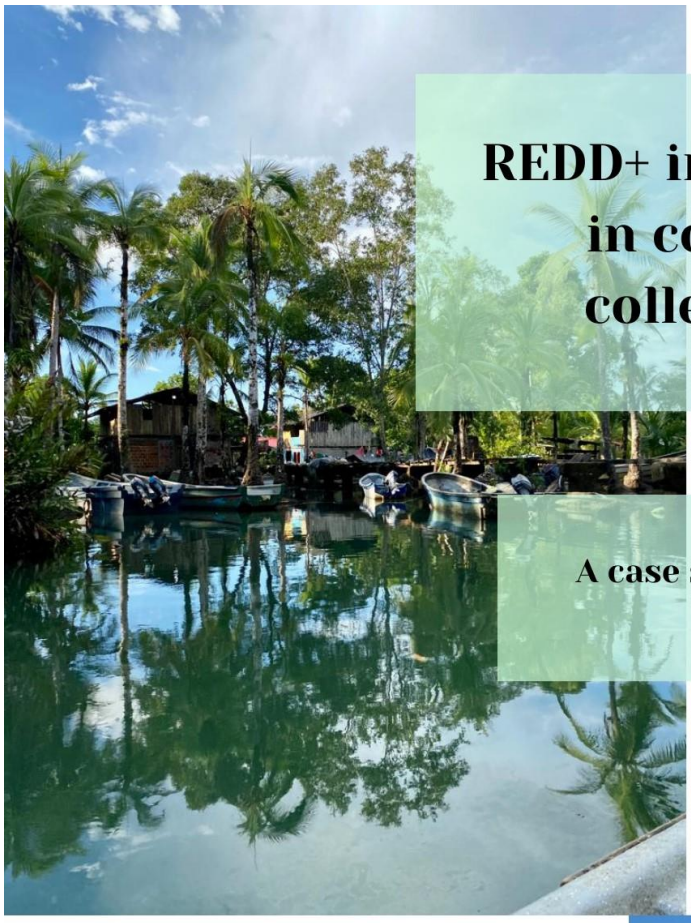

REDD+ impact on well-being in communities with collective land titling

A case study of Los Riscales communities in Nuquí (Chocó, Colombia)

Master's thesis
M.Sc. Sustainable Development

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Abstract

The Afro-Colombians communities of Los Riscales have a collective land title in the Nuquí municipality, on the Pacific Coast of the Choco Colombian department, one of the regions with lowest levels of well-being and a weak State presence. These communities face challenges implementing their first REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) project. Concerns arise about potential conflicts and the administrational capacity of the communities to manage a project that will generate their first monetary boom. Indeed, critiques arised around the ability of the REDD+ mechanism to reach its goals of reducing deforestation rates while increasing community well-being. Besides, ethical concerns are raised about the implications of REDD+ as a neoliberal tool aimed at tackling climate change by transferring the responsibility of the climate crisis to actors outside the State, such as rural communities and other intermediary actors. This shift in responsibility puts the community well-being outcomes in the hands of their supporting organizations, who can take advantage of the communities, also referred to as '*carbon cowboys*'. Taking a pluriverse perspective on the REDD+ application in rural communities with a collective land title, risks are identified due to a clash between different cosmologies that create unequal power dynamics. Considering the relevance of this issue, this research investigated 'How does the REDD+ project in the Nuquí municipality impact the well-being of the Los Riscales communities?'. A qualitative study was conducted, which included two field trips in Nuquí of a total of six weeks and semi-structured interviews (32 with local residents and two with experts in international cooperation), analysed in NVivo with deductive and inductive codes. The field trips were possible thanks to the internship with Tropenbos Colombia, one of the supporting organisations of the communities. The results show that, in order to ensure a positive impact on well-being, the main challenges that communities face are communication issues and lacks in financial skills and their administrative body. The possibilities of a positive impact on well-being are increased by community's strengths, even though they heavily rely on external organizations. Some villages have traditions of community organization, most leaders are participative and pro-active in community processes, leaders have good conflict mediation skills. In addition, communities are benefitting from an ongoing process of conservation awareness and environmental education, funded by environmental organizations.

Keywords

REDD+ - collective land titling – buen vivir – Afro-Colombians

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Acronyms

AFOLU = Agriculture, Forestry, and Other Land Use

AUDD = Avoided Unplanned Deforestation & Degradation

CIFOR = Center for International Forestry Research

CONPA = Afro-Colombian Peace Council

CCG = Consejo Comunitario General (General Communal Council)

FAO = Food and Agriculture Organization

FARC = Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia

FPIC = Free, Prior, and Informed Consent

IRR = Integral Rural Reform

OBAPO = Organizacion de Barrios Populares del Chocó

OECD = Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PCN = Proceso de Comunidades Negras de Colombia

PDET = Development Programs with a Territorial Focus

PES = Payments for Ecosystem Services

REDD+ = Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation

UNFCCC = United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

1. Introduction

1.1. Societal problem and societal context

REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) is a framework created by the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change), aimed at forest conservation and community well-being, with mechanisms of selling carbon credits to finance developmental and environmental projects in local communities (Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018). Despite being promoted as a win-win mechanism, often the implementation of REDD+ presents problems in reaching both environmental and social goals (Guizar-Coutiño et al., 2022; Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018).

The societal background in Colombia is of interest to this thesis because of the difficult implementation of the IRR (Integral Rural Reform), which entails an increase in external interventions in rural areas. The IRR is part of the Peace Agreement (2016), made to tackle challenges in the communities that were affected the most by FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) (Chavez Chavez, 2018). The implementation of the IRR has been hindered by institutional resistance and normative changes are still needed to be able to achieve well-being in rural areas (Chavez Chavez, 2018). PES (Payments for Ecosystem Services), including REDD+, are one of the tools identified in the IRR debate to tackle deforestation and it should be applied according to the cultural context of the beneficiaries (Lliso et al., 2020; OECD, 2022). However, the Afro-Colombian Peace Council (CONPA) reported how ethnic groups are not being consulted for Development Programs with a Territorial Focus (PDET) (Arango, 2018).

Afro-Colombian communities in Colombia face discrimination and marginalisation, making them one of the most vulnerable ethnic minorities (Arroyo Mina et al., 2016; Huezo, 2019). The Pacific Coast, where Afro-Colombians are predominantly located, exhibits the lowest levels of well-being in the country mainly due to substandard water quality, inadequate waste collection, poor health and housing and the guerrilla presence (Peiró-Palomino et al., 2021).

The Chocó Department is located on the Colombian Pacific Coast. The region experiences among the highest rates of poverty in Colombia, and a sense of marginalization due to its remote accessibility, weak State presence, and challenging communication between CCGs (General Communal Councils) and municipality authorities (M.C. van der Hammen, personal communication, May 15, 2023). The region has been significantly affected by the armed conflict and continues to face the presence of narcotrafficking activities, to the point that the central government's aerial eradication

program completed in 2015 disregarded the livelihoods and knowledge of local communities (Huezo, 2019). Despite the region's difficult social context, it is crucial to highlight its environmental relevance, since the Chocò department is recognized as one of Conservation International's 36 biodiversity hotspots, comprising mangroves (2200 hectares) and coral reefs (Conservation International, 2023).

Despite the critical situation of the IRR implementation, in Colombia collective land titling seems to present an opportunity to achieve a cost-effective increase in well-being and the literature showed encouraging results also for improving forest conservation (FAO, 2016; CLUA, 2014). In Colombia, 34% of the continental area of the country is under collective land titling, which is possible thanks to the recognition of the rights of ethnic minorities of Law 70 (1993). Alusiola et al., have demonstrated that having secure land titling is one of the drivers of the successful implementation of REDD+ projects. Therefore, it is important to investigate the impacts of REDD+ projects in communities with collective land titling. The Afro-Colombian communities in the Nuquí municipality (Chocó department) have a collective land title, are represented by the CCG Los Riscales, and are going to receive their first REDD+ payment in December 2023. Therefore, it is essential to investigate the impacts of the REDD+ project on this communities' well-being. Two main hypothesis of risk factors were identified based on the literature and the background information available. Firstly, the CCG lacks the knowledge and tools to manage the REDD+ payment. This can lead to negative impacts. For example, the nearby CCG Los Delfines (Bahia Solano) had to take on a loan to pay for the bureaucracy required to receive a second carbon harvest because of the poor financial management of the first one. Secondly, the CCG is worried about the conflicts that could be aggravated or triggered once the benefits enter the communities.

1.2. Scientific background and previous studies

REDD+ frameworks are included in literature on PES, neoliberalization of nature, and neoliberalization of conservation. In the neoliberal economy, PES are an attempt to include conservation practices in the market, as an approach to climate change in the context of capitalism (Corbera 2012; Martin-Ortega et al., 2019; Matheus, 2018).

REDD+ projects present issues since the literature showed mixed results in the ability of the project to reach its goals; indeed, some projects are not effective in reducing deforestation rates (Guizar-Coutiño et al., 2022; West et al., 2020). Moreover, negative or unclear consequences on well-being have been documented in the literature, including the fact that conflicts can be triggered within and outside local communities (Collen et al., 2016; Duchelle et. al, 2018; Guizar-Coutiño et al., 2022;

Hajjar et al., 2021; Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018). Therefore, the present study investigates the impacts that REDD+ has on well-being because of negative or unclear consequences that have been documented in the literature, including the fact that conflicts can be triggered within and outside local communities (Collen et al., 2016; Duchelle et. al, 2018; Guizar-Coutiño et al., 2022; Hajjar et al., 2021; Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018).

Three main risk factors for which REDD+ might lead to conflicts in the Nuquí municipality have been identified from the literature to build initial hypothesis, even if this does not aim to be an exhaustive list. Firstly, equity criteria for benefit distribution should be agreed upon before project execution, but this does not always happen in practice (Guerra & Moutinho, 2020). Secondly, local communal institutions are often underdeveloped to guide participation in the REDD+ projects and need continuous and flexible support for effective bottom-up participation (Collen et al., 2016). Thirdly, Llopis et al. (2020) showed that monetary booms can have negative effects in rural areas, specifically decreasing security and increasing the cost of living.

In this thesis the impacts of REDD+ projects are studied with theories of '*buen vivir*' as a means to study community well-being. Critiques emerged in the 90s, defining 'development' as a cultural discourse rooted in a universalist perspective, making space for the pluriverse perspective built in the last two decades (Asher & Wainwright (2019), Escobar (2014), Gómez-Quintero et al. (2014), Hosseini & Gills (2020). The discourses that took a stance from universalist science models will be called 'beyond development' theories, following (Hosseini & Gills, 2020).

The pluriverse perspective recognizes different cosmologies, which are different ways of living. Two theories applied for the context of this research are the '*buen vivir*' (Latin America) and the '*vivir sabroso*' (Afro-Colombians) (Quinceno Toro, 2016; Rekhviashvili, 2023). In line with theories of *buen vivir*, communities with collective land titling have administrative independence from the central government and conceptualise well-being according to their cosmology (Oslender, 2019).

On the contrary, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) provides a range of standardised indicators to measure well-being, which are applied in countries of the Global South, despite being built in Western countries (Peiró-Palomino et al., 2021). Applying methodologies developed by OECD countries in the Global South is part of the scientific problem addressed in this thesis.

1.3. Literature gap

This thesis addressed the literature gap on the impacts of REDD+ on local communities (Matheus, 2018). The thesis also aims to fill in the literature gap identified by Liso et al. (2020) concerning the preferences of local communities on benefit distribution of Payments for Ecosystem services (PES).

Peiró-Palomino et al. (2021) investigated the well-being in Colombian departments, however, they used an OECD methodology and did not integrate qualitative methods (Mardiyaningsih et al., 2018). They identified a gap in the literature regarding well-being within departments due to geographical and ethnic differences. Peña et al. (2017) studied the impact of collective property on the well-being of Afro-Colombians in the Chocó department. However, there is still a lack of research on other factors influencing well-being and subjective well-being. Hence, this thesis aims to address this literature gap through a holistic and explorative qualitative investigation of the subjective well-being of Afro-Colombian communities on the Pacific Coast.

1.4. Introduction to the internship

The present research was conducted while doing an internship with Tropenbos Colombia, which is an independent member of the non-profit organisation Tropenbos International and has the Dutch Government among its most important donors. Tropenbos International has projects in the field of sustainability for conservation and development in tropical forests, particularly on strengthening local knowledge.

Tropenbos Colombia is receiving a one-year funding for projects that can support the communities in the Nuquí municipality regarding the arrival of their first REDD+ payment. This will be the first time when the community's leaders will face a monetary boom, so they requested the assistance external organizations (M.C. van der Hammen, personal communication, May 15, 2023). Tropenbos Colombia approached these territories for the first time on this occasion, therefore lacks information on the communities and is still in the process of understanding how to design the project.

The project of Tropenbos Colombia is related with the project Land at Scale, where three organizations are working towards the strenghtening of ethnic communities (Afro-Colombian and indigenous), specifically on economic empowerment (ICCO Cooperacion), land registry (Kadaster) and environmental management (Tropenbos Colombia). The access of Tropenbos Colombia to the

communities Los Riscales was possible thanks to an invitation of ICCO Cooperacion. My role was to support the organisation by understanding how the communities define their well-being and conducting a holistic analysis of the local economy, taking into account socio-cultural factors and relations with the ecosystems of their territory.

I entered the field with the internship organisation two times, to help at conducting workshops aimed at reflecting on conflict-mitigation in Nuquí.

1.5. Research aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis was to understand the impact that REDD+ projects have on the well-being of communities with collective land titling. This will be achieved by investigating the case study of the REDD+ project implemented in the Nuquí municipality.

To reach this aim the following research question will be answered:

How does the REDD+ project in the Nuquí municipality impact the well-being of the Los Riscales communities?

To answer the main research question three main steps were followed. The first two steps conducted an exploration to map the current livelihoods of the communities, how the REDD+ project was implemented, and to see how the communities define their aspirational well-being. This allowed the identification of well-being gaps which were also ordered according to the community's priorities. Then, an analysis of the differences and conflicts within the communities will answer sub-question 5. Communities might present heterogeneous opinions, so it is important to understand their differences before making the ideological comparison with REDD+.

Step A. Current state

1. How was the REDD+ project implemented in the Los Riscales communities?
2. What are the livelihoods of the Los Riscales communities?

Step B. Finding well-being gaps according to the preferences of the communities' members

3. How do Los Riscales define their well-being?
4. What are the well-being gaps of Los Riscales based on their current livelihoods and aspirations for well-being?

5. To what extent are the priorities and preferences within the communities' members aligned when it comes to filling well-being gaps?

In STEP C, researching clashes between cosmologies indicated current and potential conflicts triggered by REDD+, to understand the impact on the well-being of the communities. The ideological factor took into account in this thesis is related to the commodification of nature. Chapter 2.1. will discuss how the existing contradictions of carbon markets can have negative impacts on community's well-being (Osborne, 2015).

Step C. Analyse interactions between different cosmologies

6. What are the differences in ideologies between REDD+ projects and the Los Riscales communities?
7. To what extent do the different definitions of well-being of the Los Riscales communities and REDD+ clash?
8. How can conflicts derived by REDD+ be mitigated in the Los Riscales communities?

1.6. Scientific and societal relevance

This thesis has scientific relevance as it will help build theories on how well-being is defined in the literature fields of '*buen vivir*' and '*vivir sabroso*' originated in Latin America, thus questioning the Western-centric understanding of 'development'.

In addition, this thesis will help build theories on the impacts of REDD+ projects in communities with collective land titling and on REDD+ benefit distribution. This was achieved by studying the case of the communities in the Nuquí municipality, adding to the literature their cosmology, their definition of well-being, and the impact that the REDD+ project is having in their territory and socio-economical relations.

This research has societal relevance as it provides knowledge about the functioning of the local economy and the socio-economical context of the Los Riscales communities so that Tropenbos Colombia can use it as support to design appropriate interventions with their funds. Other organisations working in the area can also benefit from the contextual knowledge of this thesis in their projects. In addition, organisations working with communities that have collective land titling and a REDD+ project can use this thesis for a case study comparison, especially to address early in project potential negative impacts and to strengthen positive factors.

2. Regional context

2.1. Introduction to the study area

Black communities have been present in Chocó since 1730 as those territories were used as a shelter, together with indigenous populations. After slavery was banned in 1851 more black people arrived attracted by the ivory palm, raicilla, and rubber trade with Panama (CCG Los Riscales, 2007).

The municipality of Nuquí covers 31470 hectares and its population is estimated at 16642 inhabitants (City Population, 2020); about 80% of the population is Afro-Colombian and 10% is indigenous. Figure 3 shows the borders of the collective title of the communities Los Riscales compared to the borders of the municipality. As shown in Figure 1 both Afro-Colombians and indigenous people have collective lands in the Chocó Department (CCG Los Riscales, 2007). Indigenous people are outside of the scope of this research because they live in villages further away from the coast and Tropenbos Colombia is not working there due to safety concerns.

Figure 1. Location of collective territories in Colombia. Source: Arango (2018, p.3).

The nine communities included in the study area live in nine separated coastal villages as shown in Figure 2. They also present significant livelihood differences.

Nuquí, the municipal centre: here is where most wealth is concentrated. It's the only community connected by the airport, having a police station and the most supplied health centre. Consequently, all external organisations and tourists arrive here, making it the first place where information and resources arrive. It's the most populated area, where most businesses are located.

Villages of Coquí, Joví, Termales: here is where tourism is more developed, especially in Guachalito Beach (Joví), which is entirely dedicated to hotels (of foreigners and locals). These are also the most organised communities, for example they have more communal infrastructure, and associations of guides (P19, P30).

Villages of Arusí and Jurubirá: here traditional fishing is more developed, attracting also more fishing-related funds and projects (P26). Jurubirá is also the only community which has effectively prohibited fishing with trammel nets (locals apply sanctions, such as confiscating fish nets if used in their waters) (P10, P26, P12).

Village of Tribugá: this village was the one most affected by armed conflicts because it's the community with the largest mangroves extension, which have been used (and are being used) as places to hide for illegal groups. It was observed that its history and geographic position had an impact on livelihoods as less people were able to take care of their farms, which are traditionally distant from the village in areas that became unsafe. This has deteriorated trust relations, community organisation and solidarity relations in the community (Man from Tribugá, July 4, 2023).

Villages of Panguí and Partadó: apart from Tribugá, these are among the communities with less resources and almost no tourism.

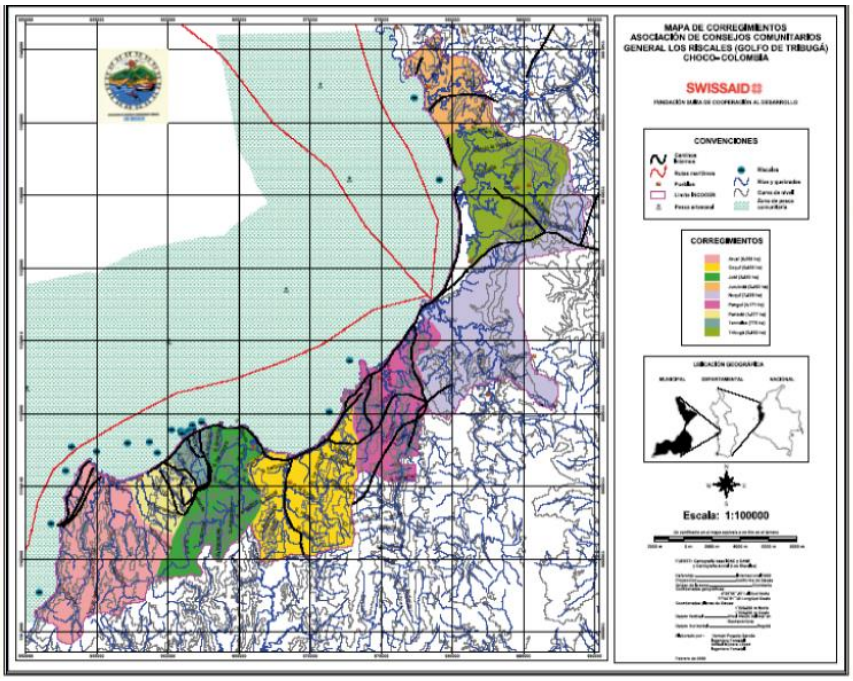

Figure 2. The administrative internal division of the communities Los Riscales. Source: CCG Los Riscales (2007, p.71)

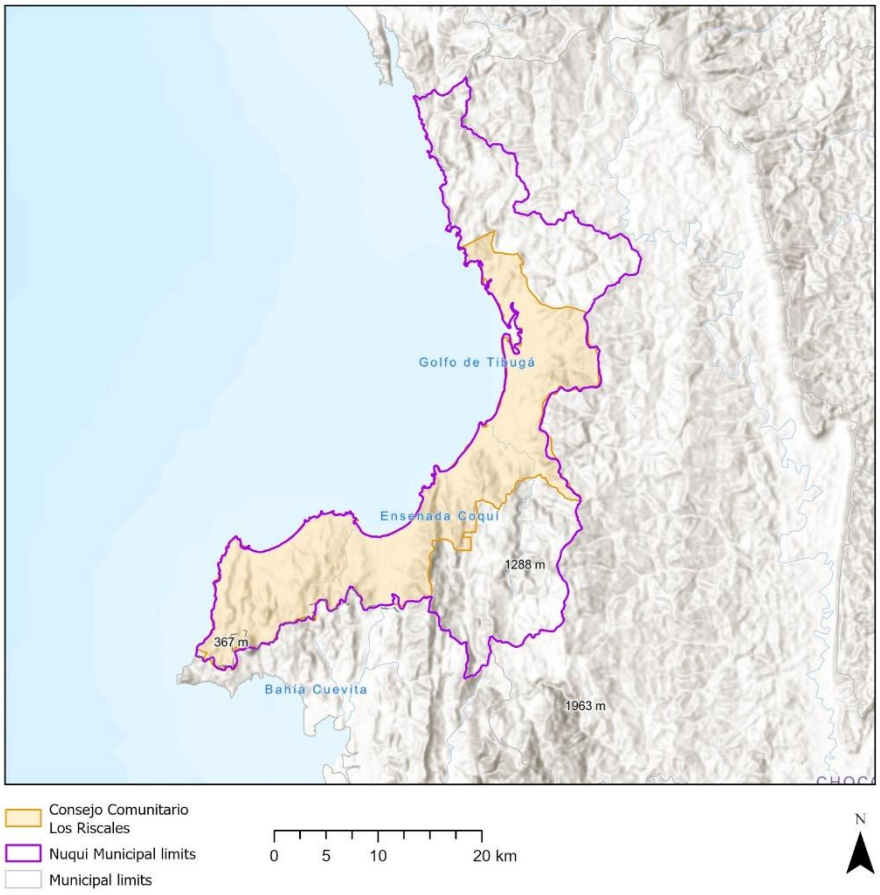

Figure 3. Borders of the Munucipal area of Nuqui and the collective title of the Los Riscales communities. Source: ICCO Conexion.

