Dialogs of Peace in Protection of Life:  
A Comparative Case Study of a Nonviolence Method by the Indigenous Guards of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca in the Post-Peace Accord Context (2016-2021) in Colombia

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Abstract

The Peace Agreement of 2016 between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army raised hopes after decades of internal armed conflict, but the levels of violence continue to be high in rural areas. Cauca is the department of Colombia where most social leaders and human rights defenders have been killed since 2016. To resist violence, to defend life and the territories, and to uphold rule of law based on the 1991 Colombian Constitution, the Indigenous Guards of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca use an integral method of nonviolence in the everyday setting. The aim of this study is to understand the impact of this method, perceived by the local people, as an alternative way to create peace in Colombia with concepts defined by Johan Galtung. With a decolonial research approach, an exemplifying qualitative comparative case study with fieldwork for the data collection has been carried out in Cauca, to give voice to and learn from the local communities. The results show a complex situation of an uneven progress of conflict transformation within the department, with significant economic inequalities. The challenges of cyclical war on a small scale are occurring, as in the case of the Proyecto Nasa in the Municipality of Toribío. At once, the possibilities of using this method to break the cycles of war through the power of asymmetry have occurred by conflict resolutions of dialogs with armed actors, as in the case of the resguardo of Paletará in the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco. It is claimed that by strengthening the institution of the Indigenous Guards, the collective actions of peacekeeping and peacebuilding in the territories can improve the process of conflict transformation by revitalizing the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement with its territorial focus and the ethnic chapter.

Keywords

Resumen

El Acuerdo Final de Paz de 2016 entre el Gobierno Colombiano y las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo elevó la esperanza tras décadas del conflicto armado interno, pero los niveles de violencia siguen siendo altos en las zonas rurales. El Cauca es el departamento de Colombia donde la mayoría de los líderes sociales y los defensores de derechos humanos han sido asesinados desde 2016. Para resistir a la violencia, para defender la vida y los territorios, y para mantener el Estado de Derecho basado en la Constitución Política de Colombia de 1991, el Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca utiliza un método integral de la no-violencia en el entorno cotidiano. El objetivo de este estudio es comprender el impacto de este método, percibida por la población local, como una vía alternativa para crear paz en Colombia con conceptos definidos por Johan Galtung. Con un enfoque de investigación decolonial, un estudio de caso comparativo con trabajo de campo para la recolección de datos ha sido realizado en el Cauca, para dar voz y aprender de las comunidades locales. Los resultados muestran una situación compleja con un progreso irregular de la transformación del conflicto dentro del departamento con disparidades significativas económicas. Los desafíos con una guerra cíclica a una pequeña escala están ocurriendo; como es el caso de Proyecto Nasa en el Municipio de Toribío. A la vez, las posibilidades con el uso de este método para romper con los ciclos de guerra a través del poder asimétrico han ocurrido por la resolución de conflicto con diálogos con actores armados; como en el caso del Resguardo de Paletará en el Municipio de Puracé Coconuco. Se afirma que, por el fortalecimiento de la institución de la Guardia Indígena, las acciones colectivas del mantenimiento de la paz y la consolidación de la paz en los territorios pueden mejorar el proceso de transformación del conflicto, revitalizando la implementación del Acuerdo Final de Paz de 2016 con el enfoque territorial y el capítulo étnico.

Palabras clave

Colombia, Acuerdo Final de Paz de 2016, Capítulo Étnico, Enfoque Territorial, Departamento del Cauca, Violencia, Método de la No-violencia, Paz, Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, Asociación de Cabildos del Norte del Cauca, Guardia Indígena, Kiwe Thegnas, Guerra Cíclica, Poder Asimétrico, Resolución de Conflicto, Transformación del Conflicto, Diálogos, Puracé Coconuco, Resguardo de Paletará, Toribío, Proyecto Nasa

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### Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACIN</td>
<td>Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca [Association of Cabildos in Northern Cauca]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACRIM</td>
<td>Bandas Criminales [Criminal Gangs]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEV</td>
<td>Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición [Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence, and Non-Repetition]</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRIC</td>
<td>Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca [Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELN</td>
<td>Ejército de Liberación Nacional [National Liberation Army]</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPL</td>
<td>Ejército Popular de Liberación [Popular Liberation Army]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC-EP</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAO</td>
<td>Grupos Armados Organizados [Organized Armed Groups]</td>
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<tr>
<td>IHL</td>
<td>International Humanitarian Law</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEP</td>
<td>Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz [Special Jurisdiction for Peace]</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAQL</td>
<td>Movimiento Armado Quintín Lame [Quintín Lame Armed Movement]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-19</td>
<td>Movimiento 19 de abril [19th of April Movement]</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDET</td>
<td>Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial [Development Programs with a Territorial-Based Focus]</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNIS</td>
<td>Programa Nacional Integral de Sustitución de Cultivos de Uso Ilícito [National Comprehensive Program for the Substitution of Illicit Crops]</td>
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<tr>
<td>RRI</td>
<td>Reforma Rural Integral [Comprehensive Rural Reform]</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIVJRNR</td>
<td>Sistema Integral de Verdad, Justicia, Reparación y No Repetición [Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

1. **Introduction** ........................................................................................................... 1  
   1.1 Aim ....................................................................................................................... 3  
   1.2 Research Question ............................................................................................... 3  
   1.3 Delimitations ......................................................................................................... 3  
   1.4 Disposition ............................................................................................................ 3  

2. **Prior Research** ........................................................................................................ 4  
   2.1 Transnational and National Peace Research ......................................................... 4  
   2.2 Territorial Peace with a Regional Focus ............................................................... 7  
   2.3 Collective Rights and Civil Resistance ................................................................... 8  
   2.4 Patters of Violence in the Cauca Department ...................................................... 10  
   2.5 Unarmed Actors of Peace in Times of War ......................................................... 12  
   2.6 Multisectoral Peacebuilding at the Local Level ................................................. 13  
   2.7 Positive Peace from a Bottom-Up Perspective .................................................. 14  

3. **Conceptual Framework** .......................................................................................... 17  
   3.1 Violence as a Multidimensional Phenomenon ....................................................... 17  
   3.2 The Use of Nonviolence to Create Peace ............................................................. 18  
   3.3 Peace as a Multidimensional Phenomenon ........................................................... 19  
   3.4 Decolonial Perspectives on Peaceful Societies .................................................... 20  

4. **Methodology** ......................................................................................................... 22  
   4.1 Decolonizing Research Approach ......................................................................... 22  
   4.1.1 Decolonial Epistemology ................................................................................. 22  
   4.1.2 Reflexivity and Positionality ............................................................................ 23  
   4.2 Research Design ................................................................................................... 23  
   4.2.1 Exemplifying Qualitative Comparative Case Study ........................................ 23  
   4.2.2 Sampling Strategies and Units of Analysis ...................................................... 24  
   4.3 Research Methods ............................................................................................... 25  
   4.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews ............................................................................ 25  
   4.3.2 Participant Observation and Field-walking ...................................................... 25  
   4.3.3 Fieldnotes and Memoranda ............................................................................. 26  
   4.3.4 Thematical Analysis of the Collected Data ...................................................... 26  
   4.4 Validity, Reliability and Limitations ...................................................................... 26  
   4.5 Ethical Considerations .......................................................................................... 27  

5. **Contextual Background** ......................................................................................... 28  
   5.1 The Historical and Political Context ...................................................................... 28  
   5.2 The Economic Context ....................................................................................... 32
5.3 The Demographic Context ......................................................................................... 33
5.4 The Department of Cauca ......................................................................................... 34
5.5 The Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca ............................................................ 35
5.6 The Association of Cabildos in Northern Cauca ......................................................... 36
5.7 The Indigenous Guards in Cauca ............................................................................. 36

6. Analysis of Results .................................................................................................. 38
   6.1 Case 1: The Resguardo of Paletará ........................................................................ 38
       6.1.1 Armed Struggles and Internal Armed Conflict ............................................... 39
       6.1.2 The Liberation of Mother Earth and Territorial Rights .................................. 40
       6.1.3 Conflict Resolution through Negotiations ...................................................... 41
       6.1.4 Buen Vivir and the Role of the Indigenous Guards ........................................... 42
       6.1.5 Integral Conflict Prevention and Territorial Peace ........................................ 43
   6.2 Case 2: The Proyecto Nasa in Toribío ................................................................. 46
       6.2.1 The Epicenter of the Internal Armed Conflict ................................................. 47
       6.2.2 Toribío – the Origin of Socio-Political Movements ......................................... 48
       6.2.3 The Kiwe Thegna – Humanitarian Actions and Protection of Life ................. 50
       6.2.4 War Crimes in the Post-Accord Era ............................................................... 52
       6.2.5 Tomorrow is Uncertain .................................................................................. 54

7. Discussion of Results ............................................................................................... 56
   7.1 Geostrategy and War ............................................................................................. 56
   7.2 The Importance of Integral Rural Development ................................................... 57
   7.3 The Role of Actors ............................................................................................... 58
   7.4 Everyday Peacebuilding through Dialogs ............................................................ 59
   7.5 Training of Future Leaders .................................................................................. 60

8. Concluding Remarks ............................................................................................... 61
   8.1 Suggestions for Further Research ......................................................................... 64

References .................................................................................................................... 65
Appendices .................................................................................................................... 74

Appendix 1. List of Interviews
Appendix 2. List of Observations and Field-walking
Appendix 3. Consent Form in English
Appendix 4. Consent Form in Spanish
Appendix 5. Interview Guide in English
Appendix 6. Interview Guide in Spanish
Appendix 7. NVivo Visualizations
Appendix 8. Pictures from the Department of Cauca
1. Introduction

Colombia is one of the oldest democracies in Latin America, but it has suffered from an internal armed conflict for more than fifty years. The 2016 Peace Agreement between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army (FARC-EP) marked the beginning of a new era in which peace was supposed to find its way. However, in this period of transitional justice the violence continues to be a problem mainly in the rural areas of the country (Nilsson, 2018: 37). In the peripheric department of Cauca, the number of individual victims due to the internal armed conflict has been counted up to 124,785 people by the Special Jurisdiction for Peace in Colombia (JEP) (IOM, 2020). In addition, the Association of Cabildos in Northern Cauca (ACIN) and the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) have been considered collective victims in the ongoing macro cases of the JEP in Cauca (JEP, 2021). The number of victims continues to be high since new illegal armed actors have emerged in the vacuum of the FARC-EP. Cauca is the department with most killings of social leaders and human rights defenders since 2016 (INDEPAZ, 2021). This has consequences for the ethnic communities where social leaders and human rights defenders such as the Kiwe Thegna [Guardia Indígena/Indigenous Guards] have become targets for deadly attacks. The violence has been condemned by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) (IACHR, 2019: 5; OHCHR, 2019). Due to various massacres, the President of Colombia, Iván Duque Márquez (2018-) decided to extend the military presence in Cauca. It was an attempt to improve the territorial control by the State and its capability to protect its citizens and create security (Government of Colombia, 2020). This decision was questioned by the opposition which wanted to stress integral development instead of increased militarization.

Therefore, it is important to understand the challenges and opportunities for the ethnic communities since they have been identified as the most affected groups by the extensive use of different forms of violence (Government of Colombia, 2016: 205-207; IACHR, 2019: 17, 21). Nevertheless, the level of organized resistance among the ethnic communities has been high to respond to the violence. Cauca is considered the birthplace for the ethnic social movements in Colombia where the ACIN, the CRIC, the Indigenous Authorities of Colombia (AICO) have been established which have given rise to the formation of the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) at a national level (Van Cott, 2004: 146; Velasco, 2017: 519).

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1 All translations from Nasa Yuwe to Spanish, and from Spanish to English in this text have been written by the author, when not otherwise specified.
Due to the changes of the 1991 Colombian Constitution, which recognized the country as multicultural and multiethnic by law with the implementation of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169, the role of the ethnic communities with legal pluralism has given them the right to use their own legal system in their territories (ILO, 2021). This is emphasized in the 2016 Peace Agreement with the territorial focus and the ethnic chapter (Government of Colombia, 2016: 21, 206-207). In this context, the nonviolence method used by the Indigenous Guards to protect the rights of its peoples and to keep their lands free from illegal armed actors is an important example to study to be able to understand the challenges and opportunities for the ethnic communities in the current context.

Prior research has examined nonviolent methods in Latin America as a form of asymmetrical power (Hernández Delgado, 2019:41). The collective decisions to abstain from war in terms of the policy of neutrality in peace communities in Colombia have previously been studied (Valenzuela, 2009:12-13; Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019: 160-162, 169). On the national and regional level, the creation of territorial peace along with the 2016 Peace Agreement have been discussed as a concept, or related to the role of the ONIC and the Indigenous Guards (Quilcue Vivas, 2019: 32; García Giraldo, 2020: 456). The context of Cauca, with violence against indigenous peoples and the resistance led by the indigenous movements, have been investigated before (Hernández Delgado, 2006:18; Archila and García, 2015: 26; Levalle, 2018: 253; Levalle, 2021: 18). Other studies have focused on the collective actions by the Indigenous Guards (Sandoval Forero, 2008: 18; Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 518-519). Furthermore, the contribution to peacebuilding by the Indigenous Guards has been examined (Chaves et al., 2020: 40). The process of decolonialization of knowledge by learning from the indigenous communities have been underlined (Rappaport, 2005: 37; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 43). On a local level, the role of the Indigenous Guards, the Cimarron Guards of the Afro-Colombian community and the Peasant Guards of the peasant movement to protect their collective rights in a nonviolent way has been analyzed (Rojas and Useche, 2019: 3; Sandoval Forero and Capera, 2020: 212; Alba Maldonado et al., 2020: 71). The construction of peace at a local level in Cauca has been studied with focus on the development model in the Nasa community, or with a theoretical approach of cognitive institutionalism (Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 44-45; Acosta Oidor et al., 2019: 93). However, no previous study has been done specifically on the perception of the local people on the impact of the use of the nonviolence method by the Indigenous Guards in Cauca. This study seeks to address this research gap. The results can contribute to a wider discussion on the practice of nonviolence and the role of the ethnic communities in the post-accord context in Colombia.
1.1 Aim
Previous research has shown that nonviolence is used by the Indigenous Guards in Cauca to resist different forms of violence. In the current post-peace accord context (2016-2021) in Colombia, the level of violence remains high and this is an issue that needs to be solved to be able to create a peaceful society at all levels. The aim of this study is to analyze the impact of the nonviolence method used by the ethnic communities as an alternative way to resist violence and create peace in the ongoing peace process, in order to give voice to and learn from the most affected groups in the most devastated areas of the country to be able to build peace in Colombia.

1.2 Research Question
What are the challenges and opportunities of the daily practice of a nonviolence method used by the Indigenous Guards, as a way to resist violence and create peace at a local level in the ongoing process of the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement, perceived by the local people in Cauca, Colombia?

1.3 Delimitations
The internal armed conflict in Colombia has had several causes and consequences with different regional impact. This has changed over time, with various actors involved. Delimitations in this study will be the specific regional consequences and historical particularities due to the internal armed conflict, in the post-accord context (2016-2021) in the department of Cauca.

1.4 Disposition
After the introductory chapter, prior research will be presented. This will be followed by a description of the conceptual framework. In the fourth chapter, the methodological approach will be defined. This chapter will be followed by the contextual background, and then the results of the analysis. Chapter seven will be the discussion of the results of the analysis. The last chapter will be the conclusions of this research study with suggestions for further research. In the last part of the thesis, the appendices with a list of conducted interviews, a list of observations and field-walking occasions, the consent form, the interview guide, NVivo Visualizations and photos from Cauca will be included.
2. Prior Research

In this chapter, prior research will be presented related to the research topic. The use of nonviolence methods in Latin America and Colombia due to high levels of violence, and the method by the Indigenous Guards in the department of Cauca have been studied previously by a number of researchers. Defined challenges and opportunities in the studied cases have been examined in previous research, and this study will be built on, and take part from this specific research field. In a thematic order based on the geographical setting, the prior research that is the most relevant to this study will be discussed.

2.1 Transnational and National Peace Research

The history of Latin America, since the era of colonialization, is filled with examples of civil resistance, collective strategies and peace initiatives linked to the principle of nonviolence in violent contexts. In the book *Resistencias noviolentas en América Latina. Experiencias en Brasil, Colombia y México*, written by Esperanza Hernández Delgado and Cécile Mouly in 2019, six case studies from Brazil, Colombia and Mexico are analyzed. The cases examined show the power of asymmetry where communities on a grassroots level take collective actions to resist attacks from violent trespassers (Hernández Delgado, 2019:41). The authors highlight that the theoretical definition of peace is the construction of an imperfect peace, but they do agree that some examples have been successful depending on the local context and on the specific circumstances (Hernández Delgado and Mouly, 2019:4). In the example from Mexico, the tribal group Yaqui have created an institution of Indigenous Guards to protect their territories. They use nonviolence during their territorial control, and their method is compared to similar ways of organization in the department of Cauca, Colombia (Hernández Delgado, 2019:13, 26-27). Furthermore, in the examples from Colombia the concepts *zonas de paz* [peace zones] and *territorio de paz* [territory of peace] are used to describe the results of local initiatives, such as in the municipality of Samaniego in the department of Nariño and Las Mercedes in the department of Norte de Santander (Mouly and Belén, 2019:158, 195). The conclusions of the authors are that structural, cultural and direct violence are roots of the need to use civil resistance, collective strategies and peace initiatives based on nonviolence among indigenous groups,
Afro-Colombian communities and societies of peasants. Wherefore this research field is of importance to investigate further in Latin America and in Colombia due to the challenges of the extensive use of different forms of violence (Hernández Delgado and Mouly, 2019:226).

Country-specific research in Colombia with regional examples is analyzed by Pedro Valenzuela in the doctoral dissertation “Neutrality in Internal Armed Conflicts. Experiences at the Grassroots Level in Colombia” from 2009. The chosen case studies focus on collective decisions to abstain from taking part in the internal armed conflict by the use of nonviolence in terms of the policy of neutrality to protect civilians. This study analyzes three different types of examples before the Peace Agreement of 2016: 1) The Peace Community of San José de Apartadó, 2) The Cacarica Communities, and 3) The Peace Communities of San Francisco de Asís, Natividad de María and Nuestra Señora del Carmen (Valenzuela, 2009:11-13). These communities are known as “peace zones” in the context of internal armed conflict, based on the definition of the Geneva Conventions (Valenzuela, 2009:17-20). These are areas of military importance where illegal armed groups such as the FARC-EP and the Popular Liberation Army (EPL), among others, have conducted geostrategic war (Valenzuela, 2009:71,105). Explanatory factors of the impact of these collective actions and peacebuilding efforts in the selected cases are related to the strategic importance of territory, internal factors such as the degree of cohesion, the organization in the community and the correlation of forces at the local level in Colombia (Valenzuela, 2009:104). The empirical evidence shows that neutral communities are not necessary a devastating choice. Their success or failure differs along with the patterns of violence against them, which change over time (Valenzuela, 2009:124). The results define the impact of nonviolence in terms of neutrality, but they are limited to a few examples and do not describe any cases from other regions that have been severely affected by the internal armed conflict. Therefore, it is important to further expand the investigation regarding the regional initiatives in areas that suffer from high levels of violence.

