

Original Research

Received 20 May 2026

Revised 29 June 2026

Accepted 26 July 2026

Natural Resources for Human Health 2026, Vol. 6(8s): 1582–1607

KEYWORDS:

ethnoclimate, ethnoseed, ethnocide, ecocide, ethnic cultural identity, Múru-Muina ethnoknowledge, Jofo Ananeko, Mambe

Ethnoterritory, Ethnoclimate, Jibina, D+ona and Fareka: Ethnographic Foundations of Educational Decolonization

Mauricio Alonso Epia Silva¹, Paula Andrea Dejanon Bonilla², Ivonne Alexandra Arcos-Chaparro³

¹Universidad de la Amazonia: Florencia-Caquetá m.epia@udla.edu.co
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1363-7620>

²Universidad Libre de Colombia: Bogotá D.C.paulaa.dejanonb@unilibre.edu.co
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4226-8868>

³Universidad Libre de Colombia arcoslegis@gmail.com <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9754-2516>

ABSTRACT:

Indigenous peoples and, specifically, the Múru-Muina ethnic group are a Nation that wishes to walk towards the dawn using the word as an educational model and tool to achieve their vindication from their ethnic-cultural pride. Objective: To identify the complexity of ancestral and identity knowledge from its ethnophilosophical and ethnoepistemological components. Methodology: Ethnography articulated with Participatory Action Research (PAR) was used, employing the analectic technique to understand the other, not as a strange or alien being, but as the other from the Colombian ethnic historical-cultural reality. Results: It was confirmed that the Múru-Muina people remain victims of socio-human harassment by institutionalized armed groups and groups outside the law, as well as by illegal groups, who attack them solely for being indigenous. Conclusions: The research project shows that the struggle of the Múru-Muina indigenous people is a persistent act to remain as historical subjects who deserve due respect for being the ancestors of all Colombians and who deserve to be repaired for the ethnocide and ecocide of which they were victims, simply for being humans who did not conceive of the jungle as a place of overexploitation nor Mother Earth as an instrument of enrichment.

¹Research Professor at the University of the Amazon, PhD Candidate in Law, Master's Degree in Administrative Law, Specialist in Labor Law and Occupational Safety, and Specialist in Pedagogy and Teaching.

²Full-time faculty member at Universidad Libre. PhD in Modern Languages and Master's degree in Modern Languages. Director of the AretéLab Undergraduate Research Group. Member of the Universidad Libre Peace Observatory and the Education and Human Development Research Group.

³Faculty Researcher and Practicing Attorney. Master's Degree in Procedural Law. Specialist in Commercial Law from Universidad Libre and Specialist in Pedagogy and Teaching from Fundación Universitaria del Área Andina.

INTRODUCTION*

In Colombia, indigenous peoples have historically faced inequalities in access to and guarantee of their fundamental rights, especially in education, a situation documented in academic literature and institutional reports. These conditions reflect persistent frictions between (invasive) state policies and the sociocultural dynamics inherent to the aboriginal communities of Abya Yala. From this perspective, Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2026a) point out that ethnoeducation and ethnopedagogy constitute relevant approaches to strengthening culturally pertinent educational processes, oriented toward the recognition of diversity and the autonomy of indigenous peoples.

The persistent state reluctance regarding the lack of protection for national ethnic groups and, specifically, for the Múruí-Muina population, gave rise to the necessary concerns to confirm that this Amerindian people needs to be vindicated and empowered. In this manner, Minagricultura (2016) affirms that there is a special legal and socio-human protection for the Múruí-Muina, as they are an indigenous population at high risk of disappearance, loss of their ethnoterritories, damage to their ethnoclimate and territorial dispossession due to the presence of institutional and illegal armed actors and illegal mining, for which they continue to be "victims of the armed conflict" (DDDOJ, 2023, pp. 28-31).

The Múruí-Muina continue to be in constant danger of displacement. To that extent, they are a population in a "situation of imminent harm," as Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2024, p. 33) warn, which led the Constitutional Court, through Order 004 of 2009, to declare that "the Múruí-Muina people suffer a situation of serious risk of being physically and culturally exterminated" (Minagricultura, 2016, p. 7; JEP, Press Release 059/21, 2021).

The invisibilization of indigenous cultures in Colombia has been associated both with the process of European invasion that began on October 12, 1492 (Dussel, 2012; Pacheco, 2021) and with the contempt for indigenous peoples derived from contemporary practices that, according to Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2026a), constitute a Eurocentric-Anglo-Saxon institutionalized "xenoneocolonialism" (p. 302) in the Colombian educational system. This form of racial discrimination, promoted by both international and national agents, persists today and continues to affect ethnic pride, as pointed out by Lemus (2018) and Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2024). Although the Constitutional Court has protected the cultural identity and the right to self-identification of indigenous peoples through Judgments T-365 of 2020, T-445 of 2022 and T-189 of 2025, such legal guarantees remain insufficient to transform the living conditions of the Múruí-Muina Nation.

This scenario guided the research developed with the Múruí-Muina indigenous community of the Colombian Amazon, present in Florencia (Caquetá) and Putumayo, and laid the deontic foundations as a scientific product of the Doctorate in Law at Universidad Libre, Candelaria Campus, Bogotá D.C., entitled "Indigenous Ethnoeducation as a Challenge to the Social State of Law: Study of the Múruí-Muina People in the Colombian Amazon," belonging to the 2019-2021 Doctoral Cohort and funded by Universidad de la Amazonía. Its objective is to present the main findings of the ethnographic research carried out with this community.

The ethnographic dialogue and PAR (Participatory Action Research) made it possible to recognize the self-designation of the Múruí people and to adjust the categories used during the research. This process showed that the denominations "huitoto" (Wuitoto) or "uitoto" correspond to external references that negatively affect the representation of their collective identity (Ortiz, 2023). In this sense, it is noted that the term "uitoto," in any of its uses, has pejorative and discriminatory connotations, a condition explained by the Múruí community itself in the Safeguarding Plan, Putumayo chapter, as follows:

The term "Huitoto" comes from the word "F+toto" in the language of the Carijona indigenous people, which means "carnivorous ant." According to the narration of the elders, the Múruí People bordered to the north of their territory with the Carijona People, who were warriors and constantly invaded them. As a result of the struggles between these peoples and as a method of war used by the Múruí, it was customary to sacrifice captured warriors and eat some parts of their body in a ritual where Ambil was used; the objective was to obtain great powers as a warrior (Yaroca) and thus intimidate their enemies. Likewise, necklaces were made with the teeth, which together with the skull were displayed as war trophies. It is because of this practice that externally the name "Huitoto" is received due to the erroneous pronunciation of the word F+toto (ACILAPP, 2012, p. 28).

*This work has been carried out within the framework of the Doctorate in Law at Universidad Libre – Bogotá Section, derived from the doctoral research project entitled: Indigenous Ethnoeducation as a Challenge to the Social State of Law: Study of the Múruí-Muina People in the Colombian Amazon.

In this order of ideas, the Association of Traditional Authorities and Councils of the Indigenous Peoples of the municipality of Leguizamo and Alto *Resguardo Predio Putumayo* - ACILAPP (2012) teaches that its traditional name as Múruí is based on four ancestral spiritual beings proper to its *cosmovision*: "*Yua Buinaima, Z+k+da Buinaima, Noin+ Buinaima and Menigu+ Buinaima, and on the first men of our people Muinama, Muina and Múruima*" (ACILAPP, 2012, p. 28). They are direct descendants of *Moo Buinaima*, as they emerged from the sacred site called *Kom+mafo*, located in the territory of La Chorrera, Colombia (ACILAPP, 2008, p. 22), in the department of Putumayo. In this sense, the vindication of being autochthonous and being recognized as Múruí or Muruis constitutes an expression of their self-recognition and of the dignification of their existence as an ethnic group, a condition equally recognized in Order 004 of 2009.

In Múruí-Muina linguistics and language, vowels are not limited to those imposed by the Eurocentric-Anglo-Saxon alphabet in a "xenocolonial" manner (Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro, 2026b, p. 1182) through the violent literacy of ecclesiastical education via the Lancasterian method (Epia-Silva & Arcos-Chaparro, 2025). The Múruí language is not reduced to the five sonorous phonetic vowels, but possesses the vowel +. Therefore, the vowel + is part of the linguistic structure of the Múruí; it is a guttural vowel that is articulated in the posterior part of the palate.

The Múruí-Muina language is of oral tradition and has its own alphabetic system, which has been diminished, affected, and brought to the risk of extermination due to factors derived from the agents of colonization since the European invasion, as well as due to the current situation that Arcos-Chaparro and Epia-Silva (2025) define as educational Eurocentrism institutionalized by the Colombian Ministry of National Education, currently subordinated to the demands of international bodies.

Ethnography allowed us to delve into the ethno-educational world of the Múruí-Muina community. There, the elders, who are the sages and authorities, granted permission to deepen the ethno-educational research within the educational institutions **D+ona Safia** and **Mona To+**. First, from ethnographic dialogue (dialogism), it is understood, as Jacanamijoy et al. (2021) explain, that the Múruí-Muina people owe their name to the fact of self-identifying as the children of the "*Sweet Cassava*"** (ACILAPP, 2008, p. 23), Tobacco and coca (in the Múruí language, children of "*Fareka, D+ona and Jibina*" (ACILAPP, 2020a) three ancestral plants that currently constitute the cultural heritage of Colombia and the intellectual heritage of the Múruí-Muina ethnic group.

The Comisión de la Verdad (2020; 2022a) recognized that the Múruí people are a vulnerable population at critical risk of "human extermination" (Comisión de la Verdad, 2022b). Likewise, FUCAI Colombia (2015) indicates that it has suffered a historical genocide as a consequence of human terrorism and the slavery to which it was subjected during the rubber exploitation boom by merchant Julio César Arana (Steiner Sampedro et al., 2014).

This international ethnocide, thus cataloged by Estada (2024), was documented in *The British Blue Book* (CAAAP, 2011), prepared from the reports of Roger Casement (García & Napurí, 2024), who evidenced and denounced the cruelty exercised against indigenous peoples. This complaint made it possible to demonstrate the responsibility of the Peruvian Amazon Company Co., which contributed to its bankruptcy and to the liberation of enslaved Colombian indigenous peoples (Pineda-Camacho, 2024). Roger Casement subsequently lost his life as a result of his international denunciation.

The ethnocide and environmental damage committed by merchant Julio César Arana, driven by his greed of the rubber boom ambition, not only caused the devastation of hundreds of hectares of the Colombian jungle (ecocide), but also led to the extermination of indigenous people through the use of mutilations and tortures against these communities of Colombia (Gómez López, 2014a), subjected, as Robledo (2022) and Hidalgo (2017, p. 4) indicate, to rubber exploitation by means of "ethnic human hunts carried out by Barbadian black executioners" (Jordán, 2001, p. 601; Becerra, 2018), which resulted in a process of slavery. Among the "associated torturers of Arana was the Russian Aurelio, a 'lion' who whipped indigenous people not with a lash, but with chains" (AZICATCH & CNMH, 2017, pp. 32 and 34).

**Cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) is a product that, along with other edible plants of Colombian Amazonian cultures, has its origin in mythology and in Ticuna oral tradition; besides being the food base, it is used as a ritual element, for cultural and commercial exchange. As mentioned above, Ticuna communities base much of their subsistence and economy on the cultivation, transformation, and trade of cassava. For this purpose, and for hundreds of years, they have sown and selected the best varieties of this tuber, to obtain good quality cassavas that withstand drastic environmental changes such as floods, prolonged dry periods, and pest attacks. Using various types of cassava guarantees the harvest even in case an environmental change or pest affects a particular variety. In addition, by cultivating cassava varieties with different maturation times, a continuous supply of the product can be obtained (SINCHI, Resguardos Indígenas Ticuna, Cocama, Yagua Puerto Nariño Macedonia, 2005).

Subjugated, as Porras (2024) argues, to a debt economy (slavery through indebtedness), indigenous people were forced to receive tools for rubber extraction, food, goods they did not need and other belongings, which subjected them to a debt of perpetual slavery. To this debt economy was also added the obligation to pay tithes to the missionaries (in addition to the payment of terraje-tax). The rubber extracted by the rubber tappers was weighed by "*Barbadian black foremen*" (Mosquera, 2013, p. 5; AZICATCH & CNMH, 2017, p. 4), while indigenous people were subjected to slave extraction from the age of four; if they did not reach the required rubber weight, they were flogged, tortured, put in the stocks, mutilated or forced to witness mutilations committed against their wives or children when they were adult males (RTVC, n.d.).