2.2. Stakeholders of the REDD+ project: Los Riscales communities and supporting organisations

The study area is based on the territory within the collective title of the Los Riscales General Community Council (GCC) in the Nuquí municipality (Choco Department, Colombia). These are nine different rural communities located at the Pacific Coast. As shown in Figure 4, the territory contains a vast extension of mangroves and forest ecosystems, making it one of the most biodiverse regions in the world (Conservation International, 2023).

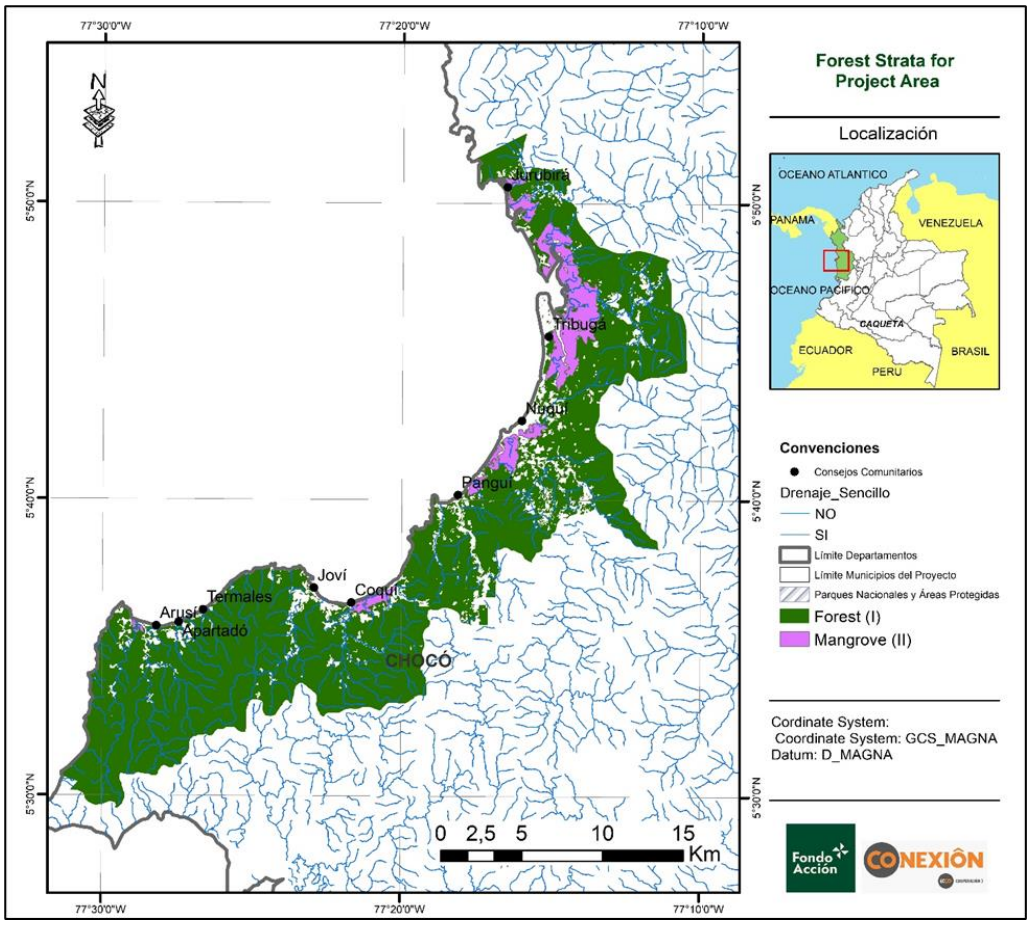

Figure 4. Map of the territory of the Los Riscales GCC with forest and mangrove area of the REDD+ project. Source: Fondo Accion & ICCO Conexion, 2022.

The GCC Los Riscales and ICCO Conextion are the proponents of the REDD+ project carried on the territory of their collective title with the support of different stakeholders, as shown in Table 1. The project design document (PDD) was developed by ICCO Conexion and Fondo Accion. The benefits from the REDD+ project in Table 1 are the percentages of the profits that will come from selling carbon credits. The communities are in the process of evaluating who is the most adequate company to hire to sell the carbon credits on the market. They are considering an offer by Fondo

Accion, who asked for 1% of the profits. The market average of the cut is between 1 and 3% of the total profits for the marketization of carbon credits.

The other supporting organisations are not receiving a cut from the profits, but are included in the table because they integrated their activities in order to ensure the success of the REDD+ project and are mentioned on the PDD. Their main efforts have been put in conservation projects and updating the Plan of Ethnodevelopment (by WWF), which will guide future investment decisions.

Tropenbos Colombia is collaborating with ICCO Conexion and Kadaster within the project "Fit For Purpose'' by enhancing communication processes and providing conflict mitigation tools to the community leaders.

Main stakeholders	**Role in the REDD+ project**	**Role in the territory**	**Benefits from REDD+ project**
Community Council Los Riscales	Project proponent	Leaders, administrative body	89%
ICCO Cooperation	Project proponent, Promoter and co-financier of the project Developer PDD V 1.0. and V 2.0		10%
Fondo Accion	Developer Joint Project Description & Monitoring Report V.01	Support productive alternatives Special programs for children, youth, women and elderly	1%?
WWF		Finance creation plan of ethnodevelopment Project mangroves Enhance management of conservation and protection of the territory	0%
Fundacion MarViva	Technical entity	Enhance information systems of fishing for decision-making	0%
Tropenbos Colombia		Strengthening of local governance.	0%

Patrimonio Natural	Support for the PDD Implementation of cooking stoves	Support to strengthen organisation and territorial regulation	0%

Table 1. Relevant stakeholders related to the community council Los Riscales (sources: Fondo Accion & ICCO, 2022; Nelfer Varones, personal communication, August 28, 2023).

2.3. Organization of the Los Riscales communities

The Afro-Colombian communities in the Nuquí municipality obtained a collective title for their ancestral territory in 2003 (GCC Los Riscales, 2007). Following Law 70 of 1993, in order to get the rights on their land, the communities had to form a Community Council, which got the name of "Los Riscales" (Vélez et al., 2020). In this new governance structure had to co-exist nine different villages or administrative districts. This is why the GCC Los Riscales is made of a Central Board or Major Council (made of the President and one member per community) and nine Local Councils or Minor Councils, which have their own Local Presidents. Nelfer Varones is the President of the GCC Los Riscales, the legal authority of the collective title.

The Central Board or Major Council of the GCC Los Riscales, shown in Figure 5, has the same structure as the Local or Minor Councils, where the main roles are President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer and Vocal. The figure of the fiscal is included because it was deemed important by the leaders during a workshop, although is not formally included in the organisation. The members of the councils are referred to in the thesis as community leaders. The councils are elected by community members every three years.

The decision-making process in the communities often relies on the President and the Central Board, even when community participation could be important, mainly for lack of resources in the organisation. The Central Board is in charge of evaluating new project opportunities and giving consent for resource exploitation in the territory, often in consultation with Local Councils and/or community members. Members of the Local Councils are in charge of keeping the communities informed and solving local conflicts. If a conflict cannot be dealt with at a Local Level, then it will be passed up to President Nelfer. Members of the Central Board and the Local Presidents are usually the people of the communities involved in workshops or meetings, which gives them more decisional power.

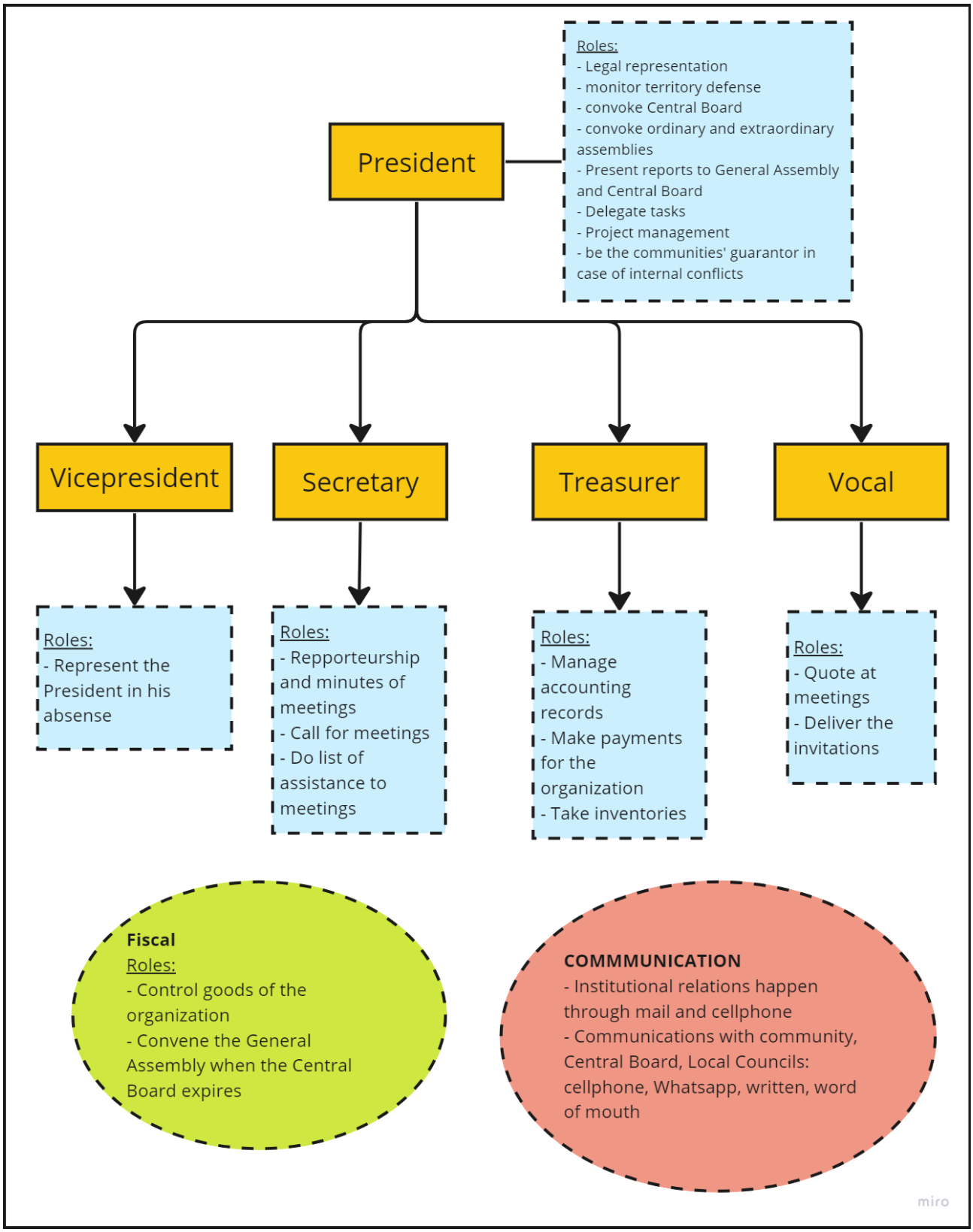

Figure 5. Organisational chart of the Central Board of Los Riscales GCC (source: President Nelfer, 2023)

3. Conceptual framework

This thesis analysed the impact of REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) on well-being by incorporating theories that recognize traditional knowledge and local cosmologies, such as 'buen vivir' and 'vivir sabroso'. Collective land titling emerges as a promising approach for addressing forest conservation and local well-being cost-effectively. By providing secure land titles, collective land titling offers communities increased independence from central governments and the opportunity to develop alternative cosmologies, meaning following different well-being definitions to current capitalistic regimes.

These theories are essential for understanding conflicts and the well-being impacts that REDD+ projects can have in communities with collective land titling, as they enable the examination of connections between different cosmologies and the holistic study of conflicts. In this Chapter, further explanations will be given on why and how the theories are relevant for this thesis.

3.1. Background on REDD+

The REDD+ project in the Nuquí municipality covers an area of 168574 hectares and its annual emissions reductions are estimated at 187240 $tCO2_{eq}$ (Verra, 2021). There is a range of standards for designing and implementing REDD+ projects; in this case, both deforestation and community well-being are officially tackled through the VCS (Verified Carbon Standard) and the CCB (Climate, Community, and Biodiversity) certifications (Verra, 2014, 2021). The proponents of the project are the CCG Los Riscales and ICCO Conexion, although it started as a collaboration between ICCO Conexion and Patrimonio Natural under the name "Forests & Climate Change: Consolidation of territorial rights of the FOS - Swedish-Norwegian Cooperation Fund with Colombian Civil Society". Afro-Colombian communities of Chocó" (Fondo Accion & ICCO Conexion, 2022). The role of Patrimonio Natural at this stage of the process is unclear/unknown.

This is a project in the REDD category of the Agriculture, Forestry, and Other Land Use (AFOLU) categories, specifically in the section Avoided Unplanned Deforestation & Degradation (AUDD) (Verra, 2021).

In this thesis, it is important to investigate how the project was implemented and its consequences in the case study of Los Riscales communities because the literature showed mixed

results regarding the ability of the projects to reach both goals and in some cases a deterioration compared to the initial situation (Benjaminsen & Kaarhus, 2018).

Firstly, Guizar-Coutiño et al. (2022) performed a global evaluation of REDD+ projects, showing that site-based projects generally helped in reducing deforestation in high-risk areas; however, projects are not always effective at reaching their goal of decreasing deforestation and forest degradation. Moreover, West et al. (2020) found that carbon emissions reductions are often overstated in the Brazilian Amazon, further undermining the effectiveness of REDD+. Despite these results, a controversy can by found since the literature review of Legesse et al. (2022) found positive impacts of REDD+ on well-being and forest conservation.

Secondly, the literature highlights concerns about the impacts on community's well-being; there are significant challenges in implementing REDD+ projects as it is important to be aware of inequalities, especially regarding equal benefit-sharing and significant participation of local communities in decision-making (Collen et al., 2016; Duchelle et. al, 2018; Guizar-Coutiño et al., 2022; Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018). Changes in power relations within communities as a result of REDD+ projects often lead to conflict patterns that negatively impact livelihoods (Alusiola et al., 2021; Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018). A livelihood is defined by Mphande (2016) as "the activities, the assets and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household" (p.17).

To avoid a share of conflicts, criteria for equity should be defined at the beginning of the project, a multidimensional approach should be taken when analysing stakeholders and a conflict-solving mechanism should be in place (Guerra & Moutinho, 2020) . The aspect of conflict-solving was neglected during the REDD+ project from the CCG Los Riscales and is being tackled very close to the phase of benefit distribution, potentially leading to an intensification of conflicts (M. C. van der Hammen, personal communication, May 15, 2023).

A part from attention to conflicts and well-being, in this thesis there will also be a focus on the ideological part of REDD+ projects, as its neoliberal nature clashes with the cosmologies of some rural communities and can have a negative impact on their well-being. In the context of growing economies, neoliberalization of nature (and conservation) is seen as a possible solution to climate change, as it brings conservation into the market and facilitates private investments into it (Apostolopoulou et al., 2021). PES (in which REDD+ projects are included) are one of the key concepts of neoliberalization of nature, which are payments that beneficiaries of environmental services pay to those who provide those services (Collen et al., 2016). Another key concept of the neoliberal economy is commodification of nature, defined as the changes that occur when a good,

which was not previously traded, enters the market; in the case of REDD+, carbon storage recently entered the market (Martin-Ortega et al., 2019; Matheus, 2018).

Various issues can arise with the neoliberal approach to tackling climate change; firstly, it transfers the responsibility for environmental protection to actors outside the State, allowing external actors to take the matter into their hands (Aguilar-Støen, 2017; Kemerink-Seyoum et al., 2018). Secondly, the fact that nature is given only a utilitarian value neglects other services and functions of the forest, undermining the environmental and social resilience of local communities and possibly deteriorating conservation motivations other than profits (Corbera, 2012; Hajjar et al., 2021). The Los Riscales communities could have been to be vulnerable to this aspect as the younger generations are losing knowledge about their ancestral spirituality, which created a balance between extraction and conservation (CCG Los Riscales, 2007).

3.2. Beyond development and well-being

In the 90s critiques to 'development theories' started a process of deconstruction of 'development' as a cultural discourse with a western-oriented focus on growth, leading to postdevelopment theories that looked at alternatives to development, rather than alternatives of development (Escobar, 2014). The focus started drove away from achieving well-being through economic growth, which is the main driver of capitalism (Asher & Wainwright, 2019). This research will follow the term 'beyond development' of Hosseini & Gills (2020), to group discourses beyond universalist science models.

In particular, the critique of Gómez-Quintero et al. (2014) analysed development interventions in the Chocó Department, showing that some development agendas believe that Western knowledge is superior to traditional knowledge, which results in the fact that development interventions end up being processes of westernisation, where Western interests are protected in rural areas. It is important to research alternatives to capitalism because designing development interventions by universalizing Western values neglects local cosmologies, therefore creating conflicts instead of increasing well-being (Gómez-Quintero et al., 2014; Hosseini & Gills, 2020). In addition, the modernization process of capitalism led to a deterioration of human-nature relations, whereas beyond development theories see the restoration of the connection between human and non-human beings as a driver of conservation practices (Asher & Wainwright, 2019; Gómez-Quintero et al., 2014).

Taking into account the critiques of development, this thesis will follow theories beyond development and discourses of 'well-being', rather than 'development'. Particular attention will be given to acknowledging traditional ancestral knowledge and local cosmologies. Specifically, this

thesis will use theories of 'buen vivir' and 'vivir sabroso' born from critiques to development in Latin America (Quinceno Toro, 2016; Rekhviashvili, 2023).

The 'buen vivir' theories are focused "on the complete satisfaction of human needs from the standpoint of austerity" (Rekhviashvili, 2023, p.112). According to 'buen vivir' there is not one way of defining well-being, as different communities can have their definition.

'Vivir sabroso' is described in the book of Quinceno Toro (2016) as a concept of the Afro-Colombian linguistic heritage and its roots are in the ubuntu African philosophy. According to 'vivir sabroso', well-being comes from aligning one's existence with the being and energies of the territory. This philosophy is linked to the fight for the decolonization of Afro-Colombians, as they seek peace after a history of slavery, guerrilla, and the War on Drugs of the central government (Quinceno Toro, 2016). Escobar (2014) highlights how in the last wo decades Afro-Colombians developed clear conceptual and political visions, recognizing that they have a different thinking or cosmology, which should be included in 'beyond development' research.

'Buen vivir' and 'vivir sabroso' are ideologically opposed to the standardization of well-being of OECD countries, which do not recognize the coexistence of different cosmologies and definitions of well-being (Rekhviashvili, 2023). Therefore, this thesis will not apply the universally accepted well-being indicators of OECD methodologies and it will help build theories of how well-being is defined in 'buen vivir' and 'vivir sabroso' theories. In addition, it aims to understand how to mitigate conflicts when cosmologies with different well-being definitions clash in rural communities with collective land titling.

3.3. Collective land titling

Collective land titling is relevant for mitigating climate change while ensuring livelihoods for local communities, as it was found to be cost-effective for improving well-being and forest conservation at the same time (Bradley & Fortuna, 2021).

Indeed, collective land titling is a secure property title compared to other types of property, and leads to more households investments in a process of strengthening livelihoods and food security (FAO, 2016; Pena et al., 2017).

Even if there is not enough evidence to prove the causality between collective property and forest conservation, there are successful cases, especially in Latin America (CLUA, 2014). However, it is proved that insecure land titling leads to more deforestation as there are fewer incentives to protect forests (CLUA, 2014). Therefore, collective land titling alone is not enough to secure forest

conservation and well-being when communities lack instruments or programs (Bradley & Fortuna, 2021); this was found relevant also for the Chocó Department by Velez et al. (2020).

The following challenges of collective land titling found in the report of Bradley & Fortuna (2021) were expected to be present in the Los Riscales communities: conflicts inside and outside the communities due to differences in actor's interests, gender inequality, the fact that community members might not be able to defend their rights with outside actors (CCG Los Riscales, 2007).

Having technical knowledge, communication platforms and governance abilities are thus considered drivers for the success of REDD+ projects. In this thesis, these factors have been integrated under the concept of community organisation which includes both governance and unity factors. Community organisation can be found at a formal level, in the council's structure described in Chapter 2.3., where relevant factors are leadership skills and conflict resolution abilities and spaces. There is also an important informal level of community organisation, which includes trust relations, communication, collective economical organisation and motivation for collective work.