Correspondingly to one of the examples highlighted by Valenzuela, Mauricio Uribe-López and Valeria Correa-Barrera are focusing on the department of Antioquia, in the book chapter “Two Emblematic Peacebuilding Initiatives in Antioquia. A Comparative Analysis of Peace Infrastructures” in the book As War Ends. What Colombia Can Tell Us About the Sustainability of Peace and Transitional Justice, published in 2019. Antioquia has been severely affected by the internal armed conflict in Colombia, but it is also characterized by active mobilization for
peace among its citizens. The grassroots peacebuilding examples discussed in this research article are: 1) The Peace Community of San José de Apartadó, and 2) The Constituent Municipality Assembly of Tarsus. The concepts of “infrastructures for peace” and “hybrid peace” are used to analyze the interaction between the local communities in these two cases and the connection with national and international actors. A bottom-up perspective is stressed with the argumentation that the success of any peace agreement depends on its territorial outcome (Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019: 160-162, 169). Furthermore, it is claimed that these two examples are invoking the principles of participatory democracy and local socio-economic development (Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019: 174, 178). This is described as a hybridization process with the use of strategies on different levels, against violence, also known as a “transition to peace”, in the post-agreement context in Colombia. This is a process that is depending on the knowledge about, and agency of the affected communities about their territories, according to Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera (Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019:185). These results are of importance when stressing the knowledge preserved in the affected communities all through the peace processes.

Moreover, the knowledge about, and agency of specific regional communities are emphasized in the article “Violencia y memoria indígena en Cauca y La Guajira”, written by Mauricio Archila and Martha Cecilia García in 2015. The two regional examples defined in this article come from the department of Cauca and the department of La Guajira in Colombia (Archila and García, 2015: 26). These case studies are examining the socio-economic, cultural and symbolic violence against the ethnic communities, and have led to proposals at a national level to protect the rights of the indigenous peoples. It has also led to debates related to systematic ethnocides (Archila and García, 2015: 26). The resistance among the indigenous peoples is defined as collective actions. Among the various examples described as resistance, the use of nonviolence is mentioned (Archila and García, 2015: 27). One of the methods used is the formation of the unarmed groups of Indigenous Guards who confront violent actions by carrying the symbolic bastón [stick] which is a symbol for moral authority (Archila and García, 2015: 31-34). Archila and García claim that indigenous peoples are not passive victims, but rather should be seen as active socio-political actors with collective memories based on cycles of: exploitation-resistance-violence-resistance (Archila and García, 2015: 39). This article clarifies different forms of violence and struggles among indigenous groups from the colonial period in the 16th century until the internal armed conflict in the 20th century, with examples from Cauca and La Guajira. However, the impact of the nonviolent method of the Indigenous Guards in Colombia can be a separate case to study in-depth, in the post-accord context.
2.2 Territorial Peace with a Regional Focus

After the Peace Agreement of 2016, the Reforma Rural Integral (RRI) [Comprehensive Rural Reform] and the Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial (PDET) [Development Programs with a Territorial-Based Focus] were implemented in the most affected regions of the country to combat the uneven development and the roots of the internal armed conflict. In the article “Implementación de los Programas de Desarrollo con Enfoque Territorial y construcción de paz territorial en Colombia: avances y desafíos” by Juan Pablo García Giraldo in 2020, the views on the conceptual and theoretical perspectives on the implementation of the RRI and the construction of peace are discussed. According to García Giraldo, the PDET are supposed to transform the agrarian structure in the rural areas (García Giraldo, 2020: 456). The theoretical view on paz territorial [territorial peace] is associated with the notions of peace and violence. These notions are seen as existing on different levels and are dependent on existing social structures, and the influence by individual and collective actors. The PDET are aimed to transform the mechanisms of direct, cultural and structural violence, and in the long run create peace (García Giraldo, 2020: 461). According to García Giraldo, the territorial peace can be defined by the concepts of negative peace, positive peace and peacebuilding by professor Johan Galtung (García Giraldo, 2020: 463-464). Sergio Jaramillo, the former High Commissioner for Peace in Colombia, first introduced the idea of territorial peace during the peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP in Havana, Cuba. It was supposed to be implemented with a geographic focus to be able to solve challenges such as extensive violence, poverty, narcotrafficking and criminality on a local level (García Giraldo, 2020: 464-465). It was an initiative to improve the participatory democracy, and include historically excluded groups to be able to build strong institutions at all levels. This involves the participation of the ethnic communities along with the ethnic chapter of the Peace Agreement of 2016 (García Giraldo, 2020: 472). With a bottom-up perspective, the notion of territorial peace was thought to create space for Buen Vivir [to live well] in the most devastated areas of the country, for the most affected communities (García Giraldo, 2020: 477).

Furthermore, the territorial peace is analyzed in the master’s dissertation “Diagnóstico de la situación actual de la guardia indígena y semilleros de resistencia en las Comunidades y Pueblos Indígenas en Colombia” written in 2019 by Kelly Jhoana Quilcué Vivas.
Quilcué Vivas is discussing a project to confront the constant violations of Human Rights in indigenous territories and to create peace in the post-accord context called “Fortalecimiento organizativo de la ONIC: Semilleros de resistencia de la Guardia Indígena acompañamiento a los PDET” (Quilcué Vivas, 2019: 9). In this study, the PDET are described while emphasizing the role of the ONIC on the national level related to the Indigenous Guards on the regional and local level. The ONIC contained of 47 organizations in 2019, whereof the CRIC is one of these organizations, and it is existing in 28 of the 32 departments of Colombia. The theoretical approach is related to the epistemology of the indigenous communities in order to understand their view while constructing knowledge (Quilcué Vivas, 2019: 10-11). The results from the evaluation of the project, led by the ONIC, show that there is a need to reinforce the organization of the Indigenous Guards at a national level with increased national coordination to improve the humanitarian situation for indigenous peoples. It is a contribution to construct peace, where peace is related to balance and harmony in the territories in the everyday life of the ethnic communities (Quilcué Vivas, 2019: 35, 37, 39, 42). The results are relevant because of their focus on the role of the Indigenous Guards in the period after the Peace Agreement of 2016. However, it is important to further investigate the impact of their method on a local level, since it is in the territories where the violence continues to challenge the creation of peace.

The concept of territorial peace and the relationship with development are described in the master’s dissertation “Modelo de desarrollo propio y su potencial para la construcción de paz territorial: Estudio de caso proyecto Nasa en Toribío – Cauca, Colombia”, by Juana Bolena Peláez Ortiz in 2018. This investigation is based on the Proyecto Nasa in Toribío, which is one of the most affected areas in the northern parts of the department of Cauca, after the Peace Agreement of 2016 (Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 21). The idea of peace is related to the cosmovision of the Nasa community to create Buen Vivir [to live well], and the perspective on development is related to the ideas of Amartya Sen (Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 45-46). The study highlights the need for economic development in the rural areas, but the construction of peace is of importance to investigate more, based on the premise that there is a relationship between peace and development, along with the concept of territorial peace.

### 2.3 Collective Rights and Civil Resistance

The implementation of the Peace Agreement of 2016 with the establishment of the territorial peace is dependent on the particulars of every area in Colombia. Joanne Rappaport stresses the need of a decolonial perspective on knowledge in the state-building process, in the book...
Intercultural Utopias: Public Intellectuals, Cultural Experimentation, and Ethnic Pluralism in Colombia, published in 2005. In the area of Cauca, the utopia of a pluralist society that is built on cultural practices and knowledge of the diverse local communities is about to transform, according to Rappaport (Rappaport, 2005: 8). Rappaport urges that it is important to decolonize the knowledge built on “Western logic” in this setting because of the differences in every region, department and municipality. The cultural practices are deeply historically rooted in the worldviews of the local communities (Rappaport, 2005: 154). According to Rappaport, it is important to learn from the local communities, such as the Nasa community, to be able to create a more just, democratic and inclusive society.

In the post-accord context, the territorial peace in Cauca is deeply linked to civil resistance. In the book Guardias indígenas, afrodescendientes y campesinas en el departamento del Cauca. Historia política y estrategias de defensa territorial, written in 2019 by Axel Rojas and Vanessa Useche, the collective rights and the role of the Indigenous Guards of the indigenous communities, the Cimarron Guards of the Afro-Colombian communities and the Peasant Guards of the peasant communities are described. The civil resistance among these groups is rooted in the challenges and opportunities to control the territories due to the presence of armed actors. The local political history of the department is essential to understand in the analysis of the local attempts to organize, resist and defend the territories among the communities (Rojas and Useche, 2019:3). Based on a history that differs between the indigenous communities, the Afro-Colombian communities and the peasant movement in Cauca, one could describe the role of the different Guards as a common strategy of resistance. During the last few years, the interethnic and intercultural meetings and coordination between these groups have increased (Rojas and Useche, 2019: 18, 32). According to the authors, the collaboration between the local communities with the common strategy of the Guards can create an opportunity to make advances in the construction of a territorial peace. Additionally, it can contribute to support some assignments in the process of transitional justice due to the deep local knowledge of the Guards (Rojas and Useche, 2019: 34, 37).

Moreover, in the doctoral dissertation “Caminando hacia la Satyagraha. Comunidad, lucha y Kweet Fxindxi en los Nasa (1971–2015)”, written by Daniel Ricardo Martínez Bernal in 2016, civil resistance based on collective rights in Cauca is analyzed further. Martínez Bernal argues, based on ethnographic research, that the theory about nonviolence is integrated in the daily life of the Nasa community due to their worldview. Various peace initiatives in the northern parts of Cauca are included in the empirical results, such as the Proyecto Nasa, the Proyecto Global,
the Proyecto Cxha Cxha Wala, the Proyecto Integral and the Proyecto Yu´Luuçx (Martínez Bernal, 2016: 286-291). According to the author, the concept of nonviolence practiced by the Indian philosopher and anti-colonial activist Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and the practice of nonviolence by the Nasa community is comparable (Martínez Bernal, 2016: 21-22, 24, 45, 48, 78). Even though the context is specific and based on collective rights of the ethnic communities in Colombia, the theory of nonviolence by Mahatma Gandhi and the pragmatic use of nonviolence by the Indigenous Guards of the Nasa community in their everyday setting in Cauca, are defined as one common approach of civil resistance, according to Martínez Bernal (Martínez Bernal, 2016:516). This result can be questioned while acknowledging situated knowledge, but the impact of nonviolence is important to understand as a method to create peace.

2.4 Patterns of Violence in the Cauca Department
The civil resistance among the local communities in Cauca against different forms of violence, exclusion and discrimination is described by Esperanza Hernández Delgado in the article “La resistencia civil de los indígenas del Cauca” published in 2006. Cauca is considered the birthplace for the indigenous movement of Colombia and it is also seen as a geostrategically significant department to control militarily, due to illegal economies and the actions of guerilla movements (Hernández Delgado, 2006:181). The active resistance by the indigenous communities against direct, cultural and structural violence can be seen as a method of peacebuilding on the grassroots level (Hernández Delgado, 2006:179). The importance of the formation of the CRIC by different indigenous communities in Cauca has to be interpreted as a unifying factor in the common struggle against violence (Hernández Delgado, 2006:182). The theoretical approach to describe this process is by using the concepts defined by professor Johan Galtung, where violence is seen as multidimensional (Hernández Delgado, 2006:184). Depending on the changes of the political situation in the department, the local communities are applying various strategies to overcome the complications (Hernández Delgado, 2006:194). One of the central examples of strategies of resistance is related to the civil defense based on nonviolence by the Indigenous Guards of the Nasa community (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 212). According to Hernández Delgado, the possibilities to strengthen these strategies of resistance depend on: 1) the unity in the group, 2) the strategical communitarian organization, 3) communitarian participation, 4) education, 5) planification, and 6) to uphold a common political goal (Hernández Delgado, 2006:199). Hernández Delgado underlines the importance of interethnic cooperation, the context of common struggles among the local communities in Cauca and the different forms of resistance (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 215).
Moreover, the political violence during the internal armed conflict and the resistance by the indigenous communities of the CRIC are described in the article “Resistencia a la violencia política y defensa de la territorialidad comunitaria en el departamento del Cauca, Colombia (1971-2012)”, composed by Sebastián Levalle in 2018 (Levalle, 2018: 253). In the northern parts of the department of Cauca, the FARC-EP, paramilitary groups also known as “pájaros” and the Military Forces of Colombia have had territorial clashes to gain political, economic and military control. It is a zone that is described as a strategic geographic corridor of war. Caught in the crossfire between the different armed actors, the civil population have had to find strategies to survive against genocide and ethnic cleansing. It is in this context, the CRIC have transformed their way of resistance since its foundation in the Municipality of Toribío, Cauca in 1971. Between 1984 and 1991, both unarmed and armed alternatives were used in the zones of the CRIC, such as the armed guerilla movement called the Quintín Lame Armed Movement (MAQL) and the unarmed Indigenous Guards as one example of nonviolent civil defense (Levalle, 2018: 253, 259). In 1985, the CRIC published “Acta de Andalucía” and demanded all armed guerilla groups to leave indigenous territories. This was completed with the decision taken by forty-five Cabildos in the “Resolución de Vitonco” (Levalle, 2018: 258). This neutral civil defense strategy became an anti-colonial struggle by the ethnic communities and later on an example of territorial protection based on the construction of Planes de Vida [Life Plans] and the foundation of Permanent Assembly Sites in protection of life and the territories (Levalle, 2018: 262). Furthermore, the CRIC mobilized Mingas [collective work] with social gatherings to collaborate or to protest in a peaceful way against social injustices (Levalle, 2018: 263). According to Levalle, the theoretical approach to explain the patterns of violence and resistance in Cauca is related to three socio-historical factors: 1) the politics related to land distribution and the use of land, 2) the historical development of the internal armed conflict, and 3) the way of visualizing the multiethnic nation and the politics related to handle the diversity of the country (Levalle, 2018: 253). Levalle concludes by arguing that the collective strategies by the CRIC have transformed since its foundation in 1971, and are adapted to the local context of Cauca.
Furthermore, in the subregion of Tierradentro, Cauca, Sebastián Levalle followed up his previous results from 2018, and carried out an in-depth research study about political violence and the response by the CRIC between 1994 and 2016, explained in the article “Pueblos reexistentes: conflicto armado y construcción de autonomía indígena en Tierradentro, Colombia (1994-2016)”, published in 2021. The CRIC is the first organization in Colombia based on ethnicity with a strong organizational structure. It can be seen from a decolonial epistemological perspective as a way to revitalize the construction of an autonomous answer to the local challenges based on collective memories of the ethnic communities (Levalle, 2021: 18). The results of the movement have been productive with improved territorial control that has led to overcome the presence of the FARC-EP, the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the 19th of April Movement (M-19) in its terrains, according to Levalle (Levalle, 2021: 7-8). The territorial control has been upheld by the Indigenous Guards who defend the indigenous lands with nonviolent methods (Levalle, 2021: 9-10). By this initiative of peace, the autonomy and the rights of the ethnic communities are protected. These collective actions are needed to be able to uphold security in the specific areas of geopolitical importance. The struggles among the ethnic communities to uphold autonomy against armed illegal groups in Cauca are essential to highlight in this post-accord era, and in the transition to a durable and long-lasting territorial peace.

2.5 Unarmed Actors of Peace in Times of War

The nonviolence method used by the Nasa community in Cauca during the internal armed conflict is studied by Eduardo Andrés Sandoval Forero in the book La Guardia Indígena Nasa y el Arte de la Resistencia Pacífica, published in 2008. In this in-depth ethnographic research, the pacific resistance of the ethnic communities and the role of the Indigenous Guards are emphasized. It stresses the context of the geostrategically important zones in Cauca with a significant richness in biodiversity and natural resources which complicates the conditions of internal armed war between illegal guerilla groups and the Sate. The results are based on dialogs, direct observations and interviews with local community members (Sandoval Forero, 2008: 12, 16, 18). Sandoval Forero concludes the investigation by defining the pacific resistance of the Nasa community in times of war. It describes the intention of the formation of the Indigenous Guards: their role to serve the community, to protect life and the territory, and to create territorial peace. This study opens up for investigations about the current conditions.
Likewise, the role of the Indigenous Guards and their impact as actors of peace in Cauca is explored in the article “Resistencia comunitaria en Colombia. Los cabildos caucanos y su guardia indígena. Community resistance in Colombia. The Cabildos of Cauca and their Indigenous Guards”, written by Anders Rudqvist and Roland Anrup in 2013. This example of nonviolence is described as one case of civil resistance against direct, symbolic and structural violence, based on the ideas of professor Johan Galtung about peacekeeping and peacebuilding in internal armed conflict (Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 518-519). Rudqvist and Anrup give an overview of the conditions that create challenges and opportunities for the Nasa community and the Indigenous Guards in different stages of war. Local and zone-specific peace initiatives by the CRIC and the ACIN such as the Proyecto Nasa and the Proyecto Global in the northern parts of Cauca have strengthened the indigenous movement and the local civil population (Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 531). Moreover, the intensification of interethnic collaboration between indigenous societies, Afro-Colombian groups and peasant communities are efforts that improve the local territorial control (Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 533). It was in the northern parts of Cauca, in the Municipality of Caloto where the CRIC and the ACIN officially established the permanency of the institution of the Indigenous Guards with the resolution 003 in 2001 (Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 533-534). Nonetheless, in this current situation of the post-accord setting, the perceptions of the ethnic communities and the Indigenous Guards on the ongoing peace process is important to analyze due to their role as key actors of peacekeeping and peacebuilding on the local level.

2.6 Multisectoral Peacebuilding at the Local Level

The strategies, mechanisms and the contribution to peacekeeping and peacebuilding from a bottom-up perspective by the everyday practice of nonviolence by the Indigenous Guards are studied in the article “Self-organization for everyday peacebuilding: The Guardia Indígena from Northern Cauca, Colombia”, published in 2020 by Paola Chaves, Noelle Aarts and Severine van Bommel. In this research, two occasions from the 5th of November 2014 are examined where the authors try to understand the power of asymmetry when unarmed Indigenous Guards captured armed members of the FARC-EP who killed members of the community (Chaves et al., 2020: 40). The results have been gathered by fieldwork in Santander de Quilichao, Cauca with fieldnotes, participant observation and interviews (Chaves et al., 2020: 42). According to the authors, the Indigenous Guards create power fluidity that provides possibilities for adaptation and flexibility in conflict situations. The organizational structure of this method and institutional design is challenging “Western thinking”, according to Chaves et al. (Chaves et al., 2020: 53).
For everyday peacebuilding, this method is important to acknowledge, based on local ownership where contacts among conflicting actors can be transformed into more peaceful and sustainable relationships. The outcome of this nonviolence practice while defending Human Rights, is the establishment of an inclusive and peaceful society where different worlds can coexist: a diverse and plural society (Chaves et al., 2020: 53-54). The authors propose that after the 2016 Peace Agreement, the interventions in the local communities of Cauca ought to be built on the local initiatives (Chaves et al., 2020: 54). The contribution to everyday peacebuilding on a grassroots level by the Indigenous Guards is accentuated. Hence, it is important to investigate these circumstances further.