Indigenous women were forced to suffer bodily violations and to become servants of the settlers, performing domestic, sewing and house-building labors, as Cantor (2002) clarifies. While they were forced into these labors, the whites of the Casa Arana burned their baby children alive when they cried for breastfeeding (AZICATCH & CNMH, 2017). Likewise, they burned adult indigenous people for their entertainment: "if they were adults, they were put in a sack soaked in kerosene to be burned alive, for the [ethnociders] of the Casa Arana to have a moment of joy" (Gómez-López, 2014b, p. 170).

The Casa Arana, named as such locally by Colombian indigenous peoples, dedicated itself to the overexploitation of rubber, causing the extermination of 100,000 Colombian indigenous people, decimating them to 4,000 (La Nación -BBC Mundo, 2022). This process was driven by the importance of rubber as "the most important industrial material of the 19th and 20th century economy" (Ramírez Mejía et al., 2012, p. 46), a situation that also led to the theft, biopiracy expropriation and robbery of 70,000 native seeds (ethnoseeds) belonging to the Amazonian ethnoterritory by the British Henry Wickham. Of these seeds, 2,800 germinated at Kew Gardens and were subsequently transferred to Southeast Asia and Malaysia, where extensive rubber plantations were established (Jackson, 2009, cited by Rozo, 2020, p. 226), moving rubber exploitation outside the Amazonian jungles of Abya Yala.

In this context, Casa Arana y Hermanos and the Peruvian Amazon Company Ltd., with headquarters in London and British capital, can be characterized, from a contemporary perspective, as transnational companies. Their extractive activity in the Peruvian and Colombian Amazon was responsible for crimes of ethnocide (Salazar, 2024; La Chorrera, 2024) and ecocide (Guerrero, 2024) against Colombian indigenous peoples, facts aggravated by the abandonment, omissions and cover-up by the Colombian State itself in the face of genocidal acts committed by foreigners against national indigenous people (Dussel, 2012; CNMH & ONIC, 2019).

For this reason, Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2024) argue, following the constitutional precedent set by the Constitutional Court, that indigenous people should no longer suffer or endure state abandonment. To that extent, it is unjust and inhumane that indigenous populations and, specifically, the Múru-Muina ethnic group must be resilient, "*since, at present, this indigenous population endures an extremely high degree of constant and permanent risk that exceeds its capacity for resilience*" (p. 30).

The results also evidence the need to distinguish between coca planting and ethnic use (Cubas, 2024) and crops linked to illicit economies. In the Múru people, the use, consumption and cultivation of the coca leaf constitute ancestral practices associated with their cultural identity and constitutionally protected by the Constitutional Court through rulings C-882/11 (2011), as Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2026a) assert, and T-357/18 (2018).

Noriega (2017) emphasizes that illicitness does not fall on the plant nor on its traditional uses, but on processes of appropriation driven by dominant racist and colonial power structures, as well as by armed groups outside the law, that incur in an ethno-epistemological expropriation of coca by unlinking it from its cultural meanings and transforming it into "cocaine" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia and Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 2025).

Therefore, coca cultivation is not an illicit crop, as it is usually presented from perspectives that reproduce racism towards native cultures (Dussel, E., 2022) and towards indigenous peoples, in the form of aporophobia (Enciso & Arbieta Mamani, 2020) or as "indigenophobia or indigenous animosity" (authors' emphasis). What is illicit corresponds to the practices carried out by mestizos, whites, settlers, domestic and international plutocrats and armed groups around coca.

In this sense, denominating coca cultivation as an "illicit crop" (authors' emphasis) not only constitutes a form of cultural ostracism, but also a form of stigmatization and criminalization of Colombian indigenous ethnic groups, in favor of xenoneocolonization (Epia-Silva & Arcos-Chaparro, 2026a, p. 302) and of the undue intellectual and cultural appropriation of the coca plant, aimed at solely benefiting transnational entities and Euro-Western companies dedicated to the food, soil and ethnoseed expropriation of Abya Yala.

Methodological Design

This work has been carried out within the framework of the Doctorate in Law at Universidad Libre – Bogotá Campus, derived from the doctoral research project entitled: *Indigenous ethnoeducation as a challenge to the Social State under the rule of law: A study of the Múruí-Muina people in the Colombian Amazon*.

This purposeful and scientific input was structured under an approach explained by Balderas Gutiérrez (2017) and Díaz (2025) as qualitative-educational. The qualitative-pedagogical approach was also used according to Pineda-Rodríguez (2025) and the qualitative-transdisciplinary approach was addressed, as noted by Merçon (2022) and Oladele et al. (2026), through an integrative methodological design that articulated ethnography and Participatory Action Research (PAR), oriented to the analysis of ethnoeducational and ethnopedagogical processes (Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro, 2024; 2026a) in the Múruí-Muina community, as shown in Tables 1 and 2, and in Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

The research examines the endocultural defense practices of the Múruí-Muina people and the tensions between their own educational systems and current public educational policies within the framework of the Social State under the rule of law. In this context, the following research question is posed: How do the Múruí-Muina Indigenous peoples understand and claim their right to their own education, challenging the educational policies that have been imposed on them since colonialism and multiculturalism within the Social State under the rule of law enshrined in the Political Constitution of 1991?

In particular, this scientific product is concerned with developing the fourth specific objective, understood as: to study, through socio-legal ethnography, the pedagogical models inherent to indigenous communities, from their worldview and their right to ethnoeducation, taking as a sample the Múruí Muina people, located in the Colombian Amazon (see Table 2). However, this scientific-academic input, as it follows a cross-sectional methodology, also resorts to revisiting important aspects of the other objectives of the doctoral thesis.

Table 1: Research methodological design
METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

Research Approach	Qualitative-educational-legal-transdisciplinary-applied.
Research Method	Collaborative ethnography, phenomenology, PAR participatory action research
Type of Research:	Explanatory-descriptive: as specified by Lerma Rodríguez and Peñalosa Castro (2025), description constitutes a central tool in ethnography, as it fulfills a dual value within the research process. First, it allows for the representation of the characteristics of a reality through language, accounting for its practices, contexts, and dynamics. Second, it acquires an explanatory value, to the extent that it makes it possible to understand the conditions that shape social and cultural phenomena. This dual value makes it possible to make visible the particularities of the own education of the Múruí-Muina people within the framework of the research process.
Research Technique:	Dialogism - dialectics - participant observation
Logical Research System	Conceptual-reflexive: which will be explained in another document.
Data Collection Technique:	Analectics was selected as a technique to build history together with the population and the Múruí-Muina authorities, privileging the conversational mobility of oír (to listen/hear): listening with the senses to unlearn the invasive West and learn from the millenary knowledge of the elder, custodian of the Múruí cultural tradition. Likewise, it recognizes discrimination for being indigenous, the denial of their identity for not corresponding to the condition of being white, and the institutionalized practices of cognitive domestication, of a Eurocentric and neo-enslavement character, which, according to the text, are currently applied by the Ministry of National Education
Qualitative Data Collection:	The dialogue was developed from conversation and not from interrogation, incorporating data collection through life stories from primary sources (focus group - Múruí ethnic group) and secondary and tertiary documentary sources.
Systematization and Data Analysis:	The above was presented and explained in a dynamic and pedagogical way in the systematization matrix, developing an investigative triangulation that rests on the corpus of the thesis text as an investigative analysis of the doctoral dissertation.

Source. The authors.

The objectives established for this collaborative ethnographic research project (see Table 2) structured the inquiry process and made it possible to examine the research problem linked to the *meta-right* to the own education of the Múruí people, understood as the fundamental and human right to build and develop an individual and collective life project (Solsona,

2024). From this perspective, own education constitutes a *sine qua non* condition for the exercise of freedom, insofar as it makes possible the autonomous realization of said life project in accordance with the principles, knowledge, and forms of existence of the Múruí people.

Table 2: Methodological Basis and Research Objectives

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	
GENERAL OBJECTIVE	To analyze the way in which the Múruí Muina indigenous peoples have sought to preserve their right to ethno-education, struggling to decolonize and build their own pedagogical models in an effort to overcome the precepts that the Social State of Law has been imposing, taking as a theoretical reference the contributions made by the new Latin American constitutionalism, legal pluralism, interculturality, and epistemologies of the South.
1. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE	To identify, from legal theory and constitutionalism, the importance of vindicating the right to ethno-education of indigenous peoples.
2. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE	To determine the way in which the Social State of Law implements educational policies and traditional pedagogical models that limit the right that indigenous peoples have to determine their own education.
3. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE	To relate the vindications that indigenous peoples have sustained in search of recognition of their right to ethno-education since the Colombian Constitution of 1991, moving from monoculturalism towards multiculturalism.
4. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE	To study, through legal ethnography, the own pedagogical models of indigenous communities, from their worldview and their right to ethno-education, taking as a sample the Múruí Muina people, located in the Colombian Amazon.

Source. The authors

This research process was methodologically formulated on the basis of ethno-education (emphasis by the authors), understood as a socio-legal and educational phenomenon permeated by the Nation-State, which keeps the Múruí people as non-emancipated from "educational globalism" (Arcos-Chaparro and Epia Silva, 2024, p. 8), understood as the institutionalization of Eurocentric colonization of the Colombian educational system (Epia-Silva & Arcos-Chaparro, 2026a).

The above is supported by an ethnographic study that included tours of different Jofo Ananeko (malocas) of the ethno-territory and of the own educational institutions of the Amazon. In this sense, the research transcends the review of books and previous studies by incorporating the recognition of the *other and for the other* (Dussel, 2015), understood not only among human beings, but also in the relationship with animals, rivers, jungles, mountains and all animate and inanimate beings that make up Mother Earth.

From this perspective, historical, geographical, anthropological, sociological and fieldwork data are articulated through PAR [Participatory Action Research] to make visible otherness*** (Casa, 2022) in the pedagogical worldview, the educational cosmogony (praxeological) and its legal dimension, based on the question: in what way has the Colombian State vindicated, or not, the identity, idiosyncrasy and feeling of being indigenous?

***Otherness, in the form proposed by Enrique Dussel, implies recognizing oneself in the other, and not using this concept to despise, stigmatize, demonize, criminalize or exclude them, as Goffman (2006) explains.

The lived experience of ethnography fostered re-encounter, rapprochement, and deep knowledge with the Múru-Muina people, their history, their geographical location, their ethno-territory, their diet and food, the Múru Chagra, the sacred source plants (*Jibina*, *D+ona* and *Fareka*) and their ethno-climate. Likewise, it allowed for an understanding of the Múru-Muina characterization, their identity, their idiosyncrasy, their knowledges and their wisdom.

The development and process of ethnography facilitate direct introduction into qualitative research. The review of texts does not constitute the main objective; on the contrary, following the words of Professor Fernando Urbina Rangel during the conference on La Vorágine, held on August 29, 2024 in the auditorium of the Banco de la República in Florencia (Rangel, El Caquetá: historia y literatura, 2024), it is proposed that: "(...) The only way to understand indigenous peoples is by sharing with them, navigating their rivers, visiting their mambeaderos, 'mambeando' their wisdoms, living with them and listening to the elders of the [Múru-Muina] ethnic group" (Rangel, 2022, p. 22).

In this way, the present ethnography started from the mambeo of wisdoms in the Múru Jofo Ananeko. The first one visited was that of Puerto Leguizamo, belonging to the Association of Traditional Authorities and Councils of the Indigenous Peoples of the Municipality of Leguizamo and Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). Subsequently, the Jofo Ananeko of *Mona To+* and *Puerto Refugio* were visited, both located in *Putumayo*. Finally, a visit was made to the Jofo Ananeko of Florencia, known as Maloka Uitoto.

Thus begins this ethnographic account as a research methodology, taking as its starting point "the mambeo, ritual practice and space for dialogue of *rafue* knowledges" (emphasis by the authors) which, according to Múru tradition, is carried out inside the Jofo Ananeko.

Research Development

Ritual preparation and spiritual understanding with the ethnographic Mambe As for Mambe, "it is a powder prepared with toasted coca^{****} leaves pounded, mixed with ashes of dried yarumo^{*****} leaves and sifted, placing it in the cheeks" (Rangel, 2022, p. 49). Figure 1 presents the toasting of the coca leaf and the preparation of Mambe; Figure 2, the pulverization of the leaves, and Figure 3, the storage methods. According to indigenous tradition, Mambe is consumed orally, keeping it in the mouth until it is slowly swallowed.

While we were *mambeando* in the Huitoto Maloka of Florencia, Diego, the chief's son-in-law, explained that the women of his people were forbidden to mambear, because coca represents woman and, well, if a woman consumed coca, it was associated with lesbianism, a situation that was not permitted within their traditions. However, he specified that this prohibition applied only to Múru women, since they were the ones linked to that cultural principle. In contrast, white, mestiza or settler women, as they did not belong to the Múru-Muina people nor were subject to their culture, nor to their norms or traditional meanings, could consume Mambe without generating any contradiction with the cultural practices of the community. A situation that did not occur with Ambil, which could be consumed by both men and women.