4. Methods

The choice of using qualitative methods, specifically in-depth interviews, is appropriate for this thesis because it allows an in-depth understanding of subjective well-being, economic relations, perceptions of the REDD+ project, and the general social context (Bailey et al., 2020). In addition, qualitative methods are appropriate for this study on well-being in the municipality of Nuquí, because of its explorative nature and its complexity, as the holistic analysis will cover different systems (Bailey et al., 2020).

Primary data was collected during two field trips with semi-structured in-depth interviews, which interview guide can be found in Appendix A. Semi-structured interviews were preferred to structured ones as they allow flexibility in follow-up questions, which is more appropriate for an explorative study (Kallio et al., 2016). In addition, semi-structured interviews enable the creation of a trusting relationship with the participants, which is an important element when exploring personal topics and people's opinions (Bailey et al., 2020). The interviews were conducted in Spanish as it is the native language of the community members and the student can speak it fluently. 34 interviews were conducted, although initially, I aimed at 30 interviews, as this amount could allow me to gather sufficient data. Participants were selected aiming at being representative of male and female genders and coming from different age ranges to get a better understanding of the thesis topic. The list of participants can be found in Appendix C. A purposive sampling process took place on the field because it allows to select participants based on new data collected on the field (Bailey et al., 2020) and key participants who have more knowledge about their territory. In line with the recommendations of Lliso et al. (2020) and Spanellis et al. (2021) designing interviews had a participative approach and I adapted my jargon to the terminology used in the communities, for example instead of asking participants about the REDD+ or conservation project, I started asking about the 'proyecto de bonos de carbono[1]'. During the research, ongoing data was also collected in form of observations, pictures, and local media.

Participants for in-depth semi-structured interviews were found with the snowballing technique, starting from the contacts that I got with community leaders thanks to the internship. These interviews were analysed using NVivo with a mixed approach between deductive and inductive codes as recommended by Bailey et al. (2020), the full codebook can be found in the Appendix B. This

[1] Translation: 'project of carbon credits'

choice was made because, even if some codes can be deducted from the literature review, it is more appropriate for exploratory research to reflect also on inductive codes.

All the nine communities were included in the case study because they live in nine separated coastal villages and each one has its own local council and traditions as specified in Chapter 2.1. They also present significant differences in terms of livelihoods. This decision was taken during the first interviews with key informants as there was not enough data available to take an informed decision.

The case study of the Afro-Colombian communities in the Nuquí municipality was chosen for this master's thesis. Colombia is suitable as a case study as there is space for the coexistence of different cosmologies thanks to Law 70, which gave the right of collective land titling to ethnic minorities who enter in certain criteria (Arango, 2018). The communities' history of fighting for their rights and the collective land title indicates that the case study is appropriate for this thesis since they can contribute to strengthen theories of 'buen vivir' by mapping a different definition of well-being (CCG Los Riscales, 2007). Moreover, the communities will receive soon their first REDD+ payment, which means that they are suitable for studying the impacts of the project.

4.1. STEP A: Current state

Before the field trip, I conducted semi-structured interviews in Bogota with experts who already conducted research with Afro-Colombian communities on the Pacific Coast, to get contacts and more contextual information (especially on conflicts and well-being). These informal interviews were conducted with Maria Fernanda Pereira (who worked on a thesis about the mangroves on the Pacific Coast), Diana Jurado (an expert on conflict resolution), and Sandra Frieri (from Tropenbos Colombia).

Additional contextual information about the main livelihoods and well-being definitions was gathered on the field, during the interviews and the workshops conducted with Tropenbos Colombia, where I was introduced to my reference contacts, participants 1 and 12.

Sub-question 1 was answered by doing a literature review and a policy analysis of the REDD+ Project Design Document (PDD) in the Nuquí municipality, to retrieve data on the methodology and the requirements for benefits distribution (Fondo Accion & ICCO Cooperacion, 2022). In addition, more data on the implementation of the REDD+ project was retrieved by participating at workshops organised by my internship organization, but also WWF, Mar Viva, the Foro Interetnico Solidaridad Choco, Kadaster and ICCO Conexion.

To answer sub-question 2, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with community members. STEP A, is operationalized in Part 1 of the interview guide (see Appendix A), which aims at getting a systemic analysis of the livelihoods of Los Riscales and to understand how the REDD+ project was implemented.

4.2. STEP B: Finding well-being gaps according to the preferences of the communities' members

STEP B is operationalized in Part 2 of the interview guide (see Appendix A), with the aim to investigate individual or familiar ideal state of well-being, including their priorities. Since the understanding of well-being definitions and preferences of the communities is limited to individual in-depth interviews, conducting focus groups was considered in this step.

Focus groups were considered for this step because they are appropriate to investigate the explorative questions of this thesis and to identify normative behaviour in the communities (Bailey et al., 2020). However, they were not necessary because enough data was gathered during the semi-structured interviews on this topic.

The interviews were compared among them to answer sub-question 5, so as to identify well-being gaps and the preferences of the communities. Data interpretation was supported by ongoing informal conversations with the reference contacts and my internship organisation.

The results of the first two steps provided an understanding of the community's cosmologies.

4.3. STEP C: Analyse interactions between different cosmologies

Data to answer the questions in STEP C was collected in Part 3 of the interview guide (see Appendix A), which aims at finding people's opinions on commodification of nature, their understanding of the REDD+ projects and its impacts on their lives.

A comparison between the cosmologies of the communities and REDD+ will took place to find differences in ideologies and preferences, but also potential conflicts and tensions. Therefore, it was possible to investigate patterns to find opportunities and challenges for well-being. Sub-question 8, about the mitigation of conflicts in the communities, was answered with data collected during the internship with Tropenbos Colombia and with the results of the interviews.

4.4. Reliability and validity of methods

To ensure that the research is empirical, data was triangulated whenever possible, by checking my results with the reference contacts, experts from academia, and my internship organisation. However, the explorative nature of the research was an obstacle to data triangulation as values and preferences of local communities are investigated.

While acknowledging the importance of random participant selection and representation in maintaining academic rigor, I opted to use a snowballing technique for participant selection due to cultural differences, the remote location of the communities, and security concerns.

4.5. Ethical considerations

I am aware of the ethical issues involved in this research, especially regarding my positionality as a white European student. Prior to my arrival in Nuquí, Tropenbos Colombia introduced me to Nelfer Varoyes, the President of the CCG Los Riscales, who allowed me to conduct research in the municipality. I received further consent to be in the territory when I presented my research during the workshops led by Tropenbos Colombia, where all the leaders were reunited in Nuquí.

Before starting the interviews I introduced myself, described the research, informed the participants about their rights, and asked for explicit consent as shown in the in-depth interview guide presented in Appendix A. In one case consent for recording the interviews was not given, so I took notes. Compensation was prepared for the interviews, for example by offering snacks or drinks.

Data was managed in line with the GDPR (General Data Protection Regulations) regulations. Identifying data was kept separate from the interview recording and transcripts to protect the identity of the participants, and the participants had the option to conduct the interviews anonymously. Participants had the option to choose how they will be identified in the thesis and some of them expressed that they wanted to identify with their name.

Considering that almost all the participants were interested in seeing the final output of the research, the thesis will be translated in Spanish and a two-pager in Spanish will be prepared to facilitate the reading.

5. Results

5.1. Current State: Actors involved

5.1.1. Government

Insufficient governmental presence constitutes a crucial determinant for comprehending the dynamics at play within communities, because it has a direct impact on the significance of community organization, disparities in livelihoods and well-being, impediments in narrowing these gaps, strategic plans, priorities, and the envisioned outcomes of investments related to REDD+ initiatives. The absence of a robust state presence also explains why the role of informality is so important in comprehending the operational dynamics of rural communities. This understanding is instrumental in studying the potential success of projects such as REDD+ and their consequential effects on community well-being. An interview with an expert [2]in international cooperation confirmed that focusing on informal structures is important in a context of State weakness:

(1)"*I find it very interesting [the informal structures] because I believe that having that debate is very essential because many of the territories where, for example there are natural forests, are territories that the state, the central government, doesn't reach. Let's say then, it's interesting to get to know those informal structures that have been created, for example, also in the peasant territories of the Amazon. They [Local Councils] can play a role as part of the State because these are vast areas where having a state presence is very expensive. So, it is somewhat recognized that they too can be involved in making decisions like territorial planning. Not judicial matters, but more as social sanctions, for example, in the face of agreements made for forest conservation, which the community itself establishes. Well then, what will we do if someone cuts down trees? What's the agreement? We believe a lot in that, that this type of organizational process, self-social control, is what will achieve things. For the conservation of forests, instead of waiting for the central government and entities like corporations to reach areas far from the capitals."*- [3]Expert in international cooperation

The majority of participants, 24 out of 32 individuals, raised concerns regarding the absence or adversarial stance of the State when asked about the requisites for their happiness and peaceful

[2] Participant 25.
[3] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

coexistence. Participant 1 articulates dissatisfaction with projects designed without local participation, attributing them to causing "destruction, desolation, colonization, massacres, and cultural losses to the territory." Such sentiments underscore lack of trust in the government, with a palpable sense that citizens do not perceive themselves as cared for or acknowledged by governmental and public institutions. Indeed, a participant[4] defined the communities as 'forgotten villages'. A community leader [5] describes how communities feel unsafe and how their well-being is jeopardised by corruption.

(2)"*These towns, as they were being managed through politics. Politics is what has been predominant here in these communities. So, politicians don't really contribute much to these communities. They take advantage of the little resources that reach the municipalities, and what they invest is not much. Four years ago, the municipality was in bad bad bad shape, really neglected when you visited the municipal center. You can imagine how the other villages were at that time. In these past four years of government, there's been a slight improvement in the institutional presence in these areas. However, much time was lost; many years were wasted. [...] And it's not just because of armed conflicts but because those administrators come and the steal the money that there is and do nothing for the communities. So this also kept these villages 'beaten'*[6]" - Community leader

Consequently, communities have taken matters into their own hands to address threats posed by armed groups, as evidenced by two participants[7]. This proactive response has culminated in the establishment of informal structures. Remarkably, instead of a state-enforced monopoly on violence, there emerges a scenario where paramilitary control prevails, presenting a noteworthy challenge in the context of the anticipated economic upswing in rural villages, a trend not unique to the studied regions but reflective of broader dynamics in Colombia. This corroborates the initial hypothesis drawn from the literature, indicating that the communities under scrutiny perceive themselves as marginalized and neglected by their government.

The weakness of the state related to community well-being and REDD+ project can be evidence at a structural State level and at a local level.

Regarding the State level, it is noteworthy to highlight that among the observed villages, only Nuquí possesses a police presence, even though it has been defined 'permissive' by a woman in

[4] Participant 10.
[5] Participant 31.
[6] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[7] Participant 2, 12.

Nuquí[8]. The fact that the State does not have the monopoly of violence in the communities is the main indication of the weakness of the State presence.

Moreover, in Colombia issues arise with the regulatory framework and legislative measures in place because there are discernible gaps in legislation pertaining to REDD+ projects, as highlighted by an interview with an expert in international cooperation [9].

Notably, the regulation of REDD+ initiatives is premised on resolutions rather than comprehensive legal frameworks, exemplified by Resolution 1447 of 2018 (the primary regulatory document for REDD+ in Colombia) and Resolution 926 of 2017 (absence of taxation on the carbon market). This regulatory landscape has failed to contemplate the potential contributions of REDD+ projects to the broader development of rural areas in Colombia. Meaning that these projects are presently not contributing to the IRR (Integral Rural Reform), despite their inherent potential. The expert in international cooperation [10] pointed to the case of Vision Amazonia, a REDD+ initiative designed for carbon credits through international agreements. This project stands out for its facilitative approach, allowing communities to bypass bureaucratic hurdles and directly access funds through project-based calls.

The expert interview [11] also highlighted how Colombian legislation lacks clearness about carbon titling. Law 70 of 1993 gives communities rights over their territory and its resources, thus the property of carbon titles is implicit. However, there is a lack of explicit recognition of the communities as beneficiaries in the context of selling carbon credits because the current legislation is still open for juridical interpretations.

Another complication manifests in the case of mangroves and was confirmed by an interview [12]with an expert in climate change and international cooperation. For the communities of the case study mangrove areas are included in the collective title, so they can receive benefits for the REDD+ project over the mangrove area. However, a broader legal discrepancy emerges in Colombia, where all mangroves are considered public property. Consequently, communities where mangrove areas are not explicitly included in the collective title cannot receive REDD+ benefits, even if they take care of the ecosystem.

[8] Participant 15.
[9] Participant 25.
[10] Participant 25.
[11] Participant 25.
[12] Participant 26.

The challenge of ‘consulta previa’ (Prior Consultation) further compounds the issues faced by rural communities, as highlighted by an expert[13]. In Colombia, Prior Consultation is regulated by law, according to which all projects that impact the territory of communities with collective land title need to receive the consent of the local communities in consultation with the Ministry of Interns. However, despite REDD+ projects significantly impacting territories, Prior Consultation is not mandated because the government categorizes these projects as "negotiations among private parties."

This legislative gap poses inherent risks to rural communities and creates opportunities for exploitation by actors referred to as "carbon cowboys" who take advantage of the absence of protective measures. As articulated by an expert[14], the well-being of communities becomes intricately tied to the commitment of these intermediaries to the community's well-being. This legislative structure raises fundamental questions pertaining to equity and social justice. It prompts an examination of why certain communities undergo development through REDD+ projects, with well-being gaps bridged, while neighbouring villages are left in a state of neglect. Consequently, the current regime operates more as a commercial business model, raising concerns about the protection of individuals' rights. The imperative now is to transition from a business-oriented approach to one that upholds and protects the rights of people, fostering a more equitable and just system.

At the local level, a range of adversarial actions negatively impacts the communities. Notably, the drugs fumigations, as reported by two participants [15], has deleterious effects on key crops such as ‘chontaduro’ and avocado, both of which hold significant popularity within the communities. Additionally, there is a concerning instance where promises made to the ‘Eje Cafetero’ (coffee growing region and corporations) by the ex Colombian President Duque regarding the construction of a Port in the study area are met with opposition from local residents, as indicated by two participants[16]. This opposition is rooted in the expressed desires of the communities, highlighting a disjuncture between governmental decisions and the preferences of the locals.

A pervasive issue involves the receipt of life threats by community members, as detailed by a woman of Nuquí [17]. Compounding the situation is the perceived inaction of the police, described as ‘permissive’, failing to intervene effectively and address these threats. Due to the armed conflict, communities faced many instances of displacement, which impacted crucial aspects such as

[13] Participant 25.
[14] Participant 25.
[15] Participant 17, 21.
[16] Participant 12, 15.
[17] Participant 15.

agriculture, food sovereignty, agricultural knowledge, identity and the profound connection with the territory. Two participants [18] highlighted the difficulties in survival within a urban setting, without an adequate income. Other two participants[19] highlighted the extensive corruption within the municipality.

These local-level challenges collectively show the multifaceted impact on the well-being and stability of the communities in question.

These findings show that achieving community well-being is contingent upon the commitment of the municipality to the overall welfare of its residents. This commitment extends beyond the scope of what the REDD+ project can singularly achieve. A notable challenge emerges as a majority of participants, when queried about well-being and subjective well-being, encounter difficulty in envisioning outcomes beyond the request for essential public services such as health and education, improved access to drinking water, and generally an increase in economic opportunities. The presence of illegal actors on the territory presents obstacles to local businesses and potential tourism opportunities, as elucidated by a man of Tribugá [20].

5.1.2. Community organization

The results of the research identified community organization as one of the main actors that influence well-being because it is connected to project implementation, communication, bureaucracy, advocacy skills in an adverse social context, deforestation levels, dialogue skills, conflicts mediation skills, resistance to illegal actors, organization of economic activities for equal benefit sharing (especially in tourism and fishing). Community organisation also influences communication, as organizing meetings to share information and update the villages reduces disinformation and lack of trust.

The challenges of community organization that most impact the success of the REDD+ project in contributing positively to community well-being are: governance weakness, lack of skills or resources to manage the project, which contribute to the communication issues described in the next section. These findings confirm the initial hypothesis based on Collen et al. (2016) that local communal institutions are underdeveloped to guide the participation in the REDD+ project and lack

[18] Participant 7, 22.
[19] Participant 3, 6.
[20] Participant 24.

of technical knowledge, communication platforms and governance abilities impact negatively the ability of the project to increase well-being. These findings are confirmed in an interview with an expert[21] in climate change, international cooperation, community dynamics and during interviews with community members and leaders. A community leader [22] from Panguí says that people are not trained for project management, don't have financial and entrepreneurial skills.

Various factors can explain why there is a weakness in community organisation. As mentioned before, the fact that community organization is an ongoing and recent process can explain why there are weaknesses. The Councils of the case study are relatively recent as they were elected a year ago and are still finding effective ways to work together and gain the trust of community members. Nowadays, this weakness can also be explained by the generational change of the leaders. Indeed, the majority of the council members were not present during the fight for the approval of the Law 70 of 1993 and during the process of acquiring the collective title. The knowledge-holders of the communities are among the elderly and don't participate so actively in the organization and some feel marginalised by new younger leaders, as evidenced from two interviews with retired leaders[23].

5.1.3 Implementing organizations and participatory mechanism

The project was implemented with participation of community members, indeed a Central Board member[24] confirmed that meetings were hosted and information was shared in all the households ('*socializacion casa por casa*'[25]). The Central Board is working, with the participation of community members, on building benefit distribution mechanism (with ICCO Conexion) which will be based on the development path that is being drafted in the Second Plant of Ethnodevelopment, funded by WWF.

The Central Board encountered some difficulties during the implementation of the project and completely depend on external organizations for the implementation process.

For example, mistakes made to fulfil the requirements of the project by ICCO Conexion as the private properties inside the collective title were first included in the project area, even if they shouldn't. The mistakes were solved by Fondo Accion, however they meant a delay of the project

[21] Participant 26.
[22] Participant 33.
[23] Participant 3, 17.
[24] Participant 12.
[25] It means sharing information and knowledge 'house by house'.

and accentuation of rumours in the communities. An estimation of 5 hectares of private properties were calculated, as there aren't any available maps of the private properties.

Dependence on external organizations was found in these areas: financial education and support, project management education and support, strengthening leadership, planning development path in the Plan of Ethnodevelopment to have more clarity on plans for benefit distribution mechanism, strengthening governance.

The two expert interviews[26] confirm that Los Riscales are supported by good organizations, so more probability of success of the project. Fondo Accion is also an entity made to manage public funds and have a public governance perspective, they are transparent on managing information and they already have experience with REDD+ projects in rural communities and community processes of governance. Communities are participative and collaboratives with supportive organization, a trust relationship was observed during trainings.

Questions are raised about whether communities are receiving too much assistance, having a negative effect on their agency. This was observed for example in the tendency of not organizing independent meetings if external organizations don't do it and pay for their meals. However, the lack of involvement of the State and the reduced opportunities for income limit their opportunities for growth without external help. Indeed, two participants[27] from Tribugá, the village with the lowest livelihoods, struggle to see an increase in well-being without the involvement of external organizations.

There are also other people who have a narrative with more agency and want to push communities to action and plan without having to wait for external organizations' help, as this participant[28] states.

(3)"[What I wish for my communities is] *that we change the mindset of thinking that all solutions have to come from outside. That we think that with what we have, we also have to seek options, how to earn a living and stop thinking that everyone has to give us, like the government, because those people get elected there and then forget about us. So, we know that there are things we do need from them, like health, education, all that, but in terms of economics, it's about looking for strategies. We know it's difficult."* [29]Woman from Nuquí

[26] Participants 25, 26.
[27] Participant 22, 23.
[28] Participant 3.
[29] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

5.2 Current State: Issues

5.2.1 Communication

Issues in communication are one of the main challenges that communities are facing to ensure that the REDD+ project has a positive impact on community well-being. Briefly, problems with multiplication of information on different levels create a widespread of disinformation and foment lack of trust in the leaders. The workshops organized with Tropenbos and the interviews with two participants[30] highlight that communicating information encounters obstacles when transmitted from workshops or meetings in the urban center Nuquí to the villages and from the Central Board members to the Presidents of the Local Councils.

This section will inform on the impact that communication issues have on the REDD+ project, in particular in hindering its participatory mechanism. Then the causes of communication issues will be explained and contextualised for the case study of Nuquí.

Impact on the REDD+ project

Despite efforts for community participation displayed in Section 5.1.3., the interviews revealed the following discrepancies or issues regarding participation effectiveness in the REDD+ project.

Firstly, even though the project was communicated, most participants think that they didn't receive information on it. For example this was the case for a man in Jurubirá[31], who states that he didn't receive any information about the REDD+ project and that he doesn't know who is working on it.

(4)"*At times, one filters information, yes. But during the time I've been here [he came back to communities two years ago], I haven't heard of a rule, a meeting to socialize about REDD+, and nothing. I do know that there are people involved in those projects; I know there are some, but I don't know who they are first. And second, I don't know to which entity they belong."* [32]– Man from Jurubirá

[30] Participant 23, 24.
[31] Euderly Gonzales Garcia, Participant 6
[32] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

A man from Termales [33] describes how issues in communication are crucial and structural, how are connected with their informal structures and lead to worries about equal benefit-distribution of the profits. Those worries were also expressed by six participants [34]out of 32 residing in Nuquí.

(5) "*I think that among the possible problems we could come up, the reality is that the communities, are uninformed about these things. Communities don't have information about this issue. The only information that the community has is… I believe they don't hear it from the news or they hear the money goes to households and I don't know. But the fear that we all have in the community is that they are not going to distribute it how they should."* [35]- Man from Termales

Secondly, a leader from Jurubirá [36] and an expert [37] reported how people struggle with understanding the project even if they participate at meetings and receive the information.