Correspondingly, the territorial circumstances are highlighted in the post-accord context with a special focus on the Nasa community in Toribio, Cauca in the article “Reconciliación y construcción de la paz territorial en Colombia: el caso de la comunidad nasa”, written by Catalina Acosta Oidor with co-authors in 2019 (Acosta Oidor et al., 2019: 92-93). The individual choices of the people in this specific context, are explained by the theoretical approach of cognitive institutionalism (Acosta Oidor et al., 2019: 93). Based on empirical evidence, the authors argue that the community members construct collective mental reconciliation models while using various peaceful strategies to resist violence and to protect the territory, such as the role of the Indigenous Guards, the Permanent Assembly Sites and the creation of Planes de Vida [Life Plans] (Acosta Oidor et al., 2019: 104). Nevertheless, this research study does not explicitly focus on, or define the impact of the method by the Indigenous Guards. Furthermore, it does not link the use of nonviolence to the implementation of the Peace Agreement of 2016, nor the conditions in the current situation.

2.7 Positive Peace from a Bottom-Up Perspective

In the current period characterized by the COVID-19 pandemic, the already existing challenges of inequalities have had a vastly negative impact on Colombia as one of the most unequal countries in the world. This situation has obstructed the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement and it has hindered the peace process. In the article “La resistencia sociocultural de la Guardia Indígena del Tolima, Colombia: narrativas subalternas en tiempos del Covid-19”, published by Eduardo Andrés Sandoval Forero and José Javier Capera in 2020, the increased
socio-economic gap between different social groups of the Colombian society is analyzed. From a decolonial perspective, the axis of modernity and coloniality is used to describe the local attempts of resistance (Sandoval Forero and Capera, 2020: 212). This particular case of the Indigenous Guards in Tolima is discussed as a form of a bottom-up method of a democratic process that is strengthening the social networks and generates an environment of positive peace (Sandoval Forero and Capera, 2020: 214). This process is coordinated by the Regional Indigenous Council of Tolima (CRIT) on the regional level of Tolima and the ONIC on the national level in Colombia. During the pandemic, humanitarian assistance to the most affected areas and the most vulnerable groups of the ethnic communities has been their main focus. This includes a special attention to the departments of Amazonas, Nariño, La Guajira, Cauca, Chocó and Vaupés. It has activated more than 63,000 Indigenous Guards on more than 4,500 territorial points of control in the country (Sandoval Forero and Capera, 2020: 219, 222, 224). In a period of uncertainty and fragility, the deepened challenges for the ethnic communities are decelerated by the local actors of peace: the Indigenous Guards, according to Sandoval Forero and Capera.

Equally, the grassroots attempts of shaping territorial peace in the period of pandemic are analyzed in the article from 2020 “Guardia Campesina del Catatumbo, (Asociación Campesina del Catatumbo ASCAMCAT). Entre la autoprotección, el empoderamiento y la construcción territorial” by José Manuel Alba Maldonado, Javier Alsonso Santiago Velásquez and Edidvanidt Jácome Garzón. In the region of Catatumbo in the department of Norte de Santander in the northern parts of Colombia, the Peasant Guards have developed their coordination on a regional level, since the foundation in 2014 by the Peasant Association of Catatumbo (ASCAMCAT). The method of nonviolence used by the Peasant Guards in Catatumbo is based on the collective rights of the peasants and is similar to the method of the Indigenous Guards and the Cimarron Guards, in departments such as Cauca and Chocó (Alba Maldonado et al., 2020: 71). According to the authors, the Peasant Guards are representing an increased empowerment of the local communities and are significant examples of institutions of peace. This process of hands-on democracy is also important for the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement with the rural reform and the construction of territorial peace, according by Alba Maldonado et al. (Alba Maldonado et al., 2020: 80, 82). The Peasant Guards such as the Cimarron Guards and the Indigenous Guards, hold a central position in the territories of Colombia in the struggle of resistance and self-protection in times of violence. Their role as socio-political actors is essential to analyze in the post-accord era.
In summary, nonviolence methods in transnational, regional and country-specific contexts in Latin America have been investigated before. In Colombia, the collective actions by the Indigenous Guards have been documented and analyzed by a diverse group of researchers during the internal armed conflict and in the post-accord context on a national, regional and a local level. In the ongoing peace process, the levels of different forms of violence remain high, mainly in the rural areas. This is challenging the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement and the creation of a long-lasting peace on all levels. No previous research has focused explicitly on the perception by the local communities in Cauca, on the impact of the practice of the nonviolence method utilized by the Indigenous Guards in the post-accord context. It is a significant peace initiative to investigate further to be able to understand how a peaceful society can be created at the local level in Cauca, Colombia.
3. Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, the conceptual framework, which is based on theory and related to prior research, will be presented. To be able to understand the challenges and opportunities of the practice of the nonviolence method by the Indigenous Guards in Cauca, as a way to resist violence and to create peace from a theoretical perspective, three concepts from the field of Peace and Conflict Studies will be applied: violence, nonviolence and peace. These concepts have been utilized in previous studies related to the research topic and are explained by the professor of Peace Studies: Johan Galtung (Hernández Delgado, 2006:184; Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 518-519; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 43-47; Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 28; García Giraldo, 2020: 463-464).

3.1 Violence as a Multidimensional Phenomenon

According to Galtung, violence means harming and/or hurting something with life. It exists in various forms. He explains the different forms of violence based on four types of power: 1) cultural power, 2) economic power, 3) military power, and 4) political power. Firstly, he makes a difference between direct violence which is an intention from an actor to hurt, such as the use of the military force, and the structural violence which is the indirect way of hurting something with life. Secondly, Galtung mentions the structural violence that comes from the social structures of the society, between peoples, for example, colonialism and imperialism. This can be defined from a political and an economical perspective as: repression and exploitation. Thirdly, Galtung explains the cultural violence. This is symbolic, showed in ideology and religion, language and arts, science and law, or in media and education. It can legitimize and normalize the direct and structural violence, and it results in a culture of violence, according to Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 2). The violence comes from unresolved conflicts about goals and means among involved actors based on direct violence, structural violence, or on cultural violence (Martínez Bernal, 2016: 43-46). According to Galtung, unresolved conflicts create violence, and violence breeds violence (Galtung, 2004: 186-187).

This theoretical perspective on violence is related to Colombia by Galtung. He describes the violence as endemic during the internal armed conflict where he urges for a need of increasing
the capacity for handling conflicts at all levels, and using Human Rights, including the economic, social and cultural rights, as moral guidelines (Galtung et al, 2000: 289-290). This can be related to the Peace Agreement of 2016 and its elements to create a stable and durable peace at all levels. It can also be linked to the current situation after the agreement, where the level of violence continues to be high, especially in the department of Cauca and against the indigenous communities in particular. According to previous research, the forms of violence defined by Galtung, related to the research topic have been defined as embody all forms of violence: direct, structural and cultural (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 179; Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 519-520; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 266, 184-185; Peláez Ortiz, 2018:73).

### 3.2 The Use of Nonviolence to Create Peace

As stated by Galtung, creating peace means reducing and avoiding violence (Galtung, 1996: 2). The violence will continue as long as an unresolved conflict is ongoing, but the cycles of violence can be stopped by peaceful means by changing the attitude and the behavior in a situation of violence with the use of nonviolence (Galtung, 2004: 76; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 43-48). This means that the creation of peace is dependent on non-violent conflict transformations (Galtung, 1996: 70). Galtung describes the cycles of violence where violence breeds violence with a conflict triangle with three angles: a) assumptions and attitudes, b) behavior, and c) contradictions (Galtung, 1996: 72).

![Conflict Triangle](image)

A: Assumptions and attitudes – peacemaking

B: Behavior – peacekeeping

C: Contradiction – peacebuilding

Figure 1. The Conflict Triangle (Galtung, 1996: 72, 103).

He defines the creation of peace as depending on a conflict diagnosis of its dynamics to identify the content to be able to realize a total conflict transformation: find out which the actors are, what their goals are, the incompatibilities and the contradictions of the conflict (Galtung, 1996: 73, 80-81). One has to analyze the contradiction of the conflict to find the dynamics and the harmony point to be able to do a conflict transformation that is: 1) acceptable to all actors, and 2) sustainable
by the actors (Galtung, 1996: 89). At that point, one has to do a conflict prognosis about the possible outcomes. This is followed by a conflict therapy with ideas and suggestions for how to transform the conflict creatively, nonviolent and constructive: make peace practical with strategies and actions based on participation, mobilization and empowerment. The outcome of the creative conflict transformation is: transcendence (Galtung, 1996: 116). In situations characterized by high tension levels where the suffering has to stop, conflict interventions can be a reaction with different examples: 1) peacekeeping to control the behavior of the actors related to the b-corner of the conflict triangle, 2) peacemaking to transform attitudes and assumptions related to the a-corner in the conflict triangle, and 3) peacebuilding to overcome contradictions related to the c-corner in the conflict triangle (Galtung, 1996: 103). The use of nonviolence is according to Galtung, essential in conflict transformation to create peace since the acceptance of violence is in itself violence. Furthermore, the creation of peace is a process: a goal and a way. It can be seen as a form of poder blando [soft power] (Galtung, 1996: 122). Galtung stresses that the carriers of peace strategies: actors of peace, are everyone when entering into a communication process with the actors of the conflict at anytime and anywhere (Galtung, 1996: 7, 103). According to previous studies, the specific nonviolence method of the Indigenous Guards to reduce violence and maintain harmony and equilibrium has been interpreted as a process of both peacekeeping and peacebuilding in the local context of Cauca, Colombia (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 218; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 318).

### 3.3 Peace as a Multidimensional Phenomenon

As stated by Galtung, peace is the absence and reduction of violence of all kinds: direct, structural and cultural, and it is nonviolent (Galtung, 1996: 9). Galtung mentions two different forms of peace: negative peace and positive peace. The negative peace is the stage when direct violence is reduced, in times of absence of war. Positive peace is the ultimate stage of a peaceful society based on: equality, nonviolent cooperation and the absence of exploitation and repression, where the various forms of violence are absent and the negative peace is transcended. A society characterized by positive peace and a culture of peace, creates conditions for nonviolent development related to the wellbeing of its peoples and the environment, according to Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 31-32, 223; Galtung et al, 2000: 18-19; Martínez Bernal, 2016:47). This theoretical approach goes beyond the traditionally occidental way of defining peace as the absence of war (Martínez Bernal, 2016. 47). According to previous research related to the research topic, the concept of peace in, for example, the Nasa community in Cauca, is not equivalent with a situation of negative peace, but it can be related to a situation of positive peace.
This includes *Wët Wët Fxi’zenxi* [Buen Vivir/wellbeing for the peoples and the environment], harmony and equilibrium. It is based on the worldview of the Nasa community related to their culture with values and principles, and their spiritual elements (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 202; Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 535; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 354; Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 44-45).

### 3.4 Decolonial Perspectives on Peaceful Societies

According to Galtung, the positive peace is the final stage of a peaceful society based on: equality, nonviolent cooperation and the absence of exploitation and repression. It is a situation where the various forms of violence are absent and the negative peace is transcended. Connecting this theoretical approach to the research topic and the Peace Agreement of 2016, the marginalized and discriminated groups of Colombia should be included in the creation of peace and are important actors to be able to build a peaceful society at all levels of the country (Braconnier Moreno, 2018: 115). In the process of the implementation of the agreement with the territorial focus and the ethnic chapter, the construction of a peaceful society has to start from a bottom-up perspective with respect for the different collective constitutional rights based on the differential history at the local level (Government of Colombia, 2016: 6, 206). The silenced voices and the silence of histories will then be made visible. From this perspective, a durable and stable peace is dependent on the acknowledgment of the diversity of the country. Since the national history of Colombia has been colonial and constructed by the perspective of the conquerors, with a view based on values established in the Occident on the state-building process from a top-down perspective, the colonial power structures have led to continuous discrimination and marginalization of the ethnic communities. This has continued after the independence of the Republic of Colombia as a form of colonality and internal colonialization of the “peoples without history” in the peripheral and rural areas of the country. The marginalized peoples previous used for production during the colonial time, have after independence been seen as the *enemigo interno* [internal enemy]. This has legitimized the use of different forms of violence against the ethnic communities to be able to use a certain model of development to establish modernity (Avoine and Paredes Saavedra, 2018: 323, 326). That is why a decolonial perspective is of importance to be able to change the patterns of reproduction of knowledge, and not contribute to the maintenance of the colonality of power in the ongoing peace process, the current period of transitional justice and in the state-building process (Avoine and Paredes Saavedra, 2018: 328). The decolonial perspective on the creation of a peaceful society is the construction of a positive peace that is inclusive and plural: a peace that is built on, and coming from the local context of Colombia (Avoine and Paredes Saavedra, 2018: 320-321).
It is the territorial peace with improved local democracy in the most affected regions of the country where cultural, economic, social and political obstacles from the past will be resolved for the future (Cairo and Ríos, 2018: 466). It is a conflict transformation with the peoples, that gives them local ownership in the peacebuilding process at a local level, and it improves the legitimacy, related to the 2016 Peace Agreement. It is the creation of a new social contract, the fulfillment of the utopia. In summary, since the creation of positive peace is not possible with the existence of direct, structural and cultural violence according to Galtung, and the level of violence remains high in the department of Cauca and particular against the ethnic communities, it is important to further analyze the impact of the nonviolence method used by the Indigenous Guards as an alternative way to resist violence and to create positive peace with peaceful means in the ongoing process of the implementation of the Peace Agreement of 2016.
4. Methodology

In the following chapter, the methodology for this study will be described with an explanation on epistemological considerations together with the stance of the researcher. Moreover, the research design, research methods for the collection of data and the validity, reliability and the limitations will be defined. Finally, the ethical considerations will be clarified.

4.1 Decolonizing Research Approach

Related to the research topic, which is based on an empirical study, it is important to define the research approach. As a result of the different forms of violence: direct, structural and cultural, defined by professor Johan Galtung, which have been used against the local ethnic communities in Colombia, it is important to not reproduce these patterns in the field (Galtung et al, 2000: 289-290). To do no harm includes a reorientation on how knowledge is produced and that is why a decolonizing research approach will be considered. This will be the basis for this empirical study.

4.1.1 Decolonial Epistemology

A decolonial epistemology recognizes the decolonialization of naturalized principles on how knowledge is constructed, and on the view on human capital (Mignolo, 2011: 22). The coloniality of knowledge is linked to Occidentalism, and decoloniality means to delink from these patterns of production of knowledge, especially in the Global South. According to Walter Mignolo, decoloniality is needed to clear the way for new intercultural communication and the exchange of experiences and meanings (Mignolo, 2011: 24-25). This is considered in this study, which will derive from and be based on the knowledge of the local people. From an ontological position characterized by constructionism, the peoples produce the social world and they have the key role in transforming it (Bryman, 2016: 29-30). The active research subjects’ perceptions are interpreted from an interpretivist’s stance by the researcher to increase the understanding of the social world of actors (Bryman, 2016: 26-27). In this study, the knowledge produced is constructed in interaction between the active research subjects and the researcher.
4.1.2 Reflexivity and Positionality
The ethical responsibility of the researcher is stressed in this study. With the empirical basis, the encounters with the social conditions on the ground become the point of departure for the research. As a woman of color with mixed heritage, born in the Global South and raised in the Global North, I am aware of my position and the global intersectional inequalities due to factors such as socioeconomic conditions, ethnicity and gender, that shape our reality. The sense of double conciseness of a person belonging to a minority group, makes it easier to put oneself in the shoes of others. I might not have shared experiences or deep knowledge about the local settings for my field study, although it is my birthplace and some of my relatives come from the Yanakuna tribe in Cauca. Nevertheless, I think that my ability to circulate socially, be openminded and curious can be helpful assets in creating mutual learning processes during the field study. Moreover, I will strive to use my “window of opportunity” as an outsider, and in solidarity with the local people, make sure that their voices, experiences, perspectives and thoughts are heard. This is a stance of positionality of voices where the active research subjects’ perceptions are in focus (Madison, 2005: 5-6).

4.2 Research Design
The research design is an exemplifying qualitative comparative case study where the collection of primary data has been conducted in the department of Cauca, Colombia during a limited period of time. It is an empirical study with an inductive approach where theoretical understandings will emerge from the collected data.

4.2.1 Exemplifying Qualitative Comparative Case Study
The choice of an exemplifying qualitative comparative case study is related to the aim of this study. The advantage of using this research design is the possibility to in-depth analyze a complex social unit in an everyday context with two contrasting cases. The comparative aspect results in a better understanding of the research topic, when two exemplifying cases are compared in relation to each other (Bryman, 2016: 62, 64-65). The qualitative approach is better to use than the quantitative approach, since the principal orientation of the quantitative perspective is a deductive approach with focus on drawing broad generalizations based on large scale data, instead of an in-dept understanding of a complex reality. However, disadvantage related to the chosen research design is that the results not can give a holistic understanding of all the surrounding circumstances since it is a specific unit that is analyzed (Merriam, 1994: 47, 59, 178; Bryman, 2016: 62).
4.2.2 Sampling Strategies and Units of Analysis

The sampling strategies used, have firstly been a purposive sampling approach where key informants have been defined based on the respect for Colombian regulations and the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction. In Popayán, Cauca, I went to the office of Human Rights of the CRIC and presented myself and the aim of the study. I asked for permission to conduct the study and received support. The reason why I selected the CRIC as key informant is because of their large knowledge about the local context in Cauca where they have been active during fifty years, and that the regional coordinator is head of the Indigenous Guards in the whole Cauca department.

After defining key informants, the snowball sampling-method was applied to establish contacts based on recommendations (Bryman, 2016: 188, 419). My first sample was then carried out in the resguardo of Paletará, in the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco, Cauca. In Paletará, it was essential to have gatekeepers that showed me around in the resguardo (Bryman, 2016: 432). It would have been impossible to conduct any studies without their support. My gatekeepers were both authorities of the Cabildo and Indigenous Guards. The second sample followed the same sampling approach. By recommendations of the CRIC, I went to the office of Human Right of the ACIN in Santander de Quilichao, Cauca, to present myself and the aim of the study. The ACIN is a federation of local Nasa communities in the northern parts of Cauca, and it is an associated member organization of the CRIC (Lozano Galeano, 2006:213; Chaves et al., 2020: 42). The regional coordinator of the Indigenous Guards of the ACIN, recommended the place where he is from, the Proyecto Nasa, which contains of three resguardos: San Francisco, Tacueyó and Toribío, in the Municipality of Toribío. In the Proyecto Nasa, I had gatekeepers who were mostly from the Indigenous Guards, but also local community members. The gatekeepers were important to have to be able to navigate in the local context and to inform me about important security aspects.

