civil Life (Programa para la Reincorporación a la Vida Civil de Excombatientes y Alzados de Armas, PRVC) was established to deal with the reintegration part of DDR.\textsuperscript{201} The PRVC was a short-term reinsertion programme under the Ministry of Interior and Justice, focused on preparing the demobilised to return to civil life.\textsuperscript{202} In 2006 the PRVC was transformed into the office of the High Commissioner for Reintegration (Alta Consejería para la Reintegración) which is since 2011 the Colombian Agency for Reintegration (Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, ACR). It made significant changes to the process. One important strategic change was the adoption of the term ‘reintegration’ rather than ‘reinsertion’. This meant a move to a long-term, sustainable, and community focus.\textsuperscript{203} The initial focus on developing skills and capacities to prepare the ex-combatants to successfully reinsert in civil life, is shifting to a greater recognition for the role of society in the process.\textsuperscript{204} In this new approach, reintegration is formulated as follows:

“Reintegration is understood to refer to all the processes associated with reinsertion, reincorporation, and social and economic stabilization (...) These processes include, in particular, establishing relationships with the receiving communities and the acceptance on their part of demobilized persons, as well as the active participation of society in general in the process of including them in the country’s civilian and legal life.”\textsuperscript{205}

The ACR offers a six-and-a-half year reintegration programme to demobilised people of illegal armed groups that want to reintegrate in social and economic life.\textsuperscript{206} The programme is based on three pillars: social reintegration (psychosocial attention, formal education, healthcare), economic reintegration (vocational training, income generating activities), and community-based reintegration (building confidence between receiving communities and ex-


\textsuperscript{201} Ibid, 7.


\textsuperscript{204} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{205} Jaramillo, Giha and Torres, “Transitional Justice and DDR,” 22.

combatants through participatory mechanisms). The latter is a new element to the Colombian reintegration policy through which the ACR tries to strengthen the interaction between different social actors to enable the rebuilding of trust. However, this element seems to hold a marginalised position in the programme. According to CINEP/PPP the strategy for community-based reintegration is vaguely formulated, does not provide guidance for the implementation, and is not explicit enough in explaining how it will promote reconciliation. Participation in social services, which is not mandatory, will not necessarily lead to improved interaction between community members and ex-combatants, they argue. Another weakness of the community-based reintegration programme of the ACR is the fact that it only takes place in areas containing a large number of displaced people or where the risk of recidivism is high. Moreover, ex-combatants and community members are not included in the design and evaluation of the programme.

As in many cases, also in Colombia reintegration is seen as the weak link in DDR. Although it is an important part of Colombia’s peacebuilding strategy, the programme presents deficiencies in addressing the local needs and defining context-specific objectives. Moreover, for a long time reconciliation was not actively promoted as key feature resulting in a degree of suspicion and lack of trust. That the DDR process in Colombia has not achieved the ultimate goal of reconciliation is partly due to a lack of truth, justice, and reparations components as argued by Jaramillo, Giha, and Torres. This is also confirmed during a summit of south-south cooperation about the link between DDR and peacebuilding. Here it was acknowledged that for peace and reconciliation to come to Colombia, it is necessary to build a historical memory, to provide effective reparations to the victims, and to seek judicial and non-judicial clarification. In 2005 the Justice and Peace Law was adopted under the administration of president Alvaro Uribe, which functioned as formal institutional mechanism

208 CINEP/PPP, Aprendizajes para la Reconciliación, 48.
211 Eleni, “From Ex-Combatants to Citizens,” 184.
214 FIP, “De la Reintegración hacia la Reconciliación.”
for the transition into civilian life as well as a transitional justice mechanism.\textsuperscript{215} It reflects an attempt to guarantee victims’ right to truth, justice, and reparations and to promote reconciliation.\textsuperscript{216} However, the predominantly top-down process implemented through laws and executive decisions has not been able to achieve sufficient reparation and reconciliation in the communities.\textsuperscript{217}

Experiences in Colombia showed that the reintegration of ex-combatants can be very difficult, including the building of social capital and gaining trust and acceptance from the community.\textsuperscript{218} Building a new social capital is difficult for many ex-combatants who tend to re-settle away from their places of origin, having to build completely new social networks and relationships of trust. According to Macias, this obstacle has not been taken into account by the ACR.\textsuperscript{219} Stigmatisation, recidivism, violence against demobilised, growing resentment, and lack of mutual trust are some of the obstacles identified to reintegration in Colombia.\textsuperscript{220} Some communities feel uncomfortable receiving ex-combatants among them, which is exacerbated by the fact that the processes are taking place in the midst of conflict and continuing criminal activity.\textsuperscript{221} The imbalance that is created between ex-combatants and other vulnerable groups in terms of benefits provided, is a great challenge in achieving community reintegration. Resentment can grow if the promise of non-repetition of violence cannot be guaranteed, and if the victims are not able to access the same rights and benefits.\textsuperscript{222} A balance is necessary between the incentives, benefits, and actions applicable to the entire community to promote reconciliation and to avoid discontent and violence.\textsuperscript{223}

\textsuperscript{215} Casas-Casas and Guzmán-Gómez, “The Eternal Yesterday?” 55.
\textsuperscript{216} World Bank, “Colombia Peace Programmatic I,” 11.
\textsuperscript{217} Casas-Casas and Guzmán-Gómez, “The Eternal Yesterday?” 55.
\textsuperscript{218} Macias, “Community Reintegration in Colombia.”
\textsuperscript{219} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{220} FIP, “De la Reintegración hacia la Reconciliación.”
\textsuperscript{221} Macias, “Community Reintegration in Colombia.”
\textsuperscript{222} Begler, “Exchanging Weapons for Citizenship.”
\textsuperscript{223} World Bank, “Colombia Peace Programmatic I,” 44.
4. **Local Peace Experiences**

The previous chapters have analysed the benefits of a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding and reintegration and have put both concepts in the Colombian context. The theoretical information provided can be combined into a framework that serves as the basis for the field research conducted in two Colombian peace communities: the Association of Farmer Workers of Carare in the department Santander (figure 3. and appendix I) and the indigenous Nasa community in northern Cauca (figure 4. And appendix II). After presenting the theoretical framework, the two case studies will be elaborated. This will be followed by a data analysis in chapter 5.

The key concepts, rationales, and objectives of reintegration and peacebuilding from below are very much alike. The ultimate goal of peacebuilding is the attainment of a positive peace in which not only the direct violence has ceased but in which the structural and cultural violence has been overcome. Reintegration of former combatants is an important element that can contribute to – or severely impede – this process. This research looks at the social aspect of reintegration, meaning the process of gaining the acceptance of the receiving community to reintegrate in civilian life. The success of reintegration programmes can best be achieved by working directly with and in the communities following local mechanisms and processes based on local practices, customs, traditions, and norms. Those reintegration initiatives are a

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clear example of peacebuilding from below, originating from the grassroots level, and recognising local actors as agents of change and peace.

Grassroots processes contribute to increased interaction between ex-combatants and community members and promote the collective action of transforming relationships and creating a new environment of solidarity in which a new social fabric can emerge, supported by local processes of social justice and reconciliation. This will contribute to the development of mutual acceptance and trust and aid the overcoming of structural and cultural violence.

Arguably, the most important element of peacebuilding is the legitimacy and sustainability of the process. For reintegration to contribute to peacebuilding in a legitimate and sustainable manner, it must be rooted in locally defined processes implemented with the people instead of for the people. Programmes must empower the communities by making them agents of their own rehabilitation and development to create a process that reinforces itself over time.

Colombia needs a solid peacebuilding process to foster equitable and productive relationships, not just in the time following a peace agreement but also in those times of pending agreement. An important element has been, is, and will be the reintegration of ex-combatants, whether coming from the FARC, ELN, or BACRIM. As has been made clear in the previous chapters, it is paramount that processes are supported by grassroots actors. The experiences of the past and the expectations of the future of local communities can provide important and valuable input for the national peace process. Therefore, the following sections look at the experiences of Colombian peace communities with the reintegration of ex-combatants and the building of a positive peace.