The ethnocultural traditions of the Múru Muina people are based on ethnoontological foundations that organize their understanding of the world, life and community relations. These configure a system of knowledge where the spiritual, social and everyday dimensions are inseparable. Within this framework, religious and spiritual practices constitute their form of existence and cultural organization. For the Múru, from their cosmophily, the coca plant symbolizes the earthly, life and reproduction; the ancestral coca plant is equivalent to the Múru woman.

*****Erythroxylum coca*: it is a shrub of Amazonian origin, whose habitat is the hot and humid valleys between 1,000 and 2,000 meters high commonly called "Yungas". For this reason, they are replacing the uses of the coca leaf by producing tea, medicinal extracts and using it for their healing and shamanic practices. The use of the coca leaf for "*mambeando*" or chewing dates back millennia and is universally known (Asociación Chamánica y Ecológica de Colombia., n.d.).

*****It is a type of ethnic tree or belonging to the ethnoflora, the "ethnoclimate" (Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro, 2026) to the ethnobotany of the Múru cosmovision as well as of the Caquetá and Putumayo Amazonian territory.

Figure 1. Form of processing of the coca leaf as an ancestral plant belonging to the ethnoclimate, ethnoterritory, cosmovision and cosmogony of the Múru Muina



Source. Authors' photographic record from the ethnography.

Methodological note. Visual record obtained during the ethnography in Puerto Refugio where the Múru Muina ethnic group explains the process and treatment of the ancestral coca leaf to carry out the ethnographic mambeo.

As an ancestral tradition and element of the idiosyncrasy and cultural identity of the Múru people, the coca leaf, which can be seen in figures 1, 2 and 3, sustains the practices associated with Mambeo. In Amazonian municipalities with the presence of indigenous peoples and where members of the Múru ethnic group still survive, some families produce and market Mambe, Ambil and mountain salt, products that constitute fundamental raw materials for the continuity of this cultural tradition. For this reason, it is stated by elder José del Carmen Capojó:

Figure 2. Steps in the elaboration of Mambe



Source. From the authors' photographic record of the ethnography

Methodological note. Image obtained within the ethnography, it shows the mortar used by the Múru ethnic group to pulverize the ancestral coca leaf inside the JOFO ANANEKO. According to José del Carmen Capojó, elder of traditional medicine, "Jibina, or Mambe, is the body of the heavenly father, just as the host is for the Catholic world. Mambe is a fundamental part of the formation of the Múru man, because through it the transmission of knowledge takes place", that is why from a very young age one begins to be prepared for the first time one mambeas, whose purpose is to preserve the balance between man and nature. (Villareal, 2021).

"Coca is an ancestral plant" (Emisora de Paz, Puerto Leguizamo, Putumayo, 2023) that belongs to the cultural identity of the Múru Muina population (see figures 1, 2, 3, 10 and 11), which is not only limited to herbal use, but is also an ethnopharmacological plant because it possesses curative and homeopathic medicinal properties (Asociación Chamánica y Ecológica de Colombia., n.d.) that has had not only a traditional, but a structural use within the indigenous community of the aborigines in Colombia belonging to the ethnoclimate since before the invasion of 1492. Specifically, in the Múru Muina ethnic group, the coca plant acquires a pharmacognostic value within their knowledge for being a "seed plant" (authors' emphasis). What must be understood is that a seed plant (*ethnoseed*) is a source plant, that is, it is indivisible and inseparable from the origin, creation and history of the Múru Muina ethnic group. Therefore, the coca plant has the characteristic of being an ethnobotanical plant of vital condition and necessity for the survival of the Múru Muina community.

Figure 3. *Photographic record of ethnography in the JOFO ANANEKO of Puerto Refugio*



Methodological note. Ethnographic visual record on the storage, care and value of Mambe as a language of plants in communication of the Múruí ethnic group with Moo Buinaima.

Mambe is a practice of "cosmogonic" action (Epia-Silva, 2021, p. 425) that allows the Múruí Muina people to link their "own personal gnosis" (Michael, 2023, p. 4; Ferrera, 2026) with their ancestors from their mythological origins (Dussel et al., 2009) or, as Balma (2011) proposes, it constitutes a use of ethnopsychopharmacology, where the plants used are linked to their ethnic deities. This practice is completed with Ambil, shown in figure 4. Ambil and Mambe are complementary because they possess entheogenic properties (López-Coterilla, 2025) and constitute the physical manifestation of the teaching powers of the plant spirits, each with its own personality.

1.1. Ethnographic Ambil

Ambil is obtained from the cooking of the tobacco leaf, an ancestral plant of the ethnoclimate of the Colombian Amazon that has the Eurocentric name *Nicotiana rustica* and *Nicotiana tabacum* (Mabit and Giove, 2026). The preparation is reduced until it forms a creamy paste that is mixed with vegetable salt, rich in minerals. Ambil and Mambe are organic substances and are part of the intellectual and cultural property of the Colombian aboriginal peoples. For the Múruí Muina, Ambil has a profound spiritual value and is used by the knowledge keepers to guide the resolution of community problems; its use is linked to mambeo and constitutes an educational act that takes place in the Jofo Ananeko (CNMH and ONIC, 2019, p. 110).

Figure 4. From left to right, Mambe, mountain Salt in the center, and Ambil.



Source. Authors' own elaboration.

Methodological note. The image corresponds to the photographic record obtained during the development of the ethnography.

Although traditionally Ambil and Mambe were consumed mainly *in ritual spaces such as the mambeaderos* (Romero, 2026), currently some members of the Múruí Muina people carry them in personal containers for consumption in everyday contexts, including academic, work, and community activities. This change in use practices reflects processes of cultural adaptation of their sacramental plants coca, Ambil, and salt without implying a loss of their meaning within the ethnocultural system. In this sense, these practices should not be understood from stigmatizing, criminalizing, or pathologizing approaches, but from their own frameworks of social and cultural significance.

1.2. La Jofo Ananeko: Comunicación con los Espíritus y Deidades en la Etnografía

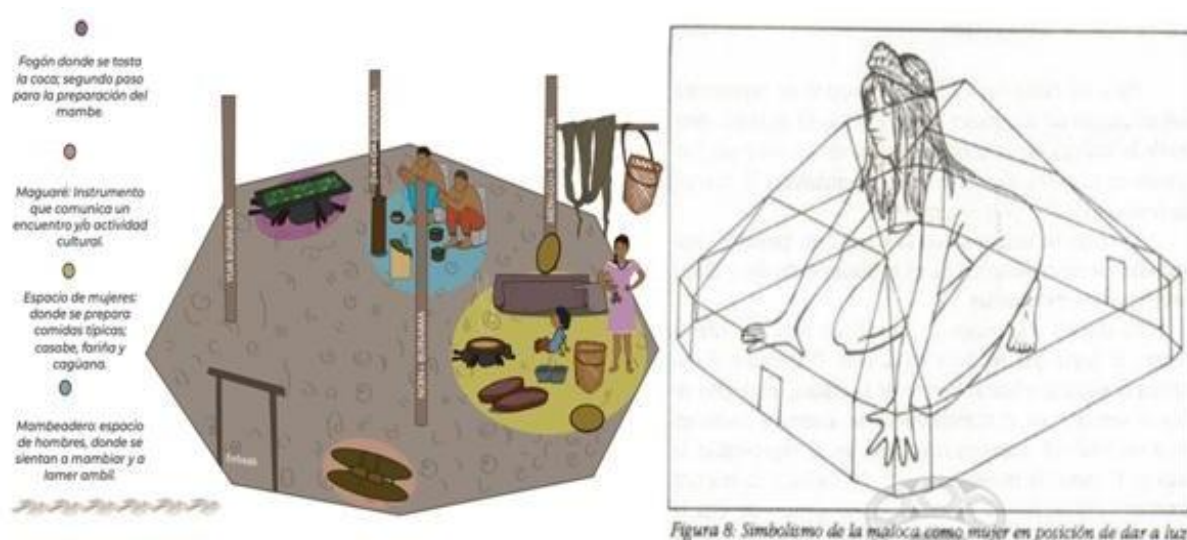
For the Múruí, identity originates in their ethnopedagogy, their ethnoclimate, and their ethnoterritory, through the practices that sustain daily life. Their origin stories explain the emergence of the Múruí people, while their history is continuously constructed and renewed in the Jofo Ananeko, the central space for the transmission of knowledge, learning, and cultural continuity. According to Tagliani (1992, p. 32), the Jofo Ananeko represents the fertile woman, the female womb, and the place where the word is born and spiritual transformation is fostered. Therefore, when the Múruí man enters the Jofo Ananeko, he symbolically enters the mother's womb and adopts a fetal position. In this sense, Tagliani (1992) points out that returning to this space for mambeo implies a recreation of birth, understood as a rebirth.

Tagliani (1992) expresses that the architectural structural conformation of the Ananeko symbolically represents the Múruí woman in childbirth, precisely at the moment of delivery (as seen in Figure 5). Although in the Jofo Ananeko the "new Múruí" cannot be born (authors' emphasis) because they must be born on the way to La Chagra or in La Chagra (Tagliani, 1992, pp. 31-37). The organization of the pillars (or columns) of the Jofo Ananeko has an ethnopedagogical order that is explained by the Múruí ethnic group itself, more precisely by ACILAPP in the Safeguarding

Plan as follows:

[Thus, in harmony] with the pillars of the Jofo Ananeko and the worldview of the Múruí, four components were established in the structure of the safeguarding plan: 1. Territory; 2. Government and Own Justice; 3. Quality of Life; and 4. Culture and Tradition. These four pillars "are sustained and guided by four spiritual sages: 'Yua Buinaima, Z+k+da Buinaima, Noin+ Buinaima and Menigu+ Buinaima'" (ACILAPP, 2012, p. 16) as can be clearly seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5. From left to right, explanation of what the pillars of the Jofo Ananeko are like and the image of the Jofo Ananeko symbolizing the woman



Methodological note. The first image on the left explains that the pillars of the Jofo Ananeko are homogeneous to the ribs of human beings and is taken from (ACILAPP, 2020b, p. 63). The image on the right of the Jofo Ananeko, which represents the moment of childbirth, is taken from (Tagliani, 1992, p. 32).

The Jofo Ananeko possess a profound symbolism for the Múruí Muina, as they are a microcosm. In them, the understanding of the human being as one of the foundations of their worldview is expressed. In this sense, Tagliani (1992) points out that, for this ethnic group, there are two types of Jofo Ananeko: some with masculine characteristics and others with feminine characteristics. These can be identified in Figure 6, where it is observed that the Múruí use the Jofo Ananeko of the masculine type, while the Muinane use those of the feminine type (p. 26).

Rangel (2022) points out that "the maloca is the image of the cosmos. It is built entirely with materials taken from the wild environment, which is why it is said to be a woven jungle, a highly efficient and non-polluting human artifice" (p. 48). Its construction requires the ancestral knowledge of the sage (Epia-Silva, 2021), as its structure represents the cosmogonic movement that gave rise to what exists. According to Vides et al. (2017), each clan had its own ananeko and its chief or owner. Currently, the ananeko belongs to several clans and, although it is no longer inhabited, it retains its ancestral

authority.

Púa-Mora (2010) points out that "the maloca symbolizes the body of the primordial Mother, from whose strength the Father was gestated and, finally, the Son, the demiurge who, through the word, creates the world and puts it into action" (p. 121). It is the place where people connect with *Moo Buinaima*. The ananeko keeps the Múruí people in spirituality; there, the community's conflicts are harmonized through Jibina and D+ona. It is a space of trust that guides good living, as described in the book ENIE ZEDAJANO UAI (ACILAPP, 2020a, p. 20).

In the Jofo Ananeko, with the approval of the "ancestral spirits and the Yetarafue" (ACILAPP, 2020c, p. 28) of the elders, represented in the council and the word, knowledge and practices of the original culture are shared for the governance of the territory. The Ananeko transcends the function of dwelling and constitutes the center of ceremonial and ritual life. There, the community dialogues about its problems, transmits knowledge, makes decisions, imparts advice and carries out the mambeadero, as seen in Figure 7.

Figure 6. Differentiation of the Jofo Ananeko from left to right: the first is a feminine Jofo Ananeko and the second is masculine where the word "territory" can be read.



1.2.1. Rafue and Ananeko Ethnoepistemic Space

Rafue must be understood as the word with creative power and is differentiated from *Uai* (ACILAPP, 2020c), understood as the everyday word. *Rafue* is the word that is woven in knowledge and with knowledge; it is the word of the night, because for the Múruí the night is the time destined for the word, while during the day work is carried out. It is at night where the meaning and power of the word are born. *Rafue* is the poetic word of the *minika* language (Osorio, 2019).