In both samples, I have had the opportunity to interview people with different positions related to the Indigenous Guards, such as Mayores [elder], coordinators and teachers. The perspectives of these participants are significant to this study since they contribute to different views on the research topic. According to previous research, the opinion among the community members is that the responsibility for the territory and its peoples is collective and shared, which means that their perspective should be included in the analysis. By using internal triangulation and various data collection techniques such as participant observations, informal field-walking conversations, fieldnotes and memoranda, insights of the community members have been possible to include in the analysis (Martínez Bernal, 2016: 317).
4.3 Research Methods

The choice of research methods is related to the research design. The chosen techniques of qualitative methods are used to get an in-depth understanding based on a real-world setting which has included overt fieldwork during one month between October and November 2021, in the Cauca department.

4.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

I have conducted eight semi-structured interviews during my field study with different kinds of persons with large knowledge about the research topic. During the interviews, an interview guide has been used with a design that is related to the aim, the research question, prior research and the conceptual framework. It has open-ended questions which has led to open-ended answers, related to the research topic. The advantage of using this method is that the semi-structured interviews create flexibility in a setting that is not fixed. In every interview, I have presented myself and the aim of my study, I have asked for permission and have let the participants fill in a consent form to ensure them that they can stay anonymous. Every interview has been recorded, transcribed and held in Spanish. Before the interviews, the participant has chosen the place to conduct the meeting which has led to a relaxed atmosphere. This has generated conversations based on trust whereof the interview guide has been followed as a manual to structure up the conversation. After every interview, the participant has received their audio file with the interview, and we have kept in touch by email or social media. This way of working has led to important contributions to the research topic (Bryman, 2016: 468-469). However, the disadvantage of this method is that it can be difficult to standardize the information in the end, but this has been solved by analyzing the data with the software NVivo.

4.3.2 Participant Observation and Field-walking

In the two cases, I have had the possibility to attend meetings and activities as an additional technique for data collection. The participant observation contains of observing behavior and processes during a defined period of time related to the research topic in an overt manner where the research is conducted openly. In every occasion, I have been active and presented myself and the aim of my study. The advantage of this method is that it can contribute to a better understanding of the particular context of the research topic by taking part of the everyday setting (Bryman, 2016: 423). During the participant observations, I have had the possibility to talk spontaneously with the local people, also described as field-walking with informal conversations (O’Reilly, 2012: 99). The disadvantage of this method is that it is difficult to get access to the specific setting, especially in Cauca where the security situation constantly has to be considered.
4.3.3 Fieldnotes and Memoranda
During the field study, I have been writing down fieldnotes based on my observations and conversations that summarizes my reflections related to the research topic. The advantage of using fieldnotes is that they can be conducted in many ways, and include thoughts, reflections, personal feelings and developing insights (O’Reilly, 2012: 104-105). It has helped me retain the viewpoint of an outsider. Disadvantages are that the quality of the fieldnotes depends on the human memory and on the setting, which can be a delimiting factor (Bryman, 2016: 440). Additionally, I have composed short messages to myself, also described as memoranda, with short analytic ideas, by hand on a piece of paper or as messages on my own social media accounts (O’Reilly, 2012: 104-105).

4.3.4 Thematical Analysis of the Collected Data
The method to analyze the collected data has been through a thematical analysis that serves as the basis for the theoretical understandings of the findings. The qualitative data analysis software NVivo has been helpful while coding the data. Nonetheless, before using NVivo, I started to pre-code while reading through my transcripts, fieldnotes and memoranda. In this process, I have paid special attention to repetitions, transitions, similarities and differences. While using NVivo, nodes from the coding process function as a way to categorize the results and serve as a tool to structure up the data which makes it easier to analyze. The advantage of using this statistic program is that the data is saved online and can easily be shared. Nevertheless, disadvantages are related to technical problems that can occur with software programs (Bryman, 2016: 606-607, 616).

4.4 Validity, Reliability and Limitations
Concerning the contribution of this study related to the chosen research design and the research methods, the exemplifying qualitative comparative case study with an empirical foundation and an inductive approach can contribute to the construction of theoretical and conceptual frameworks that can be used more widely, and is in that way more generally valid. For the internal validity, the use of triangulation with multiply sources and research methods for the data collection has been applied to determine the plausibility and credibility of the findings (Yin, 2014: 121). Concerning the reliability and the possibility to make the study replicable, the attitudes and behavior of the peoples may change which is a limitation with this kind of research design and the chosen research methods, but with a detailed description of the way of implementation the trustworthiness of the study will be enhanced (Yin, 2014: 49). For the external validity of this study, a thick description of the research process can improve the generalizability of the results (Merriam, 1994: 187-188). Other forms of limitations are the time span for the field study of one
month, and the difficult security situation in the Cauca department that has restricted my possibilities to move around freely in the local context.

4.5 Ethical Considerations
The highest ethical standards and principles have been followed to handle the research ethical integrity during this study. That means being transparent and honest during the collection of data and continuously strive for credibility. The researcher has clearly presented herself, assumed an overt role and not disclosed the intention of the investigation (Bryman, 2016: 425). All participants have been asked formally to participate, they have been able to read through the interview guide before the interview, and they have signed a consent form. They have also received information about how the results will be used since it is crucial to avoid any harm of the participants and to avoid the use of any deception. Furthermore, all interviewees have been adults, above 18 years of age. The interviews have been audio-recorded, shared with the participants and transcribed. The participants names have been kept anonymous because of the security situation in Cauca, and the threats against indigenous communities and social organizations. Public persons have had the possibility to publish their names, but in this study, every person has chosen to be anonymous. The privacy, confidentially and security of the participants have been crucial during the whole process of collecting data in the field, and special precautions have been taken to protect especially vulnerable groups (Yin, 2014: 78). Overall, a strict application of the scientific method has led to rigor and robust results during this research study.
5. Contextual Background

In this chapter, the challenges and opportunities for the ethnic communities to resist violence and to create peace will be situated in the specific local context of the department of Cauca, in relation to the national context of Colombia. Initially, the historical and political context of the legal changes that have led to the autonomy for the ethnic communities will be introduced. Thereafter, the economic and demographic context will be presented. This will be linked to the geographical matters of the department of Cauca. Thereafter, the organization of the CRIC and the ACIN will be explained, since the field study has been realized with their support. Lastly, the context of the Indigenous Guards in Cauca will be described.

5.1 The Historical and Political Context

The historical and political context is important to be aware of regarding the legal changes that have led to increased autonomy for the ethnic communities in Colombia. Initially, the period of the Spanish colonialization that started in the 16th century, led to struggles among the indigenous communities to defend their rights. The Spanish Crown implemented a territorial and administrative institution of the indigenous areas named resguardos [indigenous territories] that were led by Cabildos [the administrative leaders] (Chaves et al., 2020: 42). The struggles were not only physical, it was a clash of different worldviews. The worldview of the indigenous peoples was seen as inferior by the colonizers who wanted to create “civilization” and “modernization” based on values established in the Occident (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica – Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia, 2019:19, 23-24). After the independence of the Republic of Colombia in 1810, the Conquista [the conquest] continued with a process of internal colonization based on a “history of frontier”: an internal process of territorial expansion and domination of the remote areas of the country and its inhabitants. Although the Law 89 of 1890 provided certain rights with the territorial and administrative institutions of the resguardos and the Cabildos, the struggles continued among the ethnic communities (Velasco, 2017: 524).
During this period, different forms of violence were used against indigenous peoples such as direct, cultural and structural violence (Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica – Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia, 2019:19, 34).

In the process of the construction of the Colombian nation-state in the beginning of the 20th century, the indigenous movement was revitalized with the use of legislation to create social change at all levels. On a local level in the department of Cauca, this was led by the historical Nasa leader: Manuel Quintín Lame (1880-1967), who followed in the footsteps of the legendary indigenous historical leaders: la Cacica Gaitana and Juan Tama de la Estrella (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 192- 193). After the death of Lame, the indigenous groups continued this power struggle, parallelly with the beginning of the internal armed conflict. In the collaboration between different ethnic groups in Cauca, the indigenous movement of the CRIC was founded in 1971 that was followed by the AICO in 1977 (Bonilla, 2019: 388). In 1983, the ONIC was created at a national level as a way to collaborate among the indigenous organizations all over the country (Van Cott, 2004: 146; Velasco, 2017: 519). Their main goal was to improve the individual and collective rights of the indigenous peoples in Colombia (Velasco, 2017: 521).

The most significant legal change happened in 1991 when the Colombian Constitution was changed in favor of the rights of the indigenous peoples. The country became multicultural and multiethnic by law. It was related to a process of decentralization of the power of the State, towards legal pluralism which gave the authority to the ethnic communities to apply their own legal system in their territories. It was an attempt to increase the citizen participation with a territorial reorganization. These were reforms based on the situation with the internal armed conflict that had weakened the trust in the political institutions (Velasco, 2017: 522-523). With the constitutional change, the collective citizen rights and the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction were implemented. Collective property was established for the indigenous communities based on a renewal of the colonial institutions, the resguardos and the Cabildos (Velasco, 2017: 525). Together with the implementation of the ILO Convention No. 169 (ILO, 2021), and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 (OHCHR, 2019), the right to self-determination was recognized legally for the ethnic communities of Colombia. However, this legal process was highly dependent on the development of the internal armed conflict which has continued creating threats against the rights of the ethnic communities.

29
The internal armed conflict started nationwide in 1948 with political clashes in the period called *La Violencia* [The Violence], which followed the “Bogotazo” when the liberal president candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán (1903-1948) was murdered the 9th of April, 1948, in the capital of Colombia. The internal armed conflict in Colombia has been ongoing for more than fifty years and it has demanded millions of victims. The conflict is heterogenous in its characteristics and it has changed over time. It has multiple causes and consequences with different levels of intensity the rural areas, in comparison with the urban areas. This creates a specific context on a local level since the internal armed conflict has had different impact in the departments of the country (Grupo de Memoria Histórica, 2013:111).

Nevertheless, the attempts to put an end to the long-lasting internal armed conflict resulted in the Peace Agreement of 2016 which was signed by the Colombian government and the former guerilla group FARC-EP, which later on became a political party: *Comunes* [The Commons]. However, in the peace plebiscite about this agreement, 50,2% of the voters rejected it. This shows a polarization in relation to the peace referendum among the Colombian people. The strongest support of the agreement was in the most affected regions; the rural areas of the country, such as the department of Cauca (DeMeritt et al., 2019: 76). Nonetheless, the Peace Agreement was implemented with the aim to end the armed confrontation and to reach a stable and durable peace. It included: 1) a rural reform, 2) a focus on increased political participation, 3) a ceasefire where the ex-combatants of the FARC-EP would leave their arms with guaranties of security, and a focus on the struggle against organized crime, 4) an aim to resolve the situation with illicit drugs, 5) a special focus on the victims, and 6) mechanisms regarding the implementation and verification of the agreement (Government of Colombia, 2016: 7-9). Additionally, it was supposed to benefit the most marginalized and discriminated groups with a territorial focus and an ethnic chapter.

One of the most affected departments of Colombia has been the area of Cauca, both during the internal armed conflict and after the Peace Agreement of 2016, where one of the most affected ethnic groups in this conflict has been the Nasa community (Martínez Bernal, 2016: 254; Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica; Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia, 2019: 269, 366, 386, 389). According to the Instituto de Estudios para el Desarrollo y la Paz (INDEPAZ), 1270 social leaders have been killed in Colombia since 2016, 299 signers of the Peace Agreement of 2016 have been assassinated, around 500 social movements organizations have received threats and more than 250,000 people have become internal displaced persons. Between 2020 and 2021, 179 massacres have been denounced. Cauca is the department with the most killings of social
leaders and human rights defenders since 2016. The sectors of social leaders and human rights defenders who have been the most attacked are the indigenous communities, according to INDEPAZ (INDEPAZ, 2021). According to OHCHR, the use of deadly direct violence by both legal and illegal groups has led to that the total number of assassinated indigenous people increased with 52% between 2018 and 2019 in Cauca (OHCHR, 2020: 14-15). The lack of implementation of the Peace Agreement is one explanation to this development along with the persistence of territorial conflicts by Grupos Armados Organizados (GAO) [Organized Armed Groups] and Bandas Criminales (BACRIM) [Criminal Gangs], according to INDEPAZ (INDEPAZ, 2021). The uninterrupted use of violence, particularly against indigenous groups, hinders the ongoing peace process and the possibilities to establish a long-lasting territorial peace in Cauca.

However, the Peace Agreement of 2016, emphasized the role of the ethnic communities, their collective rights and the role of the Indigenous Guards in the process of the implementation of the agreement, related to the ILO Convention No. 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 (Government of Colombia, 2016: 6, 206-207). It is in this context that the example of the Indigenous Guards in the department of Cauca is situated. In the municipalities of the northern parts of Cauca where most people of the Nasa community live, the JEP is investigating one of five ongoing macro cases in the country, and one of three cases with territorial focus on violations of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (IHL) where both individual and collective victims have been identified. The ACIN and the CRIC in Cauca have been considered collective victims (JEP, 2021). Moreover, Cauca is one of four departments of the country that is in focus for the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence, and Non-Repetition (CEV) as a part of the Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Non-Repetition (SIVJRNR) in the current time of transitional justice and in the ongoing peace process since this department is considered representative in the context of the internal armed conflict. Parallelly, old and new illegal armed actors are active in these areas, such as members of the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), the ELN, the EPL and the dissidents of the FARC-EP, among others. The armed illegal actors fuel the vicious circle of violence, which is challenging the peace process where perpetrators and victims are continuously circulating in the same areas and hinders the process of reconciliation.
5.2 The Economic Context
In Latin America, the most unequal region of the world, Colombia is among the most stratified and unequal countries of the continent. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the economy in Colombia have suffered problematic fluctuations and a deep recession. The economic recession has triggered public discontented which was exposed in the National Strike that began the 28th of April in 2021, and in the public discussions about the situation with more than 1.7 million migrants and refugees from neighboring Venezuela.

In 2020, the monetary poverty was 42.5% at the national level and the level of extreme poverty was 15.1%. Cauca was the seventh department of Colombia with the highest level of monetary poverty with 55.6%, and the fifth department with the highest level of extreme poverty with 23.6%. The lowest level of monetary poverty was in Cundinamarca with 27.0% and it was the fourth department with the lowest level of extreme poverty with 10.4% (DANE, 2021). The statistics from 2020 indicate a great variance in economic matters in the different departments of Colombia, and highlight inequalities within the country. Regarding the level of multidimensional poverty, the percentage was 18.1% at the national level. In urban areas it was 12.5% and in the rural areas it was 37.1% in 2020. The department of Cauca had 28.2%. The lowest level was in the capital region of Bogotá with 7.5% (DANE, 2021). This shows disparities between rural and urban areas. Moreover, the Gini coefficient was 0.544 at the national level in 2020 which shows the differences in wealth distribution all over in the country (DANE, 2021).

In comparison with the urban areas of the country, such as the example of the capital region of Bogotá, the rural area of the department of Cauca has higher levels of monetary poverty, extreme poverty and multidimensional poverty. Cauca is considered one of the poorer departments of the country. This shows a significant existence of regional differences in the country, and a need to support rural development. This challenge has been highlighted, and is acknowledged at a national level, the level of the departments and at the level of the municipalities in the Territorial Development Plans (2020-2023), related to the National Development Plan of Colombia (2018-2022), and the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations to build a better world by 2030 (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 2018: 3). It is also included in the Peace Agreement of 2016 with the RRI which aims to restructure the countryside, and the PDET which consist of sixteen of the most affected areas of the country and 170 of its municipalities (Government of Colombia, 2016: 10-16). In combination with the RRI and the PDET, the Programa Nacional Integral de Sustitución de Cultivos de Uso Ilícito (PNIS) [National Comprehensive Program for
the Substitution of Illicit Crops] is implemented, for the eradication of illegal crops. In the
department of Cauca, twenty of the forty-two municipalities have been chosen for government
support with the implemented of the PDET, to end the structural inequalities and the origins of
the internal armed conflict.

5.3 The Demographic Context
Regarding the challenges and opportunities for the ethnic communities in Colombia, and
specifically in the department of Cauca, the latest census of the National Administrative
Department of Statistics (DANE) from 2018, showed that the estimation of the total population
of Colombia is approximately 48,258,494 inhabitants. Based on self-identification, the indigenous
population of Colombia has almost 1,905,617 inhabitants, which is 3.95% of the total population.
The Nasa community is the third largest indigenous group in Colombia with a population of
around 243,176 inhabitants. Cauca is the second department with the largest population of
indigenous peoples with 308,455 residents and more than eight different tribes. The estimation of
the three indigenous tribes with the largest population in this area are: 1) Nasa, 2) Yanakuna, and
3) Misak. In Cauca, various ethnic communities’ live side by side such as the Afro-Colombian
communities and the different indigenous tribes. The Afro-Colombian population makes up
around 9.34% of the total population in Colombia, and Cauca is the fifth department with the
largest population of Afro-Colombian peoples, based on self-identification (DANE, 2019). Cauca
is a highly multiethnic and multicultural area instituted of six regions with strong local social
identities due to geographical matters. The majority of the indigenous peoples lives in the northern
parts of this region, in the zone called Tierradentro. There are approximately 84 resguardos and
115 Cabildos in the department (CRIC, 2021). This shows that Cauca is an important department
to recognize, related to the situation for the ethnic communities in Colombia.
5.4 The Department of Cauca

Map of the Political and Administrative Division of the Department of Cauca

Map 1. The Department of Cauca. Political Administrative Division (Geographic Institute Agustín Codazzi, 2020).

The department of Cauca is one of 32 departments of Colombia. It has approximately 1,243,503 inhabitants and it is the tenth most populated department of the country. The capital of Cauca is Popayán with around 277,270 inhabitants. It was created in 1537 by the Spanish colonist: Sebastián de Belalcázar. The government of Popayán was founded in 1540, and it was firstly a part of the Viceroyalty of Peru from 1542, later on a part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada and then, a part of the Republic of Gran Colombia until the 1830ths. The colonial institution called encomienda [encomienda system] was a labor system led by the encomenderos [the owner of the encomienda], created by the Spanish Crown, and it was implemented in the surrounding areas of Popayán until 1720. Parallelly, Popayán started to receive and trade with African slaves from different ethnic origin and cultures in 1592, to work in the gold mines. In this period, the production of raw material became the main economic sector of the region, which made it interdependent to the central economy of the country. Popayán was one of the principal centers in the southern parts of Colombia during this era, together with the cities of Cali and Pasto. A powerful regional and local elite and landowning class of mostly Creoles of European descent
came to dominate the economic, social and political life. However, after the independence of the Republic of Colombia in 1810 and the prohibition of slavery in 1851, the geographic area came to lose its significance. Even though the area lost its central position, the location in the southwestern parts of the country made it continuously relevant to control for the State with the Pacific Ocean in the west, the Valle del Cauca in the north, the department of Tolima in the northeast, the Huila department in the east and the department of Nariño in the south. The geographic position between the Pacific Ocean and the mountain chain of the Andes makes the department geostrategically significant, and it has become one of the main areas for armed power struggles between the State and illegal armed groups during the internal armed conflict. Even though Cauca has transformed to become a peripheral region, the richness in natural resources and the several climate zones with a great diversity of flora and fauna make the ecosystem essential for the whole country, especially with the importance of the Cauca River. It is one of the most diverse areas of Colombia: geographically, socially and culturally (SINC, 2021).