4.1. Colombian Peace Communities

The case of Colombia shows that formal peace agreements and peacebuilding processes do not always take place simultaneously. In the absence of a formal peace agreement between all the fighting parties to bring an end to the conflict, many local processes have taken place to build peace in the midst of war.226 Some communities have used a non-violent form of resistance to confront the violence surrounding them, refusing to carry arms or to provide any kind of support to armed actors.227 This act of declaring neutrality was initially a strategy for

surviving but turned into a model of peaceful conflict resolution and popular participation, and hence into a true peacebuilding strategy.228

These socially based civil peace initiatives have been labelled in different ways, all to describe the same phenomenon: zones of peace, territories of peace, laboratories of peace, humanitarian zones, communities of resistance, peace experiences.229 230 231 This research uses the general term peace communities to refer to the experiences of specific communities and their continuous effort to build a society based on dignity, respect, and inclusion.232 233

Colombia’s peace communities are a clear example of grassroots peace initiatives that seek to overcome structural, cultural, and direct violence while proposing a human-centred peace.234 235 Although these communities differ in their reasons for establishment, the population they comprise, the processes and strategies they adopt, and the achievements they have reached, they unite in their comprehensive understanding of peace and their attempt to establish some rules or norms to limit the destructive effects of violent conflict.236 237 These communities represent the social sectors that are most affected by the violence and despite or perhaps because of this, they represent an important transforming power for peace. Their efforts are showing concrete realities rather than academic theories or externally imposed processes.238 Using mechanisms different than violence or national negotiations, they show that peace is constructed from day to day, recognising the importance of reconciliation and the existence of different cultures and values while building the capacities, potentials, and strengths of the communities and its members.239 Two of these peace communities and their experiences with peacebuilding and reintegration processes are analysed for this thesis and the findings are presented in the sections below.

228 Ibid, 282.
233 Barbero Domeño, Construyendo Paz en Medio de la Guerra: Colombia,7.
234 Ibid, 6.
235 Alther, “Colombian Peace Communities,” 279.
236 Hernández Delgado, “Paces desde Abajo en Colombia,” 181, 182.
238 Hernández Delgado, “Paces desde Abajo en Colombia,” 180, 181.
4.2. The Case of the ATCC
One of the local peace experiences that is analysed in this thesis is the case of the Association of Farmer Workers of Carare. Years of oppression and violence between government soldiers and FARC guerrillas led to the foundation of the ATCC in 1987 as a way to defend the right to life, peace, and work.\(^{240}\)

The guerrillas came to the Carare region in the 1960s and 1970s and especially the FARC was able to consolidate its power through a process of armed settlement. Although Carare initially formed an important support base for the political party, resistance grew when the FARC exercised social and political control in a dictatorial manner. The population was subject to displacement, expropriation, and murder.\(^{241}\) The fundamental rights of the farmers were not only violated by the FARC but also by the army that established military bases in the area with restricted mobility, arbitrary arrest, disappearances, and expulsion as a result.\(^{242}\) The region also saw the arrival of paramilitary groups in the 1980s bringing even more terror through massacres, kidnappings, disappearances, the burning of farms and crops, and expulsion.\(^{243}\) In a period of twelve years approximately 10% of the population was killed.\(^{244}\) The farmers were caught in the middle of all the violence, resulting in growing discontent and a will to resist. On April 15\(^{th}\) 1987 the farmers were given an ultimatum by an army colonel. According to him there were four alternatives for the farmers: joining the army, joining the guerrillas, leaving the region, or dying.\(^{245}\) However, the farmers chose a fifth option: declaring neutrality. For a long time, the conflicting parties all claimed to speak on behalf of the farmers, having their interests in mind. Faced with the ultimatum, the farmers decided to speak and act for themselves.\(^{246}\) They collectively and publicly denounced the aggressions, violations, and abuses committed against the community and they refused to cooperate in any


\(^{242}\) Ibid.

\(^{243}\) Ibid.


\(^{245}\) Valenzuela, “Peacebuilding from Below.”

manner with any form of violence. Furthermore, they demanded their right to live and work in peace and to solve their problems without resorting to armed actors.247

Since then, the organisation has grown and strengthened and upon request of the local government, it formed the legal entity of the Asociación de Trabajadores Campesinos del Carare.248 The ATCC is a nonprofit, civil association comprised of farmer workers in the Colombian department Santander.249 The area of influence of the ATCC is located in the Middle Magdalena Valley and covers six municipalities (Cimitarra, Landázuri, Bolívar, El Peñón, Sucre, La Belleza) along the Carare river.250 The ATCC seeks to monitor, preserve, and consolidate the peace process in the area through dialogue, mediation, forgiveness, and reconciliation. By organising themselves, the farmer workers pursue the transformation of the reality of violence, marginalisation, and poverty to generate sustainable political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental development. The most important principles that underpin the association are the right to life, peace, and work.251 The association has developed a development plan (Plan de Desarrollo or Plan de Vida) to stimulate the development of the region through for example the construction of roads, the mechanisation of agricultural production, education, and health and housing projects.252

The ATCC is an important contributor to conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the region. More so than a process, building peace in the community is a long term experience as Johanna Amaya Panche explains in her extensive work about the association.253 Through their efforts and popular and traditional wisdom, the farmer workers managed to establish a relative peace in the midst of war. It is an example of peacebuilding at grassroots level, based upon the traditional knowledge, feelings, and experiences of the farmer workers that decided to strive for their right to live and work in peace.254 The ATCC seeks peaceful resolution or transformation of conflicts and emphasises the importance of dialogue, mediation, negotiation, and consultation.255 The members of the ATCC acknowledge that peace is not

247 Valenzuela, “Peacebuilding from Below.”
252 Amaya Panche, “Violencia y No-Violencia,” 199.
253 Ibid, 188.
254 Ibid, 188.
255 Ibid, 198.
just an end goal to be reached, it has to be constructed every single day. In line with this thought, the president of the ATCC has stated that the signing of a peace agreement will not automatically bring peace to the region, but that it will initiate the real peacebuilding process.

4.2.1. Reintegration Process of the ATCC

This effort of the ATCC to contribute to the building of peace is also reflected in their experiences with the reintegration of ex-combatants in their community. The leaders of the ATCC that were interviewed for this research all stated that reintegration is closely linked to the end of the conflict and peace. Braulio A. Mosquira expressed the following on the matter: “When there is reconciliation, when there is agreement, there is tranquillity and there is peace.”

The experiences of the ATCC with the reintegration of ex-combatants has been positive so far and during the interviews several examples were mentioned of people that reintegrated successfully into society. The ATCC has helped people disengaging from armed groups by positioning itself as intermediary between the ex-combatant and the armed groups (both the group he/she was affiliated with and adversary groups) to demand respect for the decision of the person to withdraw from the conflict and to reintegrate in social life. The ex-combatant is presented in front of the illegal armed groups and state institutions as a person who wants to reintegrate in social life and will no longer be involved in any illegal activity for which his right to life should be respected. Isabel Cristina Serna explains:

“(…) under the parameters of the agreements that we have, respect for life, respect for all the fundamental rights that this person has, and from there, that they [armed groups] make all the necessary transmissions to get him from the black list and that he is already a civilian who is serving his sentences in a community that accepts him, with all his mistakes, and that this community will be vigilant that he really reincorporates into civilian life.”

256 Ibid, 208.
258 Braulio A. Mosquira M., personal interview, La India, Colombia, November 12, 2016. “Cuando hay reconciliación, cuando hay acuerdo, hay tranquilidad, hay paz.”
259 Mauricio Hernandez, personal interview, La India, Colombia, November 13, 2016.
260 Isabel Cristina Serna, personal interview, La India, Colombia, November 13, 2016. “(…) bajo los parámetros de los acuerdos que tenemos, el respeto a la vida, el respeto a todos los derechos fundamentales que tiene esta persona, y
The ex-combatant is given the opportunity to demobilise under the criteria of the ATCC and to start a life in the community with a clean slate. An agreement is made between the ex-combatant and the community in which he/she is not allowed to be involved in any kind of criminal activity in return for protection and support. This agreement is the fundament of the reintegration process: “It is a negotiation, an agreement and so when there is an agreement, there is reintegration, there is socialisation, there is unity.”

This respect that is demanded forms the basis of the reintegration process of the ATCC: respect for the right to life, peace, and work; respect for the right of life of the members of the association; respect of the life of those that left or want to leave the armed forces. The ATCC endeavours to search for ways to correct what is wrong. The ATCC seeks to show people that there is no need to resolve to force. Through dialogue, cooperation, and assistance people are able to solve conflicts and to reach higher goals. This is also mentioned by Mauricio Hernandez who expressed:

“A situation resolved by weapons is one thing, dialogue is another. When one has arms, he places confidence in the weapon and ends up causing harm. When one does not have weapons, one thinks, one reflects before expressing or acting.”

Hernandez also expressed that in the ATCC, ex-combatants were able to connect with reality, doing the same work as others, following the same norms as others. Mosquira M. explained:

“(…) people learn to understand the role they should play in the community. It starts by valuing himself first, then by valuing the other person. As he feels that his right is also part of other people.”