The purpose of *rafue* is the good living [buen vivir] of human beings and nature, since all beings are wisely woven (*kominitaiyi*) with mother earth, where all creatures (*komini*) are the same weave (*niya*) (Osorio, 2019, p. 226). The word for the Múruí is life itself; it is the elaboration of knowledge. Therefore, one must always take care of what is said, because the word has the equivalent of the care given to the sowing of the Chagra and to germination, thus warning that *rafueniai* is the elaboration of culture by and in the word; it is the Múruí prayer, the chant (*rua*), the advice (*yetarafue*) and the origin story (*jagai*). Therefore, for the Múruí it is symbolically represented that mouth is (*fue*) and the word with power is (*raa*) (Osorio, 2019).

Methodological note. Images taken from ACILAPP (2020b, pp. 62 and 70). These allow identification of The differences between the feminine and masculine Jofo Ananeko. The left image shows the triangular termination of the roof, characteristic of the feminine Jofo Ananeko.

rafuenaama is the sage who is responsible for transmitting and organizing knowledge, he is the one who has in his basket of wisdom (*kirigai*) the lessons he has collected throughout his life, bequeathed by his ancestors, learned in the Chagra alongside the plants of knowledge and in the circles of mambeo, where they gather to listen to the words in the company of coca and tobacco plants (Osorio, 2019, p. 227).

For the Múruí, language constructs *jagagiai* (poetic genres and poetic forms) and the word allows connection with the gods, animals and nature, and with the act of weaving oneself with the *kirigai*, where ethnophilosophy is of sowing and ethnoepistemology is understanding the word as a seed of power. That is to say, for the Múruí Muina, *rafue* is neither word nor thing; it is the activity of transformation and it is the movement of time. *Rafue* is the principle, it is a way of life where the ancestral word walks through time, with time and from time; therefore, the human being is seed. The worldview of the Múruí cannot leave aside another vital and indispensable element, and that is *kirigaiai*, which collects, covers, receives and stores *rafue*, the ancestral and intercultural historical educational model *Yofuera k+r+ga+* (Basket of Education) (ACILAPP, 2020c).

1.2.2. The Mambeadero as an Ethnognoseological Pillar

ACILAPP (2020a; 2020b; 2020c; 2020d) explains that the mambeadero is a physical and spiritual space of the ananeko where the community generally gathers daily, from dusk till dawn. There, the events of the ancestral people are shared and administrative, political, social, educational and economic matters are discussed, in a space where all people are heard.

Jacanamijoy et al. (2021) add that "The mambeaderos are our spiritual part; it begins when the grandfather opens the session (rituality) of the word and tells our own stories. He does so by taking up the three elements (tobacco, coca and sweet cassava) because he makes a call to the spiritual" (p. 15). The dialogue is carried out in an organized way, seeking that all people can participate and that several rounds are held to listen to the contributions that each one makes to the discussion.

In addition to the above, the mambeadero (see Figures 6 and 7) is a social and spiritual school that contributes to the formation of Indigenous peoples, according to the CNMH and ONIC (2019). It is guided by the *maloquero* grandfather, the knowledgeable one who guides and sustains this space, since "from his chair he exercises control and management of his territory and its resources. There, men must inform and request permission for the use of any resource from its owners or spirits" (ACILAPP and Carrizosa, 2019, p. 15), as established in the Eroinano document. Non-compliance with these orientations can bring consequences such as illnesses and bad times.

Already in the mambeadero two transcendental elements appear for the life of the Múruí people, such as Mambe and Ambil, which come from the *jibina* leaf and *D+ona* (Figure 10). The former represents the earthly and the latter manifests the spiritual. While matters are discussed, the Múruí mambea and suck Ambil, elements that help them with concentration, with thinking, also calming hunger and warding off sleep:

Figure 7. Jofo Ananeko of Puerto Refugio and the ethnography was developed through mambeo in the mambeadero



Methodological note. Jofo Ananeko of Puerto Refugio: the image on the left, the head of the Ananeko invites the principal investigator to Mambe, in the second image the male Jofo Ananeko can be seen in detail.

2. The Chagra: Ethno-cognitive Foundation of Ancestral Knowledge

After the ethnographic dialogues of November 8, 2021, leader Blanca García, Otoniel's mother, commented that, to make the Chagra seen in Figure 8, permission must first be asked from the creator. She is also used to talking to nature before clearing and sowing, because she has understood that nature listens, and that has allowed plants, trees and their fruits to grow faster and more beautifully. Blanca added that you cannot take the entire harvest, because fruits must be left so that monkeys, birds and other animals can feed, because they are all younger brothers.

Figure 8. *The Chagra, place of education, axis of the cosmovision of the Múruí-Muina ethnic group*



Methodological note. The images correspond to the ethnographic record in Puerto Refugio. The first image on the left corresponds to the pineapple crop, and the image on the right, to the papaya crop, fruits that are part of the cultural heritage for belonging to the ethnoseeds and ethnobotany of the Múruí-Muina ethnic group.

According to Rangel (2022), to sow the chagra the *maloquero* grandfather requests permission from the divine beings of the jungle, allowing the men to clear the space where women, along with boys and girls, carry out the sowing, care and harvesting of the gardens. These foods intended for self-consumption are complemented by hunting and fishing, practices that guarantee survival and express a relationship with Mother Earth that transcends the Western idea of sustainability, as it is based on an intimate bond of reciprocity and brotherhood with nature. This relationship contrasts with the practices of abuse and exploitation historically exercised by external actors, referred to by Taborda and Erquicia (2022) as the "perfect white European" (p. 159). In this sense, Arcos-Chaparro and Epia-Silva (2025) argue that the "*white man of yesterday*" (authors' emphasis) is manifested today in the plutocrat associated with foreign interests who continues forms of domination over Abya Yala.

It is explained, following Dussel (2012), that modernization implies colonizing the jungle and that the indigenous person cannot reproduce his life in accordance with the demands of his own traditions. Dussel continues by stating that the greatest colonizing evil for an indigenous person is to deny him his land: to devastate it, to dispossess him and to take that land that has not been trafficked or exploited, that has not been violated with buildings. Because the white man makes the jungles and forests disappear: "everything becomes agricultural field and is claimed by the white man for his cows; all the land becomes sick and becomes an absolute evil" (p. 138). This figure of the dispossession of the jungle relates significantly to the expression "*white devil*" present in *Duerme negrito* (1967), a song from the Colombo-Venezuelan folklore. In the same way, Facundo Cabral, in his interpretation of "*Duerme negrito*," expresses that the "*white devil*" arrives and *jzap!* takes (removes) the land from the peasant, from the indigenous person (2021). In this sense, following the CNMH and ONIC (2019), indigenous peoples have been historical victims of the white settler, the main actor in processes of dispossession, violence, territorial expropriation (through jurisdictional decisions and laws of unjust law in the manner of Gustav Radbruch) and undue appropriation of ethnophilosophy, knowledge, ethnoseeds and indigenous genetic resources, affecting their ethnoterritories and ways of life, as explained below:

The perpetrator, a white man [today's plutocrat] with all the political, economic and social privileges, recreated for his part the image of the eternal victimizer: the "conquistador," the "landowner," the "rubber station boss" who delighted in maintaining harems with indigenous girls, the "businessman," the "commander" who time and again star in the theater of horror that reads in the indigenous person, in the woman and in the poor the unrestricted possibility, the natural right to access them, to take possession of their flesh, to extinguish their life, to inflict upon them a Bad Death (p. 179).

It is in the Chagra where a heterogeneous variety of Amazonian fruits and plantations are found, such as *Caimo*, *Cashew*, *Uva Caimarona* (see figure 9), *maracá*, *Açaí* and *Sacha Inchi*, also represented in figure 9; in addition to diverse varieties of *Chili*, *Pineapple*, *Arazá*, *Cocona* and *Copoazú*. Likewise, ethnomedicinal plants are found and, of course, the ancestral source plants: *Jibina*, *D+ona* and *Fareka*, present in figure 10 in their various varieties. In this sense, SINCHI and AZICATCH (2011), who cite Ramón (2007), explain that:

The chagra is the teaching of work and of knowledge of tradition. In it, the code of work is reflected, myths, incantations and laws of origin are found. The Chagra is the force of spiritual and physical work (p. 24).

Figure 9. *In the Chagra various fruit crops can be observed. In the first image, on the left, Acaí or Asaí can be seen; in the center, the Uva Caimarona; and in the last image, the Sacha Inchi or peanut, all of which constitute cultural heritage as they are ethnoseeds of the Amazonian ethnic groups of Abya Yala.*



Methodological note. The images were taken from different authors. The first corresponds to the *Acaí* or *Asaí* fruit and was taken from Braun (2022); the central image, of the *Uva Caimarona*, was taken from Periódico Umarí - Amazonas (2024); and the last one, corresponding to the *Sacha Inchi* or Peanut fruit, was taken from Murgas and Gómez (2024). All these fruits constitute cultural heritage and ethnoseeds that are part of the intellectual heritage and the forms of sowing, cultivation and harvesting of the Amazonian indigenous ethnic groups, such as the Múru-Muina people.

In conclusion, the Chagra is the extension of the indigenous ethnoeducational process and of own education; therefore, the development of ethnic identity implies nourishing its traditions from its own ethnoterritories, where the Múru communities establish their Chagras in communion with the jungle, without ambition, without monopolistic narcissisms nor the disease of savage urbanism, because the "Indian" does not see the land as a tool, but as a sister, that is why the indigenous person is the one who truly defends it, suffers for it and knows that development in the Western mode leads to the death of the jungle.

Figure 10. *The plants consecrated as a source of ancestral ethnoepistemological knowledge. The first, on the left, corresponds to Jibina; in the center is D+ona; and, in last place, Fareka.*



Methodological note. The plants in Figure 10 belong to the ethnoclimate, and the first image, corresponding to *Jibina*, was taken from Emisora de Paz, Puerto Leguizamo, Putumayo (2023); the central image was taken from Xapiri Ground. *An ancestral tradition that honors tobacco as a medicinal plant* (2022); and the last image is a product of the ethnography articulated with PAR and was taken by the principal investigator.

D+ona or tobacco belongs to the ethnoclimate (see Figure 10, center image) and has an important use in the Chagra, as it is not only used for consumption by indigenous people, but also as a protective plant for crops, functioning as a natural dewormer and insecticide. That is, tobacco helps control weeds and repel insects that affect the plants intended for consumption and food of the Múruí-Muina people.

Bernal (2017) explains that, in recent years, some Amazonian fruits that have historically been produced by the ancestral peoples of the Amazon are being exported, constituting a source of income and economic sustainability for the ancestral peoples. Such is the case of Asaí, which has been exported from Putumayo to countries such as France, Germany, the United States and Chile.

The plants of the Chagra are autochthonous to the ethnoclimate; therefore, they are plants native to the ethnoterritory and form part of the intellectual property of the indigenous communities of Abya Yala. Precisely because they are plants native to Abya Yala, they allow for food self-sufficiency and present a high capacity for adaptation and resistance to climatic phenomena such as El Niño and La Niña, as long as these *ethnoseeds* have not been altered by the intervention of sectors of the food industry through transgenic modifications, as proposed by Paull (2019).

According to Herber et al. (2006), Suárez (2009) and Shen et al. (2022), it cannot be ensured that transgenic foods are completely harmless or not detrimental to human health. From this perspective, "transgenic food is only a form of food monopoly freely available solely for the enrichment of the "feudotechnocrats" (emphasis by the authors) chief executive officers of transnationals, because they own 95% of the food and seed patents in the world" (Zaldívar, 2009, p. 101; Vega, 2018, p. 89).

3. Conclusions

This ethnography, articulated with Participatory Action Research (PAR), made it possible to show that the history of the Múruí-Muina people is that of tireless warriors: peaceful, but persistent; survivors who challenge, through their existence and presence in the ethnoterritories, the globalizing interests of the contemporary market over territories, sovereignties, natural resources (ethnoclimate) and the misappropriation of ethnoknowledge, such as the ancestral wisdom of Colombian indigenous peoples about the Chagra, ethnomedicine, ethnobotany. In this context, Harari (2025) indicates that the current global economy has transitioned from a material economy to an economy in which knowledge predominates (p. 26).

The Múruí-Muina Nation survives and has resisted the worst acts of desecration committed in its jungles, its rivers and its trees, sacred spaces that have witnessed mutilations, rapes and the most serious abuses that can be committed against a human being. All of this has occurred amid the complicit silence of a nation-state that, according to Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2026a), refuses to assume an active and effective role in the protection of aboriginal peoples against transnational corporations and international organizations.