Thirdly, participation issues are also related to difficulties in transportation due to the remoteness of the villages, where communities depend on maritime transportation, which is expensive and restricted by sea tides in certain hours of the day. According to the PDD transportation and other stipends required for project meetings would be provided, however the Central Board is having difficulties in finding resources to host meeting while waiting for the first payment, affecting participation effectiveness (Fondo Accion & ICCO Cooperacion, 2022).

Finally, field observations indicated that in the communities there is confusion about what types of meetings are for the leaders and what type of meetings are open. In addition, meetings that intend to be open struggle with hosting large amounts of people due to lack of resources. Interviews show how this lack of clarity is dealt with in the villages and lead to a further increase in lack of trust. A leader from Panguí [38]thinks that invitations to meetings are restricted to a pre-selected group of people and a man from Termales [39] questions the effectiveness of participation in a REDD+ meetings as only 4 to 6 people from the village participated.

(6) "*They participate, they bring and choose the people who will participate, those who will applaud them. But those who will tell them the truth, who will question them, no, because they want this project to go through and then they another one to come, that project to finish and another to come. So, as a leader, one is not welcome in any of these spaces. Why? Because people may not say anything, but*

[33] Participant 17
[34] Participants 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.
[35] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[36] Yerson Gonzales Murillo, Vice President Central Board and member of the Local Council of Jurubirá, Participant 12.
[37] Expert in climate change and international cooperation, Participant 26
[38] Ruth Nibeta Martinez Caizamo, leaderr from Panguí, Participant 33.
[39] Participant 17.

they already think that one will say something. And what I have learned at this moment is that a leader doesn't have to be involved in anything they are doing wrong." [40]– Leader from Panguí

(7)"*No, because the community thinks about what they are going to invest resources on, and on the day of the workshop here, it was for four or five or six people from the community because they said that. A greater number of the community should have participated, but the community was not informed, they were not notified."* [41]- Man from Termales

Causes of communication issues

Communication issues arise because of the social dynamics of a context with specific informal economical and political structures (stemming from a weak State presence), which lead to lack of trust in local and governmental leaders.

Informal dynamics

This section will give more insight on how informal dynamics pose challenges for an increasing in community well-being related to the REDD+ project. Chapter 5.1.1. discussed how a weak State presence leads to a strengthening of informal structures, which are constituted by non-written rules, mostly orally transmitted.

Firstly, communities struggle with advocating for their legal rights, thus hindering the right of living according to their cosmology in their territory. This pattern can be explained in two areas.

Field observations and the interviews[42] concluded that despite the collective title, informal land sales are largely tolerated. Land properties are also sold to outsiders, who took advantage of the territory by starting tourism businesses. Later, communities were able to raise awareness on the topic and the importance of not selling land to foreigners, thus beginning their own local ecotourism business and collaborating with outsiders by offering their services to their clients.

The results of the internship workshops and meetings with President Nelfer highlighted how communities struggle with their right to approve the (extractive) activities or projects of external organizations. This is particularly relevant for the REDD+ project, considering the amount of complex and technical notions that require understanding in order to make an informed decision on

[40] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[41] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[42] Participants 12, 4, 22 and 30.

the future of the communities. Formally, the Central Board has the responsibility of approving the activities of external organization, however the leaders are not equipped to take those decisions, as they were not trained and are not professionals. Central Board members are fisherman, housewives and farmers who don't get paid for their leadership activities. A leader from Jurubirá [43]explained that a consequence of the excessive technicality associated with external (extractive) projects is that leaders avoid communicating complex information in the villages. In addition, there is lack of interest in sharing information if there is not a short-term economical benefit related to it. Sharing news is made more difficult by the fact that information is only shared orally as written records are not being kept.

Secondly, several discrepancies have been identified between the formal rules for the functioning of the Councils and the informal rules adopted.

The interviews[44] and the internship workshop organized on communication and the role of the leaders highlight how some leaders do not comply with their role and do not know what their functions are. Formally, members of the Central Boards should inform Local Presidents and conjointly organise local meetings to inform community residents and hold discussions. However, a man of Tribugá [45] reported how informal dynamics almost completely neglect the formal rules because some information is not shared with Local Presidents, who feel left out, and local meetings are almost never organised. The consequence is that leaders rely only on meetings or workshops organised by external organizations to inform community members. Two participants from Tribugá[46] and Panguí[47] explain that the situation is aggravated in their villages because the Central Board member (who is also a member of a Local Council), moved to Nuquí (municipality center) for income opportunities, thus separating also physically from Local Presidents. An additional level of understanding was provided by the Nelfer, the President of the CCG Los Riscales, as he struggles to find a balance in the amount of information about the REDD+ project to share. If too much information is shared there are risks of creating false expectations, which can lead to accusations of corruption in case the REDD+ project fails as people don't have a tool for fact checking. Safety concerns related to illegal groups present in the territory are also a deterrent for sharing information, as leaders already received threats related to REDD+ profits. Concerns related to an increase in violence and corruption are the only factors observed that may have a negative impact on community

[43] Yerson Gonzales Murillo, Vice President Central Board and member of the Local Council of Jurubirá, Participant 12.
[44] In particular, see interview with Yerson Gonzales Murillo, Vice President Central Board and member of the Local Council of Jurubirá, Participant 12.
[45] Participant 24.
[46] Man from Tribugá, Participant 24.
[47] Man from Panguí, Participant 32.

well-being after the monetary boom. The situation has a negative impact on participation, equal benefit distribution and therefore potentials of increasing community well-being.

The most critical area where discrepancies have been observed are the elections of the Councils.

The interviews of two community leaders [48] and the internship workshops revealed the risk that individuals who are not committed to community well-being, but are driven by profit, could get elected in the CCG Los Riscales, jeopardizing equal benefit-distribution of REDD+. This can be avoided with education projects on the functioning of the project and its long-term potential community benefits, joint with an update of the internal formal regulations of the communities. A community leader from the village of Joví[49] and a man from Termales [50]reported another risk related to the elections, being actors from other cities trying to influence the elections of their territory and more generally how much elections are defined by profit opportunities, rather than ideals or political plans.

Lack of trust

The results of the interviews showed a widespread feeling of lack of trust against the municipality and the central government. Whereas, regarding trust in local leaders participants showed more heterogenous opinions. Four participants [51](out of 32 residing in Nuquí), directly expressed lack of trust in the community Councils, three participants [52]expressed preoccupation around corruption without identifying actors, three participants [53]think that information is being actively filtered, leading to 'the money getting lost', as formulated by a man in Jurubirá[54].

A community leader from Panguí [55]talks about worries about corruption even if the REDD+ profits will be managed through a trust fund.

(8)"*The risk factors would be, firstly, that the project may not be successfully completed, that it may not reach a conclusion. And secondly, even if the project is successful, there might be mismanagement*

[48] Participants 12 and 33.
[49] Participant 30.
[50] Participant 18.
[51] Participants 17, 18, 21, 24.
[52] Participants 27, 28, 11.
[53] Participants 30, 3, 6.
[54] Participant 6.
[55] Participant 31.

of resources. So, those would be the doubts. I mean, what has been done to manage the resources is what is outlined in the project, that cash should not be handled, but it should be done through a trust, and then through proposals and projects, the resources are withdrawn and made available. However, you know, one thing is what is agreed upon in the commitment, and another thing is what happens afterward. I mean, we cannot ensure that what is agreed upon will be done, that nothing will happen. These are things that happen. Let's hope that things happen as they have been discussed. Mmm. Yes, because there wouldn't be another alternative." [56] - Community leader from Panguí

Internship workshops evidenced that lack of trust related to the REDD+ project can partly be explained by the negative experiences that communities had with other projects, of a much smaller scale, that arrived in the territory.

To conclude, a vicious cycle was identified where individuals do not join meetings because they do not trust the leaders, which foments disinformation and gossip as people do not have a way to verify their information; consequently, more lack of trust increases in the communities.

These results raise questions about whether it is possible to have effective participation of rural communities in REDD+ projects if the leaders don't want to share too much information about the project for safety reasons (protection against illegal actors), there aren't resources to open the meetings to all the community members. In addition, REDD+ projects per se entail complex mechanisms, to understand them adequately one needs to retain a large amount of details, which was proven to be an issue even for members of the Central Board during workshops. Since the effective participation of community members is question, so it's their ability to give Free Prior Informed Consent to the project.

5.2.2 Deforestation

The deforestation topic was explored to understand how the project was implemented. Understanding people's perspective on deforestation allows to understand probabilities of success of the project. Indeed, if people are not aware of environmental conservation, in combination with the miscommunication issues found in the communities, the REDD+ projects risks to not be approved (or discontinued) and thus preventing the increase of well-being in the communities.

The main drivers of conservation are ancestral culture and trainings of supporting organizations. The ancestral culture and spirituality of the communities includes conservation and

[56] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E

care values for ecosystems that pre-exist the REDD+ project. These values have been integrated with scientific knowledge in a process of environmental education lead by the supporting organizations. These findings are supported by an expert interview [57]and two participants from Jurubirá[58].

A concrete example, discussed with a woman in Jurubirá[59], is that in the past there was an issue with overexploitation of mangrove resources, whereas now a project for mangrove restoration (of WWF) lead to individuals respecting rules on which dimensions of animals or mangroves can be exploited, to ensure species' reproduction. A community leader[60] explained that after the project three zones of use were designed: one of preservation, one of sustainable use and one of recuperation (only can be for research and tourism). Two participants [61]think that the biggest share of deforestation is avoided due to the mangrove restoration project because cutting trees for cooking ('*fogones*'[62]) is avoided, in exchange of using eco-efficient cooking stoves or gas. This information is in line with the PDD (Fondo Accion & ICCO Conexion, 2022). The process of awareness of conservation is important and successful, but it's still an ongoing process. Two participants [63]state that levels of environmental awareness, conservation values and levels of deforestation are heterogeneous in the communities. This can have a negative impact on the ability of the REDD+ project to be successful.

The interviews highlighted numerous discrepancies in people's opinions on how much deforestation there is and whether agreed rules are respected on not.

On one hand, some participants have a perception of low deforestation levels. Three participants [64]think that the level of deforestation stayed the same before and after the project because communities always took care of the forest. Whereas three participants [65]think that after the project deforestation levels decreased. One of them, a community leader from Panguí[66], explained that since the start of the project communities stopped selling wood and restricted wood usage for housing, making '*lanchas*[67]'; people who made profits out of wood compensated the profits by increasing or starting other activities like agriculture or fishing. Two participants [68]think that nobody sells wood in

[57] Participant 26.
[58] Euderly Gonzales Garcia, Participant 6 and Yeradìn Johanna Posada Gil, Participant 14.
[59] Yeradìn Johanna Posada Gil, Participant 14.
[60] Yerson Gonzales Murillo, Vice President Central Board and member of the Local Council of Jurubirá, Participant 12.
[61] Participants 6, 27.
[62] Stoves powered by wood.
[63] Participants 10, 27.
[64] Participants 1,6,10.
[65] Participants 12, 18, 31.
[66] Participant 31.
[67] Traditional boats.
[68] Participant 1, 6.

the communities. This narrative is strengthen by a community leader in Termales[69], who tells that her father, who works in construction, stopped cutting his own trees for his job and started to import wood from Buenaventura since the start of the REDD+ project. A community leader from Partadó presents an economic perspective, saying that people prefer higher income activities like fishing to wood business.

On the other hand, other participants present a scenario of higher deforestation levels. A woman from Termales[70] thinks that there is still lack of environmental awareness in some situations because people cut trees indiscriminately without adopting reforestation practices:

(9)"*I've always said that people cut trees here, but they don't plant. People believe that because we have a huge forest, it won't run out. So, you cut down one tree, but behind that tree, many go down. At this moment, people have to go very far, very, very far to find wood for building their houses and hotels because there's no more nearby. Why? Because we don't plant*."[71] - Hadys Edith Mosquera Valencia, woman from Termales

Selling wood as a necessary livelihood is identified as a strong driver of deforestation by four participants[72], despite the REDD+ project. Communities with lower resources and livelihoods are more likely to engage in deforestation, as supported by a community leader[73]. This is contrasted by a man from Tribugá[74], one of said villages with lower livelihoods, sharing that people don't really cut trees anymore as very few know how to do it and the machinery is expensive. Another driver of deforestation is agriculture (Fondo Accion & ICCO Cooperacion, 2022). It was observed that some people incorporate practices of crop rotations to avoid deforestation. However, a woman from Tribugá [75]shared that people cut trees to make space for virgin (and faster) crops every three years, without planting new trees. Lack of clarity around regulations for reforestation stemmed from the interviews as some participants did not know how many trees should be planted or gave different numbers.

Given the significant discrepancies found around this topic, participants that shared a narrative of very low levels of deforestation might be worried to share actual facts, thinking that cutting trees is prohibited, instead the REDD+ project allows a sustainable use of the forest, making this a signal

[69]Diana Chiquillo Hoyas, President of the Local Council of Termales, P19.

[70] Participant 21.
[71] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[72] Participants 2, 10, 24, 27.
[73] Participant 10.
[74] Participant 22.
[75] Participant 23.

of project miscommunication (Fondo Accion & ICCO Conexion, 2022). These participants might also think that telling a narrative of high levels of conservation will attract more resources or projects. The main takeaway from the deforestation narratives outlined is that some individuals might still need to practice deforestation as an integral part of their livelihoods. Two community leaders[76] share that one of the plans on how to invest REDD+ benefits is to offer those individuals the opportunity to be paid forest rangers.

Monitoring mechanism of REDD+

Although the PDD reports that there is a monitoring mechanism in practice for deforestation, some discrepancies came up during the interviews. It is true that communities are protected from deforestation from external actors because the collective title gives them rights over the resources of their territory. However, at a community level, monitoring results more difficult because of the solidarity bond among community members. According to the opinion of a man from Jurubirá[77], in his village monitoring happens through dialogue ('*voz a voz*'), meaning that if somebody is cutting too much they are able to solve the issue through dialoguing. This also means that if the person has a good reason for deforestation, such as building his house, the community accepts his actions. A man from Nuquí[78] reports how a certain amount of deforestation is tolerated to build houses, or if the sawyers need it to economically sustain their families until a sustainable alternative is presented.

(10)"*No, there is no control here. I mean, the decision-maker plans, but here people cut down trees. They do things their way. There is indiscriminate tree cutting without control, so no, there's no control here. Because in the Chocó department, the exploitation of wood is a means of living for us because we don't have, let's say, other livelihoods to survive. The one who doesn't fish, saws in the forest. The one who doesn't work in construction, saws in the forest. We have our own properties where there is wood, and I have my land, and I control what is mine."* [79]- Yahir Palacios, a man from Nuquí

Monitoring seems to work quite well in Jurubirá, but not in the urban center Nuquí, therefore deforestation might depend on level of community organization, conflict resolution skills and solidarity.

[76] Participants 5, 24.
[77] Luis Antono Gidlela Mosquera, Participant 7.
[78] Yahir Palacion, Participant 2.
[79] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

5.2.3. Gender inequalities

Women interviewed have different views how much sexism is still present in the villages. All participants agree on the fact that there have been improvements from the past. The Local President of Termales [80] thinks that, even if machismo is present, women are able to speak up for themselves.

(11) "*So, let's say there was a time when women remained silent, but this generation is different. Let's say we don't let ourselves be mistreated just because we are women, right? Generally, it has always been the same. And if there's something we don't like, we have the voice to say that we don't like it and try to change it. But obviously, we have to endure sexism..*" [81] - Diana Chiquillo Hoyas, President of the Local Council of Termales

In the village of Termales, the Local Council is only made by women, therefore it might be the only village where women's participation is effective. Despite this encouraging data, gender equality is questioned by taking into account a different sexism mechanism from governance exclusion. Women in Termales have to endure a triple burden: their paid work in tourism (Termales being one of the most touristic villages in the municipality), unpaid reproductive work (of taking care of the house and the children) and unpaid leadership and governance work. A man from Termales [82]stated that men do not like to engage in governance work because they are '*too lazy'* and instead focus on fishing and agriculture, which are activities that requires less amount of work per week. Nonetheless, Termales is an exception because women tend to participate less in community organization as they are hindered by their roles as housewives.

Other women think that, even when women are part of the Councils, they are not participating effectively to community processes. Noelia, teacher and community leader from Jurubirá[83], states that the active participation of women could bring great benefits to the communities:

(12)"*And as women who participate, many times, because we are so clear, you know that when a woman makes a decision, she does it with clarity. It's like... we are singled out, we feel violated. Why? Because things, let's say, can be seen from two points of view, not just decisions from the male perspective but also from the female perspective. And we can bring together various points of view. Women think and feel differently from men, and men think and feel differently from women. It doesn't*

[80] Participant 19.
[81] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[82] Participant 18.
[83] Participant 8.

mean that either is bad, but simply what it means is that if we combine these two ways of thinking and seeing life, we can create better things." [84]- Noelia, teacher and community leader of Jurubirá

Ruth Nibeta Martinez Caizamo, a community leader of Panguí[85], agrees with the fact that women are not participating effectively in governance.

(13) *"Well, women don't matter. Women don't count in the debates here. First of all, women hardly participate in the processes. Hello? I mean, generally, the processes are biased because they are led by men. When men lead the processes, they always go, the processes go, go, thinking from a sexist perspective ['machismo']. So, they don't look for the right person; instead, they look for the woman they think should be in that role. And that's not how it should be in the processes. The one who truly has the calling, the one with the vocation, the one with, let's say, the right attitude. And that is what prevents communities from progressing[86]."* - Ruth Nibeta Martinez Caizamo, entrepreneur and community leader of Panguí

Considering that women's effective participation is questioned in the local governance mechanism, there is a risk that their perspectives are not being taken into account during the REDD+ project, posing a challenge for the increase in well-being for women in the communities.

5.3. Current State: Community strengths

The results of the research identified strengths in community organization, livelihoods (particularly in food sovereignty), solidarity and the collective title.

5.3.1. Local organizational strengths

This section will be divided between a centralised level, which includes the Central Board, the President and the technical team, and the local level, which include the nine Local Councils.

On one hand, at the centralised level the communities have previously managed funding from external organizations and were trained to fill in financial reports. According to an expert interview[87], the ONGs (WWF, Mar Viva, Conservation International) that worked in Nuquí seemed to have a

[84] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[85] Participant 33.
[86] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[87] Participant 26.

positive experience with financial reports. Moreover, supporting organizations are already working on strengthening the governance of the communities and are investigating how to enhance communication. Ideas include a podcast and a WhatsApp channel where the President of the CCG can share information.

In addition, the Plan of Ethnodevelopment is an important institutional tool for community organization; it can serve as a guide for decision-making regarding the benefit-distribution mechanism as it identified the preferred development path of community members with participatory methods. It can be a tool to integrate projects of different organizations and institutions into a coherent development path. The Distrito Regional de Manejo Integrado (DRMI) is an institutional space for governance integration among different territorial actors, including the municipality, the CCG, natural parks administrations and the public environmental territorial entity CODECHOCO. As an expert of international development[88] confirmed, this institutional framework increases the probability of success of projects that arrive in the territory, including REDD+, especially because it enables a discussion around co-financing projects between the CCG Los Riscales and the municipality.

On the other hand, at a local level, results show differences in organization among the communities.

Higher levels of organization have been found in Coquí, Joví, Termales, in relation to their higher income levels and tourism businesses, as an expert interview [89]suggested. In the villages of Joví and Termales the Local Councils receive an income, which can be defined as an informal taxation system, relatively from the guides association 'Pichindel' and the ticket revenues from hot springs.

Jurubirá also has a good level of organization. Luis Antono Gidlela Mosquera[90] reports that health has been communitized as each family pays a monthly rate to a have a stable nurse in the village. More struggles have been identified in other villages.

Communities have good conflict solving and dialoguing skills, as proved by three interviews [91]and internship workshops. Community leaders from Joví[92] and Coquí[93], which are villages with higher levels of organization, explained that they have a tradition of unity and good community

[88] Participant 26.
[89] Participant 26.
[90] Participant 7.
[91] Participants 16, 29, 31.
[92] Participant 30
[93] Participant 28.

organization, which highlights the importance of considering the culture of ancestralism as an enabler of community well-being.

(14) "*Well, I don't know about the customs of other communities specifically, but I believe that what is reflected in Coquí serves as a lesson. Because, I mean for the organization in Coquí, there are things that have been in place for a long time, and groups of leaders were organized to look after the well-being and health of the community as a whole. This has led people, children, and youth to adopt these customs, and this organization has been developing from the past until now. However, I imagine that in some other communities, they may not have done it in the same way. Perhaps that's why they don't have the same level of organizational structures that we have."* [94]- Dayan Garcia, President of the Local Council of Coquí

Community members contribute to collective well-being without getting paid. These governance dynamic shows how community resilience can develop when there is a weak State presence. Five participants said that they participate in meetings (related to governance) or trainings even if they are not paid because they value the knowledge gained, as a tool to defend their rights on their territory and/or an indirect income opportunity,

Other collective non-paid work activities include: waste collection on the beach (important to maintain the environment clean because it also increases income from tourism), ethno-education of younger generations, organizing thematic festivals and sports days for kids. Maintenance of community infrastructure, that is public like water pipes and energy, is done by non-paid labour in some villages like Termales[95] and Coquí[96]. Non-paid work is also related to monitoring and support for animals and endangered ones, such as turtles and whales.

5.3.2. General livelihoods

The economical models of the studied communities are based on natural resources and the environment, as also tourists are attracted by the ecosystems of the territory as explained by Felix Gomez, a biologist at CODECHOCO[97]. It is quite common that people do not depend on one job or

[94] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[95] Participant 18.
[96] Participant 27.
[97] Participant 16.

livelihood, but are busy with multiple activities, depending on their needs. A mix between fishing, agriculture and tourism is very common, also because of the seasonal nature of tourism, related to the season of whales (from about June to October). This makes people are generally very resourceful and resilient. A small percentage of individuals has a paid job in: hospital, municipality, construction, schools, CODECHOCO, transportation (of kids to school). Some people have their own businesses, like selling '*bebidas ancestrales*' ancestral drinks[98], hairdresser[99] ('*peinados'*), selling street food (like *bolis, tamales, hojaldra*), some people have small economic activities[100], others also collect and sell construction materials.