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*a partir de ahí, que ellos hagan todos los transmite necesarios legales para bajarlo de la lista negra y que ya quede como un civil que esta purgando ya sus penas en una comunidad que lo acepta, con todos sus equivocaciones, y que esa comunidad va a estar vigilante de que él se reincorpore realmente a la vida civil."

261 Serna, personal interview.
262 Mosquira M., personal interview. “Es una negociación, un acuerdo y entonces si hay acuerdo, hay de reintegración, hay de socialización, hay unidad”
263 Hernandez, personal interview.
264 Mosquira M., personal interview.
266 Hernandez, personal interview.
267 Mosquira M., personal interview. “(…) la gente vuelve entender el papel que se debe jugar en la comunidad. Empieza valorandose él primero, luego si valorando a la otra persona. Como siente que, su derecho también es parte las otras personas.”
As part of the reintegration process, the ATCC does not dictate specific tasks or activities that the ex-combatant should take part in. Instead, the person is supposed to support the community in the construction of peace and to start a life project (proyecto de vida) as any other farmer.\textsuperscript{268} Through joint work in the agricultural sector, interaction between the ex-combatant and the community is stimulated. Since the agricultural activities are in the interest of all, the leaders of the ATCC believe that this is an important way to foster reconciliation in society and to avoid stigmatisation.\textsuperscript{269, 270} Another element to prevent stigma that Serna mentioned is the capacity to understand: the capacity to understand the needs a person who reintegrates has, and the capacity to understand that this person is a human being who wants to start over.\textsuperscript{271} For the ATCC it is important to give someone the opportunity to change, improve, and adapt to the system.\textsuperscript{272} The only condition to enter the community is to be “a human being who is looking for a change of life.”\textsuperscript{273} Further reconciliation is favoured by dialogue, conversation, and mediation to mitigate potential negative sentiments of the society and to foster understanding, tolerance, patients, and ultimately forgiveness.\textsuperscript{274} When the ATCC feels that it is unable to provide the adequate help, professional (psychological) help is sought. In this spirit, the leaders declared that there have been no problems accepting ex-combatants in the community.

“People no longer take into account the past, those bad actions, but rather people value very much the desire not to continue in the past and people do no end up rubbing the wound, but rather try to heal and look at the person, valuing his new action, his new decision of not wanting to continue doing harm.”\textsuperscript{275}

Everyone who wants to reintegrate and who wants a new life is welcome in the community, regardless the type of armed group one belonged to and regardless race, belief, religion, or colour. However, some people where rejected during the reintegration process because they were involved in robbery, exploitation, and other illegal activities that go against the agreements made with the community.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{268} Serna, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{269} Mosquira M., personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{270} Hernandez, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{271} Serna, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{272} Mosquira M., personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{273} Serna, personal interview. “es un ser humano quien esta buscando cambia de vida.”
\item \textsuperscript{274} Mosquira M., personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{275} Hernandez, personal interview. “La gente ya no tiene en cuenta el pasado, esas acciones malas, sino que más bien la gente valora mucho el deseo de no seguir en el pasado y la gente no termina refregando la herida, sino que más bien tratar de cicatriz y mirar (...) la persona que valora más bien su nueva acción, su nueva decisión de no querer seguir haciendo daño.”
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The leaders of the ATCC do not believe in jail as reaction to the demobilisation of ex-combatants. Hernandez explained it as follows:

“A person needs to start generating new actions in everything that people are looking for. That is to say, for what is he/she demobilised? To go to jail or to enter into civility?”

Local processes, in contrast to processes at national level, have not failed. For the leaders of the ATCC this shows the strength of their local reintegration process. Whereas the state mainly follows a protocol of reinsertion, the strength of the reintegration process of the ATCC is its restorative element that allows people to generate new actions. In addition, the credibility of the process generated through trust and confidence is mentioned as a strength of the local process. This confidence comes from the fact that there are no politics involved, in comparison to processes at national level. A third important element, as mentioned by Mosquira M., is the way the ATCC solves conflict. The importance of dialogue and talking is what he calls the “the weight of history.”

4.3. The Case of the Nasas

The second case that is analysed, is the case of the indigenous Nasa community in northern Cauca. The Nasas, located in areas of strategic value to armed actors, have suffered tremendously during the war. Through both direct and structural violence their territory, cultural identity, and autonomy have been threatened. During their resistance to the conflict to assert the right to their territory and the right to live in peace, thousands of Nasas have been killed by government, paramilitary, and guerrilla forces. Nevertheless, the persistence of the community in creating non-violent and activist strategies to defend their territory and culture has shown that autonomy is possible even under the threat of violence.

276 Hernandez, personal interview. “Una persona necesita empezar a generar nuevas acciones en todo lo que la gente están buscando. Es decir, que se esta demovilizado para que? Para ir a la carcel o para entrar a la civilidad?”
277 Serna, personal interview.
278 Hernandez, personal interview.
279 Mosquira M., personal interview.
280 Hernandez, personal interview.
281 Hernandez, personal interview.
282 Mosquira M., personal interview. “el peso de historia”
283 Barbero Domeño, Construyendo Paz en Medio de la Guerra, 9.
The Nasa resistance has not always been a pacifist process. After decades of extermination and abuse, the Nasas formed a guerrilla organisation called Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame in the 1980s to defend the Nasa lands and people. The indigenous armed movement demobilised in 1991 and since then the community has adopted and advocated non-violent forms of resistance. The Nasas have formed pacifist, activist organisations to defend their territory and culture and have rejected all armed parties. In addition, the Nasas strive for the right to autonomy and local self-determination as well as cultural and physical sustainability through traditional practices of governance, law enforcement, natural-resource use, healthcare, and education. The Nasa villages and community are protected by unarmed indigenous guards, carrying wooden ceremonial staffs and using indigenous approaches to conflict resolution and interpersonal relations. In so-called mingas – popular marches – the Nasas engage in mass peace actions and protests to fight for their cause.

The Nasas contribute to peacebuilding through their objective to create a unified community and to strengthen organisational processes and social cohesion through training, self-governance, culture, and land recovery. Moreover, the philosophy of the Nasas is based on values inherent to peace, such as the principle of ‘harmony and balance’ that guides their daily practices. In 2000 the community was awarded the National Peace Prize and in 2007 a Nasa activist was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Feliciano Valencia, the current leader of the Association of Indigenous Cabildos of the North of Cauca (Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte de Cauca, Acin), has stated that the Nasas learned to live in times of war but now they have to learn to live in times of peace. Therefore, it is important to create trust between people through conversations and dialogue in order to find a common goal – to live in peace.

Throughout the years, the Nasas have experienced the demobilisation and reintegration of ex-combatants in their community of which the demobilisation of Quintín Lame is an example.

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288 Ibid, 56.
289 Ibid, 44, 55, 56.
290 Ibid, 57.
291 Ibid, 55.
292 Barbero Domeño, Construyendo Paz en Medio de la Guerra: Colombia, 9.
293 Hernández Delgado, “Paces desde Abajo en Colombia,” 180.
295 Alther, “Colombian Peace Communities,” 286.
The demobilisation was accompanied by a successful process of reintegration. Ex-members were able to reconnect to their community and to rebuild their lives by working in and with the community.\textsuperscript{297} The successful demobilisation and reintegration process of Quintín Lame is an important example for other DDR processes in Colombia. Ex-members of Quintín Lame have expressed the willingness to share their experiences and contribute to the negotiations between the FARC and the government.\textsuperscript{298}

\subsection*{4.3.1. Reintegration Process of the Nasas}

The reintegration process of the Nasas is based on their cultural and traditional wisdom in which spirituality plays a very important role. Instead of calling it reintegration, the Nasas prefer to speak of “recomposing the way back home,” where home is understood as the nuclear family, the community, as well as the territory which is home to all indigenous people.\textsuperscript{299} It refers to their conception that the person deviated from the path already laid out by ancestral law and has to find back his path. This redefinition of the concept makes cosmologically more sense for the Nasas and fits with their spiritual and holistic worldview.\textsuperscript{300}

The Nasas speak of a disease that caused the person to get involved with armed actors and that needs to be cured in order for the person to find stability, harmony, and balance again.\textsuperscript{301} An agreement is made and signed between the ex-combatant and the indigenous authorities as well as with the community through which the ex-combatant commits to good behaviour including refraining from the use of weapons and involvement with armed groups, not causing physical nor ideological damage, following the guidelines and regulations of the Nasa community and the Cabildos, and adopting the life plan of the Nasas.\textsuperscript{302} \textsuperscript{303} If one does not comply with the commitments made, disharmony will be brought to the community and the person has to leave the territory.\textsuperscript{304}


\textsuperscript{298} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{299} Germán Valencia Medina, personal interview, Santander de Quilichao, Colombia, November 26, 2016.