At the same time, indigenous peoples are constant victims of systematic and continuous racism exercised in Colombia by broad sectors of society and, "in a particularly serious way, by public officials" (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la no Repetición, 2022c, p. 271) [Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition, 2022c, p. 271]. Faced with this reality, *malinchismo* and processes of acculturation have contributed to the construction of a national identity that privileges foreign references because it denies and devalues the indigenous roots that constitute it.

La Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición (2022c) [The Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition (2022c)] explains that the slave-owning mentality has been perpetuated through generations in Colombia. This persistence has led some young people and adults to ridicule indigenous peoples, their ancestral knowledge and their ways of relating to nature. In this way, this historical ignorance has led some Colombians to stigmatize and criminalize indigenous peoples, labeling them as "guerrillas" (p. 238) and even as "drug addicts" (emphasis by the authors) for resorting to the ancestral use of source plants such as *Jibina* and *D+ona*.

The **Jibina**, which appears in figure 10, is considered one of the sacred source plants of the ethnoclimate and the ethnoterritory, and is an ethno-seed plant of the Múruí people. It was given by *Moo Buinaima*, "with a spiritual power to cleanse thought, to speak and act with wisdom to govern the people" (ACILAPP & Minjusticia, 2005, p. 17). Likewise, it helps the Múruí-Muina to be disciplined in the management of knowledge acquired from their worldview, allowing them to listen, converse and recognize themselves in the spirit of the brothers of the jungle, visible and not visible.

The **Jibina** is transcendental for the Múruí people, according to the explanation in the document ENIE ZEDAJANO UAI on pages 17 and 18 (ACILAPP, 2020a), because it removes laziness, strengthens morale and provides intelligence. *The coca leaf allows the word to flow daily in the mambadero* (ACILAPP & Minjusticia, 2022); there the **Jibina** is

mambeada after going through a preparation process that includes roasting, pounding and sifting, followed by the ritual performed by the knowledge keeper so that the word emerges, under the protection of the *Ananeko* (maloca).

The Jibina, in accordance with the document *Uñua Uai* (ACILAPP, 2020b), is the force of our speech to transmit all good knowledge. The Jibina leaf is compared to our tongue, because everything we have in our heart passes to our thoughts and we express it through our own language (p. 33).

The Múru-Muina elders ask not to compare the coca leaf used ancestrally with that used in the West for the elaboration of chemical derivatives nor to look upon it with disapproval. Instead, they invite us to understand it "as an element belonging to the ethnoclimate and *ethnoterritory* and an integrative element that allows for the transmission of knowledge, recovering that memory that instantaneous life denies us, the possibility of remembering and recognizing the multiple realities of the planet" (Merchán et al., 2016, p. 121). From the Múru worldview, coca and tobacco represent life, health, knowledge, the bond with nature, the past, the present and the whole. These components are received from the Law of Origin, which, from the intercultural perspective of the Múru-Muina people, takes precedence over the "xenojuridical laws" of the Colombian State (Epia-Silva & Arcos-Chaparro, 2026b, pp. 1179-1180).

D+ona: Another of the sacred plants is the **D+ona** (tobacco) belonging to the ethnoclimate and the ethnoterritory, which is observed in figure 10 (central part), because it was delivered by *Moo Buinaima* "as a perpetual mandate for good living, obeying the discipline of the heart, through the management of subjectivity and the governance of life with respect for the principle of divine creation and with a healthy conscience" (ACILAPP & Minjusticia, 2005, p. 17). Tobacco has a direct relationship with the spiritual part of indigenous people, becoming important for the use and management of the sweet word, which helps the political and administrative formation of the territory, in accordance with ancestral postulates of life.

As a sacred plant, the **D+ona** was granted to preserve the spiritual health of the Múru-Muina and to complement the power that coca inspires. Tobacco is fundamental for the elaboration of Ambil, which, after its preparation, acquires a semi-liquid form and becomes a spiritual instrument of connection between people, strengthening solidarity and unity. Its use is common to seek a way out of difficulties, especially in the mambeadero (Púa-Mora, 2010).

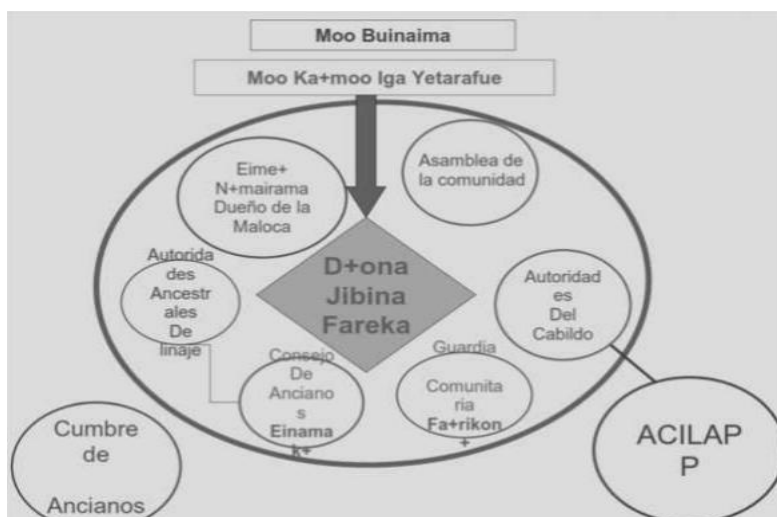
Fareka (Sweet assava), As a sacred plant in the Múru-Muina worldview, the Fareka (figure 10) is an autochthonous plant of the ethnoclimate and the ethnoterritory and was delivered by Eño Fareka Buinaño and, according to ACILAPP (2020a) in the document ENIE ZEDAJANO UAI, is represented by the woman, who manages it, cares for it with her spiritual strength, seeks to harmonize, solve and cleanse a problem or an aspect that disturbs human consciousness. It is a word of healing and life that "represents the sweet word for the education of her son and daughter and society; the woman must harmonize that knowledge and her words must be of counsel" (Jacanamijoy et al., 2021, p. 15).

The Sweet cassava, as the woman's word, provides physical and spiritual nourishment, preserving family harmony. "It establishes a discipline that rejects negative energies and behaviors that unbalance the normal life of the people" (ACILAPP & Minjusticia, 2005, p. 18). It is a spiritual plant cultivated by women in the Chagra, with varieties such as Sweet cassava and bitter cassava or poisonous cassava, used to heal, nourish, and accompany dances and rituals. The Múru-Muina people use Fareka to prepare Caguana, a drink made from Sweet cassava starch and fruits such as pineapple, as well as Casabe, derived from yuca dulce flour (Púa-Mora, 2010).

Jibina, D+ona and Fareka are autochthonous and native source plants of the ethnoclimate. Being native to the ethnoterritories of Abya Yala, Indigenous peoples possess the intellectual property related to their seeds, forms of processing and uses as food, cure, ethnomedicines and spiritual connectors between the earthly world and the deities of the jungle. These ethno-seed plants constitute an own heritage of the Indigenous cultures of Colombia and possess a profound spiritual, cultural and ethical value, which must be recognized from alterity, understood, in the manner of Enrique Dussel (1973), as the recognition of the other from its own dignity and cosmovision [worldview]. In this sense, Mambe and Ambil represent the spirit and the heart of the Múru people, by making possible a relationship that transcends the material and strengthens the union with *Moo Buinaima*.

It is important to explain that Jibina, D+ona and Fareka constitute the theocentric axis and of social and political organization of the Múru-Muina ethnicity, as seen in Figure 11, which shows how the ancestral government is organized from these source plants.

Figure 11. *Jibina, D+ona and Farekab+ are autochthonous source plants and ethno-seed that constitute the intellectual heritage of the Múruí-Muina people, for being proper to the ethnoclimate and to the Múruí ethnoterritories*



Source. Image taken from ACILAPP & Minjusticia (2005, p. 20).

Methodological note. In Figure 11, the Association of Traditional Authorities and Councils of the Indigenous Peoples of the Municipality of Leguizamo and Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP) explains that, as the first inhabitants of the Colombian lands, they have the natural and prior right to be recognized as the true owners of the land of Abya Yala, because their existence is not only prior to the invasive colonization process of 1492, but also, even as an original people, prior to the current government structures and the constitutional formation of 1991. This human-historical situation is not captured in books, but is constituted orally from the Indigenous peoples **and is known** as the Ley Ancestral Yetarafue (ACILAPP & Minjusticia, 2022).

In this way, it can be asserted that the axes of knowledge and wisdom of the Múruí-Muina people are coexistent and inseparable from the ethno-climate and ethno-territory, since there is a relationship of interdependence, simultaneity and brotherhood that symbolize the axes of wisdom of the Múruí-Muina people. After the ethnographic dialogue articulated with PAR, it was understood that ethno-epistemology is based on 4 pillars understood as: 1. “*Uñua Uai (Language and communication)*” (ACILAPP, 2020B); 2. *En+e Zedajano Uai (Management and care of the territory)* (ACILAPP, 2020a); 3. *Fakadua Uai (Mathematics and handicrafts)* (ACILAPP, 2020c); and 4. *Manora (Komuya) Uai” (Natural sciences and traditional medicine)* (ACILAPP, 2020d), but these 4 emerge in turn from the “Historical Ancestral and Intercultural Educational Model *Yofuera K+r+ga+* (Basket of Education)” (Charry Cuellar et al., 2022, p. 14).

Basically, the Múruí-Muina Nation depends inexorably on its “Historical Ancestral and Intercultural Educational Model *Yofuera K+r+ga+*” (Charry Cuellar et al., 2022) to maintain its ethno-epistemology through its ancestral knowledge, stimulating the dissemination and circulation of its ethno-knowledge (as intellectual property), recognizing its origins in time and enabling new generations to strengthen their ancestral identity and culture through the mainstreaming of their own education (SEIP), both in homes and in their families.

Finally, it must be concluded that the high courts, Congress, the Ministry of Education, and the Colombian governments are in historical, moral, ethical, and reparative debt to the native communities. Only the decisions of the government of Virgilio Barco distanced themselves from this state inaction, who, on April 23, 1988, handed over to the Múruis the extension of the resguardo, consisting of 5,818,702 hectares, for a population group that, at the time, amounted to 2,067 families, made up of 10,335 people, in the municipalities and townships of *El Encanto*, *La Chorrera*, *Puerto Santander*, *Puerto Alegría*, and *Puerto Leguizamo*, in the departments of Putumayo and Amazonas (OPIAC, 2022). Also noteworthy is the government of Gustavo Petro, which recognized the importance of Own Education through Decree 481 of 2025 and implemented the System of Pedagogical Dynamizers through Decree 934 of 2026, within the framework of the SEIP.

With the exception of Barco and Petro, State institutions have omitted the protection of ethno-territories and, as Epia-Silva and Arcos-Chaparro (2026b) point out, continue to operate under a "xenojurisphilic" logic (p. 1179), subordinate to transnational and international interests.

Ethnoterritories have been and continue to be critically threatened, not only by state armed actors such as the Police or the National Army, as evidenced in Operation Berlin, where the latter institution, in the words of Carol Ann Figueroa (2026), savagely executed "approximately two hundred minors" (Mantilla Millán et al., 2022, p. 50), but also by armed organizations outside the law, both national and foreign, among which structures such as the Sinaloa or Rusos cartels stand out.

The most serious situation that ethno-territories are currently suffering emerges from conducts, behaviors, and legal acts of mestizo mayors and governors of the national territory that encompass the ethno-territories, because these local and regional authorities exhibit the disease of "*the Malinche curse*," as Amparo Ochoa (Fonarte Latino, 2022), popular Mexican singer, calls the South American who disarms himself to give everything away to the Europeans who "*rode on beasts like demons of evil, they came with fire in their hands and covered in metal*" (Fonarte Latino, 2022). **This Malinche curse**, which abhors its Indians and fellow countrymen, but embellishes everything European, makes these mayors and governors issue unlimited urban construction licenses in favor of plutocrats who take away ethno-territories from Indigenous people to introduce a gentrification that only benefits foreigners.

Obviously, the national press and journalism belonging to "the establishment" (authors' emphasis), instrumentalized by those who seek to dominate the Global South, remain silent and cover up the annihilation of diversity, the murder of social and Indigenous leaders, and the systematic eradication of native communities. This cover-up seeks to dispossess, displace, and expropriate Indigenous peoples of their ethnoterritories, their ethnoculture, and their ethnoepistemology, in order to implant a new world order that is "xenoneocolonialist" (Epia-Silva & Arcos-Chaparro, 2026a, p. 302). This model aims to annihilate those communities that do not submit to Western dogmas or to international elites, which conceive ethno-territories as exploitable resources for the intensive extraction of oil, water, minerals, ethno-fauna, ethno-flora, and ethno-botany (Epia-Silva & Arcos-Chaparro, 2026a).

