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**FORCED DISPLACEMENT AND INTERNAL
MIGRATION IN COLOMBIA
1992 – 2004**

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology.

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remembering them right now. I cannot help it, memory has always been my blessing and my curse. What really matters is that my family has always been there for me, and I have always carried them in my heart. During the last five years, I purposely kept them away sometimes, knowing that missing them badly would affect my life and work here and it would not do any good for them back home. If by doing so I hurt them, I am sorry. I know I will eventually go back to them, smiling and full of invisible scars, carrying back this thesis, as sole testimony of my silent love for them.

I dedicate this to my parents, as one of the little satisfactions that I know will never repay you for all what you have done for us.

Declaration and Inclusion of Material

I declare that this document includes neither any material that I have previously used, nor any hitherto published. This thesis is my own work and contains no collaborative research. It has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.

Abstract

This document deconstructs the issue of forced displacement in Colombia, focusing on the period 1992 - 2004, and has two main methodological features. The first is its interdisciplinary approach, which is both sociological and economic. The second is its multilevel orientation, which aims to tackle forced displacement in Colombia on the individual, community and aggregate levels. Given the lack of interdisciplinary theoretical approaches to forced migration, I propose a new one, based on bounded rationality from economic theory and using Castles (2003) and Richmond (1988) for the sociology of forced migration. In order to properly characterise the concept of forced displacement as one of the many modalities of migration, my literature review expands on the thesis' remit, both in time and scope, including studies of internal migration in Colombia, between 1960 and 2004. The review reveals some interesting lacunas and regularities in the study of forced migration in Colombia: the lack of interdisciplinary studies, the lack of consensus about the real dimension of forced displacement in Colombia- as a consequence of the divergent and hence unreliable nature of current statistics- the historic role of violence for flows of migration in Colombia, the importance of land appropriation and illegal economic activities as catalysts for the decision to migrate, and the specific profiles of gender and ethnic backgrounds. These issues are addressed in three chapters: one concentrates on deconstructing the different statistics available for forced displacement in Colombia, the systems devoted to collect them and the subjective reasons that may explain the differences between them: another evaluates the recurrence of specific patterns of ethnic background and gender among a displaced community and the third evaluates the lack of social cohesion as anomie, through applying the scale of Srole (1956) as used by Lipman and Havens (1965) in their study of the anomie among displaced people in Colombia.

Abbreviations

CHF:	Community Habitat and Finance
CICR:	Red Cross International Committee
CODHES:	Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement
CONPES:	National Council for Economic and Social Policy Planning
CPDIA:	Permanent Consultancy for Displacement in Latin America
DNP:	National Planning Department
EPL:	Popular Liberation Army
FARC:	Revolutionary Army Forces of Colombia
GTD:	Technical Group on Displacement
IDP:	Internally Displaced Person
IID:	Index of Intensity of Displacement
IPD:	Index of Pressure for Displacement
M-19:	Revolutionary Movement 19 of April
PMA:	World Food Programme
RSS:	Social Solidarity Network
RUT:	Information System on Displaced Population due to the Violence from the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops' Conference
SEFC:	Estimation System by Constrasting Sources
SISDHES:	Information System on Human Rights and Forced Displacement of the Consultancy on Human Rights and Displacement.
SIDP-2000:	Survey for Internally Displaced Population year 2000
SNAIPD:	National System for Integral Attention of Displaced Population
SUR:	Unified Registration System known as well as Sole Registration System.
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCHR:	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR:	United Nations Refugee Agency
USCR:	U.S. Committee for Refugees

Introduction

It might be said that Colombia's history has never been clearly portrayed. Two contradictory visions for its historical evolution predominate at the extremes. One perceives a country which, following its war of independence has occasioned eight civil wars, three international wars and four barracks coups. The other, concentrating on Colombia's international diplomatic arena would draw our attention to the politically established perception of a country with more than 150 years of bi-partisan rule, which supposedly exemplifies Colombia as a paradigm of civilian and democratic administration in Latin America. I would say that mine is the land of contradiction. Not surprisingly, Colombia's true history and more fruitful analyses exist somewhere in between.

In "*For a Country at reach of his children,*" as a foreword to the Report of the Mission of Science, Education and Development, a study commissioned by the Colombian Government and comprised of a technical team composed of some of the most distinguished Colombian scientists, Gabriel García Márquez, probably the most important Colombian writer ever, gave an exceptional and gifted reflection about the way we Colombians perceive the past and present reality, and even ourselves, based on the idea of our intrinsically contradictory nature:

"...this crossroads of destinies has forged a dense and incomprehensible country where the improbable thing is the only measure of reality. Excess is our insignia. In it all: in the good things and in the bad things, in love and in hate, in the joy of a triumph and in the bitterness of a rout. We destroy our idols with the same passion with which we create them. We are intuitive, fast and spontaneous autodidacts, and fiercely industrious, but just the idea of easy money drives us crazy. We have in the same heart the same amount of political grudge and of historic oversight. A resounding success or a sports rout can cost us as many casualties as an air disaster. By the same reason we are a sentimental society in which gesture takes priority over reflection, impetus over reason, human warmth over distrust. We love life almost irrationally, yet we kill each other over our yearnings for life. The author of the most terrible crimes gets done by a sentimental weakness. To put it in other way: the Colombian without heart gets done by his heart.

...all these because we are two countries at the same time: one on paper and another one in reality. Although we are precursors of the sciences in America, we continue seeing scientists as in their medieval state of hermetic sorcerers, when there already remain very few things in daily life that are not a miracle of science. In each one of us cohabit, in the more arbitrary way, justice and impunity; we are fanatics of the law, but we carry well awake in our soul a shyster with master hand to get around the laws without violating them, or to violate them without punishment. We love dogs, we upholster the world with roses, we die of love for the country, yet we ignore the disappearance of six animal species each hour by the criminal devastation of our tropical forests, and we ourselves have destroyed hopelessly one of the large rivers of the planet. We get outraged by the bad image of the country abroad, but we do not dare to accept that many times the reality is even worse. We are capable of the noblest acts and of the most abject ones, capable of sublime poems and demented murders, of giving joyful funerals and deadly binges. Not because we can tell good ones from bad ones, but because we all participate of both extremes, given the case -God forbid!- we all are capable of doing anything...”

This research is focused on the issue of internal forced displacement in Colombia between 1992 and 2004. I have consciously sought empirical and theoretical evidence that might support the hypothesis of forced migration being an historical regularity in Colombia’s history, or not. But again, this, as with so many features of reality, does not come without a sense of contradiction. The economic literature available for Colombian economic and social development in the second half of the XXth Century, emphasizes the importance that economic, voluntary migration had on forging the urban character of the Colombian population, especially for the latter stages of demographic transition experienced here. Again, how can this be reconciled with the fact that, in the last 15 years, Colombia has suffered one of the most dramatic and extensive humanitarian crises of forced displacement, only comparable to that suffered in the Sudan? How is it that such a humanitarian crisis, whose dramatic impact is directly analogous to those of Angola, Sudan, Iraq and Afghanistan, can go largely ignored by the international community? Why is the Colombian situation largely ‘invisible,’ compared to the rest?

My research aims to address issues such as these. I also attempt to transcend the currently dismal and repetitive tone of reports on forced displacement in Colombia, by trying to extend the analysis, both chronologically and through extending the depth of our vision regarding the causes of forced displacement. Finally, I want to evaluate the quantitative and qualitative profiles of displacement in Colombia in terms of gender, ethnic background, socio-economic and demographic features and test them on a sample of IDPs that I approached through the development of my field work in Pereira, a city of the coffee region of Colombia, in the year 2002.

Colombia: A transcendental study case for Sociology of Forced Migration

A review of the available literature for the sociology of migration, uncovered a disciplinary approach that was relatively new and that was mainly focused on voluntary migration (Castles, 2003). The evolution of migration theory in sociology, it should be noted, has been neither independent nor self-contained: frequent criticisms are made of its tendency to exaggerate an individual, reductionist voluntary behaviour, that for a long time reflected a reliance on push-pull theories, or their more sophisticated neoclassical versions found in studies of the economics of migration. Petersen (1978), in his survey of the literature for international migration, pointed out that although most of the migration literature available at that time in the United States had been written by sociologists, most of what they provided in theoretical terms might better be classified as economics, geography or demography: "...since economic, spatial, and population characteristics are likely to be important in any movement of people, it is salutary that in this one subfield sociologists have been anything but parochial. The consequence has been, however, that the analysis of migration, as related to social institutions, group coherence, collective behaviour, and the like has been relatively neglected: sociological theory of migration is far less advanced than theory specified by any of the other three disciplines" (Petersen, *op. Cit*, p. 555). For Castles (2003, p. 17), migration research has traditionally been dominated by economists and geographers.

A review of the sociological theories of migration seems to suggest an *inductive* approach. This feature is to be expected: the prevailing views of migration and the modes of defining it extract their sociological content from the concrete and specific realities under observation (Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1970, p. 9). Different theories were developed in order to explain different historical contexts of migration.

The research agenda for the 1980s and 1990s focussed on the cultural implications of the migration process, the emergence of restrictive politics towards migration, political asylum and illegal migration. In its most recent forms, it has concentrated on the way migration is shaped by family and community, the study of social capital and social networks and cultural capital as factors in the process of migration (Castles, 2003, p. 17).

Following the increasing trends towards growth in forced migration flows, there have been an increasing number of studies, both theoretical and empirical, in the sociology of migration (Massey et Al., 1993, 1998; Portes, 1997; Castles, 2000, 2003; Bretell and Hollifield, 2000). Amongst these, those devoted to forced migration consider it to be a central element of globalization, and a vivid expression of the workings and consequences of North-South relationships.

Stephen Castles has recently emphasized the interesting challenges that the evolution of the current issues of forced migration presents for the sociology of migration. For him, these necessitate a special branch of sociology to cope with their complexity: "...there is a need for a scientific division of labour in which specific studies of specific groups or situations are informed by broader studies of global social, political and economic structures and relationships – and vice versa. The micro – and macro – levels have to be linked through an analysis of the complex processes that mediate them. Ethnographic and cultural studies approaches may find that change is experienced at the local and personal levels, yet they need to be linked to broader analyses of institutions and structures" (Castles, 2003, p. 22).

I see my research as one of the first complete studies to adopt this new approach towards a sociology of forced migration. It is an interdisciplinary approach which provides a multi-level view for the issue of forced displacement in Colombia. I believe that the Colombian phenomenon of forced displacement provides an exemplary case, through its satisfaction of all the criteria outlined by Castles in his manifesto for a new sociology of forced migration.

For Beck (1997) and Castells (1996), the globalization process can be seen as a system of selective inclusion and exclusion of specific geographic locations and social groups,

which, among many other purposes, sustains and intensifies inequality. Within the North – South divide, this increases social inequality, which further leads to conflict and forced migration. Colombia is a clear example of this. After the trade reform of 1991, the country became a more integral part of the international economy, with both good and bad effects. Increasing trade flows and the opening of new markets were counterbalanced by the destruction of the agricultural sector and the exclusion of rural areas. Poverty and the lack of economic opportunities have together conspired to generate the perfect environment that has led to coca and poppy crops being one of the only ways of maintaining subsistence in many regions of Colombia. Full membership of the international economy also provided propitious conditions for rapid expansion of the drug trafficking business. The politics of Colombian internal conflict have also played an important role, given that both paramilitary right wing troops and left wing guerrillas have trafficked drugs in order to generate income, sometimes as their most important revenue source. Given the persistence of conflict, the current right wing government views open warfare as only possible solution, which at the same time has led to human rights abuse and a weak state presence in some regions of the country, precisely where coca and poppy crops are more likely to be developed and where displacement is a more widespread phenomenon.

In the last 10 years, Colombian demographics have been transformed dramatically, due both to the effects of internal conflict and deteriorating economic conditions. Despite the lack of accurate statistics for migratory flows, basic estimates suggest, on one account, 1'400.000 people as Colombian recent migrants¹ and on another, 3'000.000 people who have been forcibly displaced inside the country (the Colombian population is currently around 40'000.000 people) (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2004).

The combination of push-factors such as the deterioration of economic conditions and the aggravation of the internal conflict has dramatically raised the profile of Colombian migration. The Colombian Foreign Ministry estimates that of all Colombian citizens living abroad (roughly 5'000.000 people), 1.6 million people have left the country during the last 8 years. Between 1996 and 2002, 200.000 Colombian citizens left the

¹ The Official worker remittances received in Colombia grew up from U\$140'000.000 in 1981 to U\$989'000.000 in year 2000 according to the World Bank (Adams, 2003). Despite the lack of accurate data for per-capita remittances for Colombian migrants, there is a basic consensus that an increase in Colombian remittances is largely due to an increase in Colombian migrants.

country each year, and at the end of 2000, 1.000 Colombian citizens were leaving the country each day. This is the most apt illustration of what Castles, quoting Kaldor (2001) calls “new wars”: “...internal wars related with competition for economic assets and problems of state formation and its legitimacy...they are simultaneously transnational as they involve diaspora populations, foreign volunteers and mercenaries and international intervention forces...the protagonists are not large standing armies but irregular forces. The aim is not control of territory, but political control of the population. Mass expulsion is often a strategic goal, which is why the new wars have led to such an upsurge in forced migration” (Castles, 2003, p. 18).

The internal Colombian conflict affects Colombian migration in different ways. The first and most straightforward is the effect on those Colombians who are forced to escape the country through the accusation of their political or ideological involvement with either the right wing paramilitary troops or the left wing guerrillas. Among these, we have examples amongst reaffiliated guerrilla fighters, previously demobilized in the early 1990’s through the peace agreements with M-19 and EPL, members of the former political party affiliated to FARC, the Unión Patriótica, human-rights’ activists and trade-union representatives. The second influence derives from the way that conflict affects civil society by producing victims of its violence (a situation that in most cases has led to flows of internally displaced people in Colombia). Finally, the deterioration of living conditions and the lack of prospects for any peaceful solution to the conflict, generates big flows of economic migrants, who are largely distinguished by entrepreneurial skills, their capital or their qualifications.

The growth in Colombian migration is reflected by the increasing number of asylum applications² received from Colombian citizens in recent years. According to UNHCR, more than 87.000 Colombian citizens applied for asylum between 1999 and 2003. For 2003, Colombians were the seventh biggest group requesting refugee status (22.582 applicants). The main countries in which Colombians sought asylum are the USA, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Spain and Canada.

² The definition of Asylum Seeker is taken from the International Migration Legislation: “persons seeking to be admitted into a country as refugees and awaiting decision on their application for refugee status under relevant international and national instrument. In case of negative decision they must leave the country and may be expelled, as may any alien in an irregular situation, unless permission to stay is provided on humanitarian or other related ground”. OIM (2004). International Migration Law, pp 8.

