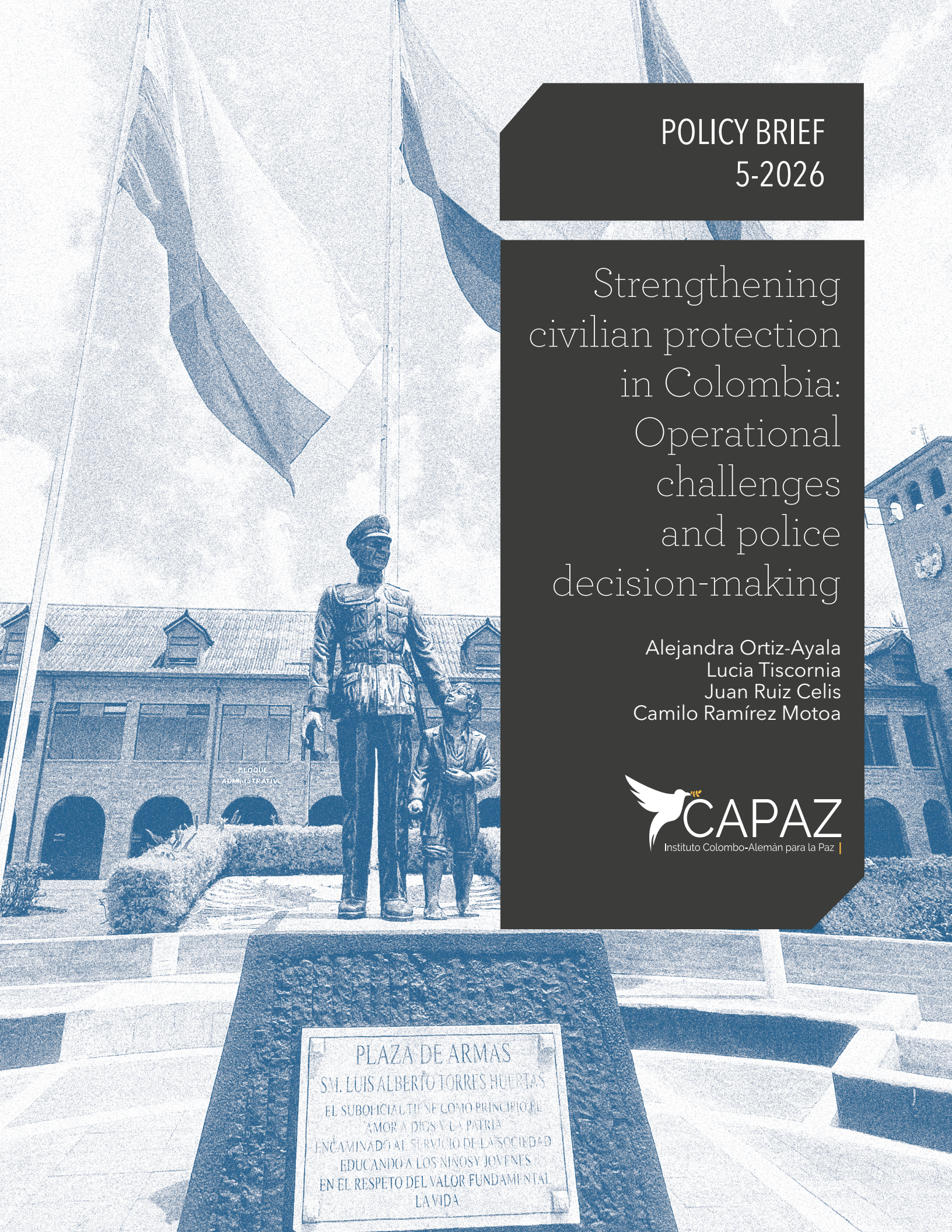

POLICY BRIEF
5-2026

Strengthening civilian protection in Colombia: Operational challenges and police decision-making

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The findings presented in this policy brief are based on interviews with individual police officers and reflect their experiences, perceptions, and interpretations. They should not be understood as representing official policies, doctrines, or institutional positions of the Colombian National Police.