This research work culminates from the application of the pedagogy of the question of Paulo Freire and Faundez (2013), asking: if one of the Roman-Germanic-Western-centric principles (Liaudat, 2023, p. 4) imposed on Colombian law is "*first in time, first in right*," why is this principle, with respect to Indigenous human groups, conditioned, evaded, or forgotten in favor of transnational food megaprojects that expropriate ethno-seeds, or foreign health projects, extensive livestock farming, or mining exploitation, or urban projects with international financing, or, worst and most decadent, that only maintains a xenojurisphilic judicial apparatus? And it could even be affirmed that in Colombia there is a *neocolonized* legal system that is only the demonstration of what Gustav Radbruch described as an extremely unjust law, which always takes away ethnoterritories.

References

- [1] Arcos-Chaparro, I. A., & Epia-Silva, M. A. (2024). Proceso Disciplinario Laboral Pedagógico en profesores del sector educativo formal privado. *Revista Social Fronteriza*, 4(2), 1-23. doi:[https://doi.org/10.59814/resofro.2024.4\(2\)195](https://doi.org/10.59814/resofro.2024.4(2)195)
- [2] Arcos-Chaparro, I. A., & Epia-Silva, M. A. (2025). Meretrización de la ciencia de la pedagogía en el Abya Yala como efecto de la neocolinización eurocéntrica. En R. S. (Coor), *Educación Integral. Perspectivas Multidimensionales y Nuevas Fronteras del Aprendizaje (Volumen III)* (págs. 62-92). Quito: Religación Press. doi:<https://doi.org/10.46652/religacionpress.315.c549>
- [3] Arias Merchán, L. J., Galán Barbosa, C. A., & Ortega Niño, S. M. (2016). La palabra hecha Mambe: cultura y tradición oral en la comunidad Uitoto de la Amazonia colombiana. *Bio-grafía*, 9(17), 119-122. doi:<https://doi.org/10.17227/20271034.vol.9num.17bio-grafia119.122>
- [4] Asamblea Nacional Constituyente de Colombia. (1991, 7 de junio). *Constitución Política de 1991*. Gaceta Constitucional No. 114. <https://www.suin-juriscol.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?id=1687988>
- [5] Asociación Chamánica y Ecológica de Colombia. (s.f.). *Mamá Coca: la Coca no es cocaína*. Recuperado el 2026, 4 de abril. http://www.mamacoca.org/feb2002/informe_la_coca_no_es_cocaina.html
- [6] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los pueblos indígenas del Municipio de Leguizamo y

- Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP) & Ministerio del Interior y Justicia de Colombia (Minjusticia). (2005). *Fundamentos de la gobernabilidad del Pueblo Múruí. Caracterización de autoridades*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los pueblos indígenas del Municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP).
- [7] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los Pueblos Indígenas del Municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). (2008). *Plan de vida pueblos Murui-Muinane-Nasa y Corebaju ACILAPP KA+ IYANO UAI nuestro inicio KA+ MOD KAIMO F+EKA UAI Dios dejó la palabra*. Municipio de Leguízamo y Alto resguardo Predio Putumayo: Fundación ZIO-A'I. Unión de sabiduría.
- [8] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los pueblos indígenas del municipio de Leguízamo y alto resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). (2012). *Plan de salvaguarda BIE IT+NO NÚE AR+ KA+ Y+NUANO del pueblo MÚRUI NA+RA+ (HUITOTO) Capítulo Putumayo resguardo Huitorá y Aguas Negras departamento del Caquetá*. Municipio de Leguízamo. Departamento del Caquetá: CONSEJO DIRECTIVO DE ACILAPP, CONSEJO DE ANCIANOS, EQUIPO COORDINADOR DEL PLAN, MINISTERIO DEL INTERIOR Dirección de Etnias, Minorías y Room.
- [9] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los pueblos indígenas del municipio de Leguízamo y alto resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). (2020a). *EINE ZEDAJANO UAI: cuidando del territorio, Cartillas para el fortalecimiento del modelo educativo propio del pueblo Múruí-Muina*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Unión temporal mukiawá.
- [10] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los pueblos indígenas del municipio de Leguízamo y alto resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). (2020b). *UÑUA UAI: cuidado de la lengua materna*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Unión temporal mukiawá. Cartillas para el fortalecimiento del modelo educativo del pueblo Múruí- Muina.
- [11] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los Pueblos Indígenas del Municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). (2020c). *FAKADUA UAI: Cuidado de la Lengua Materna Múruí- Muina*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Unión temporal mukiawá.
- [12] Asociación de Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los Pueblos Indígenas del Municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP). (2020d). *MANORA UAI: cuidado de la madre tierra*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Unión temporal mukiawá.
- [13] Asociación Zonal de Indígenas de Cabildos y Autoridades Tradicionales de la Chorrera (AZICATCH) & Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (CNMH). (2017). *Sobrevivientes victoriosos N+ba+ñega uruk+ kanuiya: amanecer de la palabra de los hijos e hijas del tabaco, la coca y la yuca dulce*. la Chorrera: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (CNMH). Estados Unidos de América a través de su Agencia para el Desarrollo Internacional (USAID). Organización Internacional para las Migraciones (OIM). https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/micrositios/comunidades-etnicas/assets/pdf/sobrevivientes_victoriosos.pdf
- [14] Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos de los pueblos indígenas del Municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP) & Ministerio de Justicia de Colombia (Minjusticia). (2022). *Construcción colectiva de los reglamentos internos de nueve (9) comunidades del Pueblo Murui Muina, Sector Puerto Leguízamo, Putumayo*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Ministerio de Justicia de Colombia (Minjusticia). [https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/programas-co/fortalecimiento-etnico/Documents/banco2021/IniciativasApoyadas/40.%20Reglamentos%20internos%20\(comunidades%20La garto%20Cocha,%20Tukunare,%20Umanca,%20El%20progreso,%20Guaquira,%20La%20Samaritana,%20La %20Primaver](https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/programas-co/fortalecimiento-etnico/Documents/banco2021/IniciativasApoyadas/40.%20Reglamentos%20internos%20(comunidades%20La garto%20Cocha,%20Tukunare,%20Umanca,%20El%20progreso,%20Guaquira,%20La%20Samaritana,%20La %20Primaver)
- [15] Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos Indígenas del municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP) & Joaquín Carrizosa. (2019). *Eroniano. Monitores del territorio Múruí- Muina: investigación propia en la comunidad Umanca, Resguardo Predio Putumayo*. Puerto Leguízamo - Putumayo: Autoridades Tradicionales y Cabildos Indígenas del municipio de Leguízamo y Alto Resguardo Predio Putumayo (ACILAPP) & World Wildlife Fund (WWF).
- [16] Balderas Gutiérrez , I. (2017). Aportes de la investigación cualitativa a la investigación educación. En *Congreso Nacional de Investigación Educativa* (págs. 1-17).

- <https://www.comie.org.mx/congreso/memoriaelectronica/v14/doc/0503.pdf>
- [17] Balma, C. M. (2011). El Modelo del Arriba y del Debajo de la Conciencia: Análisis Etnopsicofarmacológico del Uso de Plantas Enteogénicas. *Reflexiones*, 90(1), 195-214.
<https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/729/72918776012.pdf>
- [18] Becerra, G. C. (2018). La presencia antillana en la Amazonia: los negros barbadenses en la explotación del caucho y sus imágenes. *Memorias: Revista Digital de Historia y Arqueología desde el Caribe*, 14(36), 57-96. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.14482/memor.36.305.8>
- [19] Bernal, J. (2017, 13 de septiembre). *Cultivo de Acai en Putumayo. El Acai, el elixir de la eterna juventud, se cultiva en la Amazonía putumayense*. Radio Nacional de Colombia (RTVC):
<https://www.radionacional.co/cultura/cultivo-de-acai-en-putumayo>
- [20] Braun, J. (2022, 17 de marzo). *El lado oscuro del asaí, la exótica fruta amazónica de moda por su alto valor nutritivo*. BBC News Brasil en São Paulo: <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-60744875>
- [21] Cabral, F. (2021, 20 de marzo). *Duerme Negroto (buenas y santas) Facundo Cabral [Video]*. Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EfLdzjtBp5w&list=RDEfLdzjtBp5w&start_radio=1
- [22] Cantor, R. V. (2002). *Gente muy rebelde: protesta popular y modernización capitalista en Colombia (1909-1929), Volume 2 Indígenas, campesinos y protestas agrarias*. Bogotá. Colombia: Ediciones Pensamiento Crítico.
- [23] Casa, L. (2022). Pensar la otredad latinoamericana: El rostro del otro como potencial liberador. *Octante* (7). doi:<https://doi.org/10.24215/25250914e070>
- [24] Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica (CAAAP). (2011). *Libro Azul Británico: Informes de Roger Casement y otras cartas sobre las atrocidades en el Putumayo*. (L. E. Belaunde, Trad.) Grupo Internacional de Trabajo sobre Asuntos Indígenas IWGIA, Grupo Internacional de Trabajo sobre Asuntos Indígenas (CAAAP).
- [25] Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (CNMH) & Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia (ONIC). (2019). *Tiempos de vida y muerte: memorias y luchas de los Pueblos Indígenas en Colombia*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica.
- [26] Charry Cuellar, M. D., Larrarte Guzmán, Ó. J., Guzmán Sánchez, C., Otaya Charry, A., Calderón, A., Kaimeramui, I., . . . Acosta Moreno, D. N. (2022). *Proyecto Educativo Comunitario (PEC): Institución educattiva rural indígena D+ONA SAFIA del pueblo Múruí-Muina*. Puerto Leguizamo - Putumayo: WILDLIFE WORKS.
- [27] Colombia. Comisión de la Verdad. (2020, 23 de octubre). *Encuentro por la verdad #La verdad Indígena [Video]*. YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBox7JPTfPw&t=5s>
- [28] Colombia. Comisión de la Verdad. (2022b). *Caso: Pueblos indígenas en riesgo inminente de exterminio físico y cultural. Capítulo de Pueblos Étnicos*. Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición: <https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/caso-exterminio-pueblos-indigenas>
- [29] Colombia. Comisión de la Verdad: la Verdad Indígena. (2022a, 5 de junio). *Reclutamiento forzado a pueblos indígenas en Puerto Arica [Video]*. YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=93l4SiGRIQk&t=66s>
- [30] Colombia. Dirección de Desarrollo del Derecho y del Ordenamiento Jurídico (DDDOJ). (2023). *Normas con enfoque inclusivo y territorial que transforman, simplifican y mejoran el ordenamiento jurídico colombiano*. Recuperado el 2026, 4 de abril, de Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho: <https://www.suin-juriscol.gov.co/archivo/estrategiaenfoquediferencial.pdf>
- [31] Comisión para el Esclarecimiento de la Verdad, la Convivencia y la No Repetición. (2022c). *Resistir no es aguantar: violencias y daños contra los pueblos étnicos de Colombia. Tomo 9*. Bogotá, Colombia: Comisión de la Verdad. Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz (JEP).
- [32] Consiliatura Universidad Libre de Colombia. Acuerdo N.º 3 de 2025. (2025, 14 de noviembre). *Por el cual se reforma el reglamento estudiantil para los doctorados de la Universidad Libre, Acuerdo n.º 03 de diciembre 11 de 2024*. Universidad Libre de Colombia-Seccional Bogotá D.C.
- [33] Corte Constitucional de Colombia (C. Const.). Auto 04 de 2009. (2009, 26 de enero). *Desplazamiento y confinamiento de grupos indígenas: conflicto armado*. M.P. Manuel José Cepeda Espinosa. <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/autos/2009/a004-09.htm>