The impact of the migratory phenomena on Colombian economic development becomes even more significant when the qualitative side of migration is taken into account, given the consequences of the *brain drain* of qualified workers and highly educated citizens on the accumulation of human capital (Vidal, 1998).

Nonetheless, if the push factors were related to some kind of violent episode generated by the prevailing conditions of political conflict, this could lead to further consequences for the attitude and perceptions of Colombian migrants towards peace construction initiatives and redefinitions of national identity [Guarnizo *et. Al* (1999) is a good example for the case of the Colombian Communities of Los Angeles and New York].

The complexity of the causes and consequences of these migration flows provides the possibility of multiple research approaches, which unfortunately, because these are fairly recent phenomena that have not yet been subjected to serious and structured academic research, are lacking. To fill a part of this vacuum is one of the many purposes of my research.

Structure of the document

The structure of the document is as follows. In Chapter 1, I discuss the standard theoretical approaches to migration in Economics and Sociology, which is followed by my own interdisciplinary approach to forced migration, based mostly in bounded rationality and second order decisions, and utilising a combination of the theoretical approaches of Richmond (1988) and Castles (2003, 2005). Chapter 2 reviews the literature on forced displacement and/or internal migration in Colombia between 1960 and 2004, and analyses the main disciplinary themes and the historical profiles of both migrants and displaced individuals revealed therein. Chapter 3 discusses the main issues fuelling the controversy over the reliability and significance of the currently available figures on forced displacement. My fieldwork, undertaken among the displaced communities in the city of Pereira in 2002, is first presented in Chapter 4, where I analyze the socio-economic issues of forced displacement based on a database compiled from registration forms of displaced households who applied for humanitarian emergency packages provided by the Colombian government. Chapter 5 is the second chapter dedicated to my field work, which here assesses the possibility of reapplying an

evaluation of patterns of anomie among displaced communities in Colombia, first made in 1965. I try to evaluate a hypothesis about the spread of a general anomie amongst the Colombian population and through open interviews I try to evaluate the perception of forced displacement as an historical regularity in the flows of internal migration in Colombia. Chapter 6 presents the conclusions of my research.

Chapter 1

An interdisciplinary theoretical approach to Forced Migration

Introduction

One of the main methodological guidelines for my research has been to provide an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Internal Forced Displacement in Colombia. Following the standard methodological approach, I surveyed the disciplinary theoretical approaches for migration, particularly those related to Economics of Migration and Sociology of Migration, in my research proposal. However important the latter disciplines were as foundation for my interdisciplinary approach, they proved to be insufficiently rigorous for coping with the theoretical complexities, challenges and questions that arose. In order to address these deficiencies and to hopefully generate some added value to the interdisciplinary analysis of migration, I decided to provide my own unified framework as explanatory tool for the theoretical understanding of forced migration that would allow for the incorporation of interdisciplinary insights between Sociology and Economics.

1.1 Some remarks about theoretical approaches of migration.

Scientific analysis of migration has come to increasingly recognise the complexity of the subject. Massey *et al.* (1993) allude to the lack of interdisciplinary consensus on the theoretical analysis of international migration:

At present there is not a single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories...., ... sometimes but not always fragmented by disciplinary boundaries". (p. 432)

An entire research project would be necessary for a comprehensive review of the schools of thought involved in the epistemological evolution of migration theory. Nevertheless, a description of its general evolution might here prove quite useful for our purposes. As Arango (2000) points out, the theoretical construction of approaches to migration, largely takes place in the second half of the twentieth century, especially its last third. He quotes as seminal studies the classic *The Laws of Migration* by Ernest-George Ravenstein, the father of modern conceptualisation on migration, and *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, which he considers to be probably the most impressive book ever written on the subject of migration. The interaction of prevailing schools of thought led to the predominance

of what Jackson (1988) defines as *Classical Migration Theory*, which Wood (1982, p. 300) assimilated in his *Equilibrium Model of Migration*, used by Bach and Schraml (1982, p. 322) in tandem with neoclassical economic theories of rational individual choice. This theory was predominant throughout the 1960s and 1970s, and its appeal only waned when the reality of international migration from the mid 1970s became apparent. The predominance of neoclassic economics for both the Equilibrium approach and for general migration theory generally, can in some part be explained by its undeniable charm: "...a paradigm so versatile, which has been applied to so many dimensions of human behaviour,..., simple, elegant, akin to common sense, it has the advantage of combining a micro-perspective of individual decision-making and a macro-counterpart of structural determinants" (Arango, 2000, p. 285). According to this approach, at an individual level, population movements were the rational consequence of utility maximisation (mostly based on expected income) under the comparison of both factors of push (rural areas) and pull (urban areas). At the aggregate level, it reflects the mobility of workers who are responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, labour, capital and natural resources (Wood, *op. Cit*).

Criticisms of this model employed four main arguments:

- Even under a *laissez-faire* economy migration could not imply a free decision. For Blackburn and Mann (1979), for example: workers may not have the required information to maximise their utility from particular labour vacancies, or perhaps they cannot handle the information required for job selection.
- Dual Labour Markets: Migration, even internally, does not take place *within* one labour market. If there are at least two labour markets (rural and urban), the migration decision could be constrained (Piore, 1979).
- The Marxist approach. Migration is the dynamic expression of the creation and destruction of reserve armies (Castles and Kosack, 1989).
- Holistic approaches are unsuitable for the dynamics of historical process. Different stages and levels of economic development imply different labour markets (Roberts,

1981). The contemporary problems of neo-classical theory of migration stem from its difficulties to come to terms with reality (Arango, *op. Cit*).

As can be seen, most of the approaches that criticise the equilibrium approach come from what is called the *Historical-Structural Perspective*. Acknowledging the difficulty of summarizing the main foundations of this approach, Wood (*op. Cit*) emphasizes that the most remarkable feature of this perspective is its claim that migration can only be examined in the context of historical analysis of the broader structural transformations underway in a particular social formation.

These two perspectives figure the extreme points of the theoretical spectrum of migration. Most of the literature currently available on migration theory can be located at some point on this spectrum, claiming either that there is no continuum between these two points (the “dialogue between two deaf people”, Cardoso, 1977, p. 15) or trying to bridge these two extremes through exposing their methodological and conceptual premises. This chapter is an explicit effort in this direction.

In the Introduction to his *Theories of Migration*, Robin Cohen illustrates the construction of migration theories as a dialectical procedure for the progressive formalization of the relevant subjects through antinomies. Cohen considers a more sophisticated version, where the epistemological construction of paradigms is made based on asymmetrical dyads, “...with one pole more strongly affirmed than the other” (Cohen, 1996, xi)³. Ironically, the evolution of migration theory, if we compare the two dominant perspectives, seems to have become the ultimate antinomy by itself. Even theoretical approaches derived from specific disciplines can be found along the theoretical spectrum previously outlined. As Castles (2003, p. 1) concludes, “...the sociology of migration ...has developed mainly in the context of voluntary (that is, mainly economic) migration”.

On the following pages I outline the main theoretical approaches of both the Sociology and Economics of Migration, followed by a personal attempt towards an explanatory

³ Among the partial listing provided by Cohen are: individual vs. Contextual reasons to migrate, rate vs. incidence, internal vs. international migration, temporary vs. permanent migration, settler vs. labour migration, planned vs. flight migration, economic migrants vs. political refugees, illegal vs. legal migration and push vs. pull factors.

unification as a subset, aimed to provide an interdisciplinary theoretical approach to forced migration.

1.2 The Economics of Migration

1.2.1 Neoclassic Economics

As already noted, this can be considered as the dominant branch of the Equilibrium approach, a sophisticated version of the push-pull theory (Lee, 1966) mostly based on rational individual choice, which can be extended to include the level of information available (Rothemberg, 1977), or lifetime income (Sjaastad, 1962). With Todaro's model (1969), the volume of migration is a positive function of the real or expected international (rural-urban) earnings gap. Wage levels, living standards and employment possibilities are the factors at the macro level, while rational optimisation provides the microeconomic rationality foundations. This model was further modified to account for segmented labour markets in Harris and Todaro (1970). The main characteristics of the model as a whole are stated in Todaro (1997):

- Migration is a situation generated mostly by rational economic comparisons between relative cost and benefits between geographic areas.
- The decision to migrate depends on *expected* urban-rural wage differentials, more than actually current differentials.
- The probability of obtaining an urban job is a positive function of the urban employment rate.
- High rates of unemployment are the result of economic opportunity imbalances between rural and urban areas.

As is explicitly stated, migration, for this approach, is mainly an economic issue. The logical structure of the model relies on the assumption that the expected urban real wage is a function of both labour productivity and urban labour supply (composed of the permanent urban labour force plus migrants). This structure supports the main conditions of the model: the migration process holds as long as the expected urban real income exceeds rural real income (i.e. real agricultural labour productivity).

The foundations of this theory of rural-urban migration have been increasingly undermined. One of the criticisms has germinated from the evolution of economic development analysis and growth theory. As Todaro (*op. Cit*) points out, economic development literature used to have a positive view of migratory process⁴. It was argued that migration increases urban labour supply and transfers human resources from locations with low social marginal productivity to urban areas where this productivity was higher. However, empirical tests of the behaviour under the expected income hypothesis proved to be rather weak. The analysis of economic adaptation of migrants suggests that in the formerly colonised nations, rural-to-urban migration is more likely to generate low-income employment or even worse, urban unemployment (Goldscheider, 1983; Skeldon, 1990)⁵. Todaro argues that these imperfect outcomes arise from two problems: first, urban employment is more difficult to create than rural employment, and second, there is an imbalance of labour supply generated by migrants, who are not easily absorbed into urban employment because of their low human capital levels.

1.2.2 New Economics of Migration

Todaro's model did not include any considerations about the individual's behaviour towards risk. As Stark (1991, p.39) points out "... *the expected-income hypothesis is void of any explicit decisional risk content*". Stark (1991) has been the first author to posit aversion to risk as a major cause of rural-to-urban migration. In his book, Stark presents his theoretical response to the new challenges on labour migration, with three particular premises:

- Labour migration goes beyond individualistic behaviour.
- Labour migration is more than a response to wage differentials.
- Migration can be explained sometimes by incomplete sets of institutional arrangements.

⁴ As Wood (*op. Cit.*) points out, quoting Spengler and Myers (1977), migration is considered a "development fostering" process, which, at the international level leads to a gradual convergence in the levels of economic growth and social well-being.

⁵ Some empirical tests of the expected income hypothesis did not result in the correct sign for the variables tested or in low levels of significance on the parameters. See Banerjee and Kanbur (1981) and Garrison (1982).

The introduction of risk consideration in Stark's model follows the logical approach of migration as an economic decision. Accordingly, both individual and household based migration situations could arise when agents with optimising risk-averse behaviours react to increasing risk situations (risk on agricultural activities, risk on economic outcomes of collective migration of the family) by *diversification* of their income portfolio (i.e. sending their most competitive members to the urban market). Similarly to Todaro, Stark recognises the contradictory situation between migration as a rational choice and its empirical outcomes: low urban income or unemployment. He suggests four possible explanations for this situation:

1. Rural-to-urban migrants are risk lovers. But, according to empirical evidence from other economic analysis, rural inhabitants in formerly colonised nations tend to shirk risk (Schultz, 1964, Roumasset, 1976).
2. Bounded rationality. Human behaviour is limited by two factors: individual's capacity for analysis and the complexity of situations. (Simon, 1983).
3. Todaro's explanation: migration depends on expected urban real income rather than on actual urban wage. If risk diminishes with time, risk-aversion behaviour could not be compatible with migration. This explanation attributes a high explanatory power to the time discount factor.
4. If the family is the decision-taking entity, they can control increasing risk situations through sending their most qualified member to the urban sector.

Stark combines explanations 3 and 4 in order to design a model that takes advantage of some conditions of the Todaro model and includes his own considerations about global risk aversion⁶. In particular, he raises the issue of incomplete institutional arrangements (i.e. the incompleteness of capital markets in providing accurate rural insurance systems) and combines it with the dependence of migration on expected urban real income, to illustrate the possibility of migrations occurring even where it implies a current unfair risk. He concludes that small changes in the probability of getting higher

⁶ Stark follows the pioneering work of Friedman and Savage (1948) by using an individual utility function to formalise simultaneous situations of gambling and insurance.

economic benefits from agricultural activities could lead to the migratory process being undertaken only amongst the most qualified members of rural households.

According to Arango (*op. Cit.*, p. 287) this theoretical approach can be seen either as an inside criticism of the micro version of neo-classical theory or as a variant that refines and enriches it with amendments and additions. The basic critique to this approach is not its internal consistency, or the theoretical autonomy provided, but rather its limited applicability. Arango's comment is radical: "...the new economics of migration seems to draw its inspiration, as well as the bulk of the evidence on which it rests, from a small number of rural villages in Mexico...It concerns itself only with the causes of migration at the sending side" (*op. Cit.*, p. 288).

1.2.3 World System Theory

Underlying the whole rationale of this approach is the idea that developed countries require a permanent inflow of migrant labour. More than a macro model, this theory suggests the existence of a global economic behaviour based on the capitalist penetration from developed economies into peripheral areas. Wallerstein (1974, 1980 and 1989) provided the foundations for a systematic global approach (the "Modern World System") wherein economic, political or social analysis depends on the set of factors chosen as driving forces. The very existence of the global system depends on the international flow of resources. Crossed flows of capital (under the shape of land or raw materials), new markets and supply of labour are generated under this penetration. Laws, controls on entry or exit of populations, are all subsumed under these economic forces.

This theory is usually criticised for its specific geographic applicability: it is only applicable at the global level (Papademetriou and Martin, 1991, p. 10). For Arango (*op. Cit.*, p. 291), rather than a migration theory, world system theory is "...a historical generalisation, a by-product of a univocal, reductionist and sense-loaded interpretation of history in which all countries pass through as following rigid laws of historic *development*".

1.2.4 Dual Labour Markets

The most important reference for this framework is Piore (1979)⁷. His approach is mostly based on institutional factors rather than individual/household decisions. Pull factors originating in developed countries generate the migration flows, which are supposed to meet the needs of these industrial economies. Those needs come from different factors: structural inflation, dualism generated by market structure of production factors (capital and labour), increasing labour supply and motivational problems related to the structure of occupations (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

Under the risk of structural wage-inflation, an ascending wage spiral is generated through an active labour policy that is forced to offer higher wages in order to recruit for unpleasant jobs in situations where there is a shortage of labour supply (native workers, usually sustained by national welfare systems, tend to avoid these unattractive jobs). This labour shortage is reduced through migration, the departure point for dual labour market theory: developed economies maintain a permanent demand for foreign labour⁸. Economic dualism is understood as the market behaviour generated under labour-decreasing production costs, which allows employers to adjust their production levels by reducing or increasing the intensity of their lowest cost factor: labour, mostly composed of migrants.