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Summary
In post-agreement Colombia, civilian protection remains a cornerstone of security policy, yet in practice it is shaped by officers' perceptions of risk, their relationships with communities, and institutional constraints. Drawing on qualitative research with police officers (2025-2026), this policy brief shows that protection decisions are frequently made under uncertainty and operational pressure. It identifies three challenges: (1) institutional and logistical constraints that limit response capacity; (2) difficulties distinguishing civilians from threats in environments shaped by distrust; and (3) the absence of standardized mechanisms for threat assessment and operational learning. It recommends improving institutional learning and review mechanisms, strengthening community-oriented policing, standardizing threat assessment, and expanding welfare, family support, and recognition for officers in conflict-affected areas. Supporting these officers is also part of protecting civilians and strengthening the state's capacity to provide legitimate and trusted security.

Keywords: civilians; Colombian National Police; police training; post-conflict; security; security sector reform

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In post-agreement Colombia, the police occupy a pivotal position in the relationship between the state and civilians. In many territories, they are the most visible—and sometimes the only—state institution that citizens encounter in everyday life. This gives policing a significance beyond crime control: police action shapes ordinary citizens' experiences and perceptions about the state, its capacity to protect them, and the limits of democratic citizenship. In contexts marked by violence, weak state presence, and contested authority, the police are not merely implementers of security policy; they are one of the main interfaces that guarantee legality and protection (García Villegas & Espinosa Restrepo, 2013; González, 2017, 2020).

This role becomes especially important in post-conflict and post-agreement settings. In these contexts, the capacity and willingness of state security institutions to protect civilians become central to the legitimacy of the state and to the prospects for a sustainable peace (Blair et al., 2019). Research on security sector reform has long emphasized that building coercive capacity is not enough: security institutions may remain biased, abusive, or unable to protect those most at risk unless their practices, perceptions, and relationships with civilians are transformed (O'Rawe, 2010; Ortiz-Ayala, 2021; Sedra, 2018; Tiscornia, 2024). This is particularly relevant in Colombia, where the police continue to operate in territories where armed groups compete for control, civilians face multiple forms of coercion, and state authority remains uneven.

Protecting civilians is not only a humanitarian imperative but also a central governance challenge in contemporary Colombia.[1] In many rural and peripheral areas, armed groups do not simply confront the state militarily; they also seek to govern local populations by regulating movement, extracting information, and at times offering security or dispute resolution where state presence remains limited or contested. These dynamics create highly demanding operational environments for police officers, who are tasked with providing security in territories marked by uncertainty, fragmented authority, and ongoing risks of violence. In these contexts, police officers must often make rapid decisions under conditions where the distinction between civilians and potential threats is not always clear, where local communities may be exposed to pressure from armed actors, and where intervention itself can carry significant operational risks. Supporting the police to carry out civilian protection in such settings therefore requires more than legal mandates or institutional rhetoric. It also requires understanding the practical challenges officers face when assessing danger, engaging with communities, and making decisions under uncertainty.

This policy brief examines how police officers understand and carry out civilian protection in their

1 Drawing on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe's (OSCE, 2008) *Guidebook on Democratic Policing* as a normative framework, together with the broader literature on democratic policing (e.g., Bayley, 2005), we define protection as the democratic policing function through which police officers use their lawful authority and institutional capacities to safeguard individuals from actual or imminent harm by preserving life, protecting fundamental rights and human dignity, providing immediate assistance, and ensuring equal access to state protection without discrimination. Protection is exercised through timely action, the activation of appropriate institutional protection mechanisms, and a service-oriented commitment to the safety and security of all members of the public.

day-to-day work. Drawing on qualitative research with officers operating in diverse regional contexts, it shows that civilian protection is shaped by a combination of operational constraints, threat perceptions, territorial dynamics, and institutional conditions. Strengthening civilian protection in Colombia therefore depends not only on expanding state capacity, but also on improving the institutional support, operational guidance, and community relationships that help officers respond effectively in complex and contested environments. The sections that follow present the research approach, summarize the main findings, and offer a set of practical recommendations aimed at strengthening civilian protection on the ground.