\textsuperscript{300} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{301} José Adelmo Valencia Medina, personal interview, Santander de Quilichao, Colombia, November 26, 2016.

\textsuperscript{302} José Leandro Guetio, personal interview, Resguardo Lopez Adentro, Coloto, Colombia, November 24, 2016.

\textsuperscript{303} Juan David, personal interview, Resguardo Lopez Adentro, Coloto, Colombia, November 24, 2016.

\textsuperscript{304} Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
The reintegration process consists of four important components that are meant to re-harmonise the ex-combatant and the community. The first component is spiritual (espiritualidad propia) in which the ex-combatant goes through a process of harmonisation performed by the traditional healers (médicos tradicionales or mayores). Through indigenous rituals the traditional healer carries out an analysis of the person that wants to reintegrate. The judgement of the traditional healer at the end of this analysis is crucial: either the ex-combatant is allowed to continue the reintegration process – better said, the way back home -, or he/she has to go because the person is expected to continue the wrong path and bring problems to the community. The rituals are meant to allow the ex-combatant to connect the physical with the spiritual and to cure the heart and the mind.

The second component is the political process understood as the training and capacity building of the ex-combatant. A training plan (plan de formación) is developed tailored to the interests and capacities of the person. This is not so much an academic training as more a process of self-training in which the people develop their interests and capacities as a measure against recruitment by different illegal groups. The formation has a strong historic element to recognise and reaffirm the history of the indigenous movement following the saying “those who do not know history are doomed to repeat it.” Another element of this training is the cosmological and indigenous worldview through which the person learns to understand his cultural values, roots, customs, and habits to foster his identity as indigenous and as Nasa in particular. The third element of the training is understanding the rights a person has with a focus on the special rights for indigenous people.

The third component involves productive projects that are meant to develop a sense of belonging to the territory and to ensure a level of auto-sustainability as a person. Furthermore, these productive projects are beneficial for the community and can be seen as a way to compensate the damage caused to the community.
The fourth and last component has to do with the restitution of rights. The ex-combatant has lost his/her rights as indigenous at the moment he/she made the choice to get involved in violent acts since this contravenes the natural law or norm of not being part of war. Through participation in the reintegration process the rights as indigenous will be restituted.\(^{314}\)

When the person is considered ready to completely reintegrate into the community, which is generally after four or five years, the traditional healer will perform some final rituals that will allow the person to return home. Thereafter, a public meeting will take place in which the person will be symbolically released and handed over to the family, the community, and the authorities. His/her rights to the territory are fully restored and the person is considered re-harmonised.\(^{315}\)

Although every Nasa is welcome to return to the territory and is supported to feel part of the community again, Germán Valencia Medina expressed that the arrival of an ex-combatant in the community is a difficult moment because of distrust, fear, rejection, and stigmatisation.\(^{316}\) A level of trust needs to be build between the community and the ex-combatant which is facilitated by the commitments made.\(^{317}\) These commitments with the family, the community, and the (traditional) authorities function as a mechanism of surveillance and protection against the risk that the person poses to the community.\(^{318}\) To mitigate the negative feelings, the spiritual part and the processes of harmonisation performed by traditional healers are very important.\(^{319}\) Community workers seek to break the stigmas and to bring harmony between the community and the person.\(^{320}\) The ex-combatant is expected to contribute a lot to community work and to participate in religious activities with both the family and the community. In addition, at the start and the end of the process, the ex-combatant has to ask publicly for forgiveness.\(^{321}\) In cases where a person has committed major crimes and forms a serious risk to the community by being in the territory, a public trial is sometimes part of the process. Many who have been sanctioned and condemned by the community had to leave the territory and were not allowed to follow the local reintegration process.\(^{322}\)

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\(^{314}\) Ibid.
\(^{315}\) Ibid.
\(^{316}\) Ibid.
\(^{317}\) Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\(^{318}\) G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\(^{319}\) Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\(^{320}\) G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\(^{321}\) Ibid.
\(^{322}\) Ibid.
José Leandro Guetio indicated on the contrary that in general it is not difficult to receive indigenous ex-combatants in the community because they are brothers and fellow Nasas that at one point made the wrong decision and believed that arms would be the solution to the problems in Colombia.\textsuperscript{323} However, at the same time he acknowledges that in some cases, when the communities have been very much affected by the conflict, the process might be very difficult and long. It is therefore very important that the ex-combatants demonstrate that they want to live in peace with the community and that they respect the norms, the authorities, and the community.\textsuperscript{324}

What facilitates the reception and acceptance of ex-combatants is the fact that the Nasas think from the collective rather than from the individual. What strengthens them is their unity as indigenous people and their conception of reintegration as achieving unity. José Adelmo Valencia Medina goes as far as to state that the goal of the reintegration process is the survival of or persistence as indigenous people.\textsuperscript{325} Therefore, the Nasas demand respect for the indigenous territories and indigenous communities from all armed groups and ask them to hand over the indigenous Nasas they have in their ranks so that the Nasa community can be united again.\textsuperscript{326} Pablo Andres Tenorio rephrases this objective by saying that the goal is to welcome all indigenous people back into the community and to avoid letting those people get lost or dy.\textsuperscript{327} Germán Valencia Medina formulates the goal of reintegration as follows:

\begin{quote}
"The ultimate goal is to have a more committed community member. First committed as Nasa, second committed to his organisation and third strengthening the indigenous movement, strengthening his family, strengthening him as a person, strengthening his family, his community and his organisation. That is the goal."
\end{quote}

With regard to this goal, a reintegration process is considered successful when the ex-combatant is able to acknowledge his mistakes and takes responsibility for his deeds, when

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{323} Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{324} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{325} J.A. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{326} Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{327} Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\item \textsuperscript{328} G. Valencia Medina, personal interview. "El objeto final es tener un comunero más comprometido. Primer comprometido como Nasa, segundo comprometido con su organización y tercero fortaleciendo el movimiento indígena, fortaleciendo la familia, fortaleciendo él como persona, fortaleciendo su familia, su comunidad y su organización. Eso es el objeto."
\end{itemize}
he/she has the capacity to ask for forgiveness and to forgive, and when the person commits him/herself to the restoration of the damage caused.\textsuperscript{329}

The community is closely involved in the reintegration processes and despite some problems that may be encountered during the process, the community members are all supportive of a successful termination of the process. Germán Valencia Medina expressed this by saying:

\textit{“When one is going to do the official release of this person we would say there is a, we would say, very immense joy in the community to receive a fellow who has recomposed him/herself. That is our experience, with demobilised adults and minors.”}\textsuperscript{330}

Reintegration is also linked to peace which is understood as harmony between everyone. Peace is not just achieved by laying down arms. Rather, it means respecting each other, having the possibility to live peacefully.\textsuperscript{331} This idea is shared by Juan Pablo who sees successful reintegration as a way to create a better country for the generations to come.\textsuperscript{332} As a consequence of the current peace agreements more indigenous ex-combatants are expected to arrive to the Nasa territories. Although the Nasas do not have a lot of trust in the compliance of the parties with these agreements, they recognise that demobilisation and reintegration are the only options and means to move forward in a united way for the country and the communities.\textsuperscript{333}

This lack of trust in the peace agreements is part of the difficult relationship between the Nasa community and the state. The Nasas have the feeling that the indigenous territories have been abandoned or at least neglected by the state.\textsuperscript{334} Moreover, the Nasas feel that the government has no respect for their differentiated indigenous approach and fear the interference of the state with their local processes.\textsuperscript{335} Even though the local reintegration process of the Nasas is recognised by the state it is not accepted according to Germán Valencia Medina.\textsuperscript{336} A lack of understanding of the logic and indigenous way of thinking and a big difference in the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{329} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{330} Ibid. "Cuando una va a hacer la entrega oficial a esa persona diríamos que hay una, diríamos, alegría muy inmensa en la comunidad a volverse recibir un comunero que se ha recomuesto. Esa es la experiencia de nosotros, de desmovilizados adultos y menores."
\textsuperscript{331} Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
\textsuperscript{332} Juan Pablo, personal interview.
\textsuperscript{333} Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\textsuperscript{334} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{335} Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
\textsuperscript{336} G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\end{flushleft}
implementation of reintegration programmes are mentioned as factors hindering the cooperation with the ACR.\(^{337}\) In addition, where the state is involved in the programmes it does not comply with its commitments or only partially at best as argued by Andres Tenorio. This causes that some youth that were motivated at the start, have lost their motivation and started causing troubles.\(^{338}\) Furthermore, accepting financial support from the state is seen as a loss of authority on the part of the indigenous leaders because this requires accepting certain conditions imposed by the government.\(^{339}\)