A part of livelihoods is given by the assistance of external organizations, such as people[101] who receive compensation for monitoring of turtles and cetaceans. WWF and Mar Viva are building a connection for directing selling of fish from artisanal fishing in Jurubirá and Arusí, within the project '*Buenas practicas pesqueras*' [102].

A recurrent narrative in the communities is that they relieved that their survival does not entirely depend on monetary income, unlike in urban cosmologies, because their livelihoods include high levels of food sovereignty, they don't need to pay rent and they don't need to pay in order to move inside their village. This was particularly highlighted by three participants[103]. There are exceptions, like single mums who don't fish and don't have a farm, but can still rely of solidarity relations, as expressed by a woman in Nuquí[104].

5.3.3. Solidarity

Solidarity is an important livelihood in a context of weak state presence and low-income communities; it's a coping mechanism to survive and create well-being despite external factors. Solidarity is an act of resistance and shows the agency that people in rural communities have as demonstrated by the interviews with a community leader from Partadó [105]and a man from Jurubirá. [106]

[98] Participant 1
[99] Participant 14.
[100] Participants 20, 21, 24.
[101] Participant 19.
[102] Translation: Good fishing practices.
[103] Partecipants 1, 6, 20.
[104] Participant 4.
[105] Participant 5
[106] Euderly Gonzales Garcia, Participant 6.

(15)"*There, in that village, we take care of each other, I mean, the community members take care of each other because others won't. Now, we are one, I mean, what happens to one person in the community affects everyone. We really feel it. That's our shield, a community shield, and we call it. I have an example where someone got sick, and they have to be taken to Nuquí, but that person doesn't have the resources. So, the whole community comes together, saying, 'Come on, I'll give 5,000, I have the boat, I have the motor, who's going to take them?' At that moment, everyone comes out, I mean, we all feel the pain of the sick person."* [107]– Community leader from Partadó

(16)"*Yes, here, we support each other ourselves. Yes, here, we've always been, we've lived without the economic support of the state, first without the economic support of a military force, without the support of the police, without the support of anyone. And we have survived. Why? Because here we support each other mutually."* [108]– man from Jurubirá

The interviews[109] highlighted that great solidarity was observed in the case study in the forms of: sharing boats, community collection of resources for health costs and funerary expenses, sharing land for agriculture, housing and tools for construction or agriculture. Food sharing practices are also present (P21, P1), for example also doing the '*olla comunitaria*' [110], which means communal cooking in a big pot on the streets, as explained by the participants[111]. A community leader [112]talked about another practice that is present, even though decreasing, called '*mano cambiada*', which means exchanging labour. In the lower-income villages exchange of labour is more present. Solidarity also means having values of care for your neighbours, which was evidenced by three participants[113]. Two other participants[114] expressed the importance of solidarity and values of care in raising children as a community, as they can play freely in the village as everybody looks after them.

Less solidarity was observed in Tribugá and Panguí, which are among the communities with lower economic resources are correlated with higher levels of lack of trust as explained by a man from Tribugá[115]. For example, in Tribugá people do not share boats as in other villages.

Individuals also share less personal items; people are more selective or don't lend tools because they are scared that it will break and they know the other person won't have money to pay

[107] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[108] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[109] Participants 1, 14, 19, 20, 28.
[110] Translation: community pot.
[111] Participants 2, 14, 21.
[112] Participant 10.
[113] Participants 1, 2, 16.
[114] Participants 4, 19.
[115] Participant 24.

for it, as evidenced from the interview with a woman from Jurubirá[116]. Although, the President of Coquí [117]gives another perspective from his village, where people share more tools, being aware that they need to pay for the damage.

5.4. Finding well-being gaps according to the preferences of the communities' members

5.4.1. How do communities of Los Riscales define their well-being?

The most important elements of well-being according to the interviews conducted in the communities living in Nuquí are food sovereignty, peace in their territory and a healthy environment (meaning clean air, no having noise pollution and living in close contact with nature). For the communities the priority is to be able to live in their territory according to their lifestyle, that is why they aspire to not have violence in their villages (which have been targeted by the armed conflict). Communities also aspire to maintain some independence from monetary income related to survival in a territory with low State presence, that is why their value food sovereignty and not paying rent for their housing. These findings were particularly clear during the interviews of two Central Board members[118], however they were confirmed by field observations. To further understand their attachment and value for their territory, an interview question was added to inquire whether participants wanted to move in cities or abroad. Despite the fact that some participants mentioned the desire to travel and explore, most participants wanted to keep living in their villages, recognizing that living in cities would require engaging in daily paid labour and enduring high levels of pollution.

When asked about subjective well-being most participants answered that once basic need were being fulfilled they didn't need anything else to be happy. The basic needs that participants mentioned are those related to public services and being able to economically support their families. Ensuring that adults and children can receive education was mentioned by almost all the participants. Institutionalized education was mentioned, but also the concept of 'ethno-education', an education focused on learning about their territory, culture and rights as a minority. Ethno-education targeted at younger generations is another enabler for communities to keep living in their territory according to their cosmology.

[116] Participant 14.
[117] Participant 28.
[118] Participant 1, 12.

The women interviewed and field observation brought a gender perspective related to aspirational well-being. A woman from Nuquí [119] explains that women without a husband, such as herself, are less respected and more vulnerable to threats from illegal groups. It was observed that women have far less options to make income, therefore having children is a way to secure livelihoods and housing. However, having children increases their reproductive work, which is often an obstacle for participating in community organization and governance, but also for continuing their education or aspiring to a paid job. A young woman from Termales[120] explains how many sexist comments she receives, advocating for her right to not have children, despite the social pressure and cultural norms of the village.

(17) "*In this period, as I am alone and working, they see me working alone, and I don't have a partner. So, if someone tells me they need help moving something heavy, I can do it because I've done it before. But sometimes, I ask for help, and they say, 'Get your husband to help you.' I don't need a man to help me. I can move forward on my own. I don't need anyone, especially a man, to help me. 'So, get a husband.' Or 'when are you going to have kids?'. These days I went jogging to the beach with an aunt. We sat at a coffee stand, and they were telling me, they were bothering me, and 'why didn't I want to have children?'. I don't want to have children. My aunt was telling me that I need to have a child because of the blood issue, that I have bad blood accumulated, something I don't understand either. But she said I was very selfish because I didn't want to have children, that I should give the opportunity to a child that I don't want*." [121]– Woman from Termales.

[119] Participant 15.
[120] Hadys Edith Mosquera Valencia, Participant 21.
[121] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

5.4.2. What are the well-being gaps of Los Riscales based on their current livelihoods and aspirations for well-being?

Public services

Even if the interviews were designed in such a way to stimulate a reflexion on aspirational and subjective well-being, participants instinctively brought up lack in basic services and what they identified as the most important factor for well-being was public security. The lack of public services is explained in Table 2, where there is a mark for each service that is missing or malfunctioning.

Community	Inhabitants	Health		Education		Drinking water	Retaining wall	Energy 24h/day
		Stable nurse	Health center resources	High school	Primary school	Drought and water treatment	For coastal and river erosion	
Jurubira	800		x			x	x	x
Tribuga	120	x	x	x		x		
Nuqui	3000		x			x		
Pangui	200		x	x		x	x	x
Coqui	80	x	x	x		x		x
Jovi			x	x		x		x
Termales		x	x	x		x		x
Partado	120	x	x	x	x	x		x
Arusi			x			x		x
Total	4320	5/9	9/9	6/9	1/9	9/9	2/9	7/9

Table 3. Public services gap in the Los Riscales communities (Sources: internship workshops and meetings, field observations, Participants 5, 12, 24, 28, 30).

The data (Table 3) shows how there are differences in well-being gaps among villages. There are also differences in income. Even if Nuquí has the higher income, there are wider income inequalities. Coquí, Joví and Termales have a relatively high- income; Jurubirá and Arusí are ain the middle, Tribugá, Panguí and Partadó are among the ones with low-income. Indeed, a participant[122] compares Tribugá to Jurubirá, describing how for citizens of Tribugá it is difficult to get any basic needs met and to find support.

(18) "*Like you've seen in Jurubirá, they have almost all the basic necessities right there. So that's why you see that the community almost doesn't disperse. At least they have their needs met and everything. But here, at least one has a need and doesn't have a way to resolve it, it's a different situation, so to speak."* [123]– Man from Tribugá

[122] Participant 24.
[123] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

Figure 6 presents the answers to the question "What are the two most important things to improve your life?". It is observed that indeed the category public services suffers the most lacks. This serves as further proof for the fact that the State very weak in this territory. The extent of gaps in public services will be outlined below.

The main well-being gap identified is health. A member of the Central Board [124] explains that Nuquí has a health center of level 1 (which is not a hospital), so communities would need subsidies for plane tickets when they need to go to the hospital in Medellin or Quibdo.
Some communities have a nurse in common (Joví and Coquí, Termales and Arusí), so they need a nurse available 24h. A man from Termales [125] points to the fact that, even when a village has a nurse and a health center, there aren't supplies and medicines available, which is a severe health gap. Two community leaders[126] shared that there is also a need for more access to mental health professionals.

Lacks in the energy category were identified in having access to energy 24h, having clean energy (as gasoline is used for power plants) and issues with maintenance. The drinking water category is further explain by considering that some aqueducts get dry in summer months (mainly January and February), a participant [127] said that then people seek water from the rivers. The water from the aqueducts lacks adequate filters, especially in Joví were there are no filters at all as explained by a community leader[128]. Education services lack professors, are connected with lack of electricity in the morning for some villages, lack libraries, transportation services (for the cases when children need to move to another village) and the integration of ethno-education, as evidence by two participants[129].

Something that the Table 3 and Figure 6 are not showing, but that came up in 6 interviews (out of 32 conducted with residents) and field observations is the importance of waste management. Most villages lack community organization for recycling, which poses health risks as it is common to burn plastic.

[124] Participant 1.
[125] Participant 18.
[126] Participant 5, 33.
[127] Participant 10.
[128] Participant 30.
[129] Participant 8, 10.

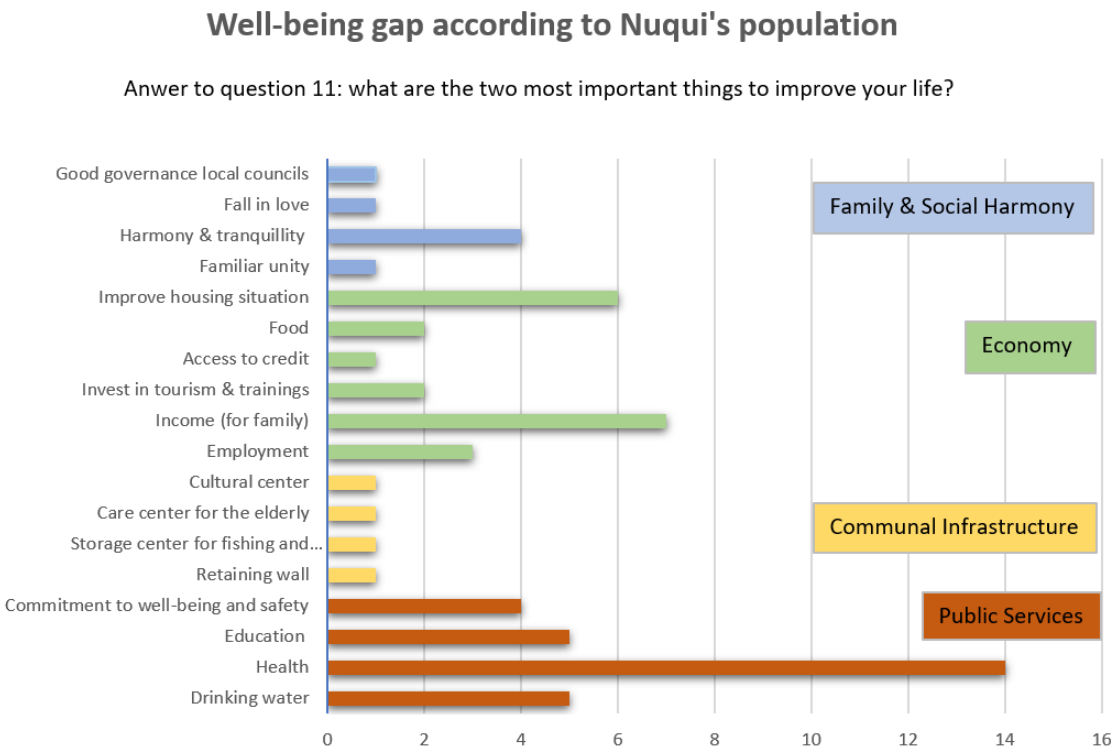

Figure 6. Well-being gap according to Nuquí's population

Category	Factor	N Participants	Total
Public Services	**Drinking water**	5	28
	Health	14	
	Education	5	
	Commitment to well-being and safety	4	
Infrastructure	Retaining wall	1	4
	Storage center for fishing and agriculture	1	
	Care center for the elderly	1	
	Cultural center	1	
Economy	Employment	3	21
	Income (for family)	7	
	Invest in tourism & trainings	2	
	Access to credit	1	
	Food	2	
	Improve housing situation	6	
Family & Social Harmony	Familiar unity	1	7
	Harmony & tranquillity	4	
	Fall in love	1	
	Good governance local councils	1	

Table 4. Well-being gaps according to Nuquí's population, in numbers

Economy

Secondly, lacks in economy present wide well-being gaps, especially when communities need to make up for lacks in public services. More specifically, two participants[130] identified issues in access to credit, with the purpose of building their own businesses to support their families and increase their well-being in the territory. Even though most participants described that they are content with their food sovereignty level, a woman from Jurubirá [131]gives a different perspective: "*Here, sometimes they say that nobody goes hungry, that nobody here ever has needs, but it happens. One doesn't go and tell the other, 'I have nothing to eat,' but it happens*."(19)[132].

Based on the important factors for well-being described in the previous Section 5.4.1., communities lack trainings for business and connections for direct selling from outside their municipality. It also inferred that there are gaps in agriculture diversification in order to strengthen their food sovereignty.

Infrastructure

Thirdly, infrastructure is perceived as less urgent than public services and economy. However, one of the main reasons why participants mentioned the need for an income was to improve their housing situation. Despite having a house, participants encounter issues with its quality and safety.

Infrastructure needs are varied and heterogeneous per community (see Table 4), some need retaining walls (P6, P10, P32) and others don't, but also they depends on personal differences. For example a man from Termales [133] mentioned the need of parks for children to play. A man from Tribugá [134]explains that Tribugá needs paving (because the village is built on sand). Other participants [135]pointed to needs for internet infrastructure, a cultural center and a social center for Council meetings and workshops.

[130] Participant 6, 17.
[131] Participant 14.
[132] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[133] Participant 17.
[134] Participant 22.
[135] Participant 31, 34.

A Central Board member[136] points to a common significant need for a warehouse for fishing and agriculture, to be able to scale up business and take advantage of direct selling opportunities.

Family & social harmony

Finally, the concerns for public security are reflected in the words '*tranquillity*' and '*harmony*' that participants often used, as most of them avoided to talk explicitly about illegal groups. Although, the concept of 'harmony' goes beyond peace; it also means being able to dialogue and mediate during any conflict in the village, harmony inside the family and solving land conflicts with the neighbouring indigenous population[137].

5.4.3. To what extent are the priorities and preferences within the communities' members aligned when it comes to filling well-being gaps?

Given the nature of the well-being gaps presented, the efficacy of the REDD+ project in enhancing the welfare of the Los Riscales communities is based upon its capacity to address deficiencies in services that should be public. In addition, the vision on future development of the communities will be clearly drafted in the Second Plan of Ethnodevelopment (described in Section 5.1), which will be used as a guiding tool for decision-making.

Therefore, community members will reach an agreement on what are their well-being gaps. However, differences in priorities and preferences arise when considering which long-term plan should be drafted to reach their goals. Indeed, the communities are facing an overwhelming amount of work to reach the goals included in the Plan of Ethnodevelopment and their priorities are still not clear. Whereas for the economic side the leaders are not ready to manage projects and should amplify their administrational body. The Councils are collaborating with committed supporting organizations who can help them to develop sustainable economical alternatives to invest in. As explained in Chapter 5.2.1., the difficulties encountered in funding and organising meetings pose a challenge for discussions on their priorities or on decision-making on an investment path. The expectations for what it is possible to achieve with the REDD+ profits are too high as there won't be enough money to fill in all the well-being gaps described in the previous Chapter.

However, if communities make a long-term investment plan, they can significantly change their quality of life in the next 30 years, especially if co-financing projects with the municipality is possible.

[136] Participant 1
[137] Two embera reserves are present at the border with the Afro-Colombian collective title.

Indeed, there is a risk of increased municipal corruption if Local Councils invest REDD+ profits on services that should be public, as there would be less pressure on the State to provide said services. A conceivable resolution involves engaging in negotiations for co-financed projects between the municipality and the community councils. Nevertheless, the feasibility of this approach depends upon the municipality's inclination, an aspect inherently uncertain due to the fact that new politicians will be elected in October 2023. A specialist well-versed in international cooperation and REDD+ initiatives [138]attested to the constructive outcomes derived from co-financing experiences in Colombia. If communities decide to go take this path, they need to draw an actor engagement agreement (formalizing the role of the stakeholders) and it needs to be planned at least an year in advance to respect times of the municipality.

A difference was found between two approaches: spending on goods and services or investing the profits. A man from Coquí[139], explained that in his village leaders wanted to spend REDD+ money on subsidies for gasoline and gas to reduce the cost of life. President Nelfer, his professional team and some members of the Central Board are trying to bring forward the idea that the profits should be invested in economic alternatives that will bring long-term wealth to the communities, despite external projects. However, finding a development path where communities can invest in sustainable economical alternatives to improve their well-being requires performing a professional analysis, which is not among the competences of the Central Board or community leaders alone, but requires a specialised analysis.

To sum up, community members and leaders are not aligned, yet, on their goals and what are their priorities regarding the first payment so different pathways are still being considered. Tackling the desired goal of limiting violence in the territory is not possible within the reach of the REDD+ project.

[138] Participant 25.
[139] Participant 27.

5.5. Analyse interactions between different cosmologies

5.5.1. What are the differences in ideologies between REDD+ projects and the Los Riscales communities?

The main critiques that were brought up during the interviews[140] were not related to the ideology behind the project, but were stemming from disinformation, or were pointing to weaknesses in governance discussed in Chapters 5.1. and 5.2.

Participants[141] have expressed more affinities, rather than clashes, with the REDD+ project as most of them see the potential for the increase in well-being potential. It is also the first opportunity that communities have to experience a monetary boom of this dimension and to administrate the funds in their internal Council structure. The Vice President of the Central Board Los Riscales[142] explains how REDD+ is an opportunity to keep taking care of the forest and receive a compensation for it, especially after feeling forgotten by the central government for so long.

(20) [143]"*That opportunity of that transition of selling carbon credits and turning them into resources provides a chance to improve the quality of life for the communities in the Gulf of Tribugá. The government leaves us unprotected, providing no benefits whatsoever. When they do allocate resources, it goes to the municipal administration, and municipal administrations often abuse those resources ['hacer ochas y panochas']. We have tried to conserve this territory for a long time, and we have never been compensated for the conservation of this territory. We see a significant opportunity to continue doing so because the resources would come directly to us. It's like having a standing forest and getting paid for taking care of our own forest, as we have been doing. [...] This also opens up possibilities for important development actions that were lacking in the territory."* – Member of the Central Board, leader from Jurubirá

Noelia, a community leader and teacher from Jurubirá thinks that REDD+ is an opportunity to close global well-being gaps, as Western countries have an obligation towards them.

[140] Participants 3, 14, 16, 17.
[141] Clearly expressed by three community leaders, Participants 8, 12, 28.
[142] Participant 12.
[143] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

(21) [144]"*REDD+ for me is an opportunity for communities and for the world. I'm one of those who always thinks that the world, especially in industrialized countries, owes us. They have a big debt to the countries or communities that have had the fortune to live, thank God, in these privileged places, but somehow we are the ones who conserve, who take care, and have taken care of nature*." – Noelia, community leader

Despite these positive affinities with REDD+, most participants have a superficial understanding of the project, or they didn't know it and answered based on their general knowledge of the conservation projects in the territory. In addition, the interview with the expert in international cooperation [145] brings up a different vision. She questions the justice potential of REDD+ because its benefits are only displayed at a local level, in the project area, while neighbouring villages continues to suffer from lack of basic needs, thus increasing social inequalities at a national level. Another expert [146] addresses concerns on how the communities are forced into unequal negotiations with intermediaries.

The efforts of REDD+ to reduce deforestation seem to be in line with the culture, ancestralism and spirituality of the Los Riscales communities. Moreover, the process of environmental education initiated by supporting organizations is another synergy with REDD+. Their spirituality has an ancestral nature, this means that is based on the connection with their traditions and how their ancestors behaved before them. Most of their traditions are related to the connection with nature, either through agriculture, fishing or building their houses or utensils. This also highlights why the connection with their territory (and geography) has a deeper meaning. Indeed, 8 participants out of 32 [147]think that conservation is part of their ancestral tradition, whereas three[148] of them highlighted the connection between nature, the territory and themselves through alimentation.
Two participants[149] and field observations show that their ancestral traditions are slowly being forgotten, or have a less important role in their lives. For example, some houses are not entire built with wood like their ancestors did. A young woman from Panguí[150] thinks that especially young people are distancing from ancestral traditions; although the youth still values the forest as they see

[144] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.
[145] Participant 25.
[146] Participant 26.
[147] Participants 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 28, 29.
[148] Participant 2, 7, 23.
[149] Participant 9,10.
[150] Participant 34.

how it attracts more tourism, thus more income in the villages. These findings prove that the hypothesis that the communities have a predisposition for conservation is confirmed.