This study was possible thanks to an academic collaboration between the University of Erfurt and the Escuela de Suboficiales y Nivel Ejecutivo Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada (ESJIM), in coordination with its academic leadership, specifically the institutional research group INVES-ESJIM. It draws on 17 semi-structured interviews conducted between September and October 2025 with active-duty Colombian police officers, including men and women with operational experience across diverse institutional roles and conflict-affected regions. Most participants had direct experience operating in territories characterized by armed-group presence, high insecurity, and complex police-community relations. Interviews were conducted under conditions of anonymity as part of a broader research project on policing, security, and civilian protection funded by the Folke Bernadotte Academy. To complement the interviews, the analysis also draws on 785 substantive responses to open-ended questions from a survey administered to Colombian National Police personnel between February and March 2026. Data were collected at the ESJIM, the Police Unit for Peacebuilding (UNIPEP), the Police Intelligence Directorate (DIPOL), and the Police Postgraduate School (ESPOL). Only respondents surveyed at the ESJIM were undergoing training at the time of survey administration. The material was analyzed thematically (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Saldaña, 2016) to identify recurring patterns related to operational risk, institutional support, community relations, and civilian protection practices.[2]

The challenges of everyday police work

The interviews show that police officers operating in conflict-affected regions face complex and high-risk conditions that shape how civilian protection is carried out in practice. In some areas, armed groups have used protection requests and local information networks to target security forces, leading officers to adopt more cautious verification procedures before intervening. While these measures seek to reduce operational risks, they can also generate delays and complicate trust-building with communities. The findings suggest that protection decisions are influenced by a combination of institutional constraints, operational uncertainty, and officers' situational assessments of risk. Many officers described frustration when security conditions prevented timely intervention. Overall, the data point to the difficult balance officers must maintain between responding to civilian needs and protecting their own safety and that of their units.

Institutional and operational constraints

Police officers described how protection efforts in conflict-affected areas are shaped by security procedures, resource limitations, and the operational realities of working in areas where armed groups remain active. In several interviews, officers explained that responding to protection requests often requires prior authorization from command structures, particularly when movements involve rural areas or zones with security risks. As one officer with more than two decades of experience explained: *"What one does is request authorization. You inform the station commander, and he—with the available personnel, logistical resources, and orders from the higher command—also takes action."*

Officers emphasized that these procedures are intended to reduce risks for both security personnel and civilians. However, they also acknowledged that verification processes and command approvals can delay responses when protection needs are urgent. Resource limitations present an additional challenge. Unlike urban settings, where routine patrols may involve two officers, interventions in conflict-affected areas often require larger teams, specialized equipment, and additional

2 Interviews were transcribed and anonymized using the University of Erfurt's controlled-access Voice AI platform. Transcripts were subsequently reviewed and standardized for readability using AI-assisted editing tools while preserving participants' oral register and meaning. Qualitative coding and thematic analysis were conducted using MAXQDA. Open-ended survey responses were initially grouped through AI-assisted thematic clustering and subsequently manually reviewed and validated by the authors.

security precautions. As one officer serving in a conflict zone stated: *"If we don't have sufficient capacity, we don't put the lives of officers or citizens at risk—so we don't go in."*

Taken together, these accounts suggest that the ability to provide timely protection depends not only on officers' willingness to intervene but also on the resources, personnel, and security conditions available on the ground. For many officers, everyday protection work involves balancing civilian needs with the responsibility to safeguard their own personnel in highly uncertain environments. Open-ended survey responses reinforce this interpretation. Concerns regarding operational limitations and institutional capacity emerged repeatedly across the dataset, including references to shortages in personnel, mobility, protective equipment, communications systems, and logistical support. More broadly, officers also linked operational effectiveness to institutional welfare, leadership practices, and organizational support. As shown in Table 1, concerns related to welfare conditions, institutional inequality, leadership deficits, and training were among the most recurrent themes identified in officers' responses.

Institutional dynamics related to personnel management also shape officers' dispositions to operate in these contexts. Officers frequently highlighted how working conditions, welfare policies, and organizational support influence motivation and operational readiness in conflict-affected areas. Concerns related to promotion processes, assignment practices in conflict-affected areas, institutional recognition, and leadership styles emerged repeatedly across the data.