5.5 The Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca
In February the 24th in 1971, the Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (CRIC) [Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca] was founded in Toribío, Cauca, by seven resguardos and seven Cabildos during the first meeting of the executive board. In September that the same year in Tacueyó, Toribío, the second meeting was held where the first common political program was decided along with the law 89 from 1890 which delimited the jurisdiction for indigenous peoples in Colombia (CRIC, 2021). The leading principles of the CRIC are: 1) unidad [unity], 2) tierra [land], 3) cultura [culture], and 4) autonomía [autonomy]. The political program is drawing on the principles that are built on the historical struggles for indigenous peoples in Colombia, regarding: 1) the recuperation of ancestral indigenous land, 2) the extension of ancestral indigenous lands, 3) strengthening the Cabildos, 4) not to pay terraje [rent] to landowners, 5) educate about the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction and legislations related to rights of indigenous peoples, 6) defend the history, the languages and the customs of indigenous peoples, 7) educate teachers specialized in indigenous rights, 8) strengthening communitarian economic companies, 9) recuperate, defend and protect the espacios de vida [living spaces] along with harmony and equilibrium of Mother Earth, and 10) to defend the family (CRIC, 2021). Today, after fifty years of defending indigenous rights in Colombia, 139 indigenous authorities and eleven indigenous tribes are represented by the CRIC in Cauca: 1) Ampiulle, 2) Kishu, 3) Polindara, 4) Nasa, 5) Misak, 6) Epedera-Siapidara, 7) Yanakuna, 8) Ingas, 9) Kokonukos, 10) Totoréz, and 11) Embera Chami.
5.6 The Association of Cabildos in Northern Cauca
In 1994, the ÇXHAB WALA KIWE – Territorio del Gran pueblo (ACIN) [Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca/Association of Cabildos in Northern Cauca] was founded based on the decree 1088 of 1993, due to the consequences of the internal armed conflict and difficult political context for indigenous peoples in the northern parts of Cauca (ACIN, 2021). The political structure of the ACIN is led by the Consejería Mayor [the Elders Office] consisting of seven people who are elected by the members. The Cabildos are meeting regularly to implement the common decisions. The Consejo de Gobierno Propio [Council of Self-government] is also meeting to follow up the implementation of the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction. Every four years, congresses are held to discuss and make decisions of the association. In the Asambleas Comunitarias [Community Assemblies], the political programs are implemented and discussed with the community members in the resguardos and the Cabildos (ACIN, 2021). Today, twenty-two Cabildos and seventeen resguardos from the Nasa community are represented by the ACIN. The ACIN is a member association of the CRIC and is constantly coordinating with the CRIC in the department of Cauca.

5.7 The Indigenous Guards in Cauca
In the department of Cauca, several ethnic groups live side by side. The social order of the indigenous communities is related to their cosmovisión [worldview] based on the Ley de Origen [Law of Origen] which are values and principles that regulates the legal systems. Since the 1991 Colombian Constitution, the customary law based on “uses and customs” has replaced the national legal codes in the resguardos (Rappaport, 2005: 232). The main concepts of this legal system are harmony and equilibrium. This is applied in the resguardos based on the collective rights of the ethnic groups (Chaves et al., 2020: 46). The territories are considered physical and spiritual areas with sacred places related to collective memories and the history of the communities. It is seen as the origin of life, and not only as a material asset, like the traditionally occidental view of landowning (Collo Velasco, 2019: 9-10). The religious practices are dedicated to Madre Tierra [Mother Earth]. The community organization is connected to the worldview of the indigenous peoples, and it is depending on the authorities that are both administrative and spiritual leaders (Yatacué, 2004: 137). The Indigenous Guards are an integrated unit under the highest administrative authorities of the community: the Cabildo (Lozano Galeano, 2006: 27). The Cabildo can be described as the local authorities that assumes the role of the State (Rappaport, 2005: 232). The maintenance of harmony and equilibrium is important in the territories, and when the interconnection is disrupted between the people and the nature, the harmony and equilibrium
is destroyed (Yatacué, 2004: 140). Depending on the circumstances, the Indigenous Guards can be an important actor in reestablishing harmony and equilibrium. The formation of the Indigenous Guards is an ancestral practice that goes back before the period of Spanish colonialization (Sandoval Forero, 2008: 47-48). The work of the Indigenous Guards is collective with the aim to defend life and the territory. The members consist of both men and women in different ages. It is not a paid work (Sandoval Forero, 2008: 53). Their tasks are to: maintain territorial control, inform the peoples about dangers, control the boarders with the peoples that come in and leave the territory, serve the community and the authorities, give information to the community and the authorities about the security situation and public order, defend human rights, and to control the public events of the community such as assemblies, congresses or marches (Martínez Bernal, 2016: 317). They receive trainings by the authorities in the community about: IHL, Human Rights and knowledge about the indigenous movement and the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction. They are not allowed to use violence, and are supposed to resolve conflicts through: agreements, dialogue and mediation (Sandoval Forero, 2008: 81-82). In their daily work, they meet the surrounding actors outside of their territories, for example: the police, the military and the illegal armed groups such as guerrilla groups and paramilitaries that are circulating in the region. Many of the Indigenous Guards have lost their life during their daily work to defend life and the territory (Sandoval Forero, 2008: 86). It is in this context that this research study emerges, to be able to understand the everyday lived experiences of the ethnic communities, and the impacts on the construction of peace at the local level in Cauca.
6. Analysis of Results

In this chapter, the results from the empirical field study in Cauca, Colombia, with two different cases are discussed in a thematic order, related to previous research and the contextual framework.

6.1 Case 1: The Resguardo of Paletará

The Resguardo of Paletará in the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco in the Cauca Department

**Location:** The resguardo of Paletará is located in the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco. It is located in the central parts of the Cauca department along with the corridor of the Puracé National Nature Park. The Municipality of Puracé Coconuco limits with the Municipalities of Popayán and Sotará and with the Huila department. It is a geostrategically important area due to the road connection. It is a mountainous area with a sensitive ecosystem.

**Population:** The total population is about 17,200 residents and the resguardo of Paletará has about 3,000 inhabitants. Around 70% of the population self-identify as of belonging to indigenous communities whereof the majority of the inhabitants of Paletará belongs to the Kokonuko community. There are four resguardos in total where Paletará is one of them.

**Economic Matters:** Around 88% of the population lives in rural areas. Farming is one of the main economic sectors. Cultivation of potatoes, coffee and strawberries are common products to harvest. Other economic activities are sustainable tourism because of the Puracé National Nature Park and the hot springs that can be find close to the several volcanic areas.

**The Development Plan of the Municipality (2020-2023):** Four areas are in focus: 1) social matters with management for Buen Vivir [to live well], 2) economic matters with increased productivity and competitiveness, 3) environmental matters with sustainable development, and 4) institutional matters with focus on good governance.

**Internal Armed Conflict:** The Municipality of Puracé Coconuco is considered victim of the internal armed conflict. In 2019, 1,037 inhabitants were recognized as victims along with Colombian legislation related to Human Rights and IHL. The crimes committed in this area during the internal armed conflict are related to armed combats, threats, forced displacement, murders, kidnappings and sexual violence, among others.

Table 1. *Fact Sheet about the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco* (Elaborated by the author based on the Development Plan of the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco by the Alcaldía de Puracé Coconuco, 2020).
6.1.1 Armed Struggles and Internal Armed Conflict

[...] yo estaba muy niño, pero sí recuerdo que mi papá era guardia, él me llevaba, me traía, me contaba, pues, que había muchas veces que venía la guerilla a pedir plata (P1, 2021-11-06).

[...] I was very little, but yes, I remember that my father was an Indigenous Guard, he brought me with him, he took me with him, he told me, well, that there were many times that the guerilla came and asked for money (Translation by author).

High up in the mountains, two hours of traveling from the capital of the department of Cauca, the resguardo of Paletará is found. From the Cabildo hall, one can see two volcanoes that are embedded in the landscape. All of this land is recuperation land. It is very quiet and it is almost impossible to think that there have been armed battles in this area. In the resguardo of Paletará, the internal armed conflict has been present during many years. It was especially intensive during the 1980s. The geostrategically important roads that are passing by the resguardo which link it to the rest of the Cauca department are main reasons for the armed battles, the establishment of guerilla movements in the area and the cultivation of illicit crops (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 181).

The armed groups came both from the left and the right of the political spectrum in Colombia (P4, 2021-11-06). There have been many different armed groups present in the territory, such as the ELN, the FARC-EP and the M-19, but also paramilitaries and the Colombian military forces (P3, 2021-11-06). During this period of armed conflict of about fifteen years, the cultivation of illegal crops such as the amapola [poppy flower] was common, but the Cabildo together with the community managed to remove and substitute these crops since it fueled the conflict cycles (O3, 2021-10-28). Now it has gone around fifteen years without any armed combats. During the internal armed conflict, there were many attempts to destroy the indigenous organization by kidnapping the governors and the people of the Cabildo, but in these fights, the Indigenous Guards together with the community stopped these actions (P1, 2021-11-06). The function of the Indigenous Guards during the internal armed conflict differs from today, even though the main tasks are defending the territory and the life of the community members (P4, 2021-11-06).
During the period of recuperation of ancestral land in the 1970s and 1980s, the Indigenous Guards of the community of Paletará, had an important role. They functioned as observers, caretakers and informed and warned the community when dangers were about to occur. The many different tasks of the Indigenous Guards illustrate how power fluidity provides possibilities for adaption and flexibility in situations of conflict, along with the lines of Chaves et al. (Chaves et al., 2020: 53). Before starting using the name Guardia Indígena [Indigenous Guards] they were known as the Guardia Cívica. In the end of the 1980s, the work of the Indigenous Guards became more known outside of the indigenous communities in Colombia, but without using the bastón [stick] and the vest (P4, 2021-11-06). In 1992, the Cabildo of Paletará decided to improve the structure of the Guardia Cívica and to formalize their work by starting to use the name of the Guardia Indígena [Indigenous Guards]. In this process, initially, the Indigenous Guards were selected by the Cabildo and this involved the Mayores [elder] with large knowledge of the process of recuperation of land, but later on women and youth joined them (P3, 2021-11-06).

The actions of recuperation of land, or liberación de la Madre Tierra [liberation of Mother Earth], happen due to the concentration of landowning in the Cauca department where an elite of landowners used the land that previously belonged to the ethnic communities. The landowners forced the indigenous peoples to pay terraje [rent] for using the land. This caused armed struggles where the landowners persecuted the indigenous communities who claimed their rights to land. Nowadays, the resguardo of Paletará is recuperated land that belongs collectively to the Kokonuko tribe where the rights of the indigenous peoples to self-determination in their own territories are established in the Colombian Constitution of 1991 (P3, 2021-11-06). The Indigenous Guards of today’s resguardo of Paletará, hold a special position where their work not only focuses on territorial control, but also on preservation of the environment and ancestral, spiritual and sacred issues that are related to the worldview of the Kokonuko tribe. It is an integral occupation that includes many different areas related to the Gobierno Propio [Self-government] (P3, 2021-11-06). Along with Archila and García, the collective history of the resguardo of Paletará such as in...
many other indigenous communities in Colombia has been based on cycles of: exploitation-resistance-violence-resistance, but the community itself in Paletará has broken the conflict cycle, long before the Peace Agreement of 2016. This shows the concrete results of collective actions made by socio-political actors (Archila and García, 2015: 39). It also demonstrates how cycles of violence can be stopped by peaceful means by changing the attitude in violent contexts with the use of nonviolence, along with theoretical perspective of Galtung (Galtung, 2004: 76).

6.1.3 Conflict Resolution through Negotiations

[...] nuestra arma es solamente nuestra valentía y decisión, y nuestro bastón del mano (P1, 2021-11-06).
[...] our weapon is only our courage and our determination, and our stick in the hand (Translation by author).

The Kokonuko tribe have resolved the challenge of recuperation of ancestral land by negotiations and dialogs with landowners and armed groups. These dialogs and negotiations were realized in Paletará with the support of the office of Human Rights of the CRIC (P4, 2021-11-06). The nonviolence method based on dialogs and negotiations that is used by the Indigenous Guards with armed actors shows practical evidences of the power of asymmetry that Hernández Delgado delineated in cases from Brazil, Colombia and Mexico (Hernández Delgado, 2019: 41). One community member describes the role of the Indigenous Guards in Paletará as cuerpos de paz [bodies of peace] since they are not supposed to generate conflicts. Their occupation is to support the collective work of the resguardo in a pacific way, unarmed (P4, 2021-11-06). In the 2000s, during the period of president of Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2002-2010), there was a public political discussion about recognizing the Indigenous Guards by the State, but with weapons. This was neglected by the indigenous movement since they wanted to protect life and the territory, and not generate violence (P4, 2021-11-06). This position is what Galtung would define as a way of stopping new cycles of violence since violence breeds violence (Galtung, 1996: 72). All armed actors are nowadays prohibited to act in the resguardo of Paletará. If they want to enter the resguardo they have to ask formally for permission of the Cabildo and show respect for the rule of law. If any armed groups enter the resguardo without permission, the Indigenous Guards firstly use the dialog as a method to solve the problem to make sure that they respect the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction. During trainings, the Indigenous Guards learn how to act in different situation that can occur in their daily work. They are not only defending the territory with sectors such as the environment with water, lakes and valuable natural resources, but also the life of the community members (P3, 2021-11-06).
6.1.4 Buen Vivir and the Role of the Indigenous Guards

[... estaremos en esta paz originaria natural de nosotros, para seguir perviviendo (P3, 2021-11-06).
[... we will be in this stage of natural and original peace of ourselves, to continue to exist (Translation by author).

In the current period, the resguardo of Paletará is free from gatherings of armed groups. The most common crime is stealing and destroying properties of the community during nighttime such as motorbikes or animals. People come from the main road that links the department of Cauca with the department of Huila, and commit crimes. The different groups of Indigenous Guards in the resguardo of Paletará are composed by men and women in different ages. In every group there is a coordinator. Two alguaciles [advisers] are coordinating with the coordinators of the three groups, and work closely with the Cabildo (P1, 2021-11-06). They work in shifts of one week at a time, during one year, and can often prevent these common crimes to happen during their territorial controls which occur on foot or by motorbike during daytime and nighttime, (P1, 2021-11-06; P2, 2021-11-06). The crimes are known as causing desarmonía [disharmony] and can be punished by the Cabildo due to the Derecho Propio [Own Law] based on the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction in the resguardos (P1, 2021-11-06). The punishments are different depending on the crime such as to be locked in a small room also known as a cell or community work during a specific period of time. When the Cabildo have decided the punishment, the Indigenous Guards can be appointed to implement the punishment. The causing of desarmonía [disharmony] can also come from the own community such as intrafamily violence. In these situations, the Indigenous Guards intermediate with the family, and can generate consejos [advices] to the involved parties to solve the problems, and contribute to establish Buen Vivir [to live well] (O3, 2021-10-27; O4, 2021-10-28). The Indigenous Guards are not only doing territorial controls and solve problems in the community, they are also present during the daily activities and meetings of the Cabildo.

The Indigenous Guards is a unit directly under the Cabildo and is therefore carrying the bastón [stick]. The bastón [stick] is different in its design from the authorities in the Cabildo, but it is a symbol for authority (O2, 2021-10-22). The bastón [stick] is together with the vest, utilized of the resguardo as a way of showing who is part of the Indigenous Guards, that they are unarmed and do not belong to the armed groups (P1, 2021-11-06; P2, 2021-11-06). Sometimes, the Indigenous Guards of the resguardo of Paletará participate in meetings and trainings organized by the CRIC outside of the community such as in the bordering resguardo of Coconuco (O3, 2021-10-27). Mostly, the trainings of the Indigenous Guards in Paletará are led by the Cabildo with the presence
of the Mayores [elder], ex gobernadores [ex governors] and conocedores [people with large knowledge of the topic]. It is during the trainings the knowledge of the community is transmitted to the younger generations to uphold their heritage (P1, 2021-11-06).

### 6.1.5 Integral Conflict Prevention and Territorial Peace

[... ] para los futuros gobiernos en nuestro querido país Colombia, pues, el llamado es que inviertan, inviertan en obras sociales, que es muy importante, y si inviertan en obras sociales, pues, vuelvo y repito, allí estaremos logrando algo de paz (P4, 2021-11-06).

[...] for our future governments in our beloved country Colombia, well, the request is to invest, invest in social work, since it is very important, and if they invest in social work, well, again, then we will be able to achieve some peace (Translation by author).

Today, much focus in the resguardo of Paletará is to prevent conflicts, such as focusing on the training of the children and the youth of the community since they have been identified as a risk groups who the illegal armed groups try to recruit by misleading them and their families by offering them money (P1, 2021-11-06). This process is what Galtung would mention as peacekeeping while transforming attitudes and assumptions and peacebuilding while overcoming contradictions (Galtung, 1996:103). The economic circumstances are a challenge of the resguardo, and in many places of the Cauca department, where the outcome is different in forms of violent conflicts. The Indigenous Guards do not receive a wage or any material compensations. They use their own properties such as motorbikes for the territorial control. Many Indigenous Guards in Paletará work with agriculture as a way to survive, while not being on duty (O4, 2021-10-28).

Cauca is one of the departments of the country that has been seen as peripheral for many years, where economic and social investments have been scarce even though the Peace Agreement of 2016 was supposed to focus on the most affected areas and the most affected groups. The conditions in Cauca are what Galtung would describe as forms of structural violence where economic power directly impacts and limits the daily life of specific groups, in specific areas (Galtung, 1996: 2).

In Paletará, the economic situation is one reason why it is discussed if the communications used by the Indigenous Guards such as walkie-talkies, the logistics and transports such as motorbikes, could be supported by outside actors as a way of strengthening the territorial control, the rule of law, to prevent conflicts, and sustain the territorial peace (P1, 2021-11-06). At the moment, no external actors, such as international organizations, are present or have collaborations in this area. This shows, as mentioned by Hernández Delgado, the importance of strengthening the following
components to be resistant against complications coming from the outside: 1) the unity in the group, 2) the strategical communitarian organization, 3) communitarian participation, 4) education, 5) planification, and 6) to uphold a common political goal (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 199).