- [34] Corte Constitucional de Colombia (C. Const.). Sentencia C-882 de 2011. (2011, 23 de noviembre). *Derecho a la integridad cultural de las comunidades indígenas: uso ancestral de la hoja de coca en las comunidades indígenas*. M.P. Jorge Ignacio Pretelt Chaljub. <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=172258>
- [35] Corte Constitucional de Colombia (C. Const.). Sentencia T-189 de 2025. (2025, 21 de mayo). *Derecho a la identidad étnica y cultural- procedimiento de consulta previa de comunidades y grupos étnicos*. M.P. Juan Carlos Cortés González. <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/2025/t-189-25.htm>
- [36] Corte Constitucional de Colombia (C. Const.). Sentencia T-365 de 2020. (2020, 31 de agosto). *Principio a la diversidad e identidad étnica y cultural de personas privadas de la libertad pertenecientes a comunidades indígenas frente al uso de la hoja de coca*. M.P. Cristina Pardo Schlesinger. <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/2020/t-365-20.htm>
- [37] Corte Constitucional de Colombia (C. Const.). Sentencia T-445 de 2022. (2022, 6 de diciembre). *Derecho a la autonomía, la autodeterminación, al territorio ancestral y colectivo, comunidades indígenas sujetos de especial protección constitucional y titulares de derechos fundamentales*. M.P. Jorge Enrique Ibáñez Najjar. <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/2022/t-445-22.htm>
- [38] Corte Constitucional de Colombia (C. Const.). Sentencia T- 357 de 2018. (2018, 31 de agosto). *Uso ancestral de la hoja de coca en las comunidades indígenas*. M.P. Cristina Pardo Schlesinger. <https://www.corteconstitucional.gov.co/relatoria/2018/t-357-18.htm>
- [39] Cubas, H. C. (2024, 4 de octubre). *Sobre el uso tradicional de la coca en pueblos indígenas amazónicos*. Transnational Institute (TNI) Ideas en movimiento desde 1974: <https://www.tni.org/es/art%C3%ADculo/sobre-el-uso-tradicional-de-la-coca-en-pueblos-indigenas-amazonicos>
- [40] Díaz, D. C. (2025). *Educación geográfica y formación ciudadana. Un acercamiento hacia las comprensiones prácticas de docentes de básica en Colombia*. [Tesis de Maestría en educación. Universidad de los Andes]. Repositorio institucional. <https://repositorio.uniandes.edu.co/server/api/core/bitstreams/524c506f-cf16-4615-a9db-a2b5c66c0acd/content>
- [41] Dussel, E. (2012). *1492 el encubrimiento del otro: hacia el origen del mito de la modernidad*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Docencia.
- [42] Dussel, E. (2015). *La crítica de la teología como crítica de la política. Hacia una descolonización epistemológica de la teología*. Belo Horizonte, MG Brasil: HACIA LA DESCOLONIZACIÓN DE LA HISTORIA DEL CRISTIANISMO EN AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE.
- [43] Dussel, E. (2022). El lugar de los pueblos originarios en la historia mundial. Conferencia magistral. *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*, 27(98). doi:DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6634920>
- [44] Dussel, E. D. (1973). *Para una ética de liberación latinoamericana [Tomo II]*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Argentina Editores S.A.
- [45] Dussel, E., Mendieta, E., & Bohórquez, C. (2009). *El pensamiento filosófico latinoamericano, del Caribe y "latino" (1300-2000) historia, corrientes, temas y filósofos*. México: Siglo XXI CREAL, Centro de Cooperación Regional para la Educación de Adultos en América Latina y el Caribe.
- [46] Emisora de Paz, Puerto Leguizamó, Putumayo. (2023, 28 de febrero). *La ruta del mambe: un camino espiritual para los pueblos indígenas de la Amazonía*. [Nota de Prensa. Radio Nacional de Colombia]: <https://www.radionacional.co/cultura/tradiciones/hoja-de-coca-y-el-mambe-tradiciones-de-pueblos-indigenas-en-amazonas>
- [47] Enciso, R. S., & Arbieta Mamani, O. (2020). La aporofobia en el contexto de la sociedad peruana: una revisión. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 30(58). doi:DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20983/noesis.2020.2.6>
- [48] Epia-Silva, M. A. (2021). La etnoeducación indígena en Colombia a la luz del nuevo constitucionalismo latinoamericano. *Jangwa Pana*, 20(3), 418-439. doi:<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1363-7620>
- [49] Epia-Silva, M. A., & Arcos-Chaparro, I. A. (2024). Pedagogía y didáctica decolonial: un camino hacia la paz intercultural de las comunidades étnicas en Colombia. En R. S. Q., & R. Press (Ed.), *Elementos de educación. Entre la innovación didáctica y la reflexividad profesional* (págs. 20-46). Quito, Ecuador: Atik Editorial. doi: <http://doi.org/10.46652/religacionpress.141.c98>

- [50] Epia-Silva, M. A., & Arcos-Chaparro, I. A. (2025). Labor docente y nuevas modalidades de Acoso Laboral en el Magisterio Colombiano. En M. A. Epia Silva, I. A. Arcos Chaparro, S. M. Gellibert Macías, M. M. Oramas Salcedo, F. J. Cevallos Ortega, P. L. Mena Manzanillas, . . . J. E. Morales Hernández , *Derecho Comparado y Nuevas Tendencias Jurídicas en América Latina* (págs. 2-33). Editorial Hambatu Sapiens. doi:<https://doi.org/10.63862/ehs-978-9942-7400-5-2>
- [51] Epia-Silva, M. A., & Arcos-Chaparro, I. A. (2026a). La etnoeducación indígena: vindicación y reivindicación de la etnopedagogía como fuente descolonizadora para la Abya Yala. En R. S. Q, *investigación educativa en América Latina. Estudios sobre formación docente, prácticas innovadoras y gobernanza institucional (Volumen II)* (págs. 285-315). Quito, Ecuador: Religación Press.
- [52] Epia-Silva, M. A., & Arcos-Chaparro, I. A. (2026b). Revisión sistemática y Metanálisis GRADE de Sentencia SU-27319 sobre madres sustitutas desde enfoque pedagógico decolonial. En C. -C. Desarrollo, *Compilación de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales "Estudios Contemporáneos en gestión empresarial, sociedad y medio ambiente" Vol. 1 Núm. 6* (págs. 1156-1198). doi:https://doi.org/10.37811/cli_w1322
- [53] Estada, S. H. (2024). *El genocidio indígena en Colombia a la luz del derecho penal internacional*. [Tesis de Grado. Universidad del Externado de Colombia]. <https://bdigital.uxternado.edu.co/server/api/core/bitstreams/23fb220b-4d71-4802-9dbf-45e366d3dffc/content>
- [54] Ferrera, A. M. (2026). *Los cursos Latinoamericanos de Música contemporánea (1975- 1989) y su relación con el pensamiento decolonial*. [Tesis doctoral en Musicología. Universidad de la Rioja]. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/tesis/402494.pdf>
- [55] Figueroa, C. A. (2026, 2 de agosto). *EDITORIAL | ¿Burla a las víctimas de las FARC? | La píldora* [Video]. YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d7T7yMgzE4A>.
- [56] Folklore tradicional fronterizo Colombo-venezolano. (1967). Duerme Negrito. [*Canción de Cuna*], Interpreta Mercedes Sossa. Recuperado el 2026, 7 de julio. <https://www.eldestapeweb.com/cultura/no-atahualpa-yupanqui-quien-verdadero-autor-clasico-duerme-negrito-202651911441>
- [57] Fonarte Latino. (2022, 1 de septiembre). *Amparo Ochoa- la Maldición Malinche* [Lyris Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C63TcNWvtRY&list=RDC63TcNWvtRY&start_radio=1.
- [58] Freire, P., & Faundez, A. (2013). *Por una pedagogía de la pregunta: crítica a una educación basada en respuestas a preguntas inexistentes*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores Argentina S.A.
- [59] FUCAI Colombia. (2015, 11 de marzo). *La Chorrera, el genocidio del oro blanco I y II* [Video]. YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2cFuFst_ld4
- [60] García, A. C., & Napurí, A. (2024). Benjamín Saldaña Rocca y la representación indígena en La Felpa: las primeras denuncias y su interpretación gráfica en la era del caucho. *Boletín de la Academia Peruana de la Lengua*, 76(76), 215-246. doi:<https://doi.org/10.46744/bapl.202402.007>
- [61] Goffman, E. (2006). *Estigma: la identidad deteriorada* (10 ed.). (L. Guinsber, Trad.) Buenos Aires: Amorrortu editores España S.L.
- [62] Gómez López, A. J. (2014a). *Putumayo: la vorágine de las caucherías. Memoria y testimonio Primera parte*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (CNMH).
- [63] Gómez-López, A. J. (2014b). *Putumayo: la vorágine de las caucherías. Memoria y testimonio Segunda parte*. Bogotá: Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica (CNMH).
- [64] Guerrero, H. F. (2024). El despojo de la selva: consecuencias humanas y ambientales de las caucheras en Colombia, visto desde La vorágine. *Episteme. Revista de divulgación en estudios socioterritoriales*. doi:<https://doi.org/10.15332/27113833.10316>
- [65] Harari, Y. N. (2025). *Homo Deus Breve historia del mañana*. (J. R. Aragonés, Trad.) Bogotá, D.C., Colombia: Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial.
- [66] Herber, M. R., García-G, J. E., & García-G, M. (2006). Alimentos transgénicos: incertidumbres y riesgos basados en evidencias. *Acta Académica*(39), 129-145. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237264024_Alimentos_transgenicos_incertidumbres_y_riesgos_basados_en_evidencias
- [67] Hidalgo, V. H. (2017). *Precio de los esclavos en el Perú: 1650 - 1820*. [Tesis Licenciatura de Economía.

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Perú]. <https://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/server/api/core/bitstreams/4102081e-d3ba-4415-bb3a-ae8b30d1acb0/content>.

- [68] Instituto Amazónico de Investigaciones Científicas (SINCHI) & Resguardos Indígenas Ticuna, Cocama, Yagua Puerto Nariño Macedonia. (2005). *Diversidad de yucas (Manihot esculenta Crantz) entre los Ticuna: Riqueza cultural y genética de un producto tradicional*. Leticia, Amazonas: Instituto Amazónico de Investigaciones Científicas, SINCHI. Instituto Colombiano del Bienestar Familiar (ICBF) sede Amazonas.
- [69] Instituto Amazónico de Investigaciones Científicas (SINCHI) & Asociación Zonal Indígena de Cabildos y Autoridades Tradicionales de la Chorrera (AZICATCH). (2011). *La chagra en La Chorrera: más que una producción de subsistencia, es una fuente de comunicación y alimento físico y espiritual, de los Hijos del tabaco, la coca y la yuca dulce. Los retos de las nuevas generaciones para las prácticas culturales y los sabe*. Bogotá, D.C. - Colombia: Instituto Amazónico de Investigaciones Científicas, SINCHI. .
- [70] Jacanamijoy, A. P., Ramos Torres, S. C., Sigindioy-Chindoy, A. E., Cabildo Indígena Uitoto, Autoridades Indígenas, & Secretaría de Educación del Distrito. (2021). *Kat yofuerable Múru-Muina Uitoto: nuestro libro de saberes; El amanecer de la palabra de vida en la formación del ser*. Bogotá D.C. - Colombia: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C. Secretaría de Educación.
- [71] Jordán, P. G. (2001). En el corazón de las tinieblas...del Putumayo, 1890-1932. Fronteras, caucho, mano de obra, indígena y misiones católicas en la nacionalización de la Amazonía. *Revista de Indias*, 63(223), 591-617.
- [72] Jurisdicción Especial para la Paz de Colombia (JEP). Comunicado 059 de 2021. (2021). *Ordena al Ministerio del Interior y a la Defensoría del Pueblo proteger al pueblo indígena Muina Murui en Putumayo*. Web oficial: https://www.jep.gov.co/Sala-de-Prensa/Paginas/JEP-ordena-al-Ministerio-del-Interior-y-a-la-Defensor%C3%ADa-del-Pueblo-proteger-al-pueblo-ind%C3%ADgena-Muina-Murui-en-Putumayo.aspx?utm_source
- [73] La chorrera. (2024, 25 de mayo). *Los indígenas de la Amazonía colombiana piden salir del olvido para vivir con dignidad*. Correo del Sur: <https://correodelsur.com/mundo/20240425/los-indigenas-de-la-amazonia-colombiana-piden-salir-del-olvido-para-vivir-con-dignidad.html>
- [74] La Nación-BBC Mundo. (2022, 26 de agosto). *El Paraíso del diablo: las atrocidades del “holocausto del caucho” en la Amazonía de Colombia*. [Nota de prensa]: <https://www.lanacion.com.ar/el-mundo/el-paraiso-del-diablo-las-atrocidades-del-holocausto-del-caucho-en-la-amazonia-de-colombia-nid26082022/>
- [75] Lemus, G. R. (2018). Del estigma al orgullo étnico: el papel de los estereotipos. En S. Pflieger, *Lenguaje y construcción de la identidad: una mirada desde diferentes ámbitos* (págs. 207- 240). Ciudad Universitaria, Delegación Coyoacán: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- [76] Lerma Rodríguez, E., & Peñalosa Castro, G. (2025). *Manual de inspiración etnográfica : método y descripción*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias sobre Chiapas y la Frontera Sur.
- [77] Liaudat, S. (2023). Hay que descolonizar la historia de la ciencia de principio a fin”. Entrevista a Ramón Grosfoguel. *Ciencia, Tecnología y Política*, 6(10). doi:<https://doi.org/10.24215/26183188e088>
- [78] López-Coterilla, H. d. (2025). Los escritores amigos de las plantas enteógenas. *OFIL-ILAPHAR*. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4321/S1699-714X2025000100009>.
- [79] Mantilla Millán, J. A., Ramírez Duarte, K. P., & Bohórquez Farfán, L. (2022). Narrativas de las víctimas sobre la Operación Berlín. *Reflexión política*, 24(49), 49-62. doi:<https://doi.org/10.29375/01240781.4451>.
- [80] Mabit, J., & Giove, R. (2026). Sinchi, Sinchi, Negrito: Uso Medicinal del Tabaco en la Alta Amazonía Peruana. En M. Goretti, *Pipas sagradas de las Américas. El arte de fumar y los rituales chamánicos* (págs. 89-111). Buenos Aires: Fundación Ceppa.
- [81] Martínez, S. I., & Galán López, F. J. (2023). La etnografía y su articulación con el enfoque intercultural en tiempo de pandemia: una revisión crítica. *Clivajes. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (18), 152-173. doi: <https://doi.org/10.25009/clivajesrcs.i18.2763>
- [82] Merçon, J. (2022). Investigación transdisciplinaria e investigación-acción participativa en clave decolonial. *Utopía y praxis latinoamericana*, 27(98). doi:<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6614174>
- [83] Michael, C. (2023). *Herbolario de la Senda de los Venenos: Hierbas Nocivas, Solanáceas Medicinales y Enteógenos Rituales*. (M. T. Toro, Trad.) España: Inner Traditions en Español.