Rather than appearing as secondary organizational concerns, these experiences shaped how officers interpreted institutional support and their own role within the organization. The findings suggest that supportive leadership, transparent personnel policies, and recognition of the personal costs associated with service in high-risk environments are important conditions for sustaining officers' willingness to remain engaged in demanding operational contexts. Some officers described how repeated deployments to high-risk regions, combined with prolonged separation from family networks, can generate emotional strain and fatigue over time. Assignments to remote areas are sometimes experienced as opportunities for professional growth, but in other cases they may be perceived as insufficiently aligned with personal and family circumstances. Several interviewees noted that deployments to "public-order zones"[3] are not always interpreted as recognition of expertise or service, but at times as organizational pressure or a punitive measure.

Therefore, strengthening transparent deployment criteria and recognizing service in high-risk areas as a professional contribution rather than a burden could improve morale and institutional trust. More broadly, interviewees frequently linked effective civilian protection to organizational well-being. Officers suggested that operational effectiveness, community-oriented policing, and

3 In Colombia, police officers often refer to territories affected by the presence of armed groups, illicit economies, and persistent security threats as "public-order zones."

Table 1. Most recurrent themes identified in officers' open-ended responses

Theme identified	Approx. frequency	% of substantive responses
Welfare, rest, family conditions, quality of life	131	16.7%
Promotions, institutional inequality, recognition	131	16.7%
Leadership problems and treatment by superiors	109	13.9%
Training and professionalization needs	105	13.4%
Community-oriented / humane policing	100	12.7%
Equipment, logistics, and operational resources	61	7.8%
Legal support and institutional backing	34	4.3%
Corruption, favoritism	17	2.2%

Note: Percentages are based on substantive responses. Responses could contain more than one theme. Total substantive responses: 785.
Source: Prepared by the authors.

civilian protection are interconnected dimensions that depend not only on training and resources, but also on leadership, institutional trust, and long-term organizational support. In this sense, strengthening civilian protection capacities may also require strengthening institutional mechanisms that support officers working under challenging and high-pressure conditions.

Jurisdictional limits and historical legacies: Boundaries of state responsibility and public distrust

Jurisdiction defines not only where the National Police operates but also the extent of its response obligation. Any movement outside the assigned perimeter requires authorization from the higher command, effectively rendering police coverage a discontinuous function and leaving certain areas outside the operational reach—not because no threat exists, but because security conditions do not permit the sustained institutional presence required. The data show that this discontinuity is especially pronounced in territories where armed groups have established effective control and where security forces can only enter through operations coordinated with other institutions like the military or agencies such as the National Protection Unit (UNP).[4]

The UNP operates in close coordination with the police and the military and is deeply shaped by their institutional legacies. Interview evidence indicates that many bodyguards and bureaucrats within the UNP were former police or military personnel who often conceal their institutional background when assigned to protect civilians or communities, particularly in high-conflict areas where the presence of state security actors may generate distrust or increase perceived risk. In some cases, communities explicitly request that former members of the security forces not be included in protection schemes. These patterns reflect broader histories of tension and mistrust between vulnerable populations and the security forces in conflict-affected regions. Protection, therefore, cannot be understood as a purely technical or administrative function. Rather, it emerges as a relational and contested practice, shaped by institutional continuity, perceptions of legitimacy, and historically grounded patterns of mistrust. In this sense, the effectiveness of civilian protection mechanisms in Colombia is not only constrained by capacity or jurisdiction, but also by the ability of institutions like the UNP to navigate the social meanings attached to state protection actors themselves.

4 The UNP is the Colombian state agency responsible for assessing risk and providing protection to individuals such as social leaders, journalists, and politicians, as well as to collectives facing serious threats.

The ambiguity between civilians and threats conditions officers' perception

The institutional constraints and historical legacies of mistrust described above delimit the available margin of action but do not on their own determine the decision to intervene. There is a second factor operating on a different level: the officer's capacity to distinguish, in a context of high uncertainty, who is the civilian in need of protection and who constitutes a threat. In the zones most heavily affected by the conflict, armed groups have come to understand that civilian populations are not merely the object of territorial dispute but also a tactical resource (International Crisis Group, 2020, 2023). The data document two expressions of this logic that operate in complementary ways: on the one hand, the integration of civilians—including minors—into the intelligence networks of armed groups, tasked with gathering information on security forces; on the other, the fabrication of distress calls designed to draw officers into areas where an ambush or attack has been staged. As one non-commissioned officer (NCO) serving in a conflict zone describes:

> *Many times, those are the decoys. People call saying there is a fight going on. So we can't just rush out there immediately to verify, because we often receive intelligence alerts that they want to plant devices or carry out an attack on us.*

These instrumentalization practices produce a counterproductive effect that directly shapes protection practices: the community that should be the subject of protection becomes, perceptually, a potential source of risk. This inversion is not a collateral effect of the conflict—it is part of a deliberate strategy that erodes trust between the parties. Its most significant implication for security policy is that armed groups manage, without engaging in direct confrontation, to reduce the effectiveness of the protection mandate. It is sufficient for an officer to be unable to determine whether a call is genuine for the logic of prior verification to override the logic of immediate response.

Informal classification as an adaptive response and its limitations

Faced with the impossibility of operating under conditions of certainty, officers develop informal classification systems grounded in accumulated experience—drawing on behavioral patterns, reactions to the presence of a uniform, visual cues, and signs of nervousness or evasion. Officers themselves describe this process as experiential and intuitive: *"You learn over time; it becomes an instinct from being here. You end up distrusting everyone, absolutely everyone."*

In practice, officers report that they *"learn to identify profiles: the profile of a good person, the profile of a guerrilla member, the profile of a sex worker, the profile of a homeless person."* Officers generally described these classifications as products of accumulated field experience rather than formal training. These systems are not arbitrary; they reflect operational knowledge constructed in the field and serve an adaptive function in contexts where formal information is scarce, delayed, or unreliable. However, the data also expose their limitations. Officers themselves recognize the fallibility of these classifications and acknowledge that visual cues and behavioral assumptions can produce erroneous threat assessments. As one officer explained: *"Sometimes, because a person is dressed in a rural way, wearing boots or dirty clothes, one assumes they belong to an armed group. Sometimes you are wrong because they are just a peasant."*

Threat perception is further intensified by prior experiences of victimization, repeated exposure to violence, and operational environments characterized by uncertainty and ambush risks, where officers report that *"one always lives in distrust and on alert because we do not know who we are dealing with or interacting with."* Importantly, the interviews also reveal that these informal classification systems are not homogeneous across the institution. Rather, they vary according to officers' trajectories, occupational socialization, and degree of exposure to militarized or counterinsurgency environments. One officer explicitly contrasted her own community-oriented experience with colleagues who had worked more closely in counterinsurgency contexts:

> *I have probably been more community-oriented. I have not spent much time in counterinsurgency groups […]. There are colleagues who have worked more in those areas. They are the ones who tell you: "No, what happens is that over there those tattoos, those symbols, those styles have meanings."*

This suggests that suspicion is not only individually acquired but also socially transmitted within occupational networks shaped by prolonged coexistence with military logics and armed conflict dynamics. Our fieldwork indicates that these differences are partly linked to heterogeneous training trajectories. While some officers described more community-oriented forms of professional socialization, others reported participation in specialized operational and counterinsurgency training that, in some cases, occurred alongside military personnel in shared educational settings and training facilities. Such institutional overlap may contribute to the diffusion of conflict-related schemas and distinct repertoires for interpreting civilians, risk, and threat. By contrast, officers with stronger community-policing orientations emphasized relational knowledge and local trust over visual profiling, stressing that *"for me, my work depends more on what the community can contribute to us."*

The problem, therefore, is not that officers classify individuals within their operational contexts—since some form of categorization is often unavoidable in police work—but rather that such classifications are based on informal and non-standardized interpretive frameworks that depend heavily on officers' individual trajectories, occupational cultures, and situational experiences, a dynamic documented across police institutions more broadly (Dangelmaier, 2026).

When informal classification systems are shaped by militarized or counterinsurgency experiences, there is a risk that interpretive repertoires designed to identify combat enemies become transferred into policing contexts where the institutional mandate is fundamentally different: protecting civilians under conditions of uncertainty. The findings suggest that one challenge for institutions operating in high-risk environments is not eliminating discretion, but creating mechanisms to collectively reflect on, document, and evaluate how threat assessments are formed and evolve in practice. Officers rely heavily on experiential knowledge accumulated through service, yet these judgments are rarely systematized or incorporated into organizational learning. In this sense, informality should not necessarily be understood as institutional failure but as part of the operational complexity of policing in conflict-affected environments. Consistent with recent work on discretionary policing, these classificatory practices emerge not simply from individual bias but through broader organizational routines that shape how suspicion

and risk are interpreted in everyday police work (Brauer et al., 2022; Dangelmaier, 2026).