5.5.2. To what extent do the different definitions of well-being of the Los Riscales communities and REDD+ clash?

Communities are aligned with REDD+ on the importance of conservation practices (as explained in the previous section) and are planning to create the role of forest rangers to further reduce deforestation. Participants explained how the forest is important for their well-being, both in terms of income (from tourism) and personal well-being.

The definition of well-being of the communities Los Riscales was defined in Chapter 5.4.1. On one hand, the wider well-being gaps for the communities are in public services (health, education, drinking water, infrastructure). A part from this, participants deal with lacks in income and struggle to economically support their families. On the other hand, the priority of the REDD+ project is to be able to sustain the project itself (administration, professionals etc). A part from this, REDD+ does not impose other requirements for the utilization of the profits, which means that communities are free to choose their development path.
According to this data, two main issues have been identified, which could constitute clashes in well-being definition among the two cosmologies.

Firstly, a problem is identified if services that should be public get privatized by the Councils, however co-financing opportunities have the potential to fill in those well-being gaps as mentioned in Section 5.4.3.

Secondly, a clash is identified because, instead of being able to invest all the profits on projects for community well-being, communities first need to strengthen their governance and administration apparatus. Although, strengthening community organization is a driver for increasing community well-being in the future, despite of REDD+. Communities also need to pay intermediary organizations to set up the REDD+ project for them and hire professionals who can help with investments and project management. Risks have been identified regarding intermediaries who take advantage of rural communities, leading to unequal benefit distribution.

5.5.3. How can conflicts derived by REDD+ be mitigated in the Los Riscales communities?

During 2023 conflicts derived by REDD+ in the Los Riscales communities were not significant because the first carbon harvest still has to be approved, communities have few information and are still in the process of making the benefit distribution mechanism. The main tensions manifested during the interviews regard lack of trust in the abilities of the leaders to manage the profits and corruption, as mentioned in previous Sections. The tensions observed were mainly caused by disinformation, poor communication and governance, lack of clarity about the borders of private properties and villages, and lack of resources.

The main tensions identified during this research are the following. For any type of meeting there are tensions about what restaurants and hostels should be selected for participant's food and accommodation. Considering that the amount of meeting participants is usually around 30 to 40 people, this is an indicator of the fact that conflicts might increase after a monetary boom. Tensions have also been identified around the private properties inside the collective title as people mistake their 'private property' bought through a '*de facto*' illegal arrangement and the legally private properties which are not part of the collective title.

Considering the nature, the causes and the potential aggravation of the conflicts, the following resources and recommendations have been identified for conflict mitigation.

On one hand, the communities Los Riscales already have conflict mitigation resources, which could be strengthened. Four participants[151] mentioned that in most villages there is good dialogue and leaders have conflict mitigation skills; lower levels are present in Tribugá. The institutional figure of the inspector has the role of solving local conflicts, this is a paid person by the police, who changes every six months, as explained by two participants[152]. Internship workshop and an expert[153] showed that communities are open, proactive and participative during workshops, including those for updating the Plan of Ethnodevelopment and the benefit-distribution mechanism. Even though, local leaders struggle with communication issues, they have the chance to meet almost every week for meetings and workshops organized and funded by supporting organization. This means that they have a space to reunite and can take advantage of it to discuss important matters, even if they have a lack of resources to organize their independent meetings. The organization Kadaster (in charge of the

[151] Participants 7, 10, 24, 32.
[152] Participants 19, 29.
[153] Participant 26.

Dutch Land Registry) has an ongoing project in the Nuquí municipality, aimed at defining borders of private properties, among villages and with neighbouring indigenous reserves. Their efforts could be integrated with an update of the internal regulations.

On the other hand, the following extra resources have been identified to ensure that the communities Los Riscales can effectively manage present and future conflicts.

The results show that Council members lack an understanding of their role and their functions, therefore a clearer division of labour in governance structures could be considered. Considering that communication issues were so prominent in the findings, it is recommended to continue the processes that organizations like WWF are carrying to provide more communication tools. This could be done in collaboration with the communications collective ENPUJA, as suggested by an expert[154]. Communication tools are relevant to tackle lack of trust, as an increase in transparency could offer the community members the opportunity for fact checking and reducing disinformation. For example, a community board or a WhatsApp Channel could be established.

Local leaders need skills or frameworks to organize meetings in their local villages, aimed at informing the communities on projects' updates or about knowledge received during trainings. Local leaders, especially Central Board members, who live in a different village from the one that they represent, are required extra efforts to communicate and inform the Local Council they are part of and their village, as highlighted by a man from Tribugá[155].

Extra resources to host meetings are needed in order to effectively host community discussions around the REDD+ project.

The Central Board is looking for resources to update the internal regulations of the Councils, including reaching an agreement on borders and on election rules that would protect the communities from electing leaders who do not have knowledge on REDD+ and are motivated by profit, instead of community well-being.

[154] Participant 26.
[155] Participant 24.

6. Discussion

6.1. REDD+

The communities Los Riscales have inherent values of care for nature. However, the extent to which values of care are predominant to profit is unclear because nature has also an utilitarian value connected to ecotourism and to profits stemming from environmentalist organisations. Therefore, this research distances itself from the findings of Corbera (2012) and Hajjar et al. (2021), according to whom REDD+ projects undermine environmental and social resilience of local communities due to the utilitarian value given to nature.

Even if increasing local well-being is one of the goals of the mechanism, in practice significant obstacles were observed in the complexity of building a PDD, explaining the project to communities living in rural areas and commercializing the carbon credits. Indeed, the neoliberal approach to tackling climate change, transfers the responsibility for environmental protection to actors outside the State, such as the supporting organizations and the community Councils, as found in Aguilar-Støen (2017) and Kemerink-Seyoum et al. (2018). The way in which the REDD+ mechanism is designed and applied in Colombia tries to impose what Escobar (2014) calls a 'One-World' view, or universalist perspective, over a pluriverse reality. Indeed, REDD+ requires the Afro-Colombian cosmology of the Los Riscales communities to adapt to a capitalistic framework. An unequal political dynamic is formed during the clash between the two cosmologies, as the impact of the project on community well-being is in the hand of external actors, who are contracted to deal with complex technological and financial systems. The decision-making process on which supporting organizations to choose when starting a REDD+ project is in the hands of the Central Board, which does not have enough tools to understand the technical terms and conditions of the agreements.

Considering that communities depend on external intermediaries to overcome the obstacles that arise to manage the REDD+ project, this research is in line with the critiques of the REDD+ mechanism about its ability to improve well-being of communities.

The findings of this research show that the implementation of the IRR, Integral Rural Reform, is being hindered by institutional resistance, confirming the findings of Chavez Chavez (2018). Indeed, the legislative gaps on REDD+ allow the creation of these unequal power dynamics, which lead to unequal well-being outcomes in rural communities. An expert[156] in international cooperation

[156] Participant 25.

confirms that local communities in Colombia are vulnerable to be taken advantage of because of lack in the legislation and regulation of the REDD+ mechanism:

(22) "[157]*When that norm [resolutions 1427 and 926] was created, there was no consideration of what contribution those projects [REDD+] would have to Rural Development [..] So, for example, through their projects, you cannot contribute to Rural Reform because those are structural reforms of the State. To solve the major socio-environmental conflicts in this country, which are the causes of deforestation, you need State action. [..] Moreover, nowadays, in many cases, the projects have become an additional layer of conflict in these areas. In other words, instead of solving problems, they have generated more problems in areas already affected by armed conflict, poverty, and other issues, which is really what is happening. When legal certainty was given to the projects, what they did was unite very business-savvy people with the most vulnerable people in the country."* – Expert in international cooperation.

To achieve climate change mitigation in a just and equal way, the national government and the main polluting industries should take their responsibility back and decrease the romanticization of rural communities as primary actors in forest conservation.

6.2. Beyond Development and well-being

Communities perceive themselves as their own cosmology, having different values and priorities than indigenous communities or people living in cities, which supports theories of '*buen vivir*'.

Despite rural communities having their own cosmology, there can be identified some well-being elements that are in common with OECD well-being indicators. Those elements are universal basic needs, such as access to healthcare, drinking water, alimentation, shelter and education. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account specific context, for example, even if Los Riscales communities want an enhancement in education, they advocate for ethnoeducation, where children can learn about their rights as an ethnical minority and can learn about their territory.

[157] English translation done by the author, orginal in Spanish can be found in Appendix E.

A clash between pluriverses was observed on the issue of megaprojects, such as the port and road construction. Even if a share of people wants the road connection to Quibdo to lower the cost of life (although the cost of live might actually increase as a result of an increase in tourism), most participants manifested disagreement with these megaprojects because they value more their peace and prefer to continue developing ecotourism businesses, rather than more profitable mainstream tourism.

Even if their well-being path is not developed in the Plan of Ethnodevelopment, yet, communities are clear in demanding their basic needs to be fulfilled. The PCN (Proceso de Comunidades Negras de Colombia) is the national organization working on the defence of Afro-Colombian rights and societal transformation of inequalities. The perspectives of the participant from Nuquí are in line with the vision of the PCN in demanding a right 'to be', a 'space to be' and an autonomy 'to be'. Escobar (2014) articulates how the ecological crisis is overlapping with the ethnical-territorial defence of Afro-Colombians, for example in the value of food sovereignty: *"Thus, conceptions of identity, territory, food sovereignty, environmental justice, peace, autonomy, Buen Vivir, freedom, and critiques of 'development' emerge in the rich and radical organizational experience of Afro groups and communities."* [158]*(p.64.).*

The findings of this research align with the theoretical perspectives put forth by Escobar (2014) and the visions of the PCN on the Afro-Colombian cosmology. Figure 8, displays how '*el buen vivir*', the cosmology of Afro-Colombians in a territory, is related to habitat sustainability, food sovereignty, organization and solidarity, knowledge and multi-activities. Consequently, the willingness of communities to engage in REDD+ initiatives, viewing them as opportunities, emanates from a profound need to safeguard their existence. This inclination is rooted in a deeper significance attached to their territory, perceived as an integral dimension of their cosmology, as elucidated by Escobar (2014).

[158] English translation done by the author. Spanish orgiginal: "*Así, concepciones de la identidad, el territorio, la soberanía alimentaria, la justicia ambiental, la paz, la autonomía, el Buen Vivir, la libertad y las críticas al "desarrollo", aparecen en la rica y radical experiencia organizativa de grupos y comunidades Afro." (Escobar, 2014, p.64).*

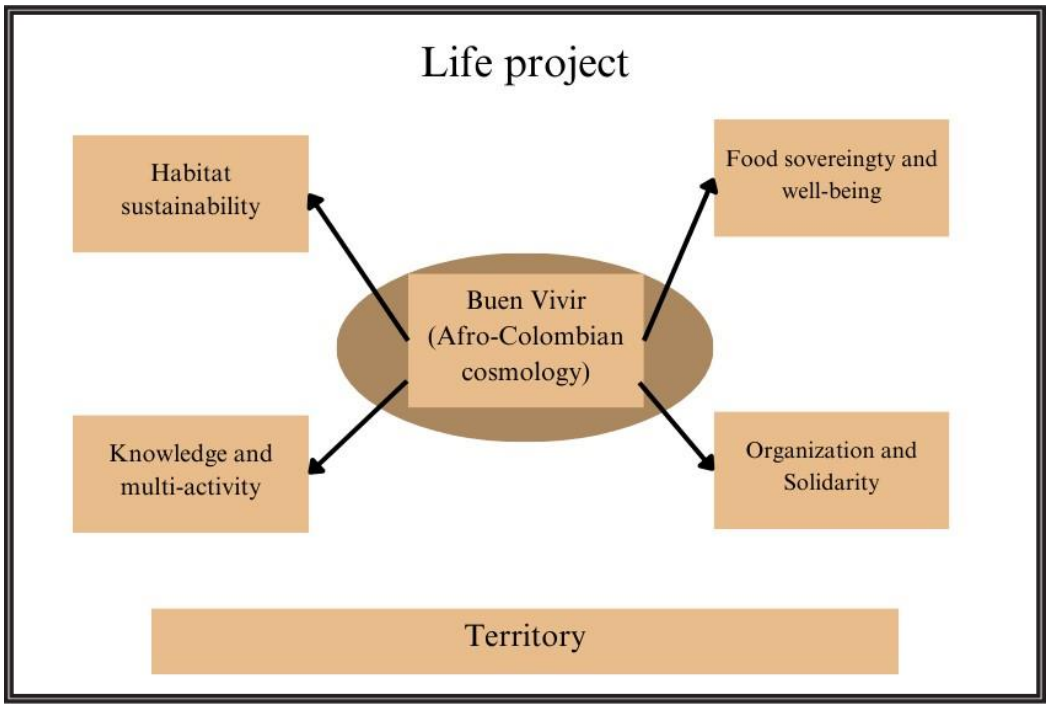

Figure 8. The territory as a life project. Source: Author translation of PCN (2004, p.39).

There has been observed a synergy between community resilience to climate change and resistance to capitalistic systems. The factors observed in the communities Los Riscales that are interpreted as acts of resistance are: acts of solidarity, raising awareness on the importance of not 'selling' their land to foreigners, monitoring and sanctioning people who use fishnets, resisting illegal actors, food sovereignty, maintaining public infrastructure with collective unpaid work.

Escobar (2014) discussed that Afro-Colombian communities articulate their efforts of defining their cosmology and autonomy as a '*defence of life'*, with a conceptualization that possesses an ontological dimension, meaning a philosophical study of the '*being*'. The findings of this research regarding the links between REDD+ and community organization can be contextualized in Escobar's framework of ontological politics. Communities are confronted with neoliberal mechanism, which has an significant potential of increasing their well-being or trigger conflicts and over which they lack full control as they depend on external actors for its implementation and execution. Considering the lack of resources, communities are also observed to have a level of dependence on external actors for the task of ontological design that is necessary to define a path for the benefit distribution part of the project. The ontological design involves their definition of well-being, their way of life and assumes a critical role in their 'defence of life' in their territory, as Escobar (2014) explains: "*What 'occupies' is the modern project of One World that seeks to transform the many existing worlds into a single*

one; what perseveres is the assertion of a multiplicity of worlds. By interrupting the neoliberal globalizing project to build One World, many indigenous, Afro-descendant, and peasant communities can be seen as advancing ontological fights." [159] (p.76).

Concretely, within the case study of the communities Los Riscales, what 'occupies' are systems that have been observed to be hostile, such as fishing industries, which posed at risk the sustainability of their main alimentary intake. Other examples are the government's fumigations, which hindered the growth of avocados and a peach palm ('*chontaduro*'), but also the militarization of their territory and threats to leaders by paramilitary groups. In addition, Afro-Colombian groups with a collective land titling do not receive direct funding from the national government, unlike municipalities or ingenous reserves.

6.3. Managerial or policy implications

Being that governance activities are unpaid activities that are essential for community well-being and will face most of the challenges related to the REDD+ project, it is important to allocate a portion of REDD+ funding towards governance and administrative functions. This entails the recruitment of skilled professionals and the training of leaders. Figure 6 is a product of co-creation of knowledge from an internship workshop. The green segments of the figure depict potential expansions in the governance structure to effectively address the challenges presented by the REDD+ project. Conversely, the red circles delineate critical junctures where the main communication issues manifest (as explained in Chapter 5.2.1).

Supporting organizations should consider reproducing their workshops and meetings in all the villages, provided that their resources allow so. This initiative is significant in addressing communication challenges and fostering effective community participation. In instances where financial constraints exist, organizations may consider providing support to the community, such as aid or materials, thereby improving their confidence to independently reproduce and initiate discussions within their communities. A critical consideration lies in acknowledging the traditionalist perspective of rural societies, characterized by a gender-based division of labour, where women are traditionally assigned responsibilities related to household management and childcare. This gendered dynamic must be taken into account when formulating participatory approaches. In addition, the

[159] English translation done by the author. Spanish original "*lo que "ocupa" es el proyecto moderno de Un Mundo que busca convertir a los muchos mundos existentes en uno solo; lo que persevera es la afirmación de una multiplicidad de mundos. Al interrumpir el proyecto globalizador neoliberal de construir Un Mundo, muchas comunidades indígenas, afro-descendientes, y campesinas pueden ser vistas como adelantando luchas ontológicas."* (Escobar, 2014, p.76).

President of the Local Council of Termales[160] underscores the significance of diversifying the selection of venues such as restaurants and hostels for workshops and meetings. This approach, according to the Council President, contributes to building trust among leaders, as it demonstrates leader's commitment to equitable resource distribution.

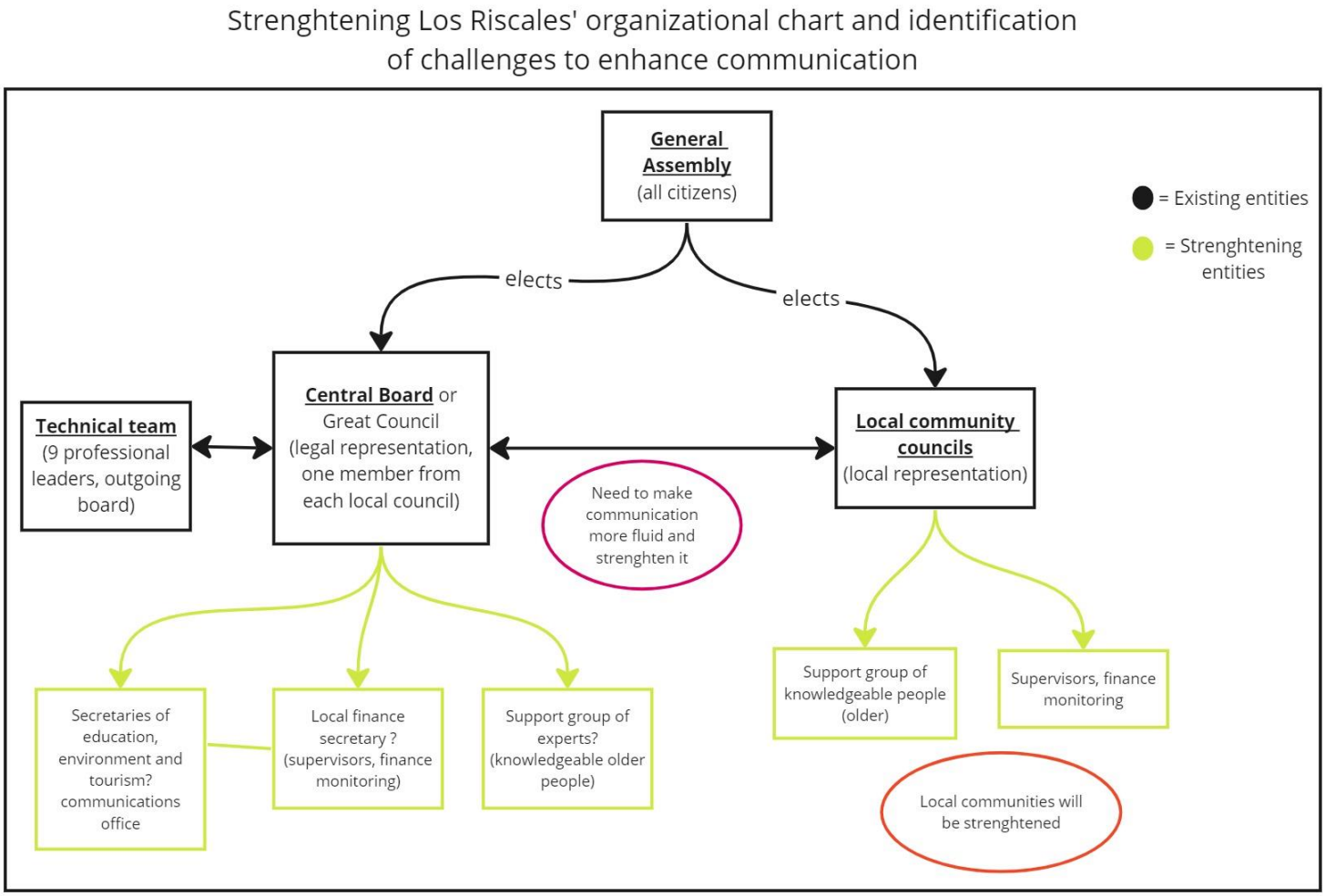

Figure 6. How to strengthen the organisational chart of the GCC Los Riscales (Source: internship workshop).

An expert interview [161]suggested that the communications collective ENPUJA could be strengthened to face communication issues. The President of the Local Council of Coquí [162]confirms

[160] Participant 19.
[161] Participant 26.
[162] Participant 28.

that effective tools for communications can be sharing videos, audios or podcasts on WhatsApp as most people have access to it.

Trainings in the following areas resulted to be necessary to ensure that the REDD+ project increases collective well-being.

- Administration;
- Financial skills, accounting, saving;
- Project management and entrepreneurship;
- Writing skills, keeping archives;
- Ecotourism, including knowledge about their territory with an ethnoeducation perspective;
- Law 70 and Afro-Colombian rights
- How REDD+ works;
- Transparency;
- Agriculture, in particular on growing plane (‘*platano*’).

In response to the exigencies of the situations, a higher State involvement is deemed necessary to safeguard the rights of Afro-Colombian communities in Colombia, regarding REDD+ mechanisms. This entails a re-evaluation of the existing legislative framework of PES and REDD+.