During the interviews it was indicated that a recognition by the government of a level of autonomy and decision-making capacity is necessary to be able to manoeuvre with more strength.\(^{340}\) This should be complemented by the provision of the necessary resources, including the economic and social structure to move forward the local processes.\(^{341}\) Most importantly, respect and understanding for the local process is required as well as political recognition and acceptance of local processes that contribute to the construction of peace.\(^{342}\)

The local reintegration process of the Nasas is now being documented to serve not only the Nasa population, but also other indigenous people as well as for the government with demobilisation processes to come.\(^{343}\) However, it was emphasised that every community is autonomous to manage their ways of dealing with ex-combatants that return to civil life.\(^{344}\)

When asked about the advantages of having a local process instead of a national process, Andres Tenorio responded that a local process emerges from the community. It responds to the difficulties encountered throughout the process and it is possible to adjust the programme to the specific circumstances. Moreover, the will and motivation are strong both on the part of the ex-combatant and the community.\(^{345}\) These community-based initiatives contribute to a feeling of ownership for the community as well as the ex-combatant.\(^{346}\) The commitments at the start of the reintegration process also contribute to a level of local ownership. It is argued

\(^{337}\) Ibid.
\(^{338}\) Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\(^{339}\) G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\(^{340}\) Ibid.
\(^{341}\) Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\(^{342}\) G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\(^{343}\) Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\(^{344}\) G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
\(^{345}\) Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
\(^{346}\) Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\(^{347}\) G. Valencia Medina, personal interview.
that in this manner, the local process generates more trust and transparency. This is beneficial for the process since the lack of trust in the national process is mentioned as one of the factors that contribute to recidivism and relapse of ex-combatant into criminal groups.\textsuperscript{348}

The importance of the voluntary basis of the local process is reiterated by Germán Valencia Medina because "force is to subject and we [the Nasas] are against subjugation."\textsuperscript{349} The fact that an ex-combatant participates out of free will is seen as a guarantee that the person will truly contribute to community processes without causing a problem.\textsuperscript{350} Concerns were expressed about national programmes that are often followed because of the promises made by the government in terms of opportunities, rights, and resources, or because it is the only option instead of going to jail.\textsuperscript{351} This has the risk of creating false expectations. Instead of giving the ex-combatants a monthly salary as part of their reinsertion for example, the Nasas consider it more beneficial to help the ex-combatant build the capacity to construct an own life project and generate an own income.\textsuperscript{352}

\textsuperscript{348} Leandro Guetio, personal interview.
\textsuperscript{349} G. Valencia Medina, personal interview. "obligar es someter y nosotros estamos en contra del sometimiento."
\textsuperscript{350} Andres Tenorio, personal interview.
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{352} G. Valencia medina, personal interview.
5. **Data Analysis**

The preceding chapters have explored the concepts peacebuilding and reintegration and have provided a theoretical framework with a bottom-up approach. It has been argued that reintegration forms an integral part of peacebuilding. To achieve the success of both it is important to ensure effective participation at a local level, hence the use of the terms peacebuilding from below and reintegration from below. The experiences of the ATCC and the Nasas have been used to illustrate the proposed forms of peacebuilding and reintegration. These two communities are examples of local actors, impacted by the conflict and working to reconstruct, recuperate, and rebuild their society. Both communities have their own way of dealing with the reintegration of ex-combatants and this chapter combines the empirical insights with the theoretical framework to see how the two relate.

### 5.1. Building Positive Peace

The definition given in the literature for the concept peacebuilding encompasses different aspects including the disarming of warring factions, the prevention, reduction, transformation of violence in all forms, and the development of (new) relationships. All these aspects seem to be applicable for both the ATCC and the Nasa community that act as intermediaries to assist people disengaging from armed groups and that stimulate ex-combatants to participate in a process of reintegration based on principles of respect for the right to life, peace, and work (ATCC) and harmony, stability, and balance (Nasa).

Galtung’s notion of positive peace has been a recurrent theme through the chapters and has been indicated in the literature as the ultimate goal of peacebuilding. Reintegration programmes should not be based on military and security concerns but have the potential to address political and justice considerations thereby changing relationships, interests, and attitudes in order to reach a positive peace. That reintegration programmes can contribute to positive peace has been expressed by the leaders of the ATCC that were interviewed. Reintegration processes based on agreements with and in the communities contribute to reconciliation and tranquillity and eventually to peace. For the Nasas, reintegration is also linked to positive peace in that it helps finding a way to ensure harmony and respect between everyone in order to live peacefully and build a better country for the next generations. Reintegration of ex-combatants is considered crucial for the communities and country to move forward. Both the ATCC and the Nasas seek to convert the ex-combatants in more committed community members and to show different ways to resolve conflicts. Rather than
relying on force and weapons, people are stimulated to think, reflect, and resolve conflicts through dialogue, cooperation, and assistance.

5.2. Community-Based Reintegration
The bottom-up approach to peacebuilding and reintegration gives a voice to the people affected by the conflict. They are regarded as agents of change and critical peace agencies in charge of designing, managing, and implementing the processes based on local cultures and knowledge on how to manage conflicts. This will result in feelings of commitment, responsibility, and ownership which in turn ensures the effectiveness and sustainability of the processes. To have a voice that is being heard is important for both communities as reflected by their history. The establishment of the ATCC was a form of empowerment for the farmers of the Carare region in front of the different armed actors in the area. The Nasas raised – and continue to raise – their voice against the many years of cultural oppression and violence against the indigenous people. The local reintegration processes of both communities provide for a degree of control in the territories which has been indicated as an important factor contributing to a feeling of ownership of the process. In this way, the processes emerge from the communities itself and consequently show a strong will on the part of the ex-combatants as well as the communities to participate in and support the processes in order to achieve successful reintegration. The fundament of these community-based processes is an agreement between the ex-combatant and the community in which the ex-combatant is allowed to start a new life with a clean slate as long as he/she accepts the guidelines, regulations, and criteria of the communities. The voluntary acceptance of these rules is a way of demonstrating the knowledge and acceptance of society’s rules and norms and a willingness to be part of the community again. Constructing these agreements generates mutual trust and confidence.

Reintegration processes should be based on the day-to-day realities in the communities, tailored to the local circumstances and taking into account local values, traditions, and practices. Aided by local wisdom and historical, cultural, and linguistic resources, reintegration programmes will be better able to respond to the needs and priorities of the affected population which is essential for sustainable peacebuilding. These processes based on local norms and values tend to enjoy more legitimacy and be more accessible. This has been shown by the experiences of the ATCC and the Nasas. Their processes are strongly rooted in local realities and are flexible enough to respond and adapt to changing circumstances and emerging difficulties. For the ATCC the incorporation of agricultural work has aided the reintegration whereas a spiritual element has been very important for the Nasas. These
programmes adopt a more comprehensive and flexible approach to take into account the needs of both the demobilised and the communities in order to improve the chances of success.

5.3. Social Reintegration
The needs of the communities and the ex-combatants are best served through the incorporation of a reconciliatory element that will deal with feelings of resentment, fear, lack of trust, and stigmatisation among others. Reconciliation as both a goal and process takes a central place in the reintegration processes of both the ATCC and the Nasas. The ability to acknowledge mistakes, take responsibility, ask for forgiveness, forgive, and provide restoration for the damage caused are associated with this reconciliatory element. For the Nasas this is mainly achieved through the participation in spiritual rituals performed by the traditional healer and community meetings in which the ex-combatant asks for forgiveness. Although not part of a formal process, asking for forgiveness is also an important element for the ATCC. In addition, compensation for the damage caused to the community can be achieved through participation in productive projects for the community.

Part of this process of reconciliation is also the creation of a new social fabric. The construction or reconstruction of relationships is stimulated in both communities through dialogue and conversations. Interaction between the community and the ex-combatant is facilitated through joint work, mainly in the agricultural sector, and projects that contribute to the development of the community. The Nasas have formalised the interaction through community assemblies and spiritual rituals and the ATCC seeks to foster interaction through informal talks and meetings. In the literature it was argued that forming a new social fabric can be very challenging for ex-combatants that reintegrate in regions different than their places of origins. Since the Nasa process is concerned with the reintegration of other Nasas, they do not have experiences with these cases. On the contrary, the Nasa ex-combatants are encouraged to come back to the community to reconnect with the territory and their indigenous roots. Also the ATCC has mainly reintegrated people from their region, although some examples of reintegrated originating from other regions do exist. In these instances, the forming of social relationships was also encouraged.