The structure of labour supply is also related to dualistic economies. The latter changes the scope of labour demand from vulnerable native population groups, such as women and teenagers, to migrants. They allow employers to circumvent problems related to particular occupations: low work-force motivation due to low-wage jobs and scarce mobility prospects. This theory allows purchase on the following questions (Arango, *op. Cit*, p. 288): i) why, in advanced economics, are there unstable and low-productivity jobs; ii) why do local workers shun such jobs; iii) why the local worker's aversion to unattractive jobs cannot be solved through standard market mechanisms (i.e. increasing the pertinent wages); iv) why foreign workers from low-income countries are willing to

⁷ Other references are Cain (1973), and Hatton and Williamson (1991).

⁸ Some authors call for the historical relativity of this permanent demand imbalance. Bach and Schraml (1982, p. 326) noted that in the late 1970's "...the attractiveness of immigrant labor to core states decreased considerably". They quoted Cohen (1980) for whom a continuing influx of immigrant labor is no longer a structural necessity for late capitalist societies. I argue that only a crisis of the World economy similar to the recessions that these countries faced in the late 1970's would provide the precise evidence necessary to discard the main argument of dual labour markets theory.

accept such jobs and v) why such structural labour demand can no longer be filled through traditional resources (women and teenagers).

1.3 The Sociology of Migration

A historical review of the literature on the sociology of migration provides some interesting insights. Its historical evolution shows a relatively new disciplinary approach, whose development has taken place mainly in the context of voluntary migration (Castles, 2003). The earliest efforts to provide a well-structured foundation for the sociological theory of migration were provided by Jansen (1969, 1970), and Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1968, 1970). However, the development of migration theory in sociology has been neither independent nor self-contained: it is interesting how the literature on sociology of migration depicts itself among the academic landscape of studies on migration. Frequent criticisms are made of its exaggerated emphasis on individual, reductionist voluntary behaviour, which for many years was a recurrent feature of the sociological studies of migration based on push-pull theories, or its more sophisticated neoclassical versions derived from the economics of migration.

Mangalam and Schwarzweller, in their 1970 paper, made a claim for the relevance of a general theoretical approach that was sociologically oriented. For them, there was "...an apparent avoidance by research sociologists of things sociological in the study of migration" probably due to an apparent neglect of contemporary sociological theorists who concerned themselves with population and its components of change: mortality, fertility and migration (Mangalam and Schwarzweller, *op. Cit*, p. 16). Petersen (1978) in his survey of international migration literature, claimed that although most of the migration literature available at that time in the United States had been written by sociologists, most of what they have provided as theory might better be classified under economics, geography or demography. His approach, though, seems to be rather submissive or subordinate: "...since economic, spatial, and population characteristics are likely to be important in any movement of people, it is salutary that in this one subfield sociologists have been anything but parochial. The consequence has been, however, that the analysis of migration, as related to social institutions, group coherence, collective behavior, and the like has been relatively neglected: sociological theory of migration is far less advanced than theory specified by any of the other three

disciplines” (Petersen, *op. Cit*, p. 555). For Castles (2003, p. 17), migration research has traditionally been dominated by economists and geographers.

A review of sociological theories of migration seems to indicate a bias towards an *inductive* approach. This feature is to be expected: the prevailing views of migration and the modes of defining it, all they extract their sociological content from the concrete and specific realities under observation (Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1970, p. 9). Different theories were developed in order to explain different historical contexts of migration. The research agenda for the 1980s and 1990s aimed to tackle questions relating to the cultural implications of the migration process, the emergence of restrictive politics towards migration, political asylum and illegal migration. Its most recent concerns revolve around the way migration is shaped by family and community, the study of social capital, social networks and cultural capital as factors for the process of migration (Castles, 2003, p. 17).

1.3.1 Sociology of Migration: Voluntary and Forced Migration

Richmond (1988) provides an excellent survey, mostly focused on international migration. He suggests a wide research agenda for sociological theories of migration, which should embrace various features of the population movements, factors regarding the decision to leave and social integration at the destination. His historical survey recognises the increasing importance of distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary movements, and the difference between macro or micro theories of migration. He recognises two main features of the theoretical research for the sociology of migration: 1) almost all the theoretical approaches are related to voluntary migration, and 2) economic factors predominate as determinants of the most important stages of the migration process.

Richmond proposes a *Paradigm* based on a critical review of both micro and macro theories of migration: 1) the systemic approach (Mabogunge, 1976; Tos and Klinar, 1976; Hoffman-Nowotny, 1981), and 2) the emphasis given to the economic and political determinants of population movements.

Micro-theories are related to particular aspects of migration, mostly regarding motivation and movement decisions. As Richmond (*op. Cit*, p. 339) recognises,

movement decisions imply a discussion between structural constraints or individual choices, which is by far the most central issue for sociological theory. He suggests Turner's Sociological Theory of Motivation (1987) assembled in two stages: first, an examination of early motivational theory on five classical approaches in Sociology⁹, and second, a "provisional" theory of interpersonal motivation constructed by a combination of this five approaches. In Richmond's point of view, this theory provides the logical foundations needed in order to explain migration as an exit from a situation which persistently fails to satisfy needs (Richmond, *op. Cit*, p. 16, Turner, *op. Cit*, p. 24).

Castles (2003), just as Richmond, acknowledges that the Sociology of Migration has mainly focused on voluntary migration. The predominance of geographers and economists, combined with the frequent failure of policies based on their work, challenges the current approaches available for understanding the social dynamics of the migratory process. In order to provide an updated context for his theoretical approach, Castles acknowledges the obvious links between globalization and economic migration, but deepens the links to their pertinence for forced migration. The logical construction that he provides is based on two related components. First, the notion of globalization as a system of selective inclusion and exclusion of specific areas and social groups, that maintains and exacerbates inequality (Castles, *op. Cit.*, p. 17, quoting Beck, 1997; Castells, 1996 and Hoogvelt, 1997). This inequality has its most important expression in the social North-South divide: inclusion and exclusion brings social inequality, one of the main determinants of conflict and forced migration among developing countries. The second component emerges as a consequence of this process: failed economics usually implies weak states, illegitimate or corrupt regimes and human rights abuse. Migration, according to such analysis, cannot be distinguished between economic (voluntary) and forced. Given this historical context and the research challenges it provides, Castles calls for a sociological argument that points to the significance of forced migration in contemporary society and for current processes of change.

⁹ The approaches are: *i.* Incorporation of Utilitarian and Behaviourist Theories into Exchange Theory, *ii.* Transformation of Mead's Social Behaviourism into Interactionist Theory, *iii.* Evolution of Shutz's Phenomenology into Ethnomethodological Theory, *iv.* Structuration Theory blended from elements of Interactionist and Phenomenological Theory in Structuration Theory and, *v.* Interaction-ritual Theory: a combination of Durkheim's Structuralism with Ethnomethodology and Interactionism.

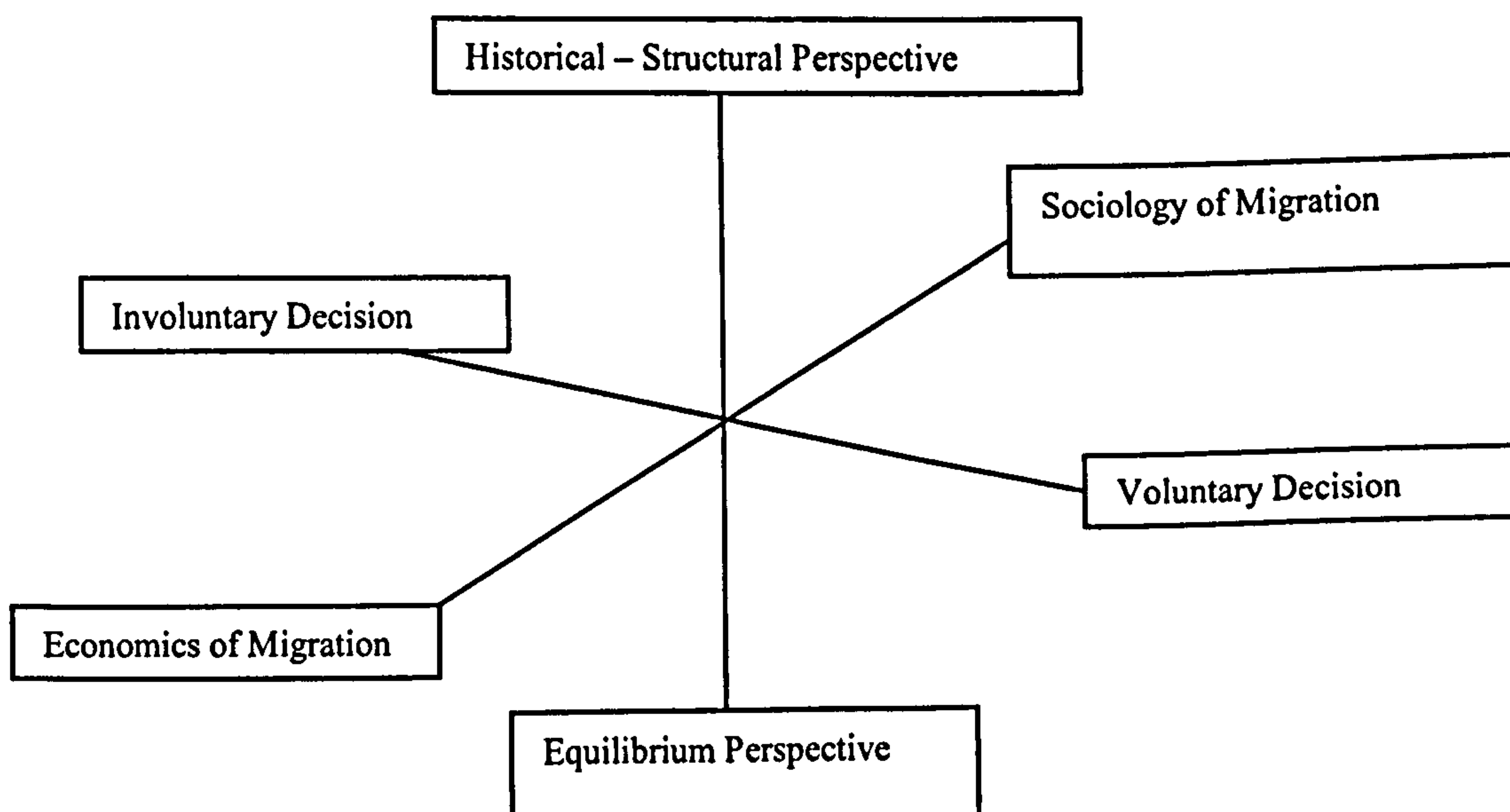
1.4 Towards a Theoretical Unification: The missing disciplinary pieces

I want to begin my proposal for a unified migration theory through approaching the complex migration phenomenon from three different dimensions based on dyads: disciplinary (Sociology or Economics), the nature of the migration decision (voluntary or involuntary) and the theoretical perspective (Equilibrium Theory or Historical-Structural). A methodological caution must be inserted at this point. Any classification must be considered as self-contained and thereby the terms and definitions used here are related to their own field of application. I make this clarification being aware that most of the literature on the sociology of migration assimilates the term voluntary migration to economic migration, which should not be understood as the discipline of the economics of migration. It can be said that from the point of view of the determinants of the migration decision, voluntary decisions have been identified as economic decisions, but the field of the economics of migration, from my point of view, should extend beyond the field of voluntary decisions. The above remarks perhaps illuminate the disciplinary challenges that have been faced in seeking a unification of both economics and sociology in the field of forced migration.

Figure 1.1 is a graphical approximation of my methodological approach. It suggests the interaction of three different dimensions (dyads) that I have used in order to approach my theoretical unification.

Figure 1.1

Three-dimensional Challenges for migration. Sociology and Economics.



The best way to find what is missing in this attempt at theoretical unification, is to acknowledge what is already available. From the voluntary perspective, both sociology and economics have similar approaches; the individually-based equilibrium perspective (derived from the push-pull, neoclassical tradition) and the aggregate-historical-structural approach (being either dual labour market theory, world system theory or systems approach). In the case of involuntary migration decisions (forced), we find the sociological approaches of Richmond, who approaches migration from the context of individual behaviour, and Castles (2003), who analyses it in the context of global social transformation, treating migration as a collective consideration. The transnational economic interests of this approach could provide the required foundations for extending these collective considerations to economics as a discipline, following most of the epistemological traditions of the historical-structural approach.

What is missing? An economic theory of forced migration mostly based on individual, household-related considerations¹⁰. Providing such an approach, although highly necessary, is in some sense beyond the remit of this chapter and my thesis. However, in order to provide the basic foundations for a theoretical unification between economics and sociology for a theory of forced migration, a well-structured foundation for an economic theory of forced migration should be provided as a sort of cuff link.

1.5 Forced Displacement: A possible combination of disciplines?

First of all, I would like to delineate some boundaries. My purpose is to provide theoretical explanations for a particular kind of migration: forced displacement. Under the concept of forced migration Jackson (1988) classifies movements, temporal or permanent, from one physical location to another of a population, as a necessity for the protection of life and liberty of individuals.

Kuhlman (2000) is a scarce reference for the economics of forced migration. For him, although migration has been a recurrent subject of interest for economists, who initially focused on the economic causes of migration (Lewis, 1954; Fei and Ranis, 1964; Harris and Todaro, *op. Cit*) and more recently on the economic consequences of migration

¹⁰ For an interesting discussion about the implications of either using individual or household-based migration decisions, see Bach and Schraml (1982), Wood (1982) and Schmink (1984).

(Stark and Lucas, 1988; Brown, 1990; Adams, 1991), he sees economic research in the field of forced migration as extremely meagre (Kulman, *op. Cit*, p. 1). He cites as an example, the literature review on the economics of migration from Massey *et al.* (1998), where forced migration is not even mentioned.

The non-economic nature of the causes of forced migration (arbitrary political factors and not the free interaction of market forces), Kuhlman argues, may explain the perception of many economists that involuntary migration is a subject outside of their domain.