6.4. Limitations

Limitations were found in filling the literature gap on the preferences of local communities on the benefit distribution of REDD+, which is related to sub-question 5 in Section 5.4.3. (Liso et al., 2020). This is due to the length of the ongoing process that the communities took to build the Plan of Ethnodevelopment, which is an essential tool to have before being able to set priorities. Communication problems, widespread disinformation and misunderstandings about the REDD+ project also have an impact, especially because some participants were not aware of the financial benefits of the project. Nonetheless, data on their well-being preferences and priorities gave a clear picture about the fact that basic needs are not being covered and that in each village people agree on the main lacking infrastructure or services. The methodology could be improved to find the priorities and preferences of Afro-Colombians by lengthening the data collection process until the Plan of Ethnodevelopment would be done and compare it with the vision of the PCN.

The uncertainty about long-term planning that the communities have was often a limitation to finding definitions of aspirational well-being, as participants were concerned about meeting their basic needs on a daily basis. However, not rushing the interviews allowed participants to take the time and reflect upon it during the conversation. Limitations were found also in the possibility of including the perspective of the indigenous people living in the collective title of the Afro-Colombians, although an interview with a community leader [163]from Joví clarified that indigenous households in their villages have integrated in the Afro culture and respect their rules.

The presence of illegal groups, such as paramilitary groups, hindered the ability of the participants to share information freely. However, interviews with key participants and meetings with Nelfer, the President of the Central Board, gave enough context for the purpose of this research.

Since the approval of the first carbon harvest got some delays, it was not possible to verify the consequences of the monetary boom and what types of conflicts will arise after the approval.

During the first interviews, terms such as 'REDD+' or 'conservation projects' were used to inquire participant's opinions. Later on, an interview with a community leader[164] evidenced that community members know the project as '*bonos de carbono'*, which means carbon credits.

Regarding my internship with Tropenbos Colombia, initially my role was also to further support the CCG Los Riscales in replicating the workshops some villages, however, the leaders did not feel prepared to lead the workshops themselves without a full team coming from an external organisation.

6.5. Further research

Given the findings and limitations inherent in this thesis, further research will be outlined in this section.

REDD+ mechanisms have been subject to critiques; however, research gaps persist concerning the constructive development beyond these critiques. Specifically, exploration is needed on the design for a more equal and just implementation of REDD+, acknowledging the diverse realities of a pluriverse. Further research could explore how REDD+ mechanism could be designed to prioritize community well-being or to facilitate the safeguard of community territories. This should

[163] Participant 30.
[164] Participant 12.

be integrated with the state legislation and governmental instruments that could be provided. Notably, an expert interview [165]underscored the potential efficacy of a robust national registry of REDD+ projects.

The outcomes of this investigation delineate the influence of informal structures and intrinsic community dynamics on community well-being and the efficacy of the projects implemented in their territory. Further research is requisite to elucidate the mechanisms of community self-social control and the operational dynamics of community organizations, particularly in geographically remote areas characterized by a weak State presence. Avenues for exploration include the impact of generational leadership transitions on community organization and their ontological design processes—meaning, the task of defining their existence in their territories and how the youth can be more engaged in the debates.

[165] Participant 25.

7. Conclusion

This research investigated the well-being impacts of REDD+ project of the Los Riscales communities in the Nuquí municipality (Choco, Colombia). An internship with Tropenbos Colombia allowed two field trips of a total of six weeks, where 32 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the residents. In addition, two semi-structured interviews were conducted with experts in international cooperation.

The findings identified success drivers and challenges for the well-being impacts of the REDD+ project.

Success drivers include: respected traditions of community organization (in Coquí, Joví, Termales and Jurubirá), most leaders being involved in community processes by being participative and proactive during trainings, having supporting organization committed to community well-being, being in a process of environmental and conservation awareness funded by external organizations.

The challenges identified are: communication issues, lack of financial skills, weak local governance, the fact that cutting trees is still an essential livelihood for some people, illegal (armed) groups. The lack of resources that the Councils are facing right now pose and obstacle to tackling the challenges. However, once the first carbon harvest gets approved, the Councils will be able to address the challenges that they have to achieve an increase in well-being for the communities. The only risk factor remaining would be illegal (armed) groups. This means that the REDD+ project in the Nuquí municipality has a higher chance of having a positive impact than in other territories of Colombia because there are pre-existing values for conservation and the intermediaries (and supporting organizations) are committed to community well-being. Chances are higher if the municipality accepts co-financing projects with the community Councils and a long-term investment plan is built, taking into account equal benefit-distribution criteria agreed with participatory methods.

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Appendix A: In-depth interview guide

English Version

Introduction

Hi! Good morning! I'm Alexandra and I'm a master student at Utrecht University. I'm here in … for my thesis on the well-being of the communities in the municipality of Nuquí. This means that I'm investigating what are your necessities, also in relation to the REDD+ project of forest conservation. According to this project the communities take care of forest conservation in exchange of some benefits. This mechanism is managed by some intermediaries and the benefits can be monetary, as well as in form of services for the communities.

The interview will last between 30 to 40 minutes and it's divided in three parts. In the first part I'm going to ask you what are your main activities, both with and without income. In the second part I'm going to ask about your necessities. Finally, in the third part we're going to talk about your relationship with the environment.

Now I'm going to give you some information about how the interview is going to be managed.

This investigation has academic aims and I'm not being financed by any institution.

This interview is only going to be shared only with my university supervisor and my assessors. Only the analysis of the interviews are going to be part of my thesis, which has to be published in the archive of Utrecht University. Your name it's not going to appear in the thesis, but the data that might be shared are the name of your community, your age and gender.

The thesis can be used for other academic aims, such as presentations in conferences. Your data is going to be managed according to the legislation on data protection (General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act) and you can ask me to delete it whenever you want.

If you agree to record the interview, the recording is going to be save is a safe place of Utrecht University for three months and is going to be deleted after I'm going to transcribe it.

Can I record the interview? (yes/no)

If you want you can choose to do the interview anonymously, this means that the interview is not going to be identified with your name in any place (neither I'm going to ask you your date of birth).

Can I register you name, without mentioning it on the thesis? (yes/no)

How do you want to be identified in the thesis? (Examples: woman from community x, fisherman from community x, leader from community x)

Do you confirm that the interview can be used for academic aims and that other researchers can us it for their investigations anonymously? (yes/no)

The participation to this interview is voluntary, therefore you can stop it at any moment without giving me explanations and without any penalty.

You have the right to see the final report if you want.

Can you confirm that you agree to participate? (yes/no)

Thank you, your participation is very valuable for the investigation and I really apreciate your time. There are going to be faster questions and questions that need a bit more reflextion, but there aren't right or wrong answers, I'm interested in hearing your opinions and your thoughts. You have the right to not answer if you feel unconfortable. If you don't understand something you can me more explanations.

Do you have any questions before beginning? (yes/no)

General information:

Participant number:

Date and time:

Gender:

Age:

Educational level:

Community of residency:

For how long was living in the community:

Ethicity:

Main occupation:

Opening questions:

1. With whom are you living?

Probes: children, how many people live in the house

Key questions:

Part 1. Livelihoods, the current situation

2. What activities do you do that generate income?

Probes: financial capital, human capital (abilities)

List: agriculture, fishing, selling wood, selling forest products which are not wood, selling crafts, eco-tourism/tourism, rent land, mining, forest activities, other

3. What is your average monthly income? Or the max and minimum if it's too varibale

4. What activities do you do that don't generate income?

Probes: take care of the house (physical capital), agricultura (natural capital), socialization (social capital), donations + projects organizations (social capital), if the person is part of a CCG, agency level in their lives

5. How you activities change during the different seasons?

Probes: activities which last more for men and for women, periods with more or less activities, periods of more and less abundancy

Part 2. Defining aspirational well-being, priorities and well-being gap

6. What are your economic necessities?

Probes: housing, income, job

7. There are economic necessities, but also personal necessities, in other words what makes you feel at peace/content/calm?

Probes: what makes you feel that you are caring for yourself or others care for you, health, abilities, stress causes in their life, relation with their family, relation with their neighbours, solidarity, mental health, subjective health, life satisfaccion, self-esteem, if they have safe spaces

8. How your necessities change during the seasons?

Probes: in relation with the activities of the year

9. How are your necesities going to change in 5 years?

Probes: resources for their children's college, learn more abilities/knowledge, health of their family, new tools

10. What 5 things that you miss to enhance your life?

Probes: social relations, security related to armed conflict and narcotraffic, infrastructure for health, etnoeducation

11. Among these 5 things which two are most important and why?

Part 3. Ideology

12. How do you understand the project for forest conservation REDD+?

13. If the person knows the project. Why did you agree to participate in the project?

14. If the person knows the project. What do you hope that will change with this project?

15. If the person knows project. How did the relationship of the community with the forest change after the project?

Probes: changes in deforestation levels, changes in responsibilities in the community

16. Do you participate in communal meetings? Why?

Probes: difficulties in communication, expensive transportation, level of trust in the leaders, cannot afford leaving the house or job for a day

17. How do you see your relationship with nature?

Probes: spirituality, mental health

18. How do you perceive the mega projects for the Nuquí municipality?

Probes: tourism, increase in narcotraffic, port of Tribugá, new street

19. If they know the mega projects. What do you think about these projects?

Probes: public opinion

Final questions

20. What do you wish for the community you live in?

Probes: hopes for the future, aspirational well-being for the community

21. Can you recommend me somebody else who might want to take part in this research?

Spanish Version

Introducción

Hola! Buen día! Me llamo Alexandra y soy una estudiante de postgrado de la Universidad de Utrecht. Estoy aquí en… para mi tesis sobre el bienestar de las comunidades en la municipalidad de Nuquí. Esto significa que estoy investigando cuales son sus necesidades, también en relación con el proyecto REDD+ de conservación de los bosques. Según este proyecto las comunidades se ocupan de la conservación del bosque a cambio de unos beneficios. Este mecanismo esta manejado por unos intermediarios y los beneficios pueden ser monetarios, pero también en forma de servicios para la comunidad.

La entrevista va a durar entre 30 y 40 minutos y esta dividida en tres partes. En la primera parte le voy a preguntar cuales son sus actividades principales, que generan y no generan ingresos. En la segunda pare le voy a preguntar cuales son sus necesidades. Y finalmente en la tercera parte vamos a hablar de su relación con el medio ambiente.

Ahora les voy a dar unas informaciones sobre como va a ser manejada la entrevista.

Esta investigación tiene fines académicos y no estoy financiada por ningún ente.

Esta entrevista en si solo va a ser compartida solo con mi supervisora de la universidad mis asesores. El análisis de las entrevistas va a ser parte de mi tesis, que tiene que ser publicada en el archivo de la universidad de Utrecht. Su nombre no va a aparecer en la tesis, pero los datos que van a ser compartidos pueden ser el nombre de su comunidad, su edad y su genero.

La tesis puede ser usada para otros fines académicos, como presentaciones en conferencias. Sus datos van a ser manejados según la legislación sobre la protección de datos (General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act) y usted puede pedirme de borrarla cuando quiera.

Si usted esta de acuerdo con grabar la entrevista, la grabación va a ser guardada solo en un lugar seguro de la Universidad de Utrecht por tres meses y va a ser borrada después de que la voy a transcribir.

¿Puedo grabar la entrevista? (si/no)

Usted si quiere puede hacer la entrevista de forma anónima, esto significa que la entrevista no va a ser identificada con su nombre en ningún lado (ni le voy a pedir su fecha de nacimiento).

¿Puedo registrar su nombre, sin que lo mencione en la tesis? (si/no)

¿Como quiere que la identifique en la tesis? (Ejemplos: mujer de la comunidad x, pescador de la comunidad x, leader de la comunidad x)

¿Confirma que la entrevista puede ser usada de la manera que acordamos ahora para fines académicos y que otros investigadores la pueden usar para sus investigaciones?

La participación a esta entrevista es voluntaria, entonces usted puede pararla en cualquier momento sin darme explicaciones y sin ninguna penalidad.

Usted tiene derecho a ver el informe final de la investigación si quiere.

¿Me puede confirmar que esta de acuerdo con participar? (si/no)

Gracias, su participación es muy importante para mi investigación y les agradezco mucho para su tiempo. Van a haber unas preguntas mas rápidas y otras que requieren un poco mas de reflexión, pero no hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, solo estoy aquí para aprender su opiniones y lo que piensa. Usted tiene derecho a no responder si se siente incomodo. Si no entiende algo me puede preguntar mas explicaciones.

¿Tiene preguntas antes de empezar? (si/no)

Informacion general:

Participante numero:

Fecha y hora:

Genero:

Edad:

Nivel de estudios:

Comunidad adonde vive:

Por cuanto tiempo ha vivido en la comunidad:

Etnia:

Ocupación principal:

Preguntas iniciales:

1. ¿Con quien vives?

Probes: hijos, cuantas personas viven en la casa

Preguntas clave:

Parte 1. Medios de vida, situación actual

2. ¿Cuales son sus actividades productivas que generan ingresos?

Probes: capital financiero, capital humano (habilidades)

Lista: agricultura, pesca, venta de madera, venta de productos forestales no maderables, venta de artesanías, eco-turismo/turismo, alquiler de tierra, minería, actividades forestales, otras

3. ¿Cual es su ingreso mensual promedio? O si es variable el máximo y el mínimo al que puede llegar
4. ¿Cuales son sus actividades que no generan ingresos?

Probes: cuidar la casa (capital físico), agricultura (capital natural), socialización (capital social), donaciones + proyectos de organizaciones (capital social), si es parte de un consejo comunitario (capital político), nivel de agencia en su vida

5. ¿Como cambian sus actividades durante las temporadas?

Probes: actividades que duran mas tiempo para hombres y para mujeres, épocas de mayor y menos actividad, épocas de mayor y menor actividades, periodos de mayor y menor abundancia

Parte 2. Definir bienestar aspiracional, prioridades y gap

6. ¿Cuales son sus necesidades económicas?

Probes: alojamiento, ingresos, trabajo

7. ¿Hay necesidades económicas, pero hay también necesidades personales, o sea que le hace sentir en paz/vivir contento/vivir tranquilo (vivir sabroso)?

Probes: que te hace sentir que estas cuidando de tu mismo o que otros cuidad de ti, salud, habilidades, causas de estrés es su vida, relación con familia, relación vecinos, solidaridad, salud mental, bienestar subjetivo, satisfacción de vida, autoestima, si tienen espacios seguros

8. ¿Como cambian sus necesidades durante las temporadas?

Probes: relación con las actividades del ano

9. ¿Como van a cambiar sus necesidades en 5 anos?

Probes: recursos para que los hijos vayan al colegio, aprender mas habilidades/conocimiento, salud de la familia, nuevas herramientas

10. ¿Cuales son cinco cosas que le hace falta para mejorar su vida?

Probes: relaciones sociales, seguridad en relación con el conflicto armado y el narcotráfico, infraestructura para la salud, etnoeducación

11. ¿De estas cinco cosas, cuales son las dos mas importantes y por que?

Parte 3. Ideología

12. Usted como entiende el proyecto de conservación del los bosques (REDD+)?
13. Si la persona conoce el proyecto. ¿Por que fuiste de acuerdo con participar al proyecto?
14. Si la persona conoce el proyecto. ¿Que esperan que vaya a cambiar con este proyecto?
15. Si la persona conoce el proyecto. ¿Como cambio la relación de la comunidad con la foresta después del proyecto?

Probes: cambios en niveles de deforestación, cambios en las responsabilidades en la comunidad

16. ¿Usted participa a las reuniones comunales? ¿Por que?

Probes: dificultades en la comunicación, coste transportación, nivel de confianza en los lideres, no se puede permitir dejar el trabajo o la casa por un día

17. ¿Usted como ve su relación con la naturaleza?

Probes: espiritualidad, salud mental

18. Como perciben las mega obras/megaproyectos de las cuales se habla para la municipalidad de Nuquí?

Probes: turismo, aumento de narcotráfico, puerto de Tribugá, nueva carretera

19. Si conocen las mega obras. ¿Usted que opina sobre estos proyectos?

Probes: opinión de la comunidad (opinión publica)

Preguntas finales

20. ¿Que deseas para la comunidad adonde vives?

Probes: esperanzas para el futuro, aspiraciones para el bienestar comunitario

21. ¿Me puedes recomendar alguien mas que pueda participar en esta investigación?

Appendix B: Codebook

Name	Strategy used	Description	Files	References
(SQ1) Project implementation	Deductive	1.How was the REDD+ project implemented in the Los Riscales communities?	28	155
Benefit distribution	Deductive		11	34
Indigenous people	Inductive	How are they integrated in the benefit distribution mechanism	1	1
Skills leaders	Inductive	How much leaders are prepared to implement and create a benefit distribution mechanism along with external organizations	2	3

Carbon titling	Inductive	Legislative issue about the carbon titling	2	2
Deforestation	Deductive	If there are differences in deforestation before and after the project, plans for the future deforestation, comments on forestry use.	20	54
Governance	Inductive	Community organization, leaders, skills leaders, community unity	7	17
Private property	Inductive	Issue of how private properties within the collective title are dealt with in the REDD+ project	1	1
Project communication	Deductive		12	31
Role of external organizations	Deductive	How the project is only possible because of the help of external organization and how the community depend on them to ensure that the project enhances community well-being.	4	16

(SQ2) Livelihoods	Deductive	2.What are the livelihoods of the Los Riscales communities?	34	388
Agriculture	Deductive		18	26
Business from community opportunity	Inductive	Business born from some community benefit. For example, cumbancha is a business of the community council, the museum is also of the community council.	3	10
Collective title	Deductive	How people need to buy land or houses even if it's a collective title, but they all have their informal private titles. People sell land ecc.	10	18
Community organization	Inductive	More of a leadership role, organizing the community, events, relations with external organization, cleanings of the beach or mangroves. Also, how the decision-making process is organized, who and how can participate. How is the economy organized.	19	50

Beginning of organization process	Inductive	How community organization is a long process	1	2
Community work	Deductive	Work that leaders do which is not paid, or other types of community works where they clear the beach etc.	14	20
Construction	Inductive		1	1
Differences among communities	Deductive		11	26
Differences men and women	Deductive	Differences in activities for livelihoods, sometimes there are sometimes there aren't. However, women tend to be housewives and have other little projects on the side.	12	23
Education	Deductive		1	1
External organizations and help	Deductive		8	12

Family	Inductive	Family as a livelihood because some people don't have an economical income, but food is provided form their families, or kids/husbands give them money.	3	3
Fishing	Deductive	Fishing as a livelihood	20	38
Housewife	Inductive	Women who are housewives or/and have been housewives all life long. They are doing important part of the reproductive work of the household and their community.	6	6
Mangroves	Inductive	Resources that can be extracted from mangroves, food sovereignty	1	1
Own business	Inductive	Includes side business that, especially, women do to add some income to the household or have some personal income.	12	16
Informal	Inductive		1	1

Paid public job	Deductive	Teacher (could also be hospital but I don't have any participants who do that).	2	2
Religion	Inductive	How many people rely on religion because there are too many uncertainties and they don’t feel protected by the central government	4	4
Role of geography	Inductive		3	4
Role of money	Deductive	Role of capitalism, not totally relying on money to survive as in cities, but it's still important to have and to be able to determine your future if you want to study or to leave.	13	32
Seasonal work	Deductive	How their activities change with the seasons. Tourism is linked to whales for example.	9	18
Solidarity	Deductive		16	37
Tourism	Deductive		13	25

Trainings and workshops	Inductive		1	2
Transportation	Inductive	People who work in transportation, for example children to school or semi-fixed rutes.	1	1
Unemployed	Inductive	most people are unemployed but this code is for people who explicitly identify as unemployed	1	1
Why unpaid work	Inductive	why leaders engage in work that is not paid, or people in other type of non-paid work	9	11
(SQ3) Well-being self-definition	Deductive	3.How do Los Riscales define their well-being?	33	501
Building port and road connection	Deductive	Opinions of people about their sel-development, through building Port of Tribugá and road that connects Quibdo to Nuquí. These are mega-projects wanted in the first place by the government, which also opened a big debate in the communities regarding how they envision their	25	50

		development. Trade-off between economical benefits and violence.		
Community organization	Inductive		4	9
Culture	Inductive		7	11
Economy	Deductive	Ideal working srtucture, environment, projects.	19	54
Education	Deductive		6	12
Elderly	Inductive		1	2
Entertainment	Inductive		4	5
Drinking culture	Inductive		3	4
External help	Inductive		4	7

Trainings	Inductive		1	1
Family	Inductive		14	25
Food sovereignty	Inductive		11	19
Harmony	Inductive		6	8
Helping others	Inductive		2	3
Housing	Deductive	Generally people like to live there because they can own their house.	10	10
Knowing each others	Inductive	How knowing each others is valued because it increases social capital and safety in the villages	7	9
Long-term uncertainty	Inductive	People manifested how one cannot know what will happen in 5 years, you can have hopes but you cannot really plan, or at least have a general path but expect things to be different. Related to God, religion, destiny.	10	13

Elderly	Inductive		1	1
Mental health	Inductive		8	15
Technology	Inductive		4	4
Moving out of the communities	Deductive	If people want to stay or move out	8	15
No mining	Inductive		3	4
No violence	Deductive	Armed groups, peace, tranquillity, freedom of movement	25	66
Freedom of movement	Inductive		8	10
No corruption	Inductive	Meaning money corruption, but also entering in illegal businesses.	1	1
Threats	Inductive		1	4
Noise	Inductive		1	2
Own time schedule	Inductive	People value being able to make their own schedules	1	1

		instead of working for somebody else		
Quality environment	Deductive	The fact that people want clear air, healthy environment, clear rivers, want to be able to go for walks.	16	20
Role of money aspirational	Inductive		13	24
Solidarity	Deductive		2	6
Territory	Deductive	Importance of having a territory to ground and use its resources, with the collective land titling, so a safe terrritory. Different from wanting their territory/environment to be healthy (code 'Quality environment').	7	8
Travel-visit-go for walks-trips	Inductive		8	10
Women	Inductive		10	44
Youth	Inductive		16	45