In the literature it was found that one of the risks of reintegration programmes is the forming of a privileged group of ex-combatants that receives benefits in exchange for participation in reintegration programmes. Therefore, it was argued that it is important to make sure that the process benefits the population as a whole. This fear was not shared by the leaders of the
ATCC nor by the Nasas interviewed. Ex-combatants do not have special rights, instead, they are expected to do the same work as others, start a life projects as any other farmer or Nasa. Moreover, they have to contribute to the community by participating in peacebuilding and development activities. The leaders of the ATCC explained that the ex-combatants have to learn to understand their role and position in society. Understanding the role as community member is equally important for the Nasas for whom part of the reintegration process is the training and building of capacity so that the ex-combatant understands the history, cultural values, roots, customs, habits, and rights. In addition, both communities focus on auto-sustainability as well as the sustainability of the community.

5.4. Doubts
The reintegration processes of the ATCC and the Nasas are based on an agreement between the ex-combatant and the community. When one involves in actions that go against these agreements, one simply has to leave the territory and loses the possibility to reintegrate in the region. Additionally for the Nasa community, when the traditional healer says the person cannot reintegrate, he/she has to go. This is a mechanism that works very well for the communities since it generates mutual trust and functions as a measure of surveillance and protection. However, at national level this is more complicated. Non-compliance with agreements made cannot lead to expulsion from the territory and other mechanisms to respond to actions that are inconsistent with the agreements made are necessary. Moreover, accepting the agreements with the communities is a voluntary process to show the willingness to reincorporate in civil life and to follow the same rules and norms as everyone, to adopt the same life plan, and to refrain from illegal activities. The ex-combatants that accept the criteria want to reintegrate specifically in those regions and communities. At national level, acceptance of the criteria may be less voluntary or the motivation to reintegrate can be different (e.g. to avoid jail-time or to receive financial benefits). Consequently, the commitment to comply with the agreements and to follow the guidelines of the reintegration process may be less.

Another important element in the reintegration processes of these communities is the notion of unity. Successful reintegration is seen as achieving unity. The Nasas are strongly united as indigenous people, striving for their rights and persistence. The members of the ATCC are strongly united in their adherence to the norms and values of the ATCC. Concepts such as understanding, tolerance, patience, and forgiveness are highly valued. This solidarity increases the commitment on the part of the community to the reintegration process and their
willingness to contribute to a successful outcome. However, the experiences with reintegration can be very different for communities that are not as strongly united or are very much divided. It cannot be expected that all communities are equally welcoming to ex-combatants and willing to reach out to them and interact. Whereas the Nasas and the members of the ATCC tend to think and act from the collective and clearly state that every human being that wants to change its life and come back to civil life is welcome in the communities, there may be many people thinking and acting from the individual who are not as welcoming, which will complicate the process of social reintegration.
6. Conclusion

In this thesis, a bottom-up approach to reintegration processes as part of a peacebuilding strategy has been researched in the Colombian context by analysing the experiences of two peace communities. The ATCC and the Nasas are examples of communities that are willing to receive ex-combatants in their territories and that actively endeavour to reincorporate them into civilian life. The Nasas have developed a very extensive reintegration programme whereas the ATCC has a more informal process with stronger links to the state. Despite this difference, both are all-inclusive processes in which the ex-combatants, the local authorities, and the community are involved and that provide important lessons for the national reintegration process in Colombia.

In order to formulate the lessons and recommendations, various elements have been analysed: firstly, the benefits of peacebuilding from below for the peace process in Colombia; secondly, the benefits of reintegration from below for the peace process; thirdly, the experiences of the ATCC and the Nasas with the reintegration of ex-combatants. After drawing conclusions about these sub questions it will be possible to answer to the research question by formulating recommendations drawn from local reintegration experiences for the national peacebuilding process in Colombia.

6.1. How can peacebuilding from below benefit the Colombian peace process?

Colombia is involved in a complicated process of composing, signing, and implementing peace agreements between the government and the main parties to the conflict. After decades of conflict the main challenge for the country will be to build a true, comprehensive, and sustainable peace, or in other words: to win the post-conflict. It is important to overcome polarisation of the population and avoid relapse in criminal conduct by improving social cohesion and (re)building social relations. To reach Galtung’s positive peace in which next to direct and physical violence, structural and cultural violence have been overcome through a change in relationships, clashing interests, and attitudes, an adequate peacebuilding strategy is required.

In very simple terms, peacebuilding is the process of achieving peace. This does not only mean the elimination of armed conflict but the disarming of warring factions, rebuilding the institutions, preventing, reducing, and transforming violence, empowering people, and fostering sustainable relationships. In this sense, peacebuilding is a dynamic social process of building peace through the construction of a new peaceful environment. It is an ongoing process that requires social change that goes beyond physical safety in which it is paramount
that the population is actively involved. Instead of top-down processes that impose strategies developed and decided at national level on the affected population, a bottom-up approach is suggested with a greater role for local communities. This allows individuals and communities to develop and flourish as peace agencies through the creation of a platform at local level to establish an agenda for the construction of peace based on local knowledge, practise, and values. Making local communities agencies of change as the core of bottom-up peacebuilding ensures comprehensive peacebuilding practices with and within the population that is able to respond more effectively to the needs and priorities of the people.

In Colombia, for the first time the need for decentralised peacebuilding policies has been expressed in the form of the concept *paz territorial* which emphasises the importance of the regional dimensions of the peace process. Peacebuilding from below can be used to bring into practice this idea of *paz territorial* by acknowledging that there is not one universal template for building peace but that it should be based on the habits and traditions of the people experiencing and living with the consequences of the conflict. During and after violent conflict, the local community is an important source for surviving. A strong example of the community as a coping mechanism is the creation of Colombian peace communities that withdrew from the conflict and sought a transformation of the context through dialogue, social justice, restoration and reconciliation of relationships. These practices take place in the everyday lives of the people. Therefore it is important to contribute to a process of community empowerment through civil society enhancement and cultural appropriate approaches by enabling local communities to identify, develop, and employ the resources they deem necessary to build a peaceful society and to respect the right of societies to make their own choices based on habits, tradition, and social context.

This bottom-up approach to peacebuilding juxtaposes the national elite level with the national grassroots level and advocates a stronger role for local actors. A peace agreement and externally imposed arrangements will not lead to peace in the country if the processes are not supported at grassroots level. Peacebuilding from below can benefit the peace process in Colombia because local involvement and ownership of the peacebuilding strategies will reduce resistance and increase legitimacy and durability of the peace process. It contributes to a feeling of responsibility and empowerment which facilitates the forming of a spiral of peace, development, and social change that repeats and reinforces itself over time.
6.2. **How can reintegration from below benefit the Colombian peace process?**

Absolute priority and one of the key elements of the Colombian peacebuilding strategy is DDR and the reintegration of ex-combatants in particular. Reintegration as a peacebuilding strategy aims to incorporate demobilised persons in civilian life, break cycles of violence, and reconcile members of society. A strictly technical and military approach to DDR excludes participation of the civil population in the design and implementation of the programmes, undermining a sense of local ownership and weakening the sustainability. Rather than looking at reintegration as a security strategy, it is important to emphasise the long-term humanitarian and development impact reintegration processes can have. Reintegration forms the foundation of a reconciled society characterised by a peaceful coexistence and a long-lasting peace.

Colombia’s violent history has left the society fragmented and polarised and the issue of reintegration of ex-combatants forms a problem of collective action that requires an effort by both the demobilised and the receiving communities. However, for many years reintegration as part of DDR has been used as a counter-insurgency strategy to deal with the consequences of the conflict such as a lack of security and political instability rather than as a peacebuilding strategy. With the creation of the ACR, the country has taken a new direction in its reintegration policies, most importantly through the adoption of the concept reintegration instead of reinsertion. Nonetheless, its community participation and community-based reintegration should be exploited more to address local needs and define context-specific objectives since the local context at grassroots level can be very different than the understanding of the problems and needs at national level. Bottom-up reintegration strategies that are based on the day-to-day realities in the communities are necessary to promote social reintegration by which ex-combatants become involved in and accepted by their communities. The involvement of the community in the design, management, and implementation of the reintegration process is important since the ability of an ex-combatant to reintegrate is very much dependent on the reaction of the receiving community. Therefore, a key factor in a successful social reintegration process is a focus on reconciliation as both a goal and a process. It is the preferred outcome of the reintegration process but it is also a series of actions that take place before, during, and after times of conflict and violence. Reconciliation involves the construction or reconstruction of relationships through increasing interactions between individuals, families, and communities in order to build the social fabric. Participation in local reconciliation processes shows a knowledge and acceptance of the community’s rules, values and norms, and a willingness to be part of the community again. It
is a mechanism that builds trust and helps to overcome stigma, animosities, fear, and distrust amongst others.