Structural distrust as an institutional cost

The cumulative consequence of these dynamics is a posture of distrust that the data reveal not as an individual pathology but as a well-founded response to experience. As one active-duty officer in a conflict zone puts it:

> *You should never have complete trust. Trust has to be earned, but you have to be cautious. Many people come and provide information. But you also have to distrust those same people, because many times they take the opportunity to pass information on to other groups.*

This perspective has an important operational logic, particularly in contexts where officers face high uncertainty and security risks. At the same time, the findings suggest that persistent distrust can make it more difficult to build the community cooperation and information-sharing necessary for effective civilian protection. The data point to a self-reinforcing dynamic in which limited trust reduces information quality, increasing perceptions of risk and raising the threshold for intervention. In this sense, distrust emerges not only as a consequence of conflict, but also as one of the conditions that can complicate long-term protection efforts.

Risk assessment structures the decision to intervene

The findings suggest that decisions to intervene in conflict-affected areas depend not only on formal protocols, but also on officers' situational assessments under conditions of uncertainty. In practice, officers combine institutional information, territorial knowledge, and operational experience to evaluate risk in real time. Institutional intelligence alerts and official communications provide important guidance for movements and operations in high-risk areas. However, interviewees indicated that these tools are not always available with the speed or territorial precision required by rapidly evolving situations. As a result, officers frequently rely on local knowledge and trusted community contacts developed during their service in a particular region. As one NCO serving in a conflict zone explains:

> *Many times you become friends with civilians who are sympathetic to the police […]. You say to them: "Hey, could you tell me if there's actually a fight going on over there?" Then they tell you whether it's happening, and that helps you leave with more confidence—or not leave at all.*

The interviews also highlight the importance of operational experience and what officers often describe as *malicia indígena* ("street wisdom" or "tactical intuition") when assessing potentially dangerous situations. Officers described how accumulated experience helps them identify environmental signals, evaluate the credibility of information, and adapt patrol decisions in uncertain contexts. At the same time, these capacities are difficult to standardize and are unevenly distributed across personnel, particularly in contexts of frequent rotation or among newly assigned officers. Several interviewees also reflected on the emotional and psychological demands associated with prolonged exposure to violence, ambushes, and operational risk: *"You end up distrusting everyone, absolutely everyone."*

Officers described how sustained exposure to insecurity can produce heightened alertness and caution in everyday interactions. While this vigilance functions as an adaptive response in dangerous environments, the findings suggest that it can also shape perceptions of risk and influence intervention decisions over time. Ultimately, the data reveal the considerable discretionary burden placed on frontline officers operating in conflict zones. Even when authorization exists, intervention decisions often depend on rapidly assessing incomplete or potentially unreliable information while balancing civilian protection with officer safety. As one active-duty officer explained: *"You feel helpless because you want to act, but the circumstances don't allow it."* Rather than reflecting individual shortcomings, these dilemmas emerge from the broader operational complexity of policing in areas affected by armed conflict, where uncertainty, insecurity, and limited information are persistent features of everyday police work.

Ten years after the Peace Agreement: Rethinking civilian protection and policing in Colombia

Nearly a decade after the 2016 Peace Agreement, many police officers in Colombia continue operating in environments shaped by fragmented territorial control, persistent armed violence, and high operational uncertainty. As previous research on post-agreement Colombia has shown, rebuilding

police-community relations remains central for sustainable peacebuilding and democratic policing. The findings presented in this brief reinforce that challenge while also highlighting the operational difficulties officers face when making protection decisions under conditions of incomplete information, insecurity, and limited institutional support (Nilsson & Jonsson, 2023). The interviews suggest that officers frequently rely on discretionary and threat assessments based on experience, shaped by territorial knowledge, prior operational experiences, and occupational socialization. While these practices often emerge as adaptive responses to real insecurity, they may also complicate efforts to strengthen trust and consistent civilian protection. Importantly, the findings reveal important variation within the institution itself. Officers with stronger community-oriented trajectories tended to emphasize relational trust and local engagement, whereas others operating in more militarized environments relied more heavily on defensive and suspicion-based assessments. In this sense, strengthening community-oriented policing may contribute not only to improving legitimacy and police-community trust, but also to improving the quality of information available for civilian protection.