I argue that the lack of theoretical economic approaches to forced migration is not just explained by the complexity of the circumstances that lead to forced migration. It could even be argued that the historical-structural theoretical approaches provide very well structured theoretical approaches to the subject of collective forced migration, either in sociology, economics or even political science, provided that they stick to an explicit definition of forced migration¹¹. Thereby, the interest goes to the individual analysis of forced migration. It would be very interesting to analyze why the most relevant theoretical approach to migration, the neo-classical one, an approach so versatile, elegant and simple, has for so long failed to formalise forced migration.

As most of the economic analyses of migration recognise, empirical studies tend to suggest some kind of irrational outcomes from what is supposed to be a rational behaviour: low income urban employment or urban unemployment. I reviewed Stark's (1991) possible explanations for this outcome, and his preference for two of them, based on his own logical approach. Stark disqualifies the explanatory power of bounded rationality on migration. He claims that, as risk is inherent to both urban immigration and rural activities, the *intersectional emptiness* (weak relation between variables) that is useful for explaining economic behaviour under bounded rationality, is here inapplicable.

¹¹ As Kuhlman (*op. Cit*) and Segura-Escobar (2000) claim, the use of the concept "forced" in migration research should not be an ambiguous term. Kuhlman offers a clear analogy: Is flight from famine forced migration? If so, why not flight from unemployment?

Forced migration implies a different set of situations. Here, decisions taken under physical risk, and not by comparing the economic outcomes of rural-urban labour utility, function as the priority. These deal with decision-making processes that compare different levels of physical risk, security and group inclusion, and thereby, the explanation of migration based on bounded rationality could provide a best explanation for this sort of irrational decision. As Stark (1991, p. 47) mentions: "...People can deal with only one major problem at a time; therefore they may not be able to deal with all the possible implications of their migration decision".

On a daily-basis, decisions regarding protection of life would imply a forced decision by itself, and thereby would stand in no need of further elaboration. But I have a particular purpose. I want to formalise the behavioural implications of forced displacement in order to raise a radical distinction between this concept and the mainstream theory of either economic or sociological migration. My proposal will be based on two key-concepts: human behaviour under risk and uncertainty and the difference between voluntary and non-voluntary decisions.

1.5.1 Constrained Behaviour, Forced Migration and Bounded Rationality

Richmond's *Paradigm* considers a distinction between voluntary and involuntary decisions, which he argues is untenable, given the constraints regarding opportunity structures generated by social forces. He suggests a classification related to the degree of autonomy of the agents involved, such that decisions should be classified as either *proactive* or *reactive*.

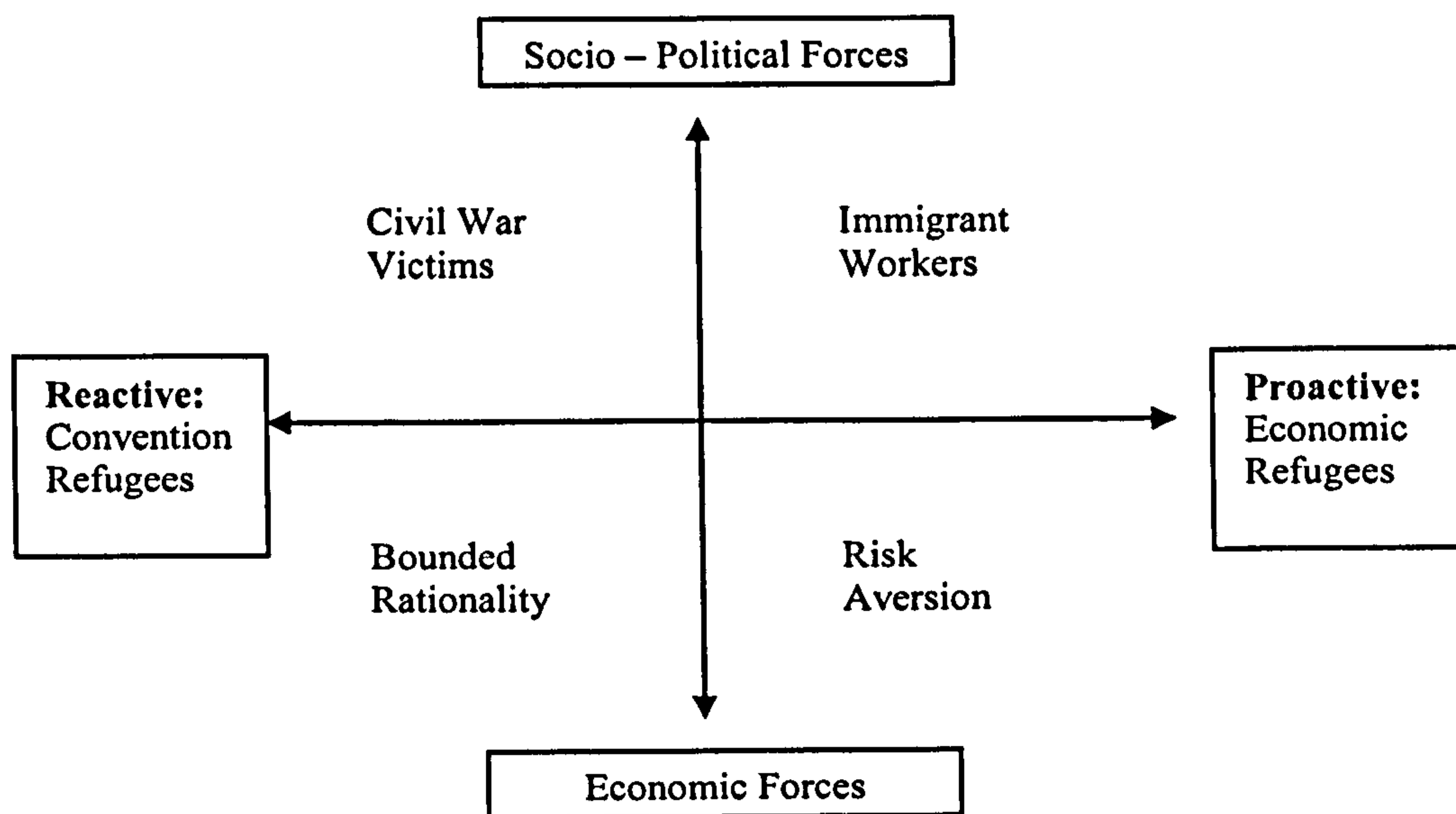
Despite having incorporated the Utilitarian and Behaviourist Theories of Exchange Theory (Meeker, 1971) in to his own *Paradigm*, Richmond considers rational choices as special cases rarely found. Surprisingly, from the economic point of view, the same consideration holds. Herbert Simon's seminal work of the 1950s, emphasized that economic agents possess finite mental capacities and limited knowledge, and thereby their decision-making processes are limited or bounded. Using this criterion, he argues (Simon, 1983) that if there are some issues in economic theory that depend on rational decisions, these issues could be deficient as predictors of future human behaviour. Accordingly, the methodological concept of second-order decisions can be used to

explain the irregular outcome in both income and employment opportunities that would otherwise condemn forced migration decisions as economically irrational (Sunstein and Ullmann-Margalit, 1998). Second-order decisions are defined as decisions about the appropriate strategy for reducing the problems associated with making a first-order (straight) decision. In the context of forced migration, two different strategies may explain irrational economic behaviour; the first one is *small steps* (i.e. a way of simplifying a difficult situation of choice by making a small, incremental decision and leaving the remaining questions for another day. The second one is *picking* (i.e. given the difficulty of deciding between a variety of options, people sometimes decide on a random basis).

My theoretical approach is synthesized in Figure 1.2. The basic structure recreates Richmond's diagram of International Population Movements, but is adjusted for our purposes. On the horizontal axis we have the decision-making process, from proactive behaviour (maximum autonomy) to reactive behaviour (minimum autonomy). In Richmond's diagram, the vertical axis illustrates the interaction between socio-political and economic forces, with economic forces at the centre of the circle. In our diagram, this interaction is also present, but here, the economic forces are in one extreme and not at the centre.

Figure 1.2

Forced Migration: Reactive Decision and Bounded Rationality



Adapted from Richmond (1988)

I wanted to depict the difference between proactive migration (voluntary movements of population) and reactive-forced migration (people running away from the threat of physical damage). I added to the diagram a simple description of the decision-making process, incorporating two economic explanations of migration. We should remember that recent economic theory underlines the irrational outcome of migration movements, suggesting four possible explanations for it. From these, we have stressed bounded rationality and income-portfolio diversification (with risk aversion) as the more interesting factors. The likelihood of population movements increases in both models. Under bounded rationality, the individual(s) are not aware of the economic results they will get if they move. In this context, population movements are constrained decisions, undertaken with restricted information: if people stay, they may be subjected to physical damage; if they leave, they will not. Considerations about future employment possibilities and their levels of income are not part of the information set.

One interesting feature of the figure is the possibility of using proactive and reactive behaviours for both the sociological and economic analysis. Another is the underlying discussion about structure and agency, to be compared with rational-maximizing behaviour and constrained rationality. This whole discussion can be considered as a case study for the analogies that may be found between Weber's Interpretive Sociology and the Rational Choice Approach (Norkus, 2000).

Finally, some closing remarks. Interdisciplinary approaches to migration theory usually leave us with the dismal feeling of how separate disciplines are from each other, and I would cite, as an example, Brettell and Hollifield (2000). Rather than attempting a single interdisciplinary theory of migration, I have tried to raise the standard theoretical view from both the economics and sociology of migration with two purposes: firstly, to raise awareness of the increasing need to provide theoretical economic approximations for forced migration and secondly, to provide methodological and epistemological bridges between disciplines in order to increase mutual understanding of what is available and what is still missing in the theory of migration.

I agree with both Castles (2005) and Portes (1997), who consider the emergence of a single, all-embracing sociological theory of migration, as unrealistic, and in some sense

this would hold for a unified economic theory also. By way of an alternative, and in order to provide some analogical bridges between sociology and the economics of migration and both their voluntary and involuntary motivations, I am attempting to provide an expression of the “theories of middle-range” (Merton, 1957), which combines microeconomic determinants of migration with agency and rationality. Castles (2005, p. 12), extends the migration decision framework to the household and contemplates the possibility of irregular economic outcomes from forced displacement, given the fact that the context of the migration decision, based on risk aversion, incomplete information and bounded rationality, moves the economic motivations to a second-order of consideration.

Chapter 2

Internal Migration and Forced Displacement in Colombia 1960-2004. A Literature Review

Introduction

I have decided to widen the perspective on forced displacement in Colombia through incorporating insights on studies of internal migration. This has been done for the following two reasons. The first is an empirical one. Although violence has long been recognised by a significant number of studies about Colombian internal migration as a very important *push* factor, not all the migratory flows identified by those studies were recognised as forced displacements. As a matter of fact, forced displacement and most of the terms related to the phenomenon were only included in the pertinent literature of the 1990s. Consequently, there is a high probability that most of the studies that related violence and migration to the Colombian case would have been written under the taxonomical definition of internal migration.

The second reason is a methodological one. For the Colombian case, forced displacement has mostly implied internal population flows inside the boundaries of the Colombian borders. From this perspective, it shares some features with internal migration (Jackson, 1986, p. 4): both are *significant* (i.e. they have demographic consequences) and they both involve a *distinct social transition* (i.e. a change of status or a changed relationship to the physical as well as to the social environment).

In this chapter I present an analytical survey of studies about internal migration and/or forced displacement in Colombia. The structure of the document is as follows: in order to locate the migratory flows that the studies to be reviewed actually researched, I introduce a global overview of the main features of the historical patterns of internal migration in Colombia. Then each study is presented in detail, describing its main features: its methodology, data source and main conclusions. The rationale of the review is not geographical. It tries to emphasize the socio-economic regularities found in different internal migration studies, as much as the epistemological connotations of the way different disciplines have approached the issue of internal migration and forced displacement in Colombia over the last thirty five years.

2.1 Main features of Internal Migration in Colombia

Mesclier *e. Al.* (1999) set out the historical patterns of internal migration in Colombia under three different levels of analysis and through different historical population flows:

- i)* National level: Patterns of early inhabitation developed subsequent to the Spanish Conquest, the Spanish Colony and following Independence from the Spanish Empire. These patterns established the main currents of population for most Latin-American countries, with their subsequent local expansions.
- ii)* Local and regional level: Urban developments being strongly related to topographical advantages or obstacles.
- iii)* International level: Inception of national states to the main currents of international trade based on a national infrastructure of communications, whose development is an expression and a determinant of the population patterns of a country.

The following map shows the interaction of these three levels of analysis for historical patterns of internal migration in the country. Combining these levels of analysis and the historical process described by Zambrano (1993, p. 26) I suggest that Colombian internal migration started under the stronger influence of national interactions of demography and economic development, with international trade and international migration being only recent influences. The national level of analysis defined the basic profile of inhabitation for Colombia, peoples coming up from the Caribbean Sea coast (based on the foundation of cities such as Cartagena and Santa Marta) up through the Magdalena and Cauca rivers (from the north to the south of the country) and from their respective banks expanding up to the three mountain ranges that run through most of the central part of the country.

Figure 2.1

Historic Process of Population in Colombia 1500 - 2003


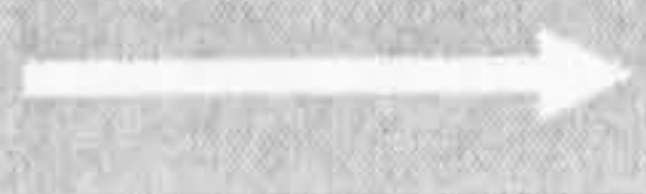
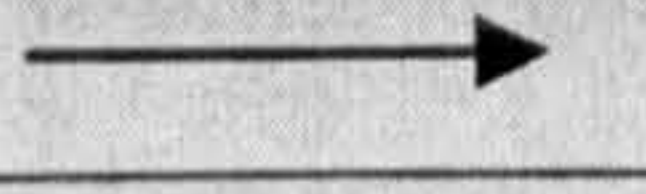

COLOMBIA



Table 2.1 presents the main features of the historical process of internal migration in Colombia. One important feature of this process is that, here, the concept of *internal* is intrinsically related to the way the Colombian population grew and extended throughout the national territory. Geographic barriers have discouraged immigration from neighbouring countries to Colombia and apart from some minor flows, there have not been massive migrations from overseas, as has happened in other Latin American countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela or even Chile. Thereby, migration in Colombia has been mostly indigenous.

Table 2.1

Historical Waves of Internal Migration in Colombia. 1500 - 2003

Sign	Kind of Migratory Movement / Period
	1500 to 1650
	1600 to 1950
	1950 to 2003
	Agriculture Frontier Expansion

Sources: Zambrano (1993), Mesclier *et. Al* (1999), Martinez (2001)

The presence of two well-defined expansion borders for internal migration lead to what Mesclier *et al.* (1999, p. 42) call the “Two Halves” of Colombia. It is a strong contrast between the “Crowded Colombia” (at the west side of the expansion border) and the “Low-Inhabited Colombia” (at the east side of the expansion border).