Part of the reintegration and reconciliation process is the reparation of the social fabric in a community. It allows individuals to feel part of a group, can avoid the marginalisation of ex-combatants, and can prevent them to become spoilers of the peace process by mobilising again and relapsing into violence. Participation in local activities should be encouraged to facilitate the (re)construction of bonds and bridges, to promote mutual trust, and to allow for the (re)building of a social network.

Reintegration from below can benefit the peace process in Colombia by promoting local ownership and legitimacy of the process and thereby increasing community acceptance and reconciliation. It is based on local practices, customs, norms, and values and is therefore more accessible and legitimate. Moreover, a bottom-up approach to reintegration directly includes and benefits the community in building capacities and empowering the community as a social actor that can influence the dynamics of social relations. This ensures that the reintegration process is sustainable and self-reinforcing.

### 6.3. What are the experiences of Colombian peace communities with the reintegration of ex-combatants?

This study has highlighted the importance of studying local processes to design reintegration strategies that are more responsive to the needs, desires, and contexts of the communities and the demobilised. The contribution of the Nasas and the ATCC to the reintegration of ex-combatants into their communities have been analysed. These cases reflect concrete realities of two Colombian peace communities that consider the conflict not their conflict and that consider themselves as neutral and peaceful communities that seek to control their own territories and defend the lives and rights of their members.

The experiences of the ATCC and the Nasa community show that peace is constructed from day to day. The two cases provide examples of grassroots peace initiatives that seek to build a positive peace by overcoming direct, structural, and cultural violence. These communities are transforming powers of peace and implement their own peacebuilding strategies based on local cultures and values. As part of their peacebuilding efforts they have been able to consolidate a process of social reintegration of ex-combatants. They have transformed and adapted national and international standards to their local culture in order to develop a more comprehensive reintegration process that upholds the dignity of the community and the
demobilised people. They have identified mechanisms and autonomous processes to convert former combatants into active social actors for economic and social development.

The reintegration processes of the ATCC and the Nasas are processes that emerge from the communities itself which generates feelings of commitment, responsibility, and ownership. What makes the local processes successful is the strong support for the processes from the communities as well as the ex-combatants which ensures the effectiveness and sustainability of the reintegration. An agreement between the communities and the ex-combatants forms the foundation of the reintegration processes through which the ex-combatants show the knowledge and acceptance of society’s rules and norms. These agreements form the basis for the construction of mutual trust and new relationships and is the start of the reconciliation process. In addition to the agreements, asking forgiveness and increasing interaction facilitates reconciliation between the communities and the ex-combatants. Interaction takes place through formal and informal events, most commonly true joint work in the agricultural sector or development projects for the communities. Participation in productive projects is seen as a form of providing reparations for the human and social damage caused to the communities. Through the local reintegration processes, the ATCC and the Nasas have been successful in avoiding continuous resentment towards the ex-combatants and ensuring sustainable reintegration.

The local reintegration processes are linked to the social and marked structures of the communities by incorporating agricultural, spiritual, and cultural activities and elements in the processes. The processes are all-inclusive meaning that they address both the needs of the demobilised and the needs of the communities, recognising the importance of reconciliation and the building of capacities, potentials, and strengths of all. The communities have taken into account the little formal education and skills other than waging war that ex-combatants have and encourage the ex-combatants to develop a life plan or project like any other farmer or indigenous in order to be able to provide for an own income and to become auto-sustainable.

The experiences of the Colombian peace communities ATCC and Nasa are success stories in Colombian history that show that community-based processes are able to reintegrate ex-combatants into community by taking into account the realities and practices on the ground. These grassroots processes are designed, managed, and implemented by the communities leading to a degree of local ownership and responsibility which makes the processes
sustainable and self-reinforcing. The experiences of the peace communities provide valuable lessons for other reintegration programmes which will be presented in the next section.

6.4. What lessons can be drawn from local reintegration experiences for the national peacebuilding process in Colombia?

The aim of this research is to formulate recommendations for the national peacebuilding process in Colombia, based on the lessons drawn from the local reintegration experiences of the ATCC and the Nasas. These experiences are examples of community-based reintegration processes with a differential approach that take into account the specific characteristics of the communities and demobilised people and that enjoy a degree of autonomy to implement the programmes successfully. It is important to learn from these local experiences in order to reduce recidivism and to ensure the success, effectiveness, and durability of the national process. The recommendations that follow from this research can be divided into three parts. Firstly, it is important for the Colombian state to formulate the ultimate goal of the reintegration process and to fully understand the impact the success or the failure of the reintegration processes can have on peacebuilding. Secondly, the research showed the importance of supporting local peace initiatives to stimulate reintegration processes that enjoy a high level of legitimacy, acceptance, and sustainability. Thirdly, the experiences of the ATCC and the Nasa community have revealed some elements that are important in their reintegration processes and that can also be beneficial for nationally led reintegration programmes.

As a first lesson, the literature and the experiences of the peace communities have shown that reintegration is a crucial element both during and after conflict. Reintegration processes have the potential to contribute to tranquillity, reconciliation, and stability and thereby contribute to the building of peace. However, it is also shown that peace has to be constructed every day and that it is not just an end goal that can be reached. It is important to fully understand and acknowledge this feature of reintegration and avoid using reintegration as part of a counter-insurgency strategy or as a quick way to reinsert demobilised back into society through a “guns, camps, cash” approach. Demobilisation and reintegration are important steps in moving the country forward in a united way by stimulating social cohesion in society. Successful processes are a way to create a better country for the generations to come.

The second important lesson that can be drawn from the literature and the experiences of the ATCC and the Nasas is the importance of recognising and supporting local peace initiatives that promote social reintegration of ex-combatants in the communities. Based on popular and
traditional wisdom, these initiatives manage to achieve a level of peace and stability. Ignoring and delegitimizing community efforts undermines and hinders the success of reintegration. Instead, communities should be stimulated to organise themselves in order to transform realities of violence and marginalisation to generate sustainable political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental development. Local communities demand more support and recognition by the state for their differentiated processes. They demand respect and understanding of their local processes and need political recognition and acceptance for their approach. It is important that communities such as the ATCC and the Nasas are recognised as legitimate peacebuilding actors to advance their autonomous processes. In addition, more autonomy is needed for local communities in the construction and implementation of their reintegration processes. More decision-making capacity is necessary in order to manoeuvre with more flexibility and strength and to implement processes that are tailored to the local circumstances and cultures. Political, economic, and social support is needed for the communities to be able to develop and implement their reconciliation, social justice, and reintegration mechanisms. Financial resources are necessary that can be used in a way the communities deem necessary.

The bottom-up approaches to peacebuilding and reintegration that are advocated in this thesis call for processes that respond and adapt to local realities and cultural diversities. Therefore, the third lesson that can be drawn from the literature and the local experiences is that it is not possible to design one universal reintegration programme. Rather, reintegration programmes should be responsive to local customs, practices, norms, and traditions. This means that a degree of flexibility should be build into the reintegration process to allow for the incorporation of spiritual or cultural elements that are important for communities. Even though an universal template does not exist, various elements can be identified that should be included in every reintegration process. A clear agreement between the ex-combatants and society is beneficial so that everyone knows the criteria, guidelines, and expectations of the process. This agreement works as a safety mechanism and generates credibility, trust, and confidence in the process. A focus on reconciliation is very important in order to address the negative sentiments of the community such as fear, distrust, and anger. Reconciliatory and restorative elements can help to avoid resentment and resistance to the reintegration of ex-combatants. This demands mutual understanding and the capacity to understand the needs of the community and the needs of the ex-combatants. Providing reparations for the damage and suffering has proven to be very important in this process. This can be done by active
participation in community work and by asking forgiveness. This is an important step in accepting the ex-combatant in the community and helps to increase interaction between the ex-combatant and the community. Moreover, the experiences researched in this thesis indicated that it is important that the person who is reintegrating adopts a life plan similar to the rest of the community, to contribute equally to society and to be auto-sustainable in the future. Without creating false expectations and disparities in society, reintegration programmes should help to build the capacity and skills necessary for an ex-combatant to construct an own life project and to generate an own income.