(SQ4) Well-being gaps	Deductive	4.What are the well-being gaps of Los Riscales based on their current livelihoods and aspirations for well-being?	33	170
Absence-hostility of the State	Deductive	The state is mostly not present in the territory and when it is money "gets lost"	24	65
Alimentation	Inductive		2	2
Economy	Deductive	Employment, Income, Invest in tourism & trainings, Access to credit, food, improve housing situation	6	9
Family & Social Harmony	Deductive	familiar unity, harmony &tranquillity, fall in love, good governance local councils. No violence and armed groups.	0	0
Housing	Inductive		3	3
Infrastructure	Deductive		12	18
Public services	Deductive		26	73

Drinking water	Deductive	Water all year ruond, filtered according to standards of drinking water	7	9
Education	Deductive		11	18
Energy	Deductive	Clean energy or energy 24h	3	4
Health	Deductive		18	26
Trasportation	Deductive		5	5
Waste management	Inductive		6	9
Role of geography	Inductive	How Tribugá has more needs because of mangroves and Termales has more tourism because of the Termales.	0	0
Skills leaders	Inductive	In some situations participants talked about lack of skills in negotiation, understanding technical information (which has an impact in their ability to give Free, Prior and Informed Consent). This code refers to skills necessary to close	0	0

		well-being gap, for example negotiating with the municipality.		
(SQ5) Alignment internal priorities	Deductive	5.To what extent are the priorities and preferences within the communities' members aligned when it comes to filling well-being gaps?	3	4
Miscomunication project	Inductive		0	0
Plan of etnodevelopment	Inductive		1	2
Situations of non alignment	Inductive	When somebody reports that they expressed their views and he felt like they were not taken into consideration, situations where somebody's development path don't align with the majority.	2	2

Young people	Inductive	Some want to stay, some want to leave, some want to work some don't. Different perspectives among them and also differences with rest of poppulation.	0	0
(SQ6) Differences ideology with REDD+	Deductive	6.What are the differences in ideologies between REDD+ projects and the Los Riscales communities?	24	137
Ancestral tradition	Deductive		17	36
Critiques	Inductive	Critiques they made to conservation projects. Because of project miscommunication and people forgetting information, these critiques are not always relevant to REDD+.	8	24
De-romanticization communities	Inductive	Deromanticize collective land in the fight against capitalism and focus more on cities (which are major polluters). Take responsibility.	3	6

General REDD+ in Colombia	Inductive		2	33
Justice potential	Inductive	Here is included development opportunities. The fact that the money can lead to development opportunities for the communities is seen through the lenses of beyond development theories, so it's categorized as justice potential.	6	10
Pro conservation	Deductive	Conservation awareness in the communities of the case study.	15	20
REDD+ to protect territory	Inductive	Belief that REDD+ projects can help the communities to protect their territory	3	8
(SQ7) Differences well-being definitions REDD+	Deductive	7.To what extent do the different definitions of well-being of the Los Riscales communities and REDD+ clash?	19	69
Co-financing with municipality	Inductive		2	8

Funding services that should be public	Inductive		1	2
Hopes outcome	Inductive	What the communities aspire to achieve with the REDD+ project.	16	41
Plans of investments	Deductive	Different with official plans for benefit distribution mechanism because this is opinions of people, wherease 'Benefit distribution mechanism' is only official plans (percentages)	5	18
(SQ8) Conflict mitigation	Deductive	8.How can conflicts derived by REDD+ be mitigated in the Los Riscales communities?	22	94
Community organization	Inductive	Important of community organization can enhance community and act as resistance to armed groups. This limits conflicts.	16	30
Conflicts with indigenous people	Inductive		1	2

Inspector	Inductive		2	5
Meetings	Inductive	Meetings as a conflict mitigation mechanism	17	30
Plan of etnodevelopment	Inductive		1	5
REDD+ as conflict trigger	Deductive		4	4
Regulations	Inductive		1	2
Role of external organizations	Inductive		3	7
Trainings	Inductive	Trainings for conflict mitigation, which implies also a need for funding/resources	6	9
Other findings	Inductive		26	214
Community organization in Colombia	Inductive		1	5

Forms of resistance	Inductive	Forms of reistance stem from livelihoods and resources that communities have to face absence or hostility of state and violence of armed groups.	16	31
General communication meetings issues	Inductive		15	53
Informal	Inductive		19	60
Lack of trust	Inductive		13	44
Projects issue	Inductive	disarticulation project, problems with project design, organizations that want to take advantage of communities.	7	21

Appendix C: List of Participants

Number	Name/identified as	Age	Gender	Residency	Political Leader
1	Enrique Murillo o "A farmer who thinks a lot about the development of his communities"	54	M	Nuquí (nacio en Tribugá)	Yes (Vicepresident Local Council Tribugá and member of the Central Board)
2	Yahir Palacios	48	M	Nuquí (Bogota, Bahia Solano)	No
3	Woman from Nuquí	73	F	Nuquí	No
4	Ludis Melisa Suniga Garcia	35	F	Nuquí	No
5	Community leader	28	M	Partadó	Yes
6	Euderly Gonzales Garcia	46	M	Jurubirá	No
7	Luis Antono Gidlela Mosquera (?)	38	M	Jurubirá	No (informal leader)
8	Noelia or professor from Jurubirá	62	F	Jurubirá	Yes
9	Calendrosana	22	F	Jurubirá	No
10	Edwin Gonzales Murillo (Happy)	30 (?)	M	Jurubirá	Yes
11	Woman from Jurubirá	57	F	Jurubirá	No
12	Yerson Gonzales Murillo or community leader	36	M	Jurubirá	Yes (Vicepresident Local Council Jurubirá and Member of the Central Board)
13	Jhonny Cordoba Gonzales	40	M	Jurubirá	No
14	Yeradìn Johanna Posada Gil	35	F	Jurubirá	No
15	Woman from Nuquí	57	F	Nuquí	No
16	Felix Gomez (marine biologist, technician CODECHOCO)	37	M	Nuquí	No
17	Man from Termales	75	M	Termales	No
18	Man from Termales	52	M	Termales	No
19	Diana Chiquillo Hoyas	26	F	Termales	Yes (President Local Council Termales)
20	Juan Caisero Juancaicado	68	M	Partadó	Yes (Vocal Local Council Partadó)
21	Hadys Edith Mosquera Valencia	25	F	Termales (studying in Medellin)	No
22	Andres Murillo Ibarguen	68	M	Tribugá	No
23	Carmen Garcia Urtado	64	F	Tribugá	No
24	Man from Tribugá	52	M	Tribugá	Yes

25	Expert international cooperation	x	F	x	No
26	Expert climate change and international cooperation	x	F	x	No
27	Esmith Valencia	42	M	Coquí	No
28	Dayan Garcia	28	M	Coquí	Yes (President Local Council Coquí)
29	Woman from Coquí	35	F	Coquí	No
30	Community leader	49	M	Jovì	Yes
31	Community leader	50	M	Panguí	Yes
32	Elkin Caizamo Prekel	54	M	Panguí	No
33	Ruth Nibeta Martinez Caizamo	54	F	Panguí	Yes
34	Naime Posso	18	F	Panguí	No

Appendix E: Original version of quotes in Spanish

(1) ‘’Me parece super interesante [informal structures] porque yo creo que es muy esencial dar ese debate porque muchos de los territorios donde, por ejemplo están los bosques naturales, son territorios a los que no llega como el estado, como el estado central. Digamos entonces, como esas estructuras informales que se han ido creando, por ejemplo, allá también los territorios campesinos de la Amazonía, es interesante conocerlos. Pueden [Local Councils] tener un rol como parte del Estado porque son zonas gigantes que tú no puedes tener un estado allá es muy costoso y sí es como de cierta manera se reconoce que ellos también pueden como entrar a tomar decisiones como ordenamiento territorial. No temas judiciales, pero si como sanción social, por ejemplo, frente a los acuerdos que se hagan de conservación de bosques, que la misma comunidad establezca, bueno, entonces el que tale, qué vamos a hacer? ¿Cómo es el acuerdo? Creemos mucho en eso, que es ese tipo de proceso organizativo, control social propio es el que va a lograr hacer cosas. Para conservación de bosques más que esperar a que el Estado central y las entidades como las corporaciones van a llegar a zonas donde eso es lejísimo de las capitales.’’ - Expert in international cooperation

(2) (2)‘’Estos pueblos como venían siendo manejado a través de la política. La política es la que ha predominado por acá, en estos pueblos. Entonces los políticos no es que le den mucha cosa a a estas comunidades, los políticos, ellos aprovechan lo poquito y nada que llega a las alcaldías y y lo que invierten pues no es muchas cosas que invierten. Hace hace cuatro años

atrás el municipio estaba matado, matado, matado, visitaba la cabecera municipal, así descuidada. Ya usted se podría imaginar cómo estaban las comunidades ahorita, pues estos próximos, estos cuatro años de gobierno, es que más o menos se le ha visto un poquito la cara a la institucionalidad por estos campos, pero eso fue mucho lo lo los años perdidos, muchos los años perdidos.[..]Y no tanto por los conflictos armados, sino porque esos administradores llegan y la platica que hay ahí se la van robando y no hacen nada por los pueblos. Entonces eso también tenía estos pueblos azotados.'' - Community leader, P31

(3) '"Que cambiemos la mentalidad de pensar que todas las soluciones nos tienen que venir de afuera. De que pensemos que con lo que tenemos también tenemos que ser buscar opciones, cómo ganarnos también la vida y dejar de pensar que todos nos tiene que dar como el gobierno, porque este esa gente se monta allá y luego ya se olvida de 1, entonces sabemos que hay cosas que sí necesitamos de ellos, como la salud, la educación, todo eso, pero en cuanto a lo económico es como mirar estrategia, sabemos que es difícil." - Woman from Nuquí, P3

(4) "En ocasiones a veces uno se filtra la información sí. Pero durante el tiempo que yo estaba aquí no he escuchado una regla, una reunión para socializar de REDD+ y nada [he came back to communities two years ago]. Sí sé que hay unas personas que están metidas en esos proyectos, se que hay algunas, pero no sé quiénes son primero, no sé quiénes son. Y segundo no se a que entidad pertenece." - Euderly Gonzales Garcia, community member of Juribira

(5) "Yo pienso que dentro de los posibles problemas que se podría salir, en realidad es que la comunidad, las comunidades están desinformadas de estas cosas. Mhm. Las comunidades no tienen información sobre este tema. La comunidad, lo único, la única información que tiene esto es que así creo que por noticias no se escucha que van a casas plata y que no sé, pero uno lo que tiene el miedo es de lo que las cosas no vayan a a distribuirse, como se deben de distribuir. - Man from Termales, P17

(6) "Participan ellos, llevan y escogen la gente que va a participar, los que los va a aplaudir, pero pero los que les va a decir la verdad, el que lo el que les va a cuestionar, no, porque ellos no necesitan que este proyecto salga y llegue otro, este proyecto salga y llegue otro entonces, y uno como líder no es bienvenido a ningún espacio de estos. Por qué? Porque la gente uno no va a decir nada, pero ya la gente piensa que uno va a decir y yo en este momento he aprendido es que el líder no tiene que andar metido en nada de lo que están haciendo mal." - Ruth Nibeta Martinez Caizamo, woman from Panguí (P33)

(7) "No, porque la comunidad piensa en que si dan a invertir los recursos y el día que hubo el taller aquí eso no eran pa cuatro o cinco o seis personas de la comunidad, porque allá se dijo.

Debería haber participado más el número de comunidad que hubiera podido, pero la comunidad no se le informó, no se le avisó." - Man from Termales (P17)

(8) "Los factores de riesgo serían. Primero, que no se logre, que no se logre concretar el proyecto, llegar a un término. Y segundo, que si se logra el proyecto, pues los recursos se les dé mal manejo. Entonces esas serían como la las dudas y. O sea, lo que se ha hecho para manejar los recursos es lo que está pautado en el proyecto, que no se debe manejar plata en efectivo, sino que se hace a través de una fiducia y luego a través de propuestas y de proyectos se van sacando los recursos y se van disponiendo de ellos. Pero, pero, pero usted sabe, uno es lo que uno a una cosa, es lo que está pactado en el compromiso y otra cosa es lo que se haga después de eso. O sea, nosotros no podemos asegurar de que eso es lo que vas hacer, que que que no va a pasar nada. O sea, son cosas así que pasan. Esperemos que que las cosas se den así como se han hablado. Mmm. Sí, porque no habría otra alternativa." P31

(9) "Siempre he dicho que acá hay tala de árboles, pero no plantan, aunque tenemos. La gente cree que porque tenemos un bosque enorme no se va a acabar. Entonces tú tomas un árbol, pero detrás de ese árbol se van muchos. En este momento, las personas para construir sus casas y sus hoteles para construcciones tienen que ir a buscar la madera muy lejos, muy, muy lejos, porque ya no hay por qué, no hay porque no sembrar." Hadys Edith Mosquera Valencia, woman from Termales, P21.

(10) "No, aquí no hay un control. O sea aquí se forma plan la encargada, pero aquí la gente tala. Hace las cosas a su manera. Hace una tala de árbol indiscriminadamente sin control, entonces aquí no. Porque en el departamento del chocó, la explotación de la madera es un sustento para nuestro medio porque nosotros no tenemos, digámole como otras funciones para nosotros dejar de hacer eso para sobrevivir. El que no pesca asierra en el monte. El que no trabaja la construcción asierra en el monte. Tenemos nuestros nuestros predios, nuestras propiedades, donde hay madera y yo tengo mi terreno y eso lo controlo yo lo que eso es mío." - Yahir Palacios, a man from Nuquí, P2

(11) ''Entonces digamos que hubo un tiempo donde las mujeres callaban, pero esta generación viene muy. Entonces digamos que no nos las dejamos montar así por así, por por hombres no? Generalmente siempre igual, igual. Y si algo no nos gusta, tenemos la, la la voz de decir no nos gusta esto y tratar de cambiarlo. Pero obviamente el machismo hay que sobrellevarlo.'' - P19

(12) ''Y las mujeres que participamos muchas veces por ser tan claras que sabe que la mujer cuando tome una decisión la toma con claridad, es como..somos, como señaladas, nos sentimos violentadas. ¿Porque? Porque las cosas, digamos, se pueden ver desde dos puntos,

no las decisiones desde el punto de vista masculino, y desde el punto de vista femenino. Y que podemos hacer matrimonios entre otros puntos de vista. Las mujeres pensamos y sentimos distinto a los hombres, los hombres piensan y sienten distinto a las mujeres. No quiere decir que ninguno de los dos sea malo, sino que sencillamente lo que quiere decir es quesi juntamos esas dos formas de pensar y de ver la vida podemos hacer cosas mejores'' P8

(13) ''Bueno, la mujer no cuenta. La mujer en los debates acá no cuenta. Primero, la mujer casi no participa de los procesos. Aló? O sea, generalmente los procesos son chuecos porque los llevan los hombres. Cuando los hombres llevan los procesos, siempre van, los procesos van, van, pensado desde el machismo, Entonces no buscan de pronto la que tiene que ser, sino la que ellos piensan que debe ser. Y así no es ya en los procesos. Ese es el que tiene realmente la vocación, ese que tiene la vocación, ese que que tiene, digamos, el talante. Y eso es lo que no logra que los pueblos avancen.'' - Ruth Nibeta Martinez Caizamo, community leader of Panguí, P33

(14) ''Pues no sé las costumbres como tal de las otras comunidades, pero yo creo que lo que se refleja en Coquí es como una enseñanza. Porque digamos en el sentido de la organización en Coquí, son cosas que vienen desde hace mucho tiempo y se organizaron grupos de líderes que velan por el bienestar y por el por la salud de la comunidad como tal. Entonces eso hace que las personas, los niños, los jóvenes, se vayan acogiendo a esa misma costumbre y vaya surgiendo esa organización desde siempre hasta el momento. Pero me imagino que en algunas otras comunidades pueda que no lo hayan hecho así. Puede que por eso no esté esa ese nivel de órganos de organización que tenemos nosotros.'' - P28

(15) ''Allí, en ese pueblo. Ahí nos cuidamos mutuamente, o sea los de la comunidad, porque el resto nada, sino es que allí. Ahora somos uno, o sea, a lo que le pasó a una persona a la comunidad, duele a todos. Eso sí, nos ha sentido. Ese es nuestro escudo, escudo comunitario y le decimos. Allí le tengo un ejemplo que se enfermó alguien, toca llevarlo a Nuquí, pero ese alguien no tiene recursos, entonces la comunidad todo venga, venga yo doy 5 mil, 5mil aquí tengo la base, tengo el motor, quién lo va a llevar, a esa hora todo mundo sale, o sea todos sentimos el dolor del enfermo'' P5

(16) ''Si acá acá nosotros mismos nos respaldamos entre sí. Sí, nosotros aquí miren que siempre hemos estado, hemos vivido sin el apoyo económico del Estado, primero sin el apoyo económico de de una fuerza militar, sin el apoyo de de de de de una policía sin el apoyo de nadie. Y hemos sobrevivido. ¿Por qué? Porque nosotros nos apoyamos acá mutuamente'' P6

(17) ''En este momento, como yo estoy sola y trabajo, me ven trabajando sola y no tengo una pareja, entonces que me digan yo necesito mover un palo, yo lo puedo hacer porque ya lo

he hecho, pero a veces pido el favor si es que me dicen consigue tu marido para que te ayude. Yo no necesito un hombre para que me ayude. Yo puedo salir sola adelante, yo no necesito de uno y menos de un hombre para que me ayude. Entonces consigue un marido. O cuando vas a tener hijos en estos días… Yo fui a trotar a la playa con una tía. Nos sentamos ahí en un puesto de que estaban vendiendo café. Entonces me estaban diciendo que me estaban molestando, y por qué no quería tener hijos. Yo no quiero tener hijos. Mi tía me decía que tengo que tener un hijo por el tema de la sangre, que tengo sangre mala acumulada, algo que yo no lo entiendo tampoco, pero me decía que era muy egoísta porque yo no quería tener hijos, que debía darle la oportunidad a un niño que yo no quiero.''P21

(18) ''Como usted lo ha visto en Jurubirá, en Jurubirá casi las necesidad más necesarias las tienen ahí. Entonces por eso usted ve que el pueblo casi no se no se disperse si. O al menos tienen sus necesidades y todo, pero pero aquí al menos uno tiene una necesidad y no tiene, no tiene como resolverla pa decirlo así" P24

(19) ''Que aqui a veces nos dicen que aquí nadie aguanta hambre que aquí nadie nunca nadie tiene necesitad y si pasa. Que uno no 1 va y le diga al otro 'que no tengo que comer' pero eso O sea, pasa'' P14

(20)"Como decir esa oportunidad de esa transición de de vender los bonos de carbono y convertirlos en recurso, da una oportunidad para mejorar la calidad de vida De las comunidades del Golfo de tribugá. El gobierno nos tiene desprotegido, no nos da beneficio por ninguna índole y cuando se los manda se los manda a la administración municipal y siempre las administraciones municipal pueda hacer ocha y panocha con sus recursos. Nosotros hemos tratado de conservar este territorio durante muchos tiempos y nunca nos han compensado esa conservación de este territorio. Y, nosotros vemos una oportunidad muy grande de seguirse teniendo porque el recurso nos llega directamente a nosotros. y entonces es como decir una oportunidad de tener un bosque parado y que nos paguen por cuidar nuestro propio bosque como lo hemos venido cuidando, [..] y Es que también de ahí se puede generar acciones importantes para el desarrollo que no estaban satisfechas en el territorio. " P12

(21)"El de REDD+ para mí es una oportunidad para las comunidades y para el mundo. Ello, soy de las que siempre pienso que el mundo, El Mundo, las sobre todo en los países industrializados. Nos deben. Tienen una deuda grande con los con los países o las comunidades que nos ha tocado vivir gracias a Dios en estos sitios privilegiados por la vida, pero que nosotros de alguna manera somos los que conservamos, los que cuidamos y hemos cuidado naturaleza." Noelia, from Jurubirá, P8

(22) "Cuando se creó esa norma [resoluciones 1427 y 926] no se pensó cuál era la contribución que iban a tener esos proyectos [REDD+] al Desarrollo Rural [..] Entonces, por ejemplo, tú a través de

sus proyectos no puedes contribuir a la Reforma Rural porque esas son reformas estructurales del Estado. Para solucionar los grandes conflictos socio-ambientales que hay en este país, que son por los que hay deforestacioin, tú necesitas la acción estatal. Tú necesitas promover que se resuelvan los conflictos ambientales que tienen estas comunidades en sus territorios, con los mineros, con otras comunidades, y eso no lo puede hacer Fondo Accion, eso lo tendría que tener la intervención de, por ejemplo, la agencia nacional de tierras, el Ministerio de ambiente. Entonces por todo eso, digamos, una de las grandes fallas es justamente que falta ese vínculo con la acción estatal, no está claro como esos proyectos van a contribuir a resolver esos problemas. Es más, hoy en día en muchos casos los proyectos se han convertido como en una capa más de conflicto en esas zonas. O sea, en vez de solucionar los problemas, han generado más problemas en zonas que ya son afectadas por el conflicto armado, por la pobreza y por otras cosas, pues es realmente lo que está pasando. Cuando se dio la seguridad jurídica a los proyectos, lo que hicieron fue unir a gente muy hábil en los negocios con la gente más vulnerable del país.” - Expert in international cooperation and REDD+, P25