The territorial peace in the resguardo of Paletará, is related to the construction of Buen Vivir [to live well]. It is seen in the community as a way to live in tranquility, self-sufficient in their own houses with their own animals and with food sovereignty without starving or suffering from hunger (P3, 2021-11-06). This is why the Sistema Indígena de Salud Propio Intercultural (SISPI) [The Intercultural Indigenous Health System] is important for the community. This includes the knowledge about the vegetables, crops, plants and herbs, not only for food sovereignty, but also for medical use. This is the creation of harmony, wellbeing and resistance when the community feel that they are self-sufficient (P3, 2021-11-06). From the viewpoint of the observer, this knowledge is transmitted generationally when the Mayores [elder] and sabedores ancestrales [shaman] share their wisdom in reunions and meetings with the community members (O4, 2021-10-28). This is a way of establishing a form of a positive peace in the absence of war, according to the theoretical perspectives of Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 223; Galtung et al., 2000: 18-19). Still, it is harmony and peace along with the own model of the resguardo of Paletará, related to Buen Vivir [to live well] and the worldview of the Kokonuko tribe.

Furthermore, the particular knowledge of the community is also transmitted in the schools of the resguardo of Paletará due to the Educación Propia [Own Education]. In the schools the knowledge about the Indigenous Guards is taught where they learn how to practice the assignments in a small scale, and learn about the laws that cover the Special indigenous Jurisdiction. It is seen as a formation of future leaders since they are learning about their rights and duties in the community as indigenous people and as Colombian citizens. The education is supposed to lead to avoid future threats such as new armed conflicts. These institutions can on a small scale contribute to positive effects in terms of conflict prevention. The education is also a part of strengthening the indigenous movement of the CRIC in the department of Cauca (P3, 2021-11-06).

Moreover, during one weekend in October, the resguardo of Paletará was the host of a regional interethnic training with Indigenous Guards from the Cauca department organized by the CRIC together with the Asociación de Consejos Comunitarios del Norte del Cauca (ACONC) [The Association of Community Councils of Northern Cauca], and their representatives and members
of the Cimarron Guards of the Afro-Colombian communities. The interethnic meetings have increased during the last past few years and create an important framework for building peace in the common territory of Cauca based on local knowledge (Rojas and Useche, 2019: 18, 32). In Paletará, the full day trainings were focusing on socio-political and organizational analyzes. In these interethnic meetings, the knowledge of the specific areas in Cauca and the experiences and expertise of the different ethnic groups were shared. This displays how a pluralist society is built in the Cauca department from a bottom-up perspective, along with the lines of description of Rappaport (Rappaport, 2005: 8). From the viewpoint of an observer, both the CRIC and the ACONC encounter difficult challenges in the post-accord period, because of threats, persecution and direct violence, such as murders of their members due to the presence of the GAO and the BACRIM in the department. The interethnic trainings could be seen an important institution that can strengthen the affected communities through the empowerment of the organization of the Indigenous Guards of the CRIC and the Cimarron Guards of the ACONC [O2, 2021-10-22]. As an observer, these meetings are also establishing long-term alliances and contacts in the department where more interethnic trainings will be held (02, 2021-10-22). The interethnic meetings make space for the implementation of the Peace Agreement of 2016 with its territorial focus and ethnic chapter.
6.2 Case 2: The Proyecto Nasa in Toribío

The Proyecto Nasa in the Municipality of Toribío in the Cauca Department

**Location:** The Proyecto Nasa and the Municipality of Toribío is located in the northern parts of the Cauca department. It is considered a geostrategically important area with road connections to different parts of the country. It is close to the Nevado del Huila which is the highest of Colombia’s active volcanoes. It is a mountainous area with a sensitive ecosystem.

**Population:** It has about 30.100 inhabitants which includes the Proyecto Nasa that consists of three resguardos: San Francisco, Tacueyó and Toribío. Around 96% of the inhabitants self-identify as of belonging to indigenous communities whereof the majority belong to the Nasa community.

**Economic Matters:** Around 94% of the population lives in rural areas, and agriculture is one of the main sectors. Cultivation of cassava, coffee, corn, bananas and beans are common products to harvest. According to the indicators of multidimensional poverty, 71,7% of the inhabitants suffer from multidimensional poverty. Since 2017, the Municipality of Toribío is one of the 170 areas of PDET in Colombia with special attention due to the RRI of the Peace Agreement of 2016. The PDET in Toribío are related to eight focus areas: 1) the planification and use of land, 2) infrastructure, 3) rural health, 4) rural education, 5) rural housing, portable water and basic rural sanitation, 6) economic reactivation and agricultural production, 7) food security, and 8) construction of peace, reconciliation and coexistence.

**The Development Plan of the Municipality (2020-2023):** Four strategical areas are in focus: 1) health care and protection of vulnerable groups, 2) construction of peace through education, culture and sports, 3) strengthening local governance with focus on justice, transparency, Human Rights and citizen participation, and 4) territorial sustainable development. In this document, the *Plan de Vida* [Life Plan] is included which is strategical visions of the Proyecto Nasa related to the worldview of the Nasa community.

**Internal Armed Conflict:** The Municipality of Toribío is considered victim of the internal armed conflict. It has been the most attacked municipality in Colombia during the entire internal armed conflict. In 2020, 23.516 inhabitants were recognized as victims along with Colombian legislation related to Human Rights and IHL. Crimes during the internal armed conflict are related to armed combats, threats, forced displacement, forced recruitment of minors, massacres, murders, kidnappings and sexual violence, among others.

Table 2. *Fact Sheet about the Municipality of Toribío* (Elaborated by the author based on the Development Plan of the Municipality of Toribío published by the Alcaldía de Toribío, 2020).
6.2.1 The Epicenter of the Internal Armed Conflict

It is a journey of about two hours to reach the municipality of Toribío from the second largest city of the department of Cauca, Santander de Quilichao, in the northern parts of Cauca. On the road, high mountains and valleys are passing by. Around thirty minutes before Toribío, the towns along the road are full of graffiti on the walls with the names of different illegal armed groups. The municipality of Toribío has been the most attacked place in Colombia during the entire internal armed conflict, and the signs along the road make one reflect about the past.

Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the internal armed conflict was escalating in Toribío. During this period the recuperation of ancestral land was ongoing all over the Cauca department. There were conflicts due to the distribution of land with few property-owners that rented out their land to the communities. Most of the land had previously belong to the ethnic communities which caused struggles between the communities and the landlords. Toribío was one of the epicenters of this struggle (P7, 2021-11-18).

Moreover, the internal armed conflict in Toribío was also related to political stances where the three resguardos: San Francisco, Tacueyó and Toribío, had different political positions. In Toribío, the conservative groups were dominating, in Tacueyó, the liberal group was the strongest, and in San Francisco, the communists (P5, 2021-11-16). Between these political groups there was no collaboration and the three resguardos were trapped into armed battles. Many people lost their lives (P6, 2021-11-17). The reason why the municipality of Toribío became an epicenter of the internal armed conflict was also due to the geostrategically important position described as a “star” with roads linked to different parts all over of the country, such as to the departments of Huila, Nariño, Tolima and Valle del Cauca (P6, 2021-11-17; P7, 2021-11-18).

The context of Toribío related to the internal armed conflict has been investigated by Levalle, among others. Along with the argumentation by Levalle, the geopolitical circumstances on a local
level matter for the national setting, and he stresses three explanatory socio-historical factors: 1) the politics relate to land distribution and the use of land, 2) the historical development of the internal armed conflict, and 3) the way of visualizing the multiethnic nation and the politics related to handling the diversity of the country (Levalle, 2018: 253). In addition, these explanatory factors are all related to violence as a multidimensional phenomenon, as defined by Galtung as forms of direct, structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1996: 2).

6.2.2 Toribío – the Origin of Socio-Political Movements

[...] en 1971 cuando surge el primer congreso del CRIC, aquí en Toribío, que se organizó en la vereda la Susana, allí en este lugar, empezamos a organizar el proceso de lucha que hoy tenemos (P7, 2021-11-18). [...] in 1971 when the first congress of the CRIC emerged, here in Toribío, that was organized in the district of Susana, there in that location, we started to organize the process of struggle that we have today (Translation by author).

In the middle of the internal armed conflict, the different indigenous communities in Cauca decided to collaborate and to establish a social-political movement to work together against the obstacles that they confronted. In 1971, in Toribío, the CRIC was formally established by seven Cabildos and seven resguardos. Initially, they planned and organized themselves in secret reunions, but in 1971 the first political program was formulated and communicated publicly with the policies of: unidad [unity], tierra [land], cultura [culture] and autonomía [autonomy] (P6, 2021-11-17).

While establishing the socio-political movement of the CRIC which amplified all over the department of Cauca, the Proyecto Nasa unified the three resguardos on the local level of the Municipality of Toribío in 1984 (P6, 2021-11-17). In this process, the catholic priest from the Nasa community in Caldono, Cauca, Álvaro Ulcué Chocué (1943-1984), was an important actor as a founder and an organizer, with inspiration from liberation theology. His ideas became reality. He convinced the communities that the conflict was not between the three resguardos, but against outside powers (P5, 2021-11-16). In 1984, Ulcué Chocué was assassinated in Santander de Quilichao by an alliance of oppositional groups. Nevertheless, the Proyecto Nasa continues to exist until today with their Planes de Vida [Life Plans] which are strategical guidelines or sueños [dreams] for the future where the three resguardos of Toribío work together in relation to the Gobierno Propio [Self-government].
After the CRIC was founded in 1971 in Toribío as a regional actor, the ONIC was established as a nationwide socio-political movement for indigenous rights in 1983. In Toribío, the Proyecto Nasa later on founded the ACIN in 1994 as an association of Cabildos in the northern parts of Cauca. The ACIN is continuously collaborating with the Proyecto Nasa, the CRIC and the ONIC (P6, 2021-11-17). In many ways, the Municipality of Toribío was the origin of the several socio-political movements that are present on different levels in Colombia today. Toribío is an important and historical place in the country, especially related to indigenous rights.

During the period of internal armed conflict, the indigenous movement was persecuted by the landlords who received support from the State. Various illegal armed groups such as the FARC-EP and the M-19 were parallelly active in the areas of Toribío. In 1984, the MAQL was established by the indigenous movement to defend themselves in the armed battles in the northern parts of Cauca. Nevertheless, in the end of the 1980s, the indigenous movement made a decision to demobilize since the outcome was not as predicted. In 1991, various armed groups including the MAQL and the M-19, handed over their weapons to the State as a gesture to put an end to the internal armed conflict and to generate peace. This followed by the establishment of the 1991 Colombian Constitution where the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction was implemented (P5, 2021-11-16). This process ended one cycle of the internal armed conflict, in the Municipality of Toribío and in the Proyecto Nasa.

The process in Toribío is noteworthy. The way of organizing, and the decision to create various socio-political movements that work integrally and jointly on all levels: local, regional and national, have exemplified the power of civil resistance and collective actions from a bottom-up perspective, based on grassroots incentives. These forms of processes have been stressed previously in various examples related to Colombia and the Cauca department, by Hernández Delgado, Archila and García, Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera and Levalle (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 179; Archila and García, 2015: 26, 39; Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019: 185; Levalle, 2021: 18). The knowledge about, and agency of the local communities have led to social change *de facto*, by recognizing the pluriethnic state with the 1991 Colombian Constitution that ended one cycle of war. This is what Galtung would describe as a form of conflict transformation with strategies based on participation, mobilization and empowerment (Galtung, 1996: 116).
6.2.3 The Kiwe Thegna – Humanitarian Actions and Protection of Life

[...] un guardia que pierde la vida en una acción humanitaria es por defender una vida (P5, 2021-11-16).
[...] an Indigenous Guard that loses his life in a humanitarian action is because of defending a life (Translation by author).

Directly after the 1991 Colombian Constitution, a new cycle of internal armed conflict started in Toribío. The paramilitaries that worked for the landlords entered strongly into the internal armed conflict and created new cycles of violence. The FARC-EP strengthened their soldiers and new battles occurred against the Sate. In 1991, the massacre of twenty indigenous peoples in el Nilo, Caloto, Cauca, by paramilitaries caused an uprising by the indigenous movement. This time without weapons (P5, 2021-11-16).

The Indigenous Guards, who were known as the Guardia Cívica during this time, was a unit and an institution that became revitalized as a form of self-protection to defend life and the territory, and to accompany the organizational processes of the indigenous movement. In the Nasa community, the Indigenous Guards have accompanied the authorities in Abya Yala [Continent of Life], long before the Conquista [the conquest] in 1492 (P5, 2021-11-16). During the period of Spanish colonialization, the historical Nasa leaders such as la Cacica Gaitana and Juan Tama de la Estrella had units of Guards, and after the independence of the Republic of Colombia, Manuel Quintín Lame (1880-1967) worked with this institution. The Indigenous Guards were observers, protectors and caretakers of the indigenous communities and their authorities (P5, 2021-11-16).

Nevertheless, their role was different during the period of recuperation of land in the 1970s and the 1980s. Mostly women and children of the Nasa community were in charge of the tasks of the Indigenous Guards while the men were in charge of the recuperation of land (P7, 2021-11-18). During the context of violence and conflict, the men entered the organization of the Indigenous Guards. It became stricter and more discipilina as a form of military duty, but without weapons in terms of resistance against the different forms of violence. The institution of Permanent Assembly Sites was then created in Toribío as a shelter when armed battles were ongoing. The Indigenous Guards warned the communities before the dangers were about to occur so that they could evacuate and go to the Permanent Assembly Sites. The Indigenous Guards were then in charge of both security and conflict analysis, but also of humanitarian actions related to the rules of war.
In the decade of 2000, a new cycle of murders and massacres of indigenous peoples began in the northern parts of Cauca. It was during the presidency of Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2002-2010) with the implementation of Plan Colombia and the “War on Drugs”, supported by the United States, when new social struggles started. The battle against the FARC-EP and the eradication of illicit crops together with the paramilitarism led to that many rules of war were not followed in indigenous territories, such as armed battles in centers of civil population and bombings of hospitals (P8, 2021-11-20). Social leaders, human rights defenders and Indigenous Guards were murdered systematically, and many communities became displaced. In the middle of internal armed conflict, new economic policies created forms of neo-extractivism in the northern parts of Cauca where natural resources such as gold and other minerals were exported to the world market while the local communities were trapped into war. In addition, the drug trade continued to fuel this cycle of war (P5, 2021-11-16).

In the Proyecto Nasa, the Indigenous Guards are nowadays known by the name Kiwe Thegna [Guardia Indígena/Indigenous Guards] that means cuidadores del territorio [protectors of the territory] in Nasa Yuwe which is the language of the Nasa community. This was established in 2009 along with the Ley de Origen [Law of Origen] of the Nasa tribe. The Kiwe Thegna carries the bastón [stick] and the vest to be recognized by the community and by outside actors. Their role in the Proyecto Nasa has become more of a humanitarian political actor where the Kiwe Thegna assist wounded community members, soldiers and members of the different guerilla movements along with the rules of war and IHL. In the municipality of Toribío, kidnapped people have been rescued by the Kiwe Thegna through dialogs and negotiations with the illegal armed groups. They have also captured guerilla members who have committed crimes. Moreover, the Kiwe Thegna have helped victims to find their family members in mass graves. The trainings of the Kiwe Thegna in the Proyecto Nasa include knowledge about previous peace processes in other countries, the ILO Convention No. 169 and the Geneva Conventions, among others, since their daily work is strongly related to the humanitarian field (P6, 2021-11-17).

The strategies of resistance by peaceful means by the Kiwe Thegnas in the Proyecto Nasa are based on the collective rights of the indigenous communities. These rights, together with the rules of war, have not been respected by a multitude of actors in Toribío during the internal armed conflict. This situation has been analyzed previously by Hernández Delgado, Rudqvist and Anrup and Chaves et al., with additional explanations, such as the exclusion and discrimination of the ethnic communities in Colombia (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 179, 181-182; Rudqvist and Anrup,
2013: 518-519, 531; Chaves et al., 2020: 40, 53-54). These factors which are used to explain the contextual output are the multidimensional expressions of violence: direct, structural and cultural, related to the theoretical perspectives of Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 2).

6.2.4 War Crimes in the Post-Accord Era

[...] nos han tocado muchas lágrimas, porque nos duelen ver a los muertos, siendo jovencitos (P8, 2021-11-20).

[...] we have had to cry a lot, because it hurts to see the dead people, that are young people (Translation by author).

In the period of the post-accord era, the Proyecto Nasa had only one year of rest before a new cycle of war started. The Peace Agreement of 2016 was established by the Colombian State and the former FARC-EP. It was not an agreement with the other illegal armed groups. The GAO and the BACRIM continue the armed battle, and new illegal armed groups have emerged in the vacuum of the FARC-EP. In the municipality of Toribío, many different illegal armed actors are active today. Different groups of dissidents of the FARC-EP are present in the area and dissidents of the EPL with “Los Pelusos” (P6, 2021-11-17). Illegal economies related to drug trafficking are main sectors financing the different GAO and BACRIM.

In this context, it is difficult for the local communities and the Kiwe Thegna of the Proyecto Nasa to use their methods of dialog and negotiations since there are a multitude of illegal groups with different positions. Even though the GAO and the BACRIM are saying that they are taking political positions to the left or to the right, their main income comes from illegal economies which make them fight each other and create territorial disputes. Both the Colombian police and the military are present in Toribío, but the new cycle of war is complicated and complex when new actors are continuously entering the conflict (P5, 2021-11-16; P6, 2021-11-17).

From an observer’s viewpoint, the approach taken by the police in the urban center is more of an ongoing training in a war scenario with heavy weapons, than creating tranquility and trust among the community members. At the same time, illegal armed groups with heavy weapons are patrolling the main road while the military is in the mountains. It can be interpreted by an observer’s perspective, as if there is a silent agreement between them, where they have divided the territory among themselves (O9, 2021-11-17; O10, 2021-11-18). In this new scenario, the violence is intensifying and massacres and selected murders of social leaders, human rights
defenders and Kiwe Thegnas of the indigenous communities are committed in the Municipality of Toribío. At the same time, several different legislations are implemented parallelly due to the 2016 Peace Agreement and the period of transitional justice with the work of the CEV, the JEP and the SIVJRNR (P6, 2021-11-17).

In this complex situation, the GAO and the BACRIM are searching for more soldiers. In the Municipality of Toribío, 71.7% of the inhabitants suffer from multidimensional poverty which is used by the illegal groups when they recruit children and youth, as young as twelve years old, for soldiers. This war crime is committed by various illegal groups. They offer money, or material things such as motorbikes to the children, the youth and their families. With different techniques they fool them, and many of the child soldiers die young due to lack of knowledge about weapons and war (P6, 2021-11-16; P8, 2021-11-20).