2.2 Studies between 1960 and 1990: From *La Violencia* migration to Economic migration in the 1990s

A review of the literature available on internal migration and forced displacement in Colombia would be incomplete without proper recognition of the leading role that the seminal sociological inquiry of Guzman *et al.* (1962) “La Violencia en Colombia” has had. This book, published in 1963, challenged the collective perception of denial regarding the particular nature of the historical process of political violence that took place in Colombia between 1948 and the early 1960s. The authors presented an objective, detailed and extensive account of the main features of this political bloodshed, at a moment in time when most of the political rulers and even scholars were reluctant to inquire into its causes, consequences and perpetrators. The book claims that

throughout the XXth century internal migration was highly determined and shaped by political violence, and thereby forced displacement does not have short-term character, but instead it has deeper, long-term foundations that must be acknowledged and scrutinized.

This book was eventually split up and re-published as different components. One of these, the book published by Guzman (1968), includes the descriptive aspects of the original book. For Guzman, the first expressions of forced displacement occur with *La Violencia*, the political cleansing and radicalization experienced from 1930 onwards, mostly related to the consequences of the change of government from the conservative presidency of Miguel Abadía Méndez (1926-1930) to the liberal Enrique Olaya Herrera (1930-1934), finishing the 30 year period called The Conservative Hegemony. Underlying resentment and bitterness rose among liberal peasants, which, combined with the increasing intervention of the Catholic Church, led to territorial political cleansings. After clashes between conservative and liberal supporters, the former who could rely on active support from the Police, whole communities were abandoned. This situation became the regular pattern: "...the word about the "repressive devastation" actions executed by the Police and occasionally the Army was quickly spread to all the rural areas. This led to a migratory process towards the urban centres..." (Guzman, 1968, p. 69). Although Guzman acknowledges the difficulties involved in estimating the number of people involved in this process, he quotes some basic estimations: by 1961, approximately 800.000 had migrated internally in Colombia due to political violence.¹² A more specific and official figure quoted is the National Office for Rehabilitation and Help, according to which, by 1953, 60.000 displaced people had moved to Bogotá city.

Perhaps encouraged or challenged by this holistic and seminal study, a plethora of studies from different disciplines, covering different aspects of *La Violencia* emerged. One of the first studies of the determinants, conditions and consequences of internal displacement due to armed and political violence in Colombia, was the sociological assessment of Lipman and Havens (1965), who qualitatively surveyed two groups of individuals living in the same low class neighbourhoods of Bogotá city, in order to evaluate the effects of violence on collective patterns of anomie, following the

¹² Guzman quotes as source the newspaper "El Pueblo", March 5-11/1962, p. 3

definition of Durkheim. The first group, called *Experimental Group*, was composed of 69 individuals who had been displaced from their home communities as a consequence of acts of violence. The *Control Group* consisted of 59 persons who had been unaffected by violence, 40 of whom had migrated from rural areas. The authors applied a survey composed of questions designed to test the personal consequences of the social process of displacement, mostly expressed as a breakdown of national identification and cohesion. The first set of questions inquired into the degree of social disorganization through comparative attitudes regarding four criteria: sense of national identification, feeling of disillusionment, atmosphere of insecurity and religiosity. The second set of questions provided opinions about the perception towards different social institutions and issues (the Catholic Church, the Government, justice, household wealth, the Armed Forces) and political violence. The rationale for this exercise was to ascertain whether people who had been directly affected by violence were exposed to higher degrees of personality disorganization than their counterparts were. The results pointed to the “devastating” effects of violence on personality systems. Members of the Experimental Group exhibited higher degrees of insecurity than members of the Control Group, which suggested that for these displaced people, despite having removed themselves from the geographic location and causes of insecurity, the effects of their traumatic experience persisted. Consistent with this pattern, displaced individuals manifested higher levels of anomie. With regard to the Catholic Church, displaced people had a more unfavourable perception of it, particularly amongst women, which is a very interesting result, as traditionally women were considered more religious than men. Finally, according to the results of the study, the group exposed to violence had higher levels of identification with the country, which the authors interpreted as an expression of increasing solidarity and a possible prelude to national reorganization.

Adams (1969) focuses on the link between rural migration and development. He calls attention to the radical demographic transformations that most Latin American countries were going through in the 1960s, focusing on Colombia as a case study. Adams criticises the standard approach that development economics has had towards rural migration, focused only on explaining migration in terms of return-to-labour differentials. The author provides an impressive picture of the demographic transformation in Colombia: the rate of population growth increased from 2.2% for the period 1938 – 1951, to 3.2% between 1951 and 1964. The number of cities with more

than 20000 inhabitants increased from 16 in 1938 to 47 in 1964. The percentage of people living in these urban centers grew from 13 to 36% in the same period. Altogether 2.7 million people moved into urban areas between 1951 and 1964, this comprising 36% of the rural population in 1951. This urbanization process was matched by an expansion of the agricultural frontier: 400000 people moved into new colonisation areas between 1951 and 1964. Adams quotes rural violence, lack of social opportunities, high population rates in rural areas and monopolisation of land as major causes of this movement. Using data from 700 interviews focused on the migratory features of rural families, Adams evaluated the characteristics of rural migrants against the general features found among other migration studies. According to his study, there was a relationship between the level of education and a propensity to migrate to urban areas. Land property did not have any significant influence on the tendency to migrate from rural areas. The average age of migrants commencing migration, he estimated to be 30 years of age. Adams considered most of the rural-urban migration flows in Colombia in the 1960s to have a predominant individual character. For him, family out-migration was a more predominant feature in Colombia during the intense rural violence of the early 1950's.

The research program developed by Ramiro Cardona between 1969 and 1978 is probably the most ambitious and extensive research in the field of Colombian migration, resulting in more than 11 different publications. In 1970, Cardona edited the book *Las Migraciones Internas*, whose second chapter (Bernal and Lopez, 1970) was devoted to internal migration processes in Colombia. This chapter underlined the accelerated level of demographic transformation, given the fact that the Colombian population was growing at a yearly rate of 3.2% with an even higher pace of growth in the urban areas. Their methodological approach distinguished between geographical zones of demographic attraction and geographical zones of demographic repulsion. The authors provide an empirical critique to the Harris – Todaro models of migration (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1976), not least because the growth of hovels and high levels of unemployment or underemployment (Stavenhagen, 1969) suggest themselves as contra-indicators to the rationality of the migration decision, which was one of the main foundations for the Harris – Todaro model. Apart from a high rate of growth, the Colombian population also exhibited a high degree of geographic mobility. According to national census information, by 1951, 14% of the Colombian population had been

born in a different province to the one they were living in at the time they filled in the census questionnaire. This percentage grew to 18.1% for the National Census of 1964. For the authors, there were two clearly different migration flows converging in the urban areas of Colombia at that time. One of them was composed of qualified/educated people migrating to the main Colombian cities for clearly economically rational motives. The second was largely the result of political violence and poverty, and was responsible for the growth of urban hovels.

Cardona also co-authored, with Alan Simmons, a historical inquiry into the characteristics of male migrants arriving in Bogotá city between 1928 and 1968 (Simmons and Cardona, 1972). A sample of 3579 men in 1968, aged between 20 and 54, was randomly selected in order to analyze socio-economic profiles, and, if they were migrants, their age upon first arriving in Bogotá. Selected features of social and residential background, and migration and occupational background were established from a sub-sample of 871 married men aged between 20 and 54. A control group comprised of a random sample of 256 men with similar basic features, who were living in a rural area with an intensive tradition of out-migration to Bogotá, was established. The comparison of different profiles of cohorts allows the authors to examine the possible stylized facts related to internal migration to Bogotá city. They found that the profile of migrants was highly dependant on the region where they originated: qualified, skilled migrants tended to come from the higher classes of intermediate cities, whereas low skilled workers tended to come mainly from rural areas. Nonetheless, the education profiles of migrants were higher than that of the native population in the area of origin and lower than the native population of Bogotá. Cardona and Simmons support the theoretical framework provided by Lee (1966), and Browning and Feindt (1969), which succinctly attributes the successful inception of migrants to a combination of employment opportunities in a limited number of occupations and a greater understanding of urban opportunities.

From a theoretical point of view, violence had early recognition as an important push-factor for Colombian internal migration (Guzmán *et al.*, 1962). Unfortunately, this recognition failed to initiate any further systematic scrutiny. Apart from the quoted papers, one of the earliest available references on the subject is the work of Schultz (1971), which explores the causes of internal migration in Colombia. Schultz takes

municipality-related socio-economic information provided by the Colombian population censuses of 1951 and 1964, and combines it with some basic data from the classical study of Guzmán *et al.* (1962)¹³ in order to analyze the effect of socio-economic factors on internal migration, expressed through net specific gender-age migration rates. At first hand, the results confirm the high geographical mobility of the Colombian population: more than one-third of the Colombian rural population who were less than 40 years old in 1951 had left these areas by 1964. On the qualitative side, the gender outcomes suggested that urban immigration was highly female-selective. This was an affirmation in some sense biased by the available information, as the author recognized that more male-specific patterns of migration would not have been detected given the fact that most of the information was focused on urban population profiles (i.e. most male migration headed towards remote rural areas, expanding the colonization frontier, which flows would not be visible from the available information). The results provide empirical evidence for the explanatory power of *pull* factors over *push* factors on the likelihood of rural-urban migration: higher rural wages and access to education in rural areas reduces that likelihood, and increasing rural labour supply and rural violence tends to increase it. One specific finding suggests that the only population group whose migration patterns were not statistically related to migration caused by violence (men between 17 and 21 years old), was precisely the group most acquainted with political violence, either as perpetrators, or as first-hand victims¹⁴, as they had the lowest, almost non-existent rates of migration. Schultz's results reinforced the idea that the then-current Colombian political violence had a prominent rural incidence, at least judging from its effect on migration. Finally, this study of 1971 provides one of the first quantitative estimates of the effect of violence on forced displacement: one death a year, due to political violence, equated to the migration of approximately 18 people from the immediate rural area.

Schultz (1972) approaches migration and demographic transition from a political science perspective, trying to evaluate the impact of this process on electoral tendencies.

¹³ Schultz acknowledges the possible role that politically-led rural violence could have had on rural-urban migration in the 1950s and early 1960s. In order to evaluate this argument, he analyzes the relationship between migration flows and the series of politically-motivated homicides compiled by Guzman *et al.* (*op. Cit.*, Vol. II. Appendix, Chap. II, p. 301-325).

¹⁴ Schultz failed to notice that this specific phenomena might be partially explained by the fact that 17-21 years of age is when compulsive army recruitment usually happens in Colombia. In addition, the army was at this time largely composed of former peasants.

According to his investigation, and given population growth rates and distributions of rural or urban population, Colombia's demographic evolution was at the time rather similar to other Latin-American countries. Schoultz rejects the theoretical explanations of migration provided by the Economic Development literature (i.e. models based on Harris-Todaro models of migration), arguing that Latin-American urban development has simply consisted of the transference of rural poverty to an urban environment (Davis, 1963; Elizaga, 1965). Colombian peculiarities are related to a homogeneous spatial distribution of migrants (they do not concentrate in just one main city as with other Latin-American countries, Jefferson, 1939; Ortiz, 1957), and to the disparities between an increasing urban labour supply and the prevalent rate of economic growth, which could lead to open unemployment. Schoultz claims that the particularities of the Colombian situation suggest a progressive radicalization of political affiliation patterns: according to voting patterns, low-income urban inhabitants who have recently migrated, could be moving towards political radicalism, as they tend to maintain their previous political affiliations and their traditional rural political rules. Finally, he acknowledges the lack of depth of his conclusions given the lack of knowledge about the patterns of internal migration in Colombia at that time.

Martine (1975) provides an extensive and detailed examination of the main features of Colombian internal migration, using socio-economic information extracted from the basic sample of the 1964 National Census (composed of 2% of individual observations, about 350.000 persons). His population sample confirms the geographic patterns suggested by Schoultz (*op. Cit.*) for the homogeneous distribution of migrants through different urban areas, not concentrating in one main one as it seemed to be happening in Latin America at the time. According to his results, rural-urban migration is mostly female, whereas migration between rural areas is predominantly male, which confirms Schoultz's analysis of gender patterns of migration. Education profiles of migrants follow a specific pattern of self-selection: the larger the city, the higher the level of education of migrants. Although the author recognizes that his inquiry is largely based on particular features of migrants and not on their motivations, he enumerates demographic growth, technical changes in the agricultural sector, and the evolution of national economic activity from primary to secondary sectors, among the possible causes of rural-urban migration.

Given the fact that his data source is the National Population Census of 1964, Martine finds similar migration flows to Bernal and Lopez (*op. Cit.*): a country with a very high level of mobility. From a total population of 17.5 million in 1963, 6.3 million (around 36%) could be considered migrants. This percentage was mostly composed of young, single people, particularly amongst female migrants (women between 10 and 19 years old applying for urban jobs as domestic servants or industrial workers). Economic adaptation of migrants is largely explained by human capital variables (individuals with higher levels of education tend to migrate to the capital city and lower education levels were more likely to be found in other urban areas) and by the fact that migrants' work participation rates were higher than those of non-migrants of a similar age and gender.

Expanding the scope of his framework from the national experience to the international landscape, Cardona (1978) approached internal migration and social change from the Latin American experience. He gives special weight to a survey on public policies and perceptions towards internal migration from which he identifies two different models of public policy. One of them is the *Integration* model, under which the economic development of the cities leads to the economic development of rural areas, which thereby means that internal migration should be allowed and encouraged. The other, *Conflict* model, identifies a contradictory relationship between urban and rural elites, and different perceptions of economic policy priorities. According to Cardona, the *Integration* model has been used as an *ex-post* political and historical explanation of Latin American migratory processes, whereas he favours the *Conflict* model as providing greater explanatory power.

The effects of social and geographical mobility on the psychiatric profile of persons were analyzed by Micklin and Leon (1978). From the perspective of my own survey, this paper expands both the scope and the disciplinary landscapes of research on Colombian Internal Migration, by providing the possibility of testing the impact of geographical mobility (migration) and the social mobility that may be related to it, on psychiatric disturbances. A sample of 681 adults were interviewed, representative of different socioeconomic strata living in the city of Cali, located at the western part of Colombia. Aiming to test the effects of social and geographic mobility, age, sex and education were factors for the measurement of psychiatric symptoms by means of a set

of 22 instruments. Given the sample selection condition, that respondents must be employed or seeking work, the percentage of males in the sample (88%) was higher than that found in the city of Cali generally, but the authors argued that the study's focus on the interaction of work factors and family in the production of stress, excluded those outside of the labour force.