The evidence also points to organizational challenges associated with policing in conflict-affected areas. Officers frequently described high-risk deployments as emotionally demanding and insufficiently recognized, particularly when assignments involved prolonged separation from family networks. Several interviewees emphasized the importance of stronger welfare support, clearer career recognition, and personnel policies that better account for family responsibilities in high-risk postings. Overall, strengthening civilian protection in Colombia requires moving beyond approaches centered exclusively on territorial deployment or force capacity. The challenge is also institutional: how to support officers operating under conditions of uncertainty while strengthening trust, improving information flows, and consolidating more community-oriented approaches to policing in post-conflict settings.

Based on the discussion and identification of challenges, several policy recommendations can be extracted, which point to the importance of developing standardized assessment tools, recognizing differentiated roles within the police, and establishing incentive systems for change. Table 2 summarizes the challenges and recommendations.

Strengthening civilian protection in Colombia requires reforms that go beyond increasing operational capacity or territorial deployment. Priority should be given to improving institutional learning mechanisms, standardizing threat-assessment procedures, and expanding community-oriented and territorially embedded policing strategies. At the same time, strengthening democratic policing also requires greater institutional attention to the working and family conditions of police officers themselves. A gender-sensitive approach should not be understood exclusively as a policy directed toward women officers, but more broadly as

Table 2. Policy recommendations

Identified challenge	Evidence from the study	Recommendation
Reliance on informal threat classification	Officers rely on intuition, behavioral cues, and accumulated experience to assess risk	Develop standardized threat-assessment and review mechanisms
Persistent militarized operational logics	Counterinsurgency strategies and trajectories reinforce suspicion-based interpretations of civilians	Differentiate civilian protection roles from combat-oriented operational logics
Weak police-community trust	Community-oriented officers rely more on relational trust and local knowledge	Strengthen long-term community policing and locally embedded policing strategies
Personnel strain and punitive assignment perceptions	Officers perceive some conflict-zone transfers as arbitrary or disciplinary	Reform personnel management and introduce family-sensitive deployment criteria
Lack of institutional recognition for conflict deployments	High-risk assignments are insufficiently valued institutionally	Create welfare incentives, recognition systems, and specialized career benefits
Absence of institutional learning mechanisms	No systematic review of misclassification, delayed responses, or protection failures	Institutionalize operational learning and after-action review systems
Emotional and operational burden on frontline officers	Officers individually absorb tensions generated by structural insecurity	Expand institutional support, operational guidance, and psychological accompaniment

Source: Prepared by the authors.

an institutional recognition of officers' caregiving responsibilities, family ties, and social well-being when designing transfers and deployments to conflict-affected regions. Officers repeatedly linked family separation, lack of institutional support, and punitive assignment practices to diminished motivation and operational strain. Supporting officers in these environments is therefore not separate from civilian protection—it is part of it. Building trust in the security sector ultimately depends on whether communities perceive that state institutions, particularly the police, are present, accessible, and willing to protect them in the territories where insecurity is greatest. Democratic policing, in this sense, requires not only effective security provision, but also policing practices grounded in legitimacy, relational trust, accountability, and care for both civilians and frontline officers.

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Policy Briefs for the project “Stabilisation of the peace process in Colombia through justice, truth, and the protection of human rights”

The main objective of this initiative is to support the consolidation of the Integral System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition, based on Colombian-German academic cooperation and in collaboration with the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) and the Commission for the Clarification of the Truth (CEV). The project also is intended to contribute to the debate on the role of State security forces in the prevention of human rights violations in the context of the post-agreement period, to promote a real, comprehensive and lasting peace. This project is led by CAPAZ Institute. These Policy Briefs are designed to disseminate knowledge on issues of relevance to the mandate of the institutions that make up the Integral System among non-experts in the field of transitional justice.



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