The children, the youth and the poorest families in the Proyecto Nasa are a risk group in this cycle of war. In the Proyecto Nasa, the trainings of young Kiwe Thegnas and leaders in the Kiwe Luçx [training and school of Indigenous Guards], are focusing on educating them and to inform them about these dangers. The Centro de Educación, Capacitación e Investigación para el Desarrollo Integral de la Comunidad (CECIDIC) is also offering trainings and focusing on education, but for the adolescents and adults. Most work is about strengthen their identity, to make them feel proud about themselves and their heritage, and to create a sense of belonging to the community (P5, 2021-11-16). Still, the main challenge is related to the economy as the Kiwe Thega do not receive salary, nor material compensation (P8, 2021-11-20). This has resulted in that many people have started in the process of the Kiwe Thegnas, but later on joined the illegal groups.

This circulation of actors has led to many people losing hope (P8, 2021-11-20). The loss of hope is expressed in the actions of an ex-combatant who wants to have a second chance and returns back to his community which still is a conflict zone. Without psychical support, he murders his own wife when he cannot handle his emotions, and leaves his daughter of three years old, orphan. It is the mother of four children that leaves her community as an internal displaced person, after receiving death threats by unknown persons. The Kiwe Thegnas receive threats, or even get killed when they denounce illegal activities during their daily work. This has led to fear and distrust among the community members (P8, 2021-11-20). This is a cycle of war that destroy the indigenous communities from within.
This highly complex and difficult situation in Toribío has been analyzed before, by Peláez Ortiz, among others, who has underlined the interconnection between successful peacebuilding processes and rural economic development (Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 45-46). The patterns of social injustice that are expressed in this case are what Galtung would define as the absence of peace and the context of war since direct, structural and cultural violence are all interconnected in this example (Galtung, 1996: 2, 9).

6.2.5 Tomorrow is Uncertain

[...] hoy, normalmente, tenemos un conflicto bastante fuerte. El conflicto no cambia. El conflicto tiende a aprovecharse, porque va entrando la otra disidencia, entonces, qué hagamos, como un limbo, quedamos en medio de toda esta guerra (P6, 2021-11-17).

[...] today, normally, we have a quite strong conflict. The conflict does not change. The conflict tends to reinforce itself, because the other dissident is entering, then, what will we do, it is like a limbo, we stay in the middle of all this war (Translation by author).

In this current period of the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement, the Municipality of Toribío is among the 170 municipalities of Colombia that belongs to the most affected areas of the internal armed conflict, and still is affected critically. The RRI with the PDET and the PNIS are supposed to build up the communities economically, create structural change and support the peace process. In Toribío, the PDET is implemented, but still on a small scale (P6, 2021-11-17). The main focus has been on building roads, but the area is full of illicit crops. At the same time, the communities are struggling to survive economically, which has worsened the situation with the cultivation of illicit crops that destroy the food sovereignty, since the illegal groups pay more for the illicit crops than for food, in the huerta Tul [garden]. This is another angle of the cycle of war.

The implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement could have been strengthening the Municipality of Toribío and the Proyecto Nasa, but it has to happen now, before the internal armed conflict is increasing in the surrounding areas and creates spillover effects. Various Non-Government Organizations are working in the Municipality of Toribío, both national and international, and are trying to support the Proyecto Nasa, the Kiwe Thegnas, and the indigenous movements (P6, 2021-11-17). But then, the future is uncertain since there are many different challenges simultaneously that are obstacles to the possibilities to create Wët Wët Fxi’zenxi [Buen Vivir/to live well] at the local level in Toribío (P7, 2021-11-18).
The RRI, the PDET and the PNIS are supposed to create structural change with the territorial focus and the ethnic chapter, and in that way lead to a durable and long-lasting peace while solving the challenges of extensive violence, poverty, narcotrafficking and criminality, as stated by García Giraldo (García Giraldo, 2020: 456, 461, 463-464, 477). If the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement would become reality in Toribío, not only rural development would lead to the possibility to create territorial peace in Cauca, but a positive peace on all levels of the country. Political will on the government level is needed to reinforce the rule of law since the socio-political movements of the indigenous communities and the institution of the Kiwe Thegna in Toribío have showed by example that they are willing to participate and build strong institutions at all levels.
7. Discussion of Results

In this chapter, the results from the two contrasting cases from the empirical field study in Cauca are discussed, compared and related to previous research and theory, to be able to in-dept analyze the complex social unit of the nonviolence method used by the Indigenous Guards, and in that way contribute to a better understanding of the research topic.

7.1 Geostrategy and War
In both the resguardo of Paletará and the Proyecto Nasa in Toribío, the location and the topographical factors have had a deep impact on the development of the internal armed conflict since the 1960s. Firstly, the domination of important roads and connections related to the infrastructure have influenced which areas that have had more movements of different combating groups. Secondly, the richness in natural resources to finance war in terms of illegal economies has been significant. Thirdly, the main centers of the two studied cases are surrounded by high mountains and valleys, and can in that way lead to protection or isolation of the people who are staying there, which has been used as war strategies. This situation has been analyzed previously by Hernández Delgado and Levalle that have focused on the whole department (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 181; Levalle, 2018: 253). The relationship between geostrategy and war have been of importance during the development of the internal armed conflict in the two studied cases, and along with the results of Hernández Delgado and Levalle, in the Cauca department.

However, the Proyecto Nasa in Toribío have been caught into cycles of war with different intensity over decades. The same location is over and over again occupied by the GAO and the BACRIM. In the current post-accord period, new groups are emerging in the vacuum of old ones, and they fight each other. The disputes about territory are ongoing in the areas of Toribío. This context of war on a small scale makes a great impact on how the whole local society functions, and it limits the community members in their daily life. Contrary, the resguardo of Paletará is free from armed conflicts since the last fifteen years, long before the 2016 Peace Agreement. They managed to break the cycles of internal armed conflict by themselves, based on collective actions due to negotiations with fighting groups. Hence, they have then been able to develop and strengthening their institutions of the Gobierno Propio [Self-government] and the rule of law based on Derecho
Propio [Own Law] on a local level. They have also been able to open up their home for regional trainings of Indigenous Guards of the CRIC and Cimarron Guards of the ACONC to cooperatively contest the current challenges in the department of Cauca in a nonviolent way. The example from Paletará shows what Hernández Delgado defines as the power of asymmetry where the nonviolence method has been applied with results that have contributed to create Buen Vivir [to live well] for the community, and territorial peace in a specific area of the Cauca department (Hernández Delgado, 2019: 41).

7.2 The Importance of Integral Rural Development
In both cases, the recuperation of ancestral land together with improved land rights have been significant processes during the development of the internal armed conflict. Both the resguardo of Paletará and the Proyecto Nasa in Toribío have recuperated ancestral land from the local elite of property-owners in Cauca that previously were persecuting the indigenous communities. The Kokonuko tribe and the Nasa tribe own their lands collectively nowadays based on the 1991 Colombian Constitution. Nevertheless, in both cases the sector of agriculture is dominating the living conditions and the incomes, which impacts the economic structure. The two cases are located in rural areas that are profoundly reliant on the sensitive ecosystems. The harvest does not always bring surplus for the communities which keeps the income level low in general. In Paletará the integral implementation of the SISPI has led to increased food sovereignty which is strengthening the autonomy of the community and creates Buen Vivir [to live well] (O4, 2021-10-28). In Toribío, food sovereignty is an important topic and efforts are made to implement the SISPI, but there are obstacles. Nonetheless, since Toribío is a prioritized area with the PDET due to the 2016 Peace Agreement, more resources are supposed to be invested locally to create structural change, as highlighted by García Giraldo (García Giraldo, 2020: 456, 461, 463-464, 477).

Moreover, in the Proyecto Nasa, the political conflicts among the three resguardos: San Francisco, Tacueyó and Toribío, have led to deep conflicts before the unification in 1984 when they managed to improve the cohesion of the communities. However, the illegal armed actors do not leave Toribío like they did in Paletará. This challenge of the cyclic war during decades in Toribío has led to that the majority of the community members suffers from multidimensional poverty. This has resulted in the dependance on illegal economies with the cultivation of illicit crops that damage the food sovereignty. In addition, the multidimensional poverty and the situation of vulnerability of certain groups is used by the GAO and the BARCIM while recruiting minors to
their troops. The youth and the children are defined as risk groups in both studied cases due to the economic conditions, but the forced recruitment of minors is not current in Paletará like it is in Toribió. The need for improved integral rural development is key for breaking the cycle of war on a local level, and to be able to establish territorial peace in Cauca. The multidimensional phenomena of violence, such as the direct, structural and cultural violence, according to Galtung, is expressed in the economic power that directly impacts and limits the daily life of specific groups in specific areas, as exemplified in both cases (Galtung, 1996: 2).

7.3 The Role of Actors
In this context of the post-peace-agreement, the resistance, collective strategies and social mobilizations in Cauca organized by the CRIC and the ACIN in the two studied cases, are the reactions to the multidimensional phenomena of violence. In both analyzed cases, the nonviolent method based on dialog is applied. The work tasks and the role of the Indigenous Guards have changed during the decades of internal armed conflict. In both Paletará and in the Proyecto Nasa, the Guardia Cívica functioned as observers, caretakers and informed and warned the community when dangers were about to occur during the period of recuperation of land, and during the internal armed conflict. Nonetheless, it was the Mayores [elder] who took this position in Paletará, and the women and the children in the Proyecto Nasa. Later on, the Indigenous Guards renewed its role in both cases where men, women and children joined the institution. The institution became more integral, participatory and including for the whole community. The word Kiwe Thegnas in Nasa Yuwe was then taken in the Proyecto Nasa, instead of the word Indigenous Guards due to the Ley de Origen [Law of Origen] of the Nasa community. This process of revitalizing the role and the work tasks of the Indigenous Guards and the Kiwe Thegnas makes the institution integral to the communities in the everyday setting. It is a process characterized of what Galtung would mention as a form of peacekeeping while transforming attitudes and assumptions and peacebuilding while overcoming contradictions in the territories (Galtung, 1996:103).

However, in Paletará, the possibilities to work integrally with conflict prevention are greater than in the Proyecto Nasa since it still suffers from cycles of war. The context of the Proyecto Nasa impacts the way of working of the Kiwe Thegnas. The humanitarian actions are more frequently occurring in Toribío, than in Paletará. The GAO and the BACRIM are active in the Proyecto Nasa and try to control the indigenous communities. At the same time, the police and the military are present, but not in the same areas as the GAO and the BACRIM. In this situation, the efforts to cooperate and create alliances between different actors on a local, regional and national level are
significant to meet these challenges. The Proyecto Nasa, the ACIN, the CRIC and the ONIC are important actors in the process of peacebuilding in Colombia. If the institution of the Indigenous Guards and Kiwe Thegnas would be strengthened locally, regionally and nationally, it could make a greater contribution to conflict resolution while recognizing the role and the authority of the Indigenous Guards and the Kiwe Thegnas as a *cuerpos de paz* [bodies of peace] and humanitarian political actors in the territories of Colombia. It is a form of conflict transformation based on strategies of participation, mobilization and empowerment, as described by Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 116). These are processes by collective actors that have been stressed previously in various examples from the Cauca department and in Colombia by Hernández Delgado, Archila and García, Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera and Levalle (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 179; Archila and García, 2015: 26, 39; Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019: 185; Levalle, 2021: 18). This form of structural change happened during the establishment of the 1991 Colombian Constitution, and it could happen again by reinforcing the implementing of the 2016 Peace Agreement with its territorial focus and the ethnic chapter.

### 7.4 Everyday Peacebuilding through Dialogs

The nonviolence method based on dialogs is used in the everyday context in both Paletará and the Proyecto Nasa. In Paletará the most common crimes in the post-peace-agreement context, are related to thievery of material things during nighttime. The different teams of Guards are rotating every week during one year and work closely with the coordinators, *alguaciles* [advisers] and the Cabildo. Their work tasks include territorial control in defense of life and the territory, taking part of reunions and meetings and to solve specific family problems in the community. In the Proyecto Nasa, the most common crimes are related to the cycle of war in terms of illegal economies and forced recruitment. The Kiwe Thegnas, coordinators and the Cabildos of the Proyecto Nasa in the three resguardos are working day-to-day to defend life and the territory. It shows how diverse the situations are on a local level, and it indicates the complexity of solving the current challenges. This difficult condition in the Cauca department has been studied previously by Hernández Delgado, Rudqvist and Anrup and Chaves et al., where the discrimination and the exclusion of the indigenous communities have been underlined as explanatory factors (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 179, 181-182; Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 518-519, 531; Chaves et al., 2020: 40, 53-54).

In Paletará, conflict transformation by negotiations with armed actors have occurred. With dialogs as the principal technique for conflict resolution, the resguardo is today free from armed actors in their territory. This shows an example of how the nonviolence method has been applied in the everyday setting in Cauca, and the results of negotiations. Contrary, in the Proyecto Nasa, the
conflict transformation is cyclical, and the cycle of war does not end even though periods of tranquility have occurred. It is a context of war on a small scale, where the responsibility of the Kiwe Thegna is more related to humanitarian actions, in comparison with Paletará. Although the context of Toribío, the Kiwe Thegna use the dialog as the main tool in conflict situations. In this condition, one of the principal challenges is that the GAO and the BACRIM are numerous, with different political positions, which makes it difficult to know with whom to dialog with. This is a complication to peacebuilding and to conflict transformation in the everyday setting of the Proyecto Nasa. Nevertheless, the use of nonviolence based on dialogs is a central effort to prevent the cycles of war, according to Galtung, since violence breeds violence (Galtung, 1996: 72).

7.5 Training of Future Leaders
In the current period of transitional justice, the post-conflict setting exists, but not everywhere in the Cauca department. It is an uneven conflict transformation just like the economic context. In Paletará the community is used to tranquility during the last fifteen years, but in the Proyecto Nasa the future is uncertain due to the multitude of illegal armed actors that are present in the area. In both cases, the children and the youth are seen as risk groups. They are risk groups in the sense that they can easily be trapped into conflicts while being surrounded by the GAO and the BACRIM in the department. This situation is not only important for the local communities, but for the department as a whole, and in the long-run the country. The cycle of war on a small scale in areas such as Toribío can easily grow while recruiting more soldiers.

The attempts in Paletará to empower the community are through trainings and education of the community members and the formation of future leaders in their local schools. In the Proyecto Nasa, comparable processes are ongoing in the Kiwe Luçx [training and school of Indigenous Guards] and the CECIDIC, but the external problems with forced recruitment of minors is destroying the attempts to strengthening the cohesion of the communities. Inside the communities of the Proyecto Nasa, there are many complications since the choices of every individual are important for the future of the communities. It is a process that contests the trust among the community members, and it is building up fear which makes it difficult to coexist. In this context, it is important to support the institution of the Indigenous Guards and the Kiwe Thegnas through trainings and education. In that way, the processes of peacekeeping and peacebuilding on the local level can lead to overcome the contradictions, as stated by Galtung, to be able to establish Buen Vivir [to live well] in the territories and territorial peace in the Cauca department (Galtung, 1996:103).
8. Concluding Remarks

In this research study, the aim has been to analyze the impact of the nonviolence method used by the ethnic communities in Cauca to be able to give voice to and learn from the most affected groups in the most devastated areas of Colombia. The research question is related to the challenges and the opportunities of the daily practice of this method by the Indigenous Guards as a way to resist violence and to create peace at a local level in the ongoing process of the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement, perceived by the local people in Cauca. Prior research has showed that nonviolent methods are used in violent contexts in Latin America. The case of Colombia has been investigated before on various levels, both during the internal armed conflict and in the post-accord context (2016-2021). The results by various scholars confirm that the Indigenous Guards use a method of nonviolence to resist the multiply forms of violence (Hernández Delgado, 2006:184; Rudqvist and Anrup, 2013: 518-519; Martínez Bernal, 2016: 43-47; Peláez Ortiz, 2018: 28; García Giraldo, 2020: 463-464).

This study is drawing on previous research, and is contributing to the specific research field by including the perceptions of the local communities on the research topic in the current post-accord context. The conceptual framework applied comes from Peace and Conflict Studies where the three main concepts: violence, nonviolence and peace, have been understood through the perspective of professor Johan Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 2, 31-32, 223). To be able to answer the research question, a field study of one month has been carried out in the Cauca department of Colombia. A decolonial research approach has been the basis for this empirical study that derives from and is based on the knowledge of the local people. Qualitative methods have been used with semi-structured interviews, participant observations and informal field-walking conversations, fieldnotes and memoranda, to be able to triangulate the data. The research design of this exemplifying comparative case study has been used to in-depth be able to analyze a complex social unit in the everyday setting of two contrasting cases (Bryman, 2016: 62, 64-65). In Cauca, my key informants have been the CRIC and the ACIN which are ethnic socio-political organizations with large knowledge about the current situation in Cauca. Together with the key informants of the offices of Human Rights of the CRIC and the ACIN, the two samples of this study and the participants have been identified (O1, 2021-10-19; O7, 2021-11-10).
The first sample was realized in the resguardo of Paletará in the Municipality of Puracé Coconuco. In Paletará, the cycles of internal armed conflict have been ended through conflict resolution based on negotiations with armed groups. This is a concrete example of the *power of asymmetry* as defined by Hernández Delgado while using nonviolence with armed actors (Hernández Delgado, 2019: 41). The community of Paletará have been able to strengthening their *Gobierno Propio* [Self-government] and the *Derecho Propio* [Own Law] in the territories of the Kokonuko community. In this context, the Indigenous Guards work daily and integrally to uphold rule of law by defending life and the territory, as a form of peacekeeping and peacebuilding (Galtung, 1996:103). The challenges in the community are related to crimes such as thievery and interfamily violence (P1, 2021-11-06; P2, 2021-11-06). With the dialog as the main tool, the Indigenous Guards solve the *desarmonía* [disharmony] to be able to create *Buen Vivir* [to live well]. However, the economic context is a challenge, that according to the definition of Galtung could be described as an expression of structural violence (Galtung, 1996: 2). In the rural areas, the agricultural sector is dominating, and is not always resulting in a surplus even if food sovereignty is existing in the community. The Indigenous Guards do not receive a salary which makes it difficult to find resources for communications and transports for the territorial controls (O4, 2021-10-28). Moreover, due to the economic circumstances, the youth are seen as risk groups of forced recruitment for new conflicts. This is the reason why trainings and education of the community members are important, to prevent new conflicts. Trainings are also held during regional interethnic meetings in Paletará when the CRIC together with the ACONC empower the Indigenous Guards and the Cimmaron Guards while exchanging experiences and knowledge, to resist violence and to create territorial peace in Cauca (O2, 20121-10-22; P3, 2021-11-06).