For this study, the migratory status (migrant – non-migrant) was defined according to four possible residential locations through the interviewees lifetime: the current one (Cali, at that moment, for all cases), the place of residence between 5 and 15 years of age, and their place of birth. A migrant was defined as a person whose residence changed. Migrant status was refined in order to create the variable of migrant type, which defines the migrant status as a function of the sizes of the former and the new communities implied by the migration process, classified in four categories: large urban (100.000 inhabitants or more), medium urban (20.000 to 99.000), small urban (5.000 to 19.999) and rural (4.999 or less inhabitants). Following this classification, migration movements were further delineated according to “ruralward” (to a smaller location), “stable” (movements between communities of equal size) and “urbanward” (to a bigger location). The basic results of this classification showed a positive relationship between age and the propensity to migrate (between birth and 5 years old only 19% of the individuals migrated, whereas between birth and the present moment of the interview, 81% had changed their place of residence). In terms of destination, migration tended to be predominantly urbanward. A higher degree of psychiatric symptoms were found amongst females, regardless of age, educational attainment, social level, migrant type or migrant status. Higher symptom scores were correlative to lower educational levels. Migrants had slightly higher symptom scores, with higher scores amongst “urbanward” migrants than among “stable” migrants. This low record might be explained by the specific features of the construction of the *migrant* variable, which only analyses demographic (size of the population of the community where the individual is/was living) and obviously geographic changes of living place but not the migration decision that led to those changes (proactive or reactive migration decisions, that is, voluntary migration or forced displacement). As we shall see (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, 1996), forced displacement implies traumatic experiences for the phases of household “destruction” and “reconstruction”, which are completely different to the experiences brought by economic-voluntary migration.

Another study of the interaction between internal migration and social change is the article of Whiteford (1978), focused on ethnographic research among migrant women living at a working class neighbourhood situated on the outskirts of Popayan, a city located in the southern part of the country. The author considers whether female empowerment may be a possible outcome of the rural-urban migration process. Among many of the possible determinants and mechanisms of liberation and empowerment, the author considers among the economic, the probable support that a woman's social network may provide in the urban inception stage, and their more proactive-flexible-pragmatic attitude to job-search activities. Finally, Whiteford evaluates the interaction between marital status, internal migration and female independence, finding that women who are household heads, but who do not have a permanent partner (i.e. single, separated, between free union partners or widowed), go through the highest levels of struggle during their urban move, explained by the absence of marketable skills and the fact that they are sole providers for their dependant children.

The main features of migratory flows (both internal and external) in Colombia were analyzed by Marmora (1979). He identifies four different migratory flows that Colombia, as most other Latin American countries, has undergone: rural-rural, rural-intermediate urban centres, migration to large urban centres, and large-scale seasonal migration as well as emigration. In the Colombian case, the dynamic of the first three flows implies a radical change in the geographical population distribution of the country. Population in cities with more than 500000 inhabitants grew at a rate of 782% between 1951 and 1973 (DANE, 1977). Transnational emigration flows, although underestimated- given the usually illegal nature of the movement- were quite significant: the author estimated a flow of more than half a million people from Colombia to the United States, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, Canada, Chile and Bolivia, between 1963 and 1973. Finally, Marmora presented the main features of the Labour Migration Policy started in 1975 by the Colombian Government, which focused mostly on the coordination of flows of seasonal rural workers and the retention of potential emigrants.

In his two articles on internal migration in Colombia (Fields, 1979, 1982), Gary Fields aimed to extract all the possible information regarding what he calls "...the empirical

appropriateness of the Economic Model of Migration in Colombia”, i.e., to test the empirical evidence available to support the Expected Income Model of Migration (Todaro, 1969). According to this model, migration decisions are explicable according to the perception of the potential migrant regarding the possibility of attaining higher economic status through migration. Fields’ 1979 paper uses the basic sample from the 1973 National Census of population, representative of 4% of the 22’000.000 Colombians enumerated. According to his analysis, by 1973 22% of the Colombian population could be classified as lifetime migrants, which would imply a reduction of internal migration flows, compared to the 36% lifetime migrants of the 1963 National Population Census (Martine, *op. Cit.*)¹⁵. Fields provides basic quantitative evidence to support five hypotheses derived from the basic idea of the Expected Income model:

- i) Women migrate at higher rates than men;
- ii) Women in Colombia are more responsive than men to economic opportunities associated with migration due to sociological reasons, whereas economic incentives are greater for men;
- iii) High income areas have higher immigration rates than low income areas;
- iv) Areas with higher and more stable employment levels have higher rates of immigration than other areas, and
- v) Composition of employment (i.e. white-collar workers, unpaid family workers) of a specific geographic area influences the immigration levels that may flow there.

For his 1982 paper, Fields applies his theoretical framework to the same set of data, with the advantage of now having more detailed information about the features of the migration process. The migrant category is refined through the division between lifetime migrant and recent migrant, with the length of residence (more or less than five years) as the fixed criterion for classification. A further deconstruction of hypothesis i) and ii) is possible given the higher level of detail provided by desegregation of the original data set, which leads to the inclusion of the level of education as one of the gender-specific features of migration. The global results of the econometric exercise

¹⁵ Some methodological remarks are due here. Fields’ geographical analysis of internal migration focuses on inter-department migration, and does not include inter-municipality migration. Thereby, the levels of migration detected in his analysis may have been lower than those actually effective, as it does not include migration between municipalities that belong to the same department.

support the influence of economic variables as determinants of internal migration in Colombia.

2.3 Earliest Manifestations of the Forced Migration Crisis: Research studies 1990-1999

Economic determinants of internal migration were again tested by Shefer and Steinvortz (1993). Their work, which aimed at identifying factors that may explain and help to predict the direction and intensity of the rural-urban flows of internal migration in Colombia, uses data with different features to the one used by Fields (*op. Cit.*). Their study, however, is very similar to Fields', both in terms of the empirical hypothesis tested and its economic tone¹⁶. For the authors, given both historical and demographic conditions, Colombia, at that moment, had already experienced one of the fastest demographic transitions towards a highly urbanized country. Their results tend to support Fields': higher population size as destination is positively related to immigration, as well as to higher urban-to-rural wage differentials. One specific finding of theirs requires further detailed examination, namely, the negative relationship between the rate of urban unemployment and rural immigration. For the authors, this confirmed Stark's (1981, 1982) hypothesis which states that rural-urban migration decisions are collectively taken (i.e. household-based), such that the rural household provides supportive income for the unemployment stages of their urban-based migrant members whilst they find a job. However, this could also be interpreted as empirical evidence supporting Bernal and Lopez' (*op. Cit.*) criticism of the empirical inconsistency of economic models of migration, whose rational behaviour assumptions do not provide strong support for the empirical regularity of persistent levels of unemployment among immigrants.

Feeding the Tiger, from the U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993), was one of the first and most interesting reports to call attention to the increasing problem of internal forced displacement in Colombia in the early 1990s. This report, importantly, reminds us something that is implicitly sustained through some of the studies about violence in

¹⁶ Fields uses micro (individual) data from the National Population Census of 1973, whereas Shefer and Steinvortz use macro (aggregate) data from the National Population Census of 1985. In terms of the theoretical framework, although Shefer and Steinvortz provide a more sophisticated-household based theoretical model of migration, the main remarks, in terms of this review, are rather similar: proactive-voluntary decisions of migration based on cost-benefit comparisons of different economic and social conditions.

Colombia- that historically, Colombia is by essence a country of displaced people: "...for more than a century, families have seen loved ones killed in political conflict and have fled under threat of death" (*op. Cit*, p. 5). According to the study, given this context, the displacement events detected in the early nineties were part of a forced migration flow, which dated from 1981 and was intimately related to the growth of the cocaine and heroin cartels. The authors report that at least 300.000 people have been displaced in this migratory flow. This was the third major movement of a whole historical demographic transformation which had an implicitly violent connotation, a feature that provided remarkable influence on internal migration throughout the XXth century. The first flow was related to *La Violencia* (see Guzman *et al.*, *op. Cit.*), where more than two million people were forcibly displaced (US Committee for Refugees, *op. Cit.* p.1). The second flow was related to displacements from communities fleeing confrontation between the Colombian army and the left-wing guerrillas in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The authors claim that a common aspect which relates all these forced migration flows is *political cleansing*, i.e. violent procedures developed in the pursuit of the political allegiance of individuals and their communities. The document predicts that if the political circumstances of 1993 remain, then increasing levels of displacement could lead to a similar situation to that found with *La Violencia*, implying levels of displacement of about 2'000.000 people in a period of approximately 18 years.

Leibovich (1995) claims his own study to be part of the *New Economics of Migration* approach, a research framework proposed by Stark (1981, 1991) which considers migration as an option taken by individuals given the uncertainty of the economic outcomes of their investments. Leibovich sees migration as one of the alternatives used for diversifying risk and obtaining a higher income. He concludes that wages' differentials between migrant and non-migrant workers are largely the result of lower educational profiles. Unfortunately, Leibovich's approach does not provide supporting evidence for one of Stark's main arguments, which is that rural-to-urban migration is mainly an income portfolio diversification mechanism, used by rural households in the presence of risk.

From a sociological perspective, Meertens and Segura - Escobar (1996) dissect forced displacement from a gendered perspective. Their study was based on information made available by NGO's who worked on humanitarian programmes for displaced

communities and on the processed results of semi-structured interviews applied to displaced households in three Colombian regions. Meertens and Segura-Escobar's research emphasize the impact of violence on migratory movements in Colombia. Their inquiry also draws attention to women's participation in political violence (mostly through the guerrilla forces), and surveys the increasing, yet imperfect social policy offered to displaced people by the Colombian Government. Finally, special attention is devoted to the evolution of the gendered-experiences of displaced individuals through different stages of the displacement process (from the point of view of surveying rural *push* factors and evaluating urban inception experiences). This analysis leads to a very important conclusion: women are more affected throughout the household's *destruction* stage (running away from the risk of physical damage from threats either coming from guerrilla or paramilitary troops), whereas they perform better than men on the *inception* phase (reconstruction of their households, either in rural or urban locations). "...the fulfilment of immediate survival needs seems to rest with women, even where the male "head of household" is present...the main striking difference between women and men, however, is their ability to find work" (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit.*, p. 173).

Erazo *et al.* (1999) analyse the literature available on the subject of forced displacement in Colombia from the perspective of its utility towards formulation of policies. Their document classifies the data sources available on the subject according to their method of collection and the possible figures made available through them, and the places of origin of the displaced and their destinations. A literature survey is undertaken in order to try to define the most recursive causes of displacement. They find that political violence is the most recursive explanation, involving redistribution of land property and the dominance of strategic territories for drug-smuggling and the weapons trade. These constitute the geographical explanations of why displacement happens in some areas and not in others. Finally, in conclusion, the study recognized the dramatic level and profile of forced displacement in Colombia and claimed that the available research was mostly focused on quantitative estimations of the size of the phenomena and the profile of displaced people, but had not made significant advances in exploring the complexities of the phenomena.

The study of Mesclier *et al.* (1999) is perhaps the most comprehensive research project in Colombian geography and demographic population patterns for the second half of

XX century. This study follows the tradition of IGAC (1996) and Sarmiento and Alvarez (1998) on the attempt to provide a structured *Atlas* which would show the demographic evolution of the Colombian population using data from the National Population Censuses of 1973, 1985 and mostly, 1993. The dynamics of migration are uncovered through a comparison of the levels and rates of immigration and emigration for the period of reference, given the possibility of comparison supplied through the three different migration profiles portrayed by the data provided by each population census. The study reached the following conclusions:

- High population mobility between rather stable places of origin and destination. Those provinces with highest emigration rates were the ones with highest immigration rates, leading to net rates of low-level migration.
- The traditional “labour supply” area that has provided most of the immigration flows to Bogota, the capital city, is its surrounding provinces.
- Most of the growth of urban areas (rate of growth of the percentage of total population living in urban areas) is due to increasing rates of immigration, which provides empirical evidence for the demographic transition hypothesis.
- Long-distance migration in Colombia has two main destinations. One of them is big urban areas (main cities had the highest rates of immigration). The second destination is the territories located at the border of the “Colonisation Frontier”, located at the eastern part of the country, heading either to the north-east, i.e. the big plains shared with Venezuela (i.e. *Los Llanos*, the eastern plains) or to the south-east, to the Colombian part of the Amazonian jungle.
- The percentage of the total Colombian population who, at the moment of the National Population Census of 1993, were living in a different province to that in which they were born, was 40%, whereas 15% of the total population were “recent migrants” (people who have been living at their current places of residence for less than 6 years).

Muggah (1999, 2000) focuses on a global analysis of the adaptation process of displaced people and the institutional supply to attend them. His theoretical framework emphasizes the common features manifest between natural catastrophes, population relocation process due to infrastructure constructions (i.e. dams), and forced

displacements due to violence. Muggah's study applies Cernea's IRLR Model (Cernea, 2000), to the Colombian case, in order to test the empirical regularities detected in some World Bank country-studies. He attempts to account for the Colombian phenomena under the conceptual framework provided by Marx (1990), and this in order to provide an empirical and theoretical platform for a policy designed to counter forced displacement. His conclusions emphasize the relocation of displaced populations rather than a return to original living places- a pragmatism bound by the persistence and even growth of political conflict.

2.4 Research studies between 2000 and 2004.

The studies of the Colombian Bishop's Conference (2000) and Pécaut (2000)¹⁷ provided a highly structured and scholarly view of the field of forced displacement studies in Colombia. They share a common analytical framework, mostly derived from Arendt's (1982) portrayal of European refugees during the early stages of World War II. Accordingly, displacement is interpreted on three levels: first, the loss of residence, i.e. the social texture in which one was born and where one has organized a particular space in the world (Arendt, *op. Cit.*, p. 276); second, the fact that expulsion is assessed not in terms of an explicit opposition to a political regime, but based on a belonging that has social characteristics assumed to be part of "nature"; and third, the loss of political rights, i.e. they are not equal before the law.