For the Colombian reintegration process to be part of a successful peacebuilding strategy, it should be a comprehensive process that takes into account the needs of the ex-combatants as well as the needs of the receiving communities. In addition, a flexible design should enable the adoption of reintegration programmes to local preferences and ideas. Moreover, local reintegration initiatives that enjoy a high level of local acceptance and legitimacy should be recognised, accepted, and supported in order to enhance the success, impact, and contribution to peacebuilding. The national peacebuilding process, and the reintegration process in particular, should be firmly rooted in the communities in order for Colombia to win its post conflict.
7. Utility

7.1. Implications for Theory and Practice
In this thesis, reintegration has been approached as a peacebuilding strategy that is crucial for a peaceful future of Colombia. The years to come, the reintegration process for demobilised FARC members will play an important role in the post-conflict. Simultaneously, the reintegration of other guerrilla, paramilitary, and criminal groups will continue to be of great importance. As this thesis has tried to show, for the reintegration processes to be legitimate and sustainable it is important that they are rooted in society. The insights given in this thesis about the importance of community-based reintegration and the strength of grassroots actors are valuable for the Colombian government and the agencies in charge of designing and implementing reintegration programmes throughout the country. The recommendations formulated are meant to stimulate policymakers to give a greater voice to local communities and to avoid failures made in the past through the implementation of predominantly top-down processes lacking community support and legitimacy.

In researching the experiences of the peace communities, a space was created for the members of the ATCC and the Nasas to express their thoughts and experiences on the topic. For them, this was an opportunity to spread their word and ideas which was very valuable for them. Understanding the experiences of these communities is very useful in showing that even in the midst of war there are other options than violence. The ATCC and the Nasas have shown that there is an option to opt-out and follow a path of reconciliation and acceptance. Supporting these communities can help to reduce the intensity of conflict and help them to be legitimate peacebuilding actors. It gives the communities a voice, strength, and recognition as a source of non-violent change.

Recognition of these peace communities as agents of change should not only be given from an academic perspective but politicians and policymakers should be equally receptive to the experiences and strength of these and similar communities. Although similar communities have tried to develop and implement processes like these their efforts have often been ignored or delegitimized. However, it is important to study the local and differentiated processes to design reintegration strategies that are more responsive to the needs, desires, and contexts of the communities and the demobilised. This research shows that it is important to give more autonomy to communities in the construction and implementation of their reintegration process.
7.2. Gaps and Future Research

Considering the timeframe and scope of this thesis a small number of cases was chosen. In addition, the amount of people interviewed per case was limited due to time constraints and availability of the participants. The interviews took place in the communities itself which created an environment of trust but which also let to some constraints in terms of time available for the interview and interference by other people and sounds. Therefore, it was necessary to be flexible during the interviews which made it afterwards more difficult to systematically compare the answers.

The cases chosen for this research are very interesting but also very specific. Although important, the experiences and views of these communities seem to be very unique. These communities have very strong social bonds and are organisationally very strong. This strong organisational culture and social cohesion should not be expected from all communities. Moreover, it is possible that communities react differently to the reintegration of ex-combatants originally from their territories than to demobilised with whom there exists no territorial or cultural link. Furthermore, the ATCC and the Nasas are examples of communities in a rural setting and experiences and processes in an urban setting can be very different. Consequently, one should be careful in generalising results for the broader society.

It is recommendable to conduct a more large-scale research in the future to include the experiences of more communities. This thesis has focused mainly on social reintegration but future research could include more elements to the reintegration process to get a complete understanding of the reintegration process. In addition, the views of the ex-combatants themselves would add an interesting layer to the research. Moreover, data could be disaggregated more by specifics such as gender and age. Lastly, the research would benefit from a more direct comparative analysis between the programmes of the state and the local processes.
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**Tables and Figures**


Appendix I – Conflict Map Santander

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Figure 8. Presence of ELN in Cauca as of May 30, 2015.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.
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\cite{Ibid}
Appendix III – Consent Form

FORMATO DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Este formulario certifica que las personas entrevistadas están de acuerdo en el uso de sus datos para la investigación por parte de la investigadora Esmee de Haan. La investigadora Esmee de Haan tratará responsablemente los testimonios, teniendo en cuanta la dignidad de la persona, su experiencia, su seguridad y las posibles consecuencias que suponga dicho tratamiento.

☐ El entrevistado ha sido informado en detalle sobre el propósito con el que Esmee de Haan utilizará el testimonio

☐ Se le notificó que la información se hará pública en la tesis de Esmee de Haan

☐ Doy mi consentimiento a Esmee de Haan para que grabe electrónicamente la entrevista

☐ Doy mi consentimiento a Esmee de Haan para que tome imágenes

☐ Doy mi consentimiento a Esmee de Haan de publicar mi testimonio

☐ y usar mi nombre

☐ O

☐ sin mencionar mi nombre

Yo ............................................................... , doy mi consentimiento a Esmee de Haan para que utilice mi testimonio de acuerdo con los propósitos arriba mencionados y de los cuales manifiesto haber sido informado/a.

Estoy de acuerdo en que dicho material se use exclusivamente para la tesis de Esmee de Haan.

Fecha y lugar ...........................................

Firma de entrevistado/a .............................................
### GUÍA DE ENTREVISTA

**Fecha y lugar:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nombre</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocupación</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descripción de cargo de reintegración</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### A) PROCESO DE REINTEGRACIÓN

1. ¿Cuáles son las experiencias que la comunidad tiene con la reintegración de excombatientes?
2. ¿Explíque cómo funciona el proceso de reintegración?
3. ¿Cuál es la filosofía detrás del proceso de reintegración?
4. ¿Cuánto demora el proceso de reintegración en promedio?
5. ¿En qué medida participa la comunidad en el proceso?
6. ¿Podría mencionar actividades específicas que fomenten la interacción entre la comunidad y el excombatiente?
7. ¿Qué mecanismos son utilizados para mejorar la justicia?
8. ¿Podría mencionar actividades específicas que favorecen la justicia y la reconciliación?
9. ¿Las actividades son voluntarias u obligatorias?

#### B) PERFIL DE EXCOMBATANIENTES

10. ¿En general, cuál es el perfil de excombatientes (género, edad, desmovilización colectiva o individual, a que grupo perteneció)?
11. ¿De qué región provienen originalmente los excombatientes?
12. ¿Los excombatientes fueron activos como combatientes en la región?
13. ¿Hay perfiles de excombatientes que no serían fácilmente aceptados en la comunidad?
14. ¿Hay diferentes procesos de reintegración según el perfil del excombatiente?
15. ¿Usted piensa que el perfil hace una diferencia para el proceso de reintegración en términos de enfoque/proceso/resultado?
16. ¿Los participantes del proceso de reintegración también participan en los programas de la Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración?
17. ¿En qué medida se tienen en cuenta las historias/motivaciones personales (los victimarios fueron víctimas una vez)?

#### C) RECEPCIÓN DE LA COMUNIDAD

18. ¿La comunidad participa en un proceso de sensibilización sobre la importancia del proceso de reintegración?
19. ¿Cuál cree usted que son los sentimientos de las víctimas y de la comunidad hacia los excombatientes?
20. ¿Cree usted que el proceso de reintegración social ayuda a mitigar los sentimientos negativos de la comunidad a con los excombatientes?
21. ¿Cómo equilibra usted las necesidades y beneficios de los excombatientes con las víctimas/desplazados/miembros de la comunidad?
22. ¿La gente cree y/o respalda los mecanismos de justicia de transición y en la no repetición de violencia?
23. ¿Cómo cree usted que se puede lidiar con la carga del pasado?
24. ¿Siente que los excombatientes se convierten en un grupo social independiente con una identidad permanente de excombatientes?

D) IMPACTO

25. ¿Cuál es el objetivo final o la meta del proceso de reintegración?
26. ¿Qué considera usted cómo un proceso exitoso o cuándo es la reintegración exitosa?
27. ¿Qué sabe usted sobre el nivel de reincidencia?

E) PROPIEDAD/RESPONSABILIDAD LOCAL & APOYO EXTERNO

28. ¿Quién está a cargo del proceso de reintegración?
29. ¿Usted piensa que tiene las capacidades y las habilidades para implementar el proceso de reintegración?
30. ¿La comunidad recibe apoyo externo para el proceso de reintegración? (del Estado/ONG)
31. ¿El proceso de reintegración local está aceptado/reconocido por el Estado?
32. ¿El proceso de reincorporación local está vinculado con el programa de la Agencia Colombiana para la reintegración?
33. ¿Siente usted que permanece en control del proceso o que los actores externos están influyendo el proceso?

F) RETOS

34. ¿En su opinión, que son los desafíos, las deficiencias y las limitaciones del proceso de reintegración local?
35. ¿Qué apoyo (adicional) se necesita para asegurar el éxito del proceso?

G) ADICIONAL

36. ¿Piensa usted que su proceso de reintegración local también se podría aplicar en otras comunidades?
37. ¿Qué son las lecciones principales que se pueden extraer de sus experiencias con la reintegración?
38. ¿Qué son las ventajas o desventajas de los procesos locales de reintegración en comparación con los procesos nacionales de reintegración?