The second sample was realized in the Proyecto Nasa, in the Municipality of Toribío in the northern parts of Cauca. It is a historically significant place related to the formation of ethnic socio-political movements in Colombia. It is the birthplace of the CRIC in 1971 and the ACIN in 1994 that closely work with the ONIC on a national level (P6, 2021-11-17). The resistance, collective actions and social mobilizations by the ACIN, CRIC and ONIC with the origin in Toribío have been highlighted by Hernández Delgado, Archila and García, Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera and Levalle (Hernández Delgado, 2006: 179; Archila and García, 2015: 26, 39; Uribe-López and Correa-Barrera, 2019: 185; Levalle, 2021: 18). Nevertheless, the internal armed conflict has been devastating in Toribío which is the most attacked place in Colombia. The Proyecto Nasa was then established in 1984 to work integrally with the Indigenous Guards who nowadays are known as Kiwe Thegnas in Nasa Yuwe, to uphold rule of law in the three resguardos.
of San Francisco, Tacueyó and Toribío, of the Nasa community (P5, 2021-11-16). In the current post-accord era, the cycles of war have not ended in Toribío. Various illegal armed groups are active and commit war crimes such as forced recruitment of minors and selective murders of the civil population in Toribío (P8, 2021-11-20). The dependence on illegal economies such as the cultivation of illicit crops is related to the high levels of multidimension poverty that keep the communities trapped into war. In this context, the work of the Kiwe Thegnas is frequently related to humanitarian actions in defense of life and the territory (P6, 2021-11-17). This is a situation of the absence of peace and a context with multiple forms of violence, as explained by Galtung (Galtung, 1996: 2). The future is uncertain since various complex obstacles are existing simultaneously (P7, 2021-11-18). Toribío is strongly dependent on the outcome of the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement where resources are supposed to be focusing on the most affected areas of the country to create structural change through the RRI, the PDET and the PNIS, as explained by García Giraldo (García Giraldo, 2020: 456, 461, 463-464, 477).

To conclude, the current period of transitional justice in the post-accord context (2016-2021), is characterized by an uneven progress within the regions, with great economic inequalities. Obstacles with different forms of violence, especially in the rural areas of Colombia, have been exemplified in the two cases of this research study in the Cauca department. Social leaders, human rights defenders, the Indigenous Guards and the Kiwe Thegnas are targets for the active illegal armed groups. In Cauca, as shown in the two studied cases, the indigenous communities have established the institution of the Indigenous Guards to resist violence in their collectively owned territories as a practice in the everyday setting due to the Gobierno Propio [Self-government] based on the Derecho Propio [Own Law]. To be able to uphold the rule of law on all levels, the institution of the Indigenous Guards contributes to the protection of life and the territories as illustrated in this research study, based on the 1991 Colombian Constitution with the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction, the ILO Convention No. 169 and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (OHCHR, 2019; ILO, 2021). In the current violent context, the strengthening of the institution of the Indigenous Guards can result in improved actions of peacekeeping and peacebuilding at all levels, and in that way support the process of conflict transformation. This could happen by reinforcing the implementation of the 2016 Peace Agreement with its territorial focus and the ethnic chapter to be able to create Buen Vivir [to live well] in the territories, territorial peace in the Cauca department, and hopefully one day, positive peace in Colombia.
8.1 Suggestions for Further Research
The first suggestion for further research is related to the techniques of negotiations, and the use of the dialog as the principal tool of the nonviolent method of the Indigenous Guards. This study has exemplified how the method has been applied on a local level with results that have resulted in conflict resolution and conflict transformation. The second suggestion is to amplify this investigation and the results of peacekeeping and peacebuilding in the field, with mixed method design where statistics can be used as an additional source to reach a broader perspective on the research topic. The third suggestion, is to spend more time in the field while collecting the data, to achieve more profound and detailed results. The fourth and last suggestion, is to expand the case study of the Indigenous Guards, and include the interethnic and multicultural perspectives of the Cimmaron Guards of the Afro-Colombian communities and the Peasant Guards of the peasant movement in Cauca. Last of all, the security situation in Cauca is a limiting factor that should be kept in mind for future research.
References


## Appendix 1. List of Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>ETHNICITY</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant 1 (P1)</td>
<td><em>Alguacil [adviser] of the Indigenous Guards</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30 to 40</td>
<td>Kokonuko</td>
<td>2021-11-06</td>
<td>Resguardo Paletará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 2 (P2)</td>
<td><em>Indigenous Guard</em></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>Kokonuko</td>
<td>2021-11-06</td>
<td>Resguardo Paletará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 3 (P3)</td>
<td><em>Mayor [elder], ex gobernador [ex-governor], Parte de la mesa directiva del Cabildo [part of the Board of Directors of the Cabildo]</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50 to 60</td>
<td>Kokonuko</td>
<td>2021-11-06</td>
<td>Resguardo Paletará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 4 (P4)</td>
<td><em>Mayor [elder], ex gobernador [ex-governor], Parte de la mesa directiva del Cabildo [part of the Board of Directors of the Cabildo]</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50 to 60</td>
<td>Kokonuko</td>
<td>2021-11-06</td>
<td>Resguardo Paletará</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 5 (P5)</td>
<td><em>Regional coordinator of the <em>Kiwe Thegna</em> [Indigenous Guards] of the ACIN from Proyecto Nasa, San Francisco, Toribío</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>Nasa</td>
<td>2021-11-16</td>
<td>Office of the ACIN in Santander de Quilichao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 6 (P6)</td>
<td><em>Local coordinator of the Proyecto Nasa, Plan de Vida of the <em>Kiwe Thegna</em> [Indigenous Guards] in Proyecto Nasa</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20 to 30</td>
<td>Nasa</td>
<td>2021-11-17</td>
<td>Proyecto Nasa, resguardo Toribío, in Toribio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 7 (P7)</td>
<td><em>Head of the Centro de Educación, Capacitación e Investigación para el Desarrollo Integral de la Comunidad (CECIDIC) and process leader of the formation of the <em>Kiwe Thegna</em> [Indigenous Guards] in Proyecto Nasa</em></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50 to 60</td>
<td>Nasa</td>
<td>2021-11-18</td>
<td>Proyecto Nasa, resguardo San Francisco, in Toribio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant 8 (P8)</td>
<td><em>Kiwe Thegna</em> [Indigenous Guard] and teacher at the <em>Kiwe Luçx</em> [Training and school of Indigenous Guards]*</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30 to 40</td>
<td>Nasa</td>
<td>2021-11-20</td>
<td>Proyecto Nasa, resguardo Tacueyó, in Toribio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2. List of Observations and Field-walking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. (O1) Meeting to present my study and to receive permission to conduct the study. | - Staff of the CRIC  
- Staff of the Office of Human Rights of the CRIC  
- Regional coordinator of the CRIC of the Indigenous Guards in Cauca | 2021-10-19 | Office of the CRIC, Popayán     |
| 2. (O2) Interethnic meeting and training with Indigenous Guards of the CRIC in Cauca and with the Cimarron Guards of the Asociación de Consejos Comunitarios del Norte del Cauca (ACONC) [The Association of Community Councils of Northern Cauca] in Cauca. | - Regional coordinator of the CRIC of the Indigenous Guards in Cauca  
- Local coordinators of the Indigenous Guards in Cauca associated with the CRIC  
- Indigenous Guards from different resguardos in Cauca  
- Regional coordinator of the ACONC of the Cimarron Guards in Cauca  
- Local coordinators of the Cimarron Guards in Cauca associated with the ACONC  
- Cimarron Guards  
- Community members of the resguardo of Paletará | 2021-10-22 | Resguardo Paletará               |
| 3. (O3) Meeting with the members of the Cabildo to present my study and to ask for permission to conduct the study. | - Governor supplicant of the Cabildo  
- Secretary of the Cabildo  
- Mayores [elder]  
- Alguacil [adviser] of the Indigenous Guards in Paletará  
- Local coordinators of the Indigenous Guards in Paletará  
- Indigenous Guards in Paletará  
- Community members of the resguardo of Paletará | 2021-10-27 | Resguardo Paletará               |
| 4. (O4) Meeting with the members of the Cabildo to present my study and to ask for permission to conduct the study, and participation in an educational day about the Sistema Indígena de Salud Propio Intercultural (SISPI) [The Intercultural Indigenous Health System]. | - Governor of the Cabildo  
- Secretary of the Cabildo  
- Mayores [elder]  
- Consejera del pueblo Kokonuko del CRIC del SISPI [adviser of the Kokonuko community of the CRIC about the Own Traditional Health System]  
- Sabedores ancestrales [shaman]  
- Dinamizadora [trainer/teacher/facilitator] | 2021-10-28 | Resguardo Paletará               |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meeting Type</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5. (O5) Meeting at the office of the CRIC to follow up the study and to ask for recommendations for my second sample. | - Staff of the CRIC  
- Staff of the Office of Human Rights of the CRIC | 2021-11-04 | Office of the CRIC, Popayán |
| 6. (O6) Meeting with the members of the Cabildo to conduct the study. | - Governor of the Cabildo  
- Secretary of the Cabildo  
- Mayores [elder]  
- Alguacil [adviser] of the Indigenous guards in Paletará  
- Local coordinators of the Indigenous Guards in Paletará  
- Indigenous Guards in Paletará  
- Community members of the resguardo of Paletará | 2021-11-06 | Resguardo Paletará |
| 7. (O7) Meeting to present my study and to receive permission to conduct the study. | - Staff of the ACIN  
- Staff of the Office of Human Rights of the ACIN  
- Tejido de Defensa de la Vida [Human Rights Coordinator] of the ACIN in Cauca | 2021-11-10 | Office of the ACIN, Santander de Quilichao |
| 8. (O8) Meeting to present my study and to receive permission to conduct the study. | - Staff of the ACIN  
- Staff of the Office of Human Rights of the ACIN  
- Regional coordinador of the Kiwe Thegna [Indigenous Guards] of the ACIN in Cauca | 2021-11-16 | Office of the ACIN, Santander de Quilichao |
| 9. (O9) Meeting to present my study and to receive permission to conduct the study. | - Local coordinador of Proyecto Nasa of the Plan de Vida of the Kiwe Thegna [Indigenous Guards] of the ACIN in Cauca  
- Members of the Proyecto Nasa, Toribío | 2021-11-17 | Proyecto Nasa, resguardo Toribío, in Toribío |
| 10. (O10) Meeting to present my study and to receive permission to conduct the study. | - Staff of the Centro de Educación, Capacitación e Investigación para el Desarrollo Integral de la Comunidad (CECIDIC) of the Proyecto Nasa, resguardo San Francisco, in Toribío  
- Students of the Centro de Educación, Capacitación e Investigación para el Desarrollo Integral de la Comunidad (CECIDIC) of the Proyecto Nasa, resguardo San Francisco, in Toribío | 2021-11-18 | Proyecto Nasa, resguardo San Francisco, in Toribío |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toribío</th>
<th>11. (O11) Meeting to present my study and to receive permission to conduct the study.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Head of the Centro de</td>
<td>- Local coordinator of the Kiwe Thegna [Indigenous Guards] of Proyecto Nasa, resguardo Tacueyó, in Toribío</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educación, Capacitación</td>
<td>- Teachers of the Kiwe Luçx [Training and school of Indigenous Guards], Proyecto Nasa, Tacueyó, Toribio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Investigación para el</td>
<td>- Kiwe Thegnas [Indigenous Guards] of the Proyecto Nasa, Tacueyó, Toribio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desarrollo Integral de</td>
<td>- Students of the Kiwe Luçx [Training and school of Indigenous Guards], Proyecto Nasa, Tacueyó, Toribio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la Comunidad (CECIDIC)</td>
<td>- Members of the Proyecto Nasa, Tacueyó, Toribio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the Proyecto Nasa,</td>
<td>2021-11-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resguardo San Francisco,</td>
<td>Proyecto Nasa, resguardo Tacueyó, in Toribío</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Toribío</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Members of the Proyecto Nasa, San Francisco, Toribío</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3. Consent Form in English

Consent Form

Please read the following consent form carefully, and do not hesitate to ask questions if you would like to have additional information about this research study.

In this interview, you will be asked questions about your perception about the challenges and possibilities of the use of the nonviolence method by the Indigenous Guards of the CRIC as a way to resist violence and to create peace at the local level in Cauca in the current post-accord context.

The interview will take around one hour and is not remunerated. Before the interview starts, you will have the option to read through the interview guide. I will treat your information confidentially, and your answers will remain anonymous. If you are a public figure and would like to publish your name, please inform me and it will be considered.

The interview will be audio-recorded and written down in a transcript. Extracts of your anonymous interview may be used in the Master’s Thesis (TFM). When the TFM is finished, you will receive a summary in Spanish, and the TFM in English.

Your participation is voluntary. You can stop at any time, or not answer questions. The responsible person for this interview is Mimmi Clase Hagman. I am a master’s student of Latin American Studies at Stockholm University, Sweden and I am currently collecting data for my TFM in Cauca, Colombia. My email and my phone number are: m.v.clasehagman@gmail.com and (+46) 733 16 36 73.

I........................................................................................................agree to participate in this research study. I approve and consent to that the interview will be audio-recorded and that my replies may be used anonymously in this particular investigation, if I have not approved previously to publish my name publicly. I have the right to withdraw at any time, or choose not to answer any question.

Name of the Participant                Signature                Date
Appendix 4. Consent Form in Spanish

Carta de Consentimiento Informado
Por favor, lea detenidamente esta carta de consentimiento informado y no dude en preguntarme si usted quiere tener información adicional sobre este estudio.

Durante esta entrevista, se le hará preguntas sobre su percepción sobre los retos y las posibilidades del uso del método de no-violencia por parte de la Guardia Indígena del CRIC como una manera de resistir a la violencia y crear paz a nivel local en el departamento del Cauca en los tiempos actuales del post-acuerdo.

La entrevista durará alrededor de una hora y no será renumerada. Antes de empezar la entrevista, usted tendrá la oportunidad de leer la guía indicativa de preguntas. Trataré sus datos de forma confidencial, y sus respuestas permanecerán anónimas. Si usted es un personaje público y desea publicar su nombre, por favor infórmenme y se le considerará.

La entrevista será grabada y transcrita. Extractos anónimos de su entrevista pueden ser usados en la Tesis Final de la Maestría (TFM). Cuando la TFM sea acabada, usted recibirá un resumen en español, y la TFM en inglés.

Su participación es voluntaria. En cualquier momento, usted puede retirarse o negarse de responder a las preguntas. La responsable de esta entrevista es Mimmi Clase Hagman. Soy estudiante de maestría de estudios latinoamericanos en la Universidad de Estocolmo, Suecia y actualmente estoy recogiendo datos para mi TFM en el Cauca, Colombia. Mi correo electrónico y mi número de celular son: m.v.clasehagman@gmail.com y (+46) 733 16 36 73.

Yo………………………………….. acepto participar en este estudio. Doy mi consentimiento para ser grabada y de que mis respuestas anónimas puedan ser usadas en este estudio, si no he dado mi consentimiento anteriormente de publicar mi nombre públicamente. Tengo el derecho de retirarme en cualquier momento, o elegir no responder a ninguna pregunta.

Nombre del Participante        Firma        Fecha
Appendix 5. Interview Guide in English

1. Introduction

1.a A short personal presentation of the researcher, clarification about the aim of the research study, reviewing of the interview guide with questions, and signing of the consent form.

2. Opening Questions

2.a Please tell me about yourself and your background (age, gender, occupation and ethnic belonging)?
2.b How are you familiar with the Indigenous Guards of the CRIC in the department of Cauca?

Themes

3. Challenges with Violence in Cauca

3.a What is the purpose of the formation of the Indigenous Guards of the CRIC?
3.b Examples on how the Indigenous Guards are organized to resist violence? How and when?
3.c What challenges with violence do the Indigenous Guards meet in the current post-accord situation?

4. Possibilities with the use of Nonviolence by the Indigenous Guards in Cauca

4.a Why is nonviolence used by the Indigenous Guards as a method in situations of conflict?
4.b Examples of good practices of the use of nonviolence by the Indigenous Guards? How and when?
4.c What possibilities are there with the use of nonviolence in the current post-accord situation?

5. Establishment of a Long-lasting Territorial Peace in Cauca

5.a How can the nonviolence method contribute to increased security, as a form of maintenance of territorial peace?
5.b How can the nonviolence method contribute to transform conflicts, as a way of pacification?
5.c How can the nonviolence method contribute to improve the social cohesion and increase the inclusivity and the participation of the local communities, in terms of peacebuilding?

6. Closing Questions

6.a Would you like to add something more before we finish the interview?
6.b Do you have any final questions about this research study?

Thank you for taking part of this research study. I will give you my contact details so you can ask me questions if you have any concerns.
Appendix 6. Interview Guide in Spanish

1. **Introducción**
   1.a Una breve presentación personal por parte de la investigadora, aclaración sobre el objetivo del estudio, revisión de la guía indicativa de preguntas, y la firma de la carta de consentimiento informado.

2. **Preguntas introductorias**
   2.a Por favor, ¿cuénteme sobre usted mismo y su origen (edad, género, ocupación y pertenencia étnica)?
   2.b ¿Cómo es que usted es familiarizado con la Guardia Indígena del CRIC en el departamento del Cauca?

**Temas**

3. **Retos con la violencia en el Cauca**
   3.a ¿Cuál es el objetivo de la formación de la Guardia Indígena del CRIC?
   3.b ¿Ejemplos de la organización de la Guardia Indígena para resistir a la violencia? ¿Cómo y cuándo?
   3.c ¿Qué retos de violencia encuentra la Guardia Indígena en los tiempos actuales del post-acuerdo?

4. **Posibilidades con el uso de la no-violencia de la Guardia Indígena en el Cauca**
   4.a ¿Por qué la Guardia Indígena usa la no-violencia como un método en situaciones de conflicto?
   4.b ¿Ejemplos de buenas prácticas del uso de la no-violencia de la Guardia Indígena? ¿Cómo y cuándo?
   4.c ¿Qué posibilidades hay con el uso de la no-violencia en los tiempos actuales del post-acuerdo?

5. **Establecimiento de una paz territorial duradera en el Cauca**
   5.a ¿Cómo puede el método de la no-violencia contribuir a mejorar la seguridad, como una forma de mantenimiento de la paz territorial?
   5.b ¿Cómo puede el método contribuir a transformar conflictos, como una manera de pacificación?
   5.c ¿Cómo puede el método de la no-violencia contribuir a mejorar la cohesión social y aumentar la inclusión y la participación de las comunidades locales, en cuanto a la consolidación de la paz?

6. **Preguntas de cierre**
   6.a ¿Usted le gustaría añadir algo más antes de terminar la entrevista?
   6.b ¿Tiene usted algunas preguntas finales sobre este estudio?

Gracias por su participación en este estudio. Le daré mis datos de contacto por si acaso usted desea preguntarme algo o tiene alguna duda.
Appendix 7. NVivo Visualizations

Comparison Diagram from NVivo. Source: Author, 2021-12-13.


Appendix 8. Pictures from the Department of Cauca

Photo from Toribío. Source: Author, 2021-11-20.

Photo from Paletará. Source: Community Member, 2021-11-08.

Photo from Toribío. Source: Author, 2021-11-17.

Photo from Coconuco. Source: Author, 2021-10-27.