Another common stance of these two studies is their recognition of forced displacement as a historical regularity in Colombian XXth Century history. For the Colombian Bishop's Conference study, displacement is "...a quasi-permanent and recurrent figure in Colombian history: it forms part of the memory of families and populations; it is inscribed in the recollections of urban inhabitants. It preceded the foundation of neighbourhoods in big cities and both big and small towns all along the internal frontiers; it may be said that displacement is the vertebral axis of the territorial conformation of the country" (Colombian Bishop's Conference, *op. Cit.*, p. 18). Pécaut takes a less radical approach, for him, the lack of accountability and historical responsibility following *La Violencia*, led to the construction of an imaginary, in which the fate of political and social issues was constrained by violence, with migration as no

¹⁷ A Spanish version of the article was previously published in *Estudios Políticos* (1999, January-June).

exception. "... both forced displacement and voluntary migration may be conceived in the same terms; the effects of a violence that never ends – forced displacement often appears, as does migration, as part of the natural order of things" (Pécaut, *op. Cit.*, p. 99).

From this basic common background, the studies evolve independently. Pécaut's reflections address and highlight the specific particularities of recent forced displacements, in contrast to those that took place with *La Violencia*. One such is the perception of the phenomena of forced displacement in Colombia and its implications. The author deepens the specific conditions and circumstances under which a phenomena with the dramatic dimensions of forced displacement (described as an increasing situation that in 1995 amounted between 500.000 to 700.000 displaced persons and which by 1999 had increased to 1'500.000), occurred. It was only now that Colombians themselves were beginning to perceive forced displacement as one of the main issues of the Colombian conflict. Pécaut claims that, given the geographic distribution of the Colombian population, the inhabitants of cities, which constituted the greater part, were mostly sensible to expressions and modalities of violence that had a pronounced urban character, such as murders executed by hired killers (*sicarios*) and urban terrorism. Forced displacement was perceived mostly as a rural matter, usually related with coca and poppy crops and drug trafficking activities, when it was not just taken as a personal misfortune in the sense of the imaginary collective perception quoted before. Pécaut finally concludes that the deep historical connotations of forced migration in the Colombian collective imagination challenge the very concept of national identity: the lack of rights implies a citizenship never achieved and far beyond reach.

The report of the Colombian Bishop's Conference aimed to provide a more applied portrait of Arendt's categories, together with a taxonomical review of the studies about forced displacement in Colombia. The study portrays some specific features of the Colombian case, in comparison to other cases of humanitarian crisis through displacement: a highly multipolar profile of violent actors together with a disaggregated specific regional character. It also argues that the lack of awareness of public opinion can be explained by the way it is perceived: either as some kind of natural, unpredictable catastrophe, towards which only humanitarian activities of attention may

be undergone (the “Displaced-as-Victim” perception) or the urban perception of the displaced people as having mixed loyalties to the violent actors (the “Displaced-as-Bandit” perception).

Table 2.2

**Classification Criteria for Studies on Forced Displacement in Colombia
Colombian Bishop’s Conference (2000)**

Criteria	Thematic Example
Quantitative Studies	IDP’s quantification The debate about numbers: The “Grey Figure”
Qualitative Studies	Life Stories, Ethnographies of displacement
Law-Political Science Studies	Human Rights The basic human right not-to-be forcibly displaced Reviews/Evaluations of Colombian legislation, public initiatives and Constitutional jurisprudence.
Structural Approaches addressed to identify possible causes and effects of Forced Displacement.	Internal Conflict Private Interests Socio-Economic Effects and Traumatism.
Psycho-Social and Anthropologic Approaches	Psycho-Social Studies Studies with emphasis on Philosophic Anthropology
Gender Studies	Gender profiles, ethnographies of displacement, Gendered experiences of expulsion and inception.

Based on Colombian Bishop’s Conference’ study, *op. Cit.*, p. 25-53. The document provides an excellent classification of secondary references and case studies on forced displacement between 1995 and 2000.

Related to my literature survey, I quote Table 2.2, which is an attempt to provide the different kinds of studies regarding the subject of Forced Displacement. Based on this survey, the document finally recalls some specific features of the current state of research on Forced Displacement in Colombia:

- Disregarding the existence of a rich and diverse collection of literature, this level of analysis has not been extended to Governmental actions, nor to the public perception of the issue of Forced Displacement.

- The literature available, despite being extensive and comprehensive, does not satisfactorily explain, nor attempt to deconstruct, the complex issue of Forced Displacement in Colombia.
- It is necessary to standardize and validate the quantitative methodologies and the conceptual frameworks used to estimate IDPs numbers.

Segura-Escobar (2000) aims to provide an empirical-qualitative overview of forced displacement in Colombia as a complement to Pécaut's (*op. Cit.*) reflections on the same. These two articles represent a comprehensive review of the problem, published in Colombia's special issue of the *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* (14, 1). Apart from the analytical regularities of considering displacement as an historical regularity in recent Colombian history, and expressing distrust in the available IDPs figures, Segura-Escobar proposes a wider scope of the concept of forced migration. This includes, apart from violence and natural disasters as possible causes, new causes related to "...the operation of economic forces (unemployment, technological development, exhaustion of natural areas of production)" (Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit.*, p. 108). The author makes an interesting point in identifying the trade-off between the benefits of identifying accurately the affected displaced communities and the drawbacks of this homogenization: "...the social stratification of rural and semi-rural society is erased in the characterization of the victim population...when communities expelled from their lands and uprooted from their habitats are dealt with as an abstract social category, their heterogeneity is blurred" (Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit.*, p. 116). Finally, the author reflects on the future perspectives of displacement as a complex humanitarian plight. For her, the future landscape of displacement will combine two factors: realistic uncertainty and illusive hope.

The reports of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999, 2002, and 2003) address the rising concern and calls for direct action from the most vulnerable components of the displaced population in Colombia. The 1999 report, *A Charade of Concern: The abandonment of Colombia's Forcibly Displaced*, aimed to raise international concern regarding the humanitarian plight of Colombian displaced people. The extraordinary dimensions of the phenomenon implied that by 1998 only Sudan had a higher number of conflict-induced internal displacements than Colombia. Whereas the humanitarian catastrophes of Sudan, together with those of Angola, Iraq

and Afghanistan, had been widely recognized and received international attention, the Colombian forced displacement crisis had remained largely hidden to the world. The most recent figure quoted by this study argued that, by 1999, 1'500.000 people had been forcibly displaced. This report displays three main regularities that NGOs' reports and case studies invariably share in their evaluation of the Colombian crisis of displacement, one mostly methodological and the other two basically empirical. The first one is the historical relevance that violence has had on influencing the migration dynamics of Colombian migration. The second regularity pertains to the lack of precise, consensual figures on displaced Colombians, which this report calls "the seemingly endless debate about how to count displaced Colombians", which is largely related to the recurrent government officer's practice of considering as displaced only those persons who are registered with humanitarian aid programmes¹⁸. The third regularity is the rather stable demographic profile of the displaced communities in terms of both age and gender: the vast majority of the displaced are women and children, and most displaced households are headed by women. Given this profile, the report argues that forced displacement in Colombia is clearly a "women's issue" (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999, p. 4). In these terms, the traumatic experience of forced displacement takes on an even more dramatic profile, aggravated by the terms of relocation, from rural to urban life: "...for many rural women, forced displacement means an abrupt shift in the way they negotiate their lives. Before being forced to flee, they operated mostly in the "private" sphere, of family, home and neighbourhood. When their husbands and male support network are killed, disabled or disappear, women are forced to operate in the "public" sphere, dealing with government representatives, NGOs and other officials, with whom they have had little contact in the past...This transition can be abrupt, intimidating and traumatic" (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*, p. 5). To this traumatic transition, I would also add the difficulties incurred through the negotiation of an unknown economic environment. Finally, the report draws attention to the most dramatic difficulties faced by displaced women: from basic humanitarian issues of shelter, food and medical attention, to more complex problems such as lack of protection from persecution, the social disintegration of families and the lack of future perspectives.

¹⁸ Chapter X is totally devoted to deconstructing the historical, political and methodological connotations regarding the debate about IDPs figures in Colombia.

The 2002 report, *Unseen Million: The Catastrophe of Internal Displacement in Colombia* sought to extend the scope of emphasis towards the most vulnerable groups among the displaced communities, as detailed in their report of 1999, in order to assess the conditions facing children and adolescents displaced by violence. To this purpose, the report concentrates on the second regularity uncovered in my literature survey, namely, the lack of agreement on the exact number of IDPs in Colombia. This report claims that there is only a relative consensus regarding the short-term tendency of the figures: the number of IDPs has been increasing and has gone beyond humanitarian crisis proportions, even expanding to geographic areas not previously affected. Focusing on its target group, the specific effects of displacement on children are evaluated, among them the lack of proper shelter, lack of access to education, health and employment opportunities, the devastating psychosocial effects of the displacement experience, disintegration of the nuclear family and violence against children (sexual violence and forced recruitment into the illegal army forces).

Displaced and Desperate: Assessment of Reproductive Health for Colombian IDPs, the 2003 report aimed both to follow up on its findings from the previous two reports and to present the main findings of the Assessment exercise. Special attention is paid to the dramatic increase in forced displacement figures for 2002. According to figures from the Thematic Group on Internal Displacement GTD (2003), approximately 173.320 people were displaced in the first half of 2002, compared to a total of 190.437 people for the whole of 2001. Figures from this Group are also used to highlight the rather stable demographic profile of the displaced communities in terms of both age and gender: 55% of the IDPs are female, and the most vulnerable groups (women and children) amount to 72% of the Colombian IDPs. Given the fact that most of the violence is directed towards men, female-headed households are numerous. These results confirm the Demographic Regularity found in previous studies. With regard to the reproductive health assessments, its results show the critical lack of access to reproductive health care for Colombian IDPs, due mostly to the lack of coordination between the national policy institutions and the local decentralized services. The most affected group is women: girls and adolescents. Gender-based violence (GBV) was found to be practiced by armed actors, consisting of rape followed by murder, sexual servitude and forced contraception and abortions. At household levels, some evidences of girls and boys being sexually exploited for family survival needs were uncovered.

Prevalence of STIs, sexually transmitted infections among IDPs, although lacking specific evaluation, was deemed to be very high. Adolescent pregnancy was nearly twice the standard for adolescents in Colombia's general population. Finally, evaluating the humanitarian health programmes available at that moment for Internally Displaced People, the report highlighted the huge gap between legislation and action, for both health attention and gender-based violence law enforcement.

Meertens and Stoller (2001) present another case-study following the framework and rationale of the former's co-authored work of 1996, with Segura-Escobar (*op. Cit.*), focused on a deconstruction of gender-differentiated effects of the displacement process (i.e. deconstruction – reconstruction of life projects and social fabrics) in the department of Cordoba, in the north-west of Colombia. Taking female-headed households as their departure point, they highlight the case of widows and their life experiences all through the process of displacement: the overwhelming consequences that the structures of rural societies (subjection to male authority and the separation of feminine and masculine spheres) have on displaced widow women. Small towns and cities become the first possible destination because they offer anonymity and employment. There, they can devote themselves to their children, repressing their own feelings of mourning and loss. Related to the reconstruction stage, Meertens' study finds that finding employment appears to be easier for displaced women than men, a quantitative regularity found in other studies (Meertens and Segura, *op. Cit.*, Meertens, 1998). The perspective of better employment opportunities, combined with a relatively higher autonomy, and obviously, the uncertainty of the evolution of internal conflict, may explain why only a small percentage of female heads of household opt to return to the rural areas.

Las Migraciones y los Desplazamientos Forzados (Casasfranco, 2001) approaches migration and forced displacement from the Human Rights perspective, following the conceptual framework provided by the 1996 Istanbul Habitat Conference. Specific emphasis is given to the Human Rights crisis generated from all migration processes, regardless of whether they are voluntary, involuntary, internal or international. The geographic scope of the study comprises six Central America countries (Belize, Costa Rica, Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua) and Colombia. The historical regularity of violence, as one of the determinant factors for both migration and the geographic distribution of the Colombian population, is explicitly recognised:

“...peasant’s exodus, accelerated inhabitation and de-habitation of living locations, surging of new barriers of forcibly displaced communities, desmovilizados, reinsertados and reasentados, have been determinant phenomena on the configuration of human settlements” (Casasfranco, *op. Cit.*, p.22), and this throughout a historical process which, in the XXth Century, began with agrarian conflicts and an increasing expansion of the agricultural frontier- predominant features of Colombia’s internal migration through the first half of XXth Century. The study claims that from 1948 onwards, after the assassination of Jorge Eliecer Gaitan, the populist presidential candidate of the Liberal Party, internal migration became both involuntary (forced) and politically orientated. In the 1970’s, more displacements occurred as a consequence of fighting between the Colombian Army and the communist guerrillas. By the 1980’s processes of forced displacement became more complex, due to natural disasters such as the earthquakes of Popayan and the flooding of Armero. In the 1990’s, new political cleansings were perpetrated by right-wing paramilitary troops against communities and zones where left wing guerrilla strongholds had historically existed. As for a quantitative dimension for the humanitarian crisis of forced displacement, Casasfranco quotes estimates from Codhes, which amount to 1’660.000, as the amount of displaced people in Colombia between 1985 and 1999. Finally, in addition to the high degree of heterogeneous regional economic development, the document recognizes the increasing difficulties of enforcing the defence and protection of displaced communities’ human rights, due to a lack of local public management skills and the fact that the national government has historically neglected displaced people’s rights and has focused only on humanitarian action activities.

Kirchhoff and Ibañez (2001) upgrade and diversify the state of the art for studies on forced displacement in Colombia. They aim for two objectives: first, to deconstruct the decision-making process of displacement and second, to evaluate at household-level the impacts and needs of displaced people. They provide a methodological framework which, based on specific welfare considerations, allows for estimation of the displacement decision as a function of economic and social variables. Their data source is a combination of 200 surveys applied to displaced households living in Bogotá, Medellin and Cartagena, most of which were displaced from the departments of Antioquia and Cordoba, and a control group composed of 176 households from these departments, which belong to the same original communities as the displaced. They

identify specific patterns of household fragmentation, loss of property and reduction of employment opportunities and household income. The results of their econometric exercise suggest that the direct threat of violence may well be related to household wealth. Social networks and active membership in social organizations increase the likelihood of direct threats and thereby, of displacement. A global conclusion is that improved information regarding the conditions likely to be encountered by displaced people in recipient cities reduces the probability of migration, a conclusion that goes against the standard rationale of most of the economic literature on migration.