- [84] Ministerio de Agricultura de Colombia (Minagricultura). (2016). *Estudio socioeconómico, jurídico y de tenencia y de funcionalidad étnica y cultural de tierras para la ampliación del resguardo Monochoa (Caquetá)*. Bogotá D.C.: Dirección de Asuntos Étnicos. Agencia Nacional de Tierras. ANT.
- [85] Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Colombia & Instituto Caro y Cuervo. (2025). *La hoja de coca entre la ciencia y la creación en Colombia*. Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional de Colombia, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Colombia.
- [86] Mosquera, T. U. (2013). Caucho, explotación y guerra: configuración de las fronteras nacionales y expoliación indígena en Amazonia. *Memoria y Sociedad*, 17(34), 24-48.
http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0122-51972013000100003
- [87] Murgas, N., & Gómez, G. (2024, 15 abril). *Sacha inchi: la paz que no termina de cosecharse en Arauca*. Revista 070: <https://cerosetenta.uniandes.edu.co/sacha-inchi-paz-no-termina-cosecharse-arauca/>
- [88] Noriega, M. E. (2017). El consumo ancestral de la hoja de coca en los pueblos indígenas de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia como parte de su identidad cultural. *sbordes - Revista de Investigaciones de la Escuela de Ciencias Sociales, Artes y Humanidades - UNAD*, 8(1), 29-38.
<https://hemeroteca.unad.edu.co/index.php/desbordes/article/view/2987/3051>
- [89] Oladele, J., O. Omotoso, A. B., Victor-Aigbodion, V., Onyishi, C. N., Adeosun, O. A., Amaeze, E. F., . . . Tolulope Sowunmi, E. (2026). Transdisciplinary reflections for assessing the mental well-being of university undergraduates within the African context for sustainable problem-solving. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 13(1). doi:<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-026-06539-y>.
- [90] Organización Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas de la Amazonia Colombiana (OPIAC). (2022). *Hoy se conmemoran 34 años de la entrega formal del Resguardo Gran Predio Putumayo*. [Publicación de Facebook]. Facebook:
https://www.facebook.com/100064618995131/videos/544126723757470/?__so__=permalink&locale=hi_IN&_rdr
- [91] Ortiz, Y. A. (2023, 17 de noviembre). *Uitoto*. Portal de lenguas y literaturas de Colombia: Diversidad y contacto: Ministerio de cultura de Colombia e Instituto Caro y Cuervo:
<https://lenguasyliteraturasnativas.caroycuervo.gov.co/uitoto/>
- [92] Osorio, J. A. (2019). RAFUE UAI: una revisión bibliográfica en la tradición Múru- Muina. *Lingüística y Literatura*(76), 192-211. doi: <https://doi.org/10.17533/udea.lyl.n76a10>.
- [93] Pacheco., H. (2021, 13 de octubre). *Nunca fue un descubrimiento, fue una invasión*. El extremo sur de la Patagonia: <https://www.elextremosur.com/nota/33560-nunca-fue-un-descubrimiento-fue-una-invasion/>
- [94] Paull, J. (2019). The failures of genetically modified organisms (GMOS): resistance, regulation, and rejection. *AGROFOR International Journal*, 4(3), 139-152. doi:10.7251/AGRENG1903139P
- [95] Periódico Umarí - Amazonas. (2024, 18 de octubre). *La uva caimarona (Pourouma cecropiifolia) es una fruta tropical nativa de la Amazonía*. [Publicación de Facebook]:
<https://www.facebook.com/periodicoumari/posts/la-uva-caimarona-pourouma-cecropiifolia-es-una-fruta-tropical-nativa-de-la-amazo/1116449599847918/>
- [96] Pineda-Camacho, R. (2024). *Holocausto en el Amazonas. Una historia social de la casa Arana*. Bogotá, D. C: Ministerio de las Culturas, las Artes y los Saberes- Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia.
- [97] Pineda-Rodríguez, Y. L. (2025). *Prácticas pedagógicas que caracterizaron el quehacer del maestro en el ciclo de formación complementaria de Escuelas Normales de Manizales, Pereira y Armenia, 1994-2010*. [Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Caldas]. Repositorio institucional.
<https://repositorio.ucaldas.edu.co/server/api/core/bitstreams/ae7bb6d4-f355-43ab-ad53-be0c55fd59b5/content>
- [98] Porras, H. A. (2024). Déficit de territorialidad y colonialidad de poder: problemáticas heredadas en el etnocidio de La Vorágine. *Episteme. Revista de divulgación en estudios socioterritoriales*, 16(2). doi:<https://doi.org/10.15332/27113833.10322>.
- [99] Presidente de la República de Colombia. Decreto 0934 de 2026. (2026, 31 de julio). *Por medio del cual se reglamenta y desarrolla lo correspondiente al Capítulo III del Título V del Decreto 481 de 2025, referente al Régimen Especial de Dinamizadores del Sistema Educativo Indígena Propio (SEIP)*. Diario Oficial No. 53.572. <https://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Normal.jsp?dt=S&i=193881>.

- [100] Presidente de la República de Colombia. Decreto 481 de 2025. (2025, 6 de mayo). *Por el cual se reconoce y establece el Sistema Educativo indígena Propio - SEIP- de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas de Colombia, como Política Pública de Estado y se dictan otras disposiciones*. Diario Oficial No. 53.109. http://www.secretariassenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/decreto_0481_2025.html.
- [101] Púa-Mora, F. G. (2010). Mito y ética: una lectura del pensamiento mítico de los Utitoto y Muinane. *Franciscanum. Revista de las ciencias del espíritu*, 52(154), 115- 149. doi:<https://doi.org/10.21500/01201468.945>.
- [102] Radio Televisión Nacional de Colombia (RTVC). (s.f.). *Una historia de explotación: Casa Arana. Respira Amazonia: una expedición por la vida [Video]*. Recuperado el 2026, 6 de junio, de RTVC Sistema de Medios Públicos: <https://rtvcplay.co/competencias-ciudadanas-y-socioemocionales/respira-amazonia/historia-explotacion-casa-arana>
- [103] Ramírez Mejía, S., Correa Aranzazu, A., Ramírez Mejía, E., & Hernández Baena, D. (2012). Aplicación de teorías de internacionalización a “La Casa Arana” (Peruvian Amazon Company). *Revista de Negocios Internacionales*, 5(1), 44 - 54. <https://publicaciones.eafit.edu.co/index.php/rni/article/download/999/900/3116>
- [104] Rangel, F. U. (2022). *Boca de maguaré: Una historia muinane (Amazonia colombo-peruana)*. MONIGOTE.
- [105] Rangel, F. U. (2024). El Caquetá historia y literatura. *Celebración del Centenario de la Vorágine de José Eustacio Rivera* (págs. Centro Cultural Florencia- Banco de la República de Colombia sede Florencia). Florencia: Caquetá: Banco de la República de Colombia- Caja de Compensación Familiar del Caquetá (COMFACA).
- [106] Robledo, I. F. (2022). *El árbol que llora: el fenómeno de la esclavitud en las caucherías de la Casa Arana*. [Tesis de Master en Historia del Mundo. Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF). Barcelona]. doi:10.13140/RG.2.2.14903.74404
- [107] Romero, J. G. (2026). Uai raïi, ¡síntese bien!”: tejido y formación corporal de las personas murui-minika. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, 1- 29. doi:<https://doi.org/10.22380/2539472X.2927>
- [108] Rozo, E. (2020). Schultes y el caucho: formaciones regionales y estatales en Vaupés (1942-1970). *HiSTOReLo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local*, 12(25), 220-250. doi:<https://doi.org/10.15446/historelo.v12n25.83292>
- [109] Salazar, D. (2024, 2 de mayo). *Caucho y otros tráfico: un siglo de violencia contra indígenas amazónicos de Colombia*. Radio Nacional de Colombia (RTVC): <https://www.radionacional.co/cultura/tradiciones/genocidio-del-caucho-en-la-amazonia-casa-arana-la-chorrera-e-indigenas>
- [110] Shen, C., Yin, X.-C., Jiao, B.-Y., Li, J., Jia, P., Zhang, X.-W., . . . Liu, J.-P. (2022). Evaluation of adverse effects/events of genetically modified food consumption: a systematic review of animal and human studies. *Environmental Sciences Europe*, 34(1), 1-33. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12302-021-00578-9>
- [111] Solsona, G. M. (2024). Proyecto de vida: el metaderecho humano por antonomasia. *Astrolabio. Revista Internacional de Filosofía*(28), 208-211. file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Downloads/ub,+14.pdf
- [112] Steiner Sampedro, C., Páramo Bonilla, C. G., & Pineda Camacho, R. (2014). *El paraíso del diablo. Roger Casement y el informe del Putumayo, un siglo después*. Bogotá D.C.: Universidad de los Andes.
- [113] Suárez, M. d. (2009). Alimentos transgénicos: ¿Qué tan seguro es su consumo? *revistaunam.mx*, 10(4), <https://www.revista.unam.mx/vol.10/num4/art24/int24-3.htm#a>.
- [114] Taborda, S. U., & Erquicia, H. (2022). *Etnohistorias de América Latina y el Caribe [online]*. Quito: Editorial Abya-Yala., doi:<https://doi.org/10.7476/9789978106709>.
- [115] Tagliani, L. (1992). *Mitología y cultura Huitoto*. Quito : Abya Yala. Centro de Investigaciones Culturales de la Amazonía Ecuatoriana (CICAME).
- [116] Vega, X. A. (2018). *Soberanía Alimentaria: sistema agroalimentario, movimientos campesinos y políticas públicas "el caso de Ecuador"*. [Tesis Doctoral, Universidad del País Vasco. Instituto de estudios sobre el desarrollo y cooperación internacional Naziarteko Lankidetza Eta Garapenari Buruzko Institutua]. https://addi.ehu.es/bitstream/handle/10810/28923/TESIS_LE%C3%93N_VEGA_XABIER%20ALEJANDRO.pdf.
- [117] Vides, K. A., Roberth Almanza Vides, & Suraya Pimienta Gómez. (2017). Reflexiones sobre la cosmovisión y cosmogonía de la etnia Wayúu: relevancia para la práctica Educativa. *Revista electrónica de Humanidades, Educación y Comunicación Social*, 12(23), <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/6865658.pdf>

- [118] Villareal, J. H. (2021, 12 de noviembre). *El Mambe: medicina ancestral del pueblo Murui Muina en el Putumayo*. Radio Nacional de Colombia: <https://www.radionacional.co/cultura/tradiciones/los-murui-muina-en-putumayo-y-el-mambe-medicina-ancestral>
- [119] Xapiri Ground. Una tradición ancestral que honra al tabaco como planta medicinal. (2022). *Samuel continúa la tradición de preparar tabaco en un rapé en polvo que los Matsigenka llaman Seri*. Secado de hojas de tabaco [Foto: Jack Wheeler]: <https://es.xapiriground.org/bulletin/tobacco-as-a-plant-medicine#:~:text=Secado%20de%20hojas%20de%20tabaco%20/%20Foto%3A%20Jack%20Wheeler>
- [120] Zaldívar, V. B. (2009). ¿Continuarán muriendo de hambre millones de personas en el siglo XXI? *Revista Española de Estudios y Agrosociales y Pesqueros*(224), 69-109.