Fajardo's research (2001) aims to identify what he calls "the circuits of forced displacement people in Colombia". As "circuits", he considers the information compiled regarding regularities among the features of the forced displacement experience: i.e. geographic areas of displacement, the length of the displacement experience, the size of the displaced population, its socio-demographic profiles, and the conditions under which the displacement experience has taken place. For Fajardo, there seems to be some historical continuity between these displacements and the "internal migration" flows which were scrutinized in the 1960s (Lipman and Havens, 1965; Guhl, 1963; Bernal and Lopez, 1970), and which were related to *La Violencia*, its process of political cleansing, the urbanization process and the expansion of the colonization frontier. Quoting figures from Codhes between 1985 and 1999, which estimates some 1'800.000 people displaced, Fajardo finds similarities with the amount of people who internally migrated due to the political violence of *La Violencia*: around 4% of the total Colombian population. For him, specific considerations regarding the "displacement circuits" and their relationship to historical patterns of land property concentration and political relationships, means that internal migration continuities through both space and time can be found, which he calls "long term population movements".

Following a very specific and detailed framework, the study of Martinez (2001) revisits and expands the work of Martinez and Rincon (1997) by making a very detailed comparison of the National Population Censuses of 1973 and 1993. Martinez finds specifically continuous patterns of migration for both kinds of migratory flows and geographical destinations. One specific indicator of population mobility is the Synthetic Migration Index (ISM), which allows comparison between levels of migration between countries. For the specific case and conditions of the 1993 National Population Census,

every Colombian citizen would internally-migrate at least once on his lifetime. This likelihood of migration can be ranked as middle-to-upper if compared to countries with high population mobility, such as England, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Unfortunately, Martinez' study, while recognising the theoretical impact of violence for migration, does not account for Internally Displaced individuals as migrants, and this for two reasons. The first concerns the specific historical moment when the 1993 Census was applied, when violence levels in Colombia were rather low, and the second relates to the kind of questionnaire used for the Census, which did not include violence among the possible *push* factors for migration.

Galvis (2002) approaches internal migration from the economic point of view, trying to provide empirical evidence for the Gravitational Model (Mazumdar, 1991). This migration model is based on analogies with the Law of Gravity: i.e. attraction between two bodies is a direct function of their masses and an inverse function of the distance which separates them. The rationale of the model states that there are attracting and repelling factors for levels of migration, and thereby the size of population in a specific geographic area is supposedly a force of attraction for potential migrants. The Gravitational model can be extended to emphasize specific regional features, such as income levels, unemployment rates and violence indicators. In terms of the dynamics of internal migration in Colombia, the study reviews different estimations of rural-urban migration rates, finding that between 1938 and 1951 the rural-urban migration rate was 1.2%, and increased to 3.3% for the period 1964-1973. A quantitative estimation of the determinants of migration between different regions of Colombia suggests that internal migration is highly affected by specific features of potential destinations (i.e. destinations' per capita income happened to be more important than origins' per capita income on migration decisions). According to the author, the lack of statistical significance of some economic variables, although theoretically expected, can be explained due to specific conditions of violence in some of the Colombian regions, acknowledging that conditions of insecurity may be a pushing factor which sometimes overcome the economic patterns of migration decisions.

Fagen *et al.* (2003) evaluate the institutional response to the plight of forced displacement in Colombia, including humanitarian attention activities undertaken by the Colombian Government (local, regional and central levels), national and international

NGOs, important donors and UN system agencies. The study is part of a series of reports that look to compare the international response to complex forced migration emergencies in Georgia, Burundi, East Timor, Georgia and Colombia. The study concludes that despite increasing efforts to provide an elaborate response, the problem of forced displacement is generally silenced in the public sphere. As with many other studies, this one also reflects on the historical regularity of the influence that violence has had on migration patterns in Colombia: "...for over forty years Colombia has experienced conflict and the rural population has suffered displacement" (Fagen *et al.*, *op. Cit.*, p. 2). And like so many other studies, it highlights and attempts to deconstruct the debate about the lack of accurate figures for IDPs in Colombia: "...just how many Colombians have been displaced is much debated...the most recent estimates range from approximately 750.000 to a little over two million people since 1995" (Fagen *et al.*, *op. Cit.*, p. 3). The fact that agencies tracking displacement fail to agree is not a reflection of the demographic professionalism of the various researchers...It is due to the differing bases on which the calculations are being made...the State, the Church, Non-government organizations and international agencies have different definitions of who is an internally displaced person" (Fagen *et al.*, *op. Cit.*, p. 2). According to the studies reviewed by the authors, there is an ethnic dimension to displaced communities. Whereas Indigenous and Afro Colombians account for 13% of the Colombian population as a whole, these ethnic communities tend to be more victimized by forced displacement, accounting for 24% of the total IDPs figures. The report concludes that the problem of forced displacement is intrinsically related to the evolution of internal conflict in Colombia, and so far as it is not explicitly included in the agenda of any possible peace agreement to be discussed with guerrilla troops or paramilitary troops, its increasing dynamic will not be reduced. It criticises as well the short-term, temporary approach towards forced displacement adopted by the government and humanitarian agencies, mostly focused on providing humanitarian attention packages and thereby failing to acknowledge the extent to which the consequences of forced displacement are irreversible. Displacement has changed the Colombian social, economic and demographic spheres: the accelerated, mostly illegal concentration of land property, the increasing pressures on urbanizing trends of displaced communities who do not have real possibilities of successful economic opportunities. Finally, reflecting on the institutional response of the Colombian government, the report portrays a very precise picture: "...Colombia is unusually compliant with international humanitarian law,

including norms for protecting and assisting IDPs...while the Colombian government fulfils its obligations through legislation, legal recourse and institutional venues for services, it *denies* its obligations at the same time by narrowly defining the eligible group, limiting the attention available, and placing obstacles in the way of claiming rights and services...the result has been a highly developed but ineffective response to displacement” (Fagen *et al.*, *op. Cit.*, p. 53).

From an economic perspective, Ibañez and Velez (2003) seek to evaluate the welfare losses of the displacement experience. The first part of their report aims to identify the key determinants of the displacement process, as they may provide evidence useful for designing policy instruments to mitigate displacement. The authors look to provide some basic stylized facts¹⁹ about forced displacement. One of them is its geographical profile. Although the increased scale of the phenomena has implied that literally all the departments (political unity equivalent to provinces or states) either receive or expel displaced people, the intensity (number of displaced population per 100.000 inhabitants) is heterogeneous between departments, which suggests a different strategic importance accorded to displacements between regions. With regard to the affected population, there are specific features of households that would seem to signify a greater likelihood of being displaced. Violent procedures of appropriation and the concentration of landed property are implied through the fact that, according to the study, landowners are four times more likely to flee their hometown than other groups. Ibañez and Velez quote figures from PMA (2001), which estimates the amount of land lost by displaced populations for some 4'000.000 hectares of land (1/3 of productive land in Colombia). The evolution of the conflict seems to influence the evolution of displacement: “...during the nineties, households were displaced mainly after a town massacre and migration was massive, that is a group of householders fled together, simultaneously reacting to a violent act...Today, households relocate mostly individually to prevent victimization...Individual relocation is closely related to preventative displacement

¹⁹ I would argue that the expression “stylized fact” does not conceptually fit the features of forced displacement as a social, economic and demographic phenomenon. As the report of the Colombian Bishop’s Conference (*op. Cit.*) claims, specific features of the Colombian case, if compared with other humanitarian crises of displacement (a highly multipolar profile of violent actors together with a disaggregated specific regional character), would provide a highly diversified landscape that might be portrayed as “stylized”. It has not proven to have a seasonal regularity and does not follow any geographical pattern, apart from its increasing expansion to cover the whole country. However, there are some remarkable demographic regularities that Ibañez and Velez and other studies have emphasized, which I shall revisit at the end of this chapter.

while massive relocation is linked to reactive displacement” (Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*, p. 4). Illegal groups are responsible for most of the forced displacement, particularly the paramilitary groups, who have become increasingly responsible for the recent surge for displacement figures. Displacement seems to be an explicit strategy of armed actors aimed at undermining social cohesion and achieving control of the civil population. A study by Lozano and Osorio (1999) argued that by 1999, 65% of the displaced population were active members of their communities and 11% were involved in political and labour organizations in their hometowns.

Regarding their evaluation of the welfare losses related to the displacement experience, the authors apply the model provided by Kirchhoff and Ibañez (*op. Cit.*), which, as has been said, is based on specific welfare considerations, and allows for estimation of the displacement decision as a function of economic and social variables. In my view, the conceptual quantitative considerations of this model, formulated in order to consider the displacement decision as a function of economic and social variables, implies that migration is an outcome of a decision process. Although this process includes, additionally, some considerations about risk aversion and bounded rationality, it still functions, and can be understood as, a standard neoclassical decision-making process. The report finishes with an estimation of welfare losses, obtained from the Survey of the Internally Displaced Population (SIDP-2000), which estimates that displacement accounts for a loss of 25% of the expected rural welfare, measured as the net present value of aggregated rural consumption. The specific conditions of the displacement experience imply different welfare losses: preventative displacement generates a larger loss, 24%, compared with reactive displacement, which accounts for a loss of 15%. The authors argue that risk aversion may explain this gap, as welfare loss from preventative displacement of a population may encompass regular economic costs from displacement as well as costs from facing uncertainty and anxiety. I would argue that risk aversion certainly explains this gap for welfare losses, but through a more complex interaction. In the hypothetical case that there may exist a positive relation between the level of wealth and risk aversion, the wealthiest households would adopt a preventative displacement strategy, viewing their educational profiles, contact networks and income levels as comparative advantages for their migration processes. Conversely, the poorest households, who do not have all these economic advantages, are unlikely to countenance preventative displacement and only the direct threat of physical harm

would trigger their displacement. According to the same rationale, if this economic profile of preventative/reactive displacement holds, then the households who suffered preventative displacement would implicitly lose a greater net present value of aggregated rural consumption: they became displaced earlier and had more wealth to lose. The final conclusion of the study is that, according to the results of their quantitative exercise, many key determinants of migration have the opposite effect in the context of forced displacement, compared to what might be expected from the standard literature.

Colombia's *UNDP 2003 Human Development Report: A cul-de-Sac with ways out* (UNDP, 2003), in its deconstruction of the Colombian internal conflict, includes forced displacement as one of the modalities of victimisation that historically recurs most often, the victims of which constitute by far the most numerous group of those affected directly by the conflict. The report offers two different estimations for the regional magnitude of forced displacement; the index of *Intensity* of displacement (number of people who have been displaced from a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants) and the index of *Pressure* of displacement (number of displaced people –either expelled or received at a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants) provided by Ibañez and Velez (*op. Cit.*). According to the results, there seems to be some relation between these two indices and the level of poverty in the departments. Similarly to Fagen *et al.* (*op. Cit.*), this report calls attention to the government's failure in both preventing displacement and protecting its victims, but its general tone is more focused on the humanitarian crisis than on the proactive approach counselled by Fagen's report.

In their article about the determinants of the return decisions of displaced households, Ibañez and Querubín (2003) aim to identify the factors that influence the desire of displaced people to return to their original living places, and, on the public policy side, to analyze the role of public land redistribution programmes. They use information provided by the Information System on Displaced Population due to the Violence (RUT) from the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops' Conference, which contains detailed information about 32.093 displaced households. The evaluation of the propensity to return exhibited by displaced households, shows that, despite the explicit efforts of a public policy oriented towards preventing displacement and stimulating IDPs' return to their former dwelling places, this does not seem to be an option highly

favoured among displaced people: from the families who were displaced in 1997, 37% of them returned to their original home communities, but in 2001 only 11% of the families who were displaced that year actually did so. Regarding the links between land property patterns and forced displacement, the authors suggest that underlying the phenomena of displacement there is an increasing and prevalent pressure towards concentration of land property, which seems to be closely linked to the evolution of internal conflict in Colombia. Ibañez and Querubín quote studies that support the relationship between land property and internal conflict in Colombia. Suarez and Vinha (2003) described the effect that drug trafficking and internal conflict had on disputes regarding land property and land property concentration. Le Grand (1994) identified the relationship between the extension of coca and poppy crops, the presence of illegal armed groups and the extension of the agriculture frontier towards zones with weak or non-existent state presence. Finally, Fajardo (2002), considering departmental patterns of displacement, found that forced displacement was more prevalent among *departamentos* (i.e. states) that have higher concentrations of land property.

Regarding the determinants of the return decision, a model of random utility, based mostly on the rationale provided by the voluntary decisions analyzed by the economics of migration, attempts to identify the most important determinants of the return decision, in order to facilitate better designed public policies. The descriptive statistics of the estimation show that only 11% of displaced households intend to return, whereas 46% are likely to remain in their resettlement and 19% would like to move somewhere else. The intention of returning to the original living place seems to fade with time: households who had no intention of returning were displaced, on average, for 316 days, whereas the displacement average was 149 days for those households who intended to return. The specific conditions of the displacement experience bore an obvious influence for the consideration of returning as a feasible option, and closely followed the basic rationale I have reviewed and extended from Ibañez and Velez (2003): households whose displacement experience was reactive (i.e. who fled after being victims of explicit threats or violent actions) are less likely to consider return as a possible option. Moreover, the traumatic effect of their displacement experience affects their perception of the economic advantages of return: "...economic variables, including labour but excepting agriculture activities, have no influence for the evaluation of the possibility of return for those households who had reactive displacement...It is possible

that the extreme violence involved in episodes of reactive displacement actually discourages even the consideration of return as a possibility, rendering economic opportunities rather useless” (Ibañez and Querubín; *op. Cit.*, p. 294). The final part of the paper aims to link the findings of the quantitative exercise to viable options for public policy, suggesting that return policies must be focused on households with recent, preventative events of displacement, must be mostly dedicated to agriculture activities and based on communitarian forms of land property.

Florez (2003) approaches internal migration and forced displacement from the economic perspective of the effect of migrants on urban labour markets. Her main purpose is to evaluate the way that recent flows of rural-urban migration, mostly related to forced displacement, have affected the evolving scope of the informal economic sector. Historically, Florez succinctly describes the main features of the Colombian demographic evolution of the XXth century. Her clear exposition can be used as a conclusive portrait of the evolution of the demographic landscape for the second half of XXth Century, which I have portrayed cumulatively through the studies reviewed: “...the population growth rate first increased from 1.8% at the beginning of the century to 3% in the 1960s and then returned to 1.8% at the end of the 1990s. Paralleling the demographic transition, the country experienced an important process of urbanisation: people living in urban areas increased from 31% in 1938 to almost 69% in 1993. However, this process occurred mainly during the 1950s and 1960s: the proportion of the urban population increased from 39% in 1951 to 52% in 1964. The high and increasing rate of urban population growth for this period, can be explained mainly by high rural-urban migration rates, coupled with an accelerated industrialization process. The decline in the urbanization rate during the last decades is due to a different pace for the demographic (fertility) transition between rural and urban areas, to a decline in rural-urban migration flows and to new urban-urban population movements. Several studies agree that rural migration flows have been declining since the 1970s, that urban-urban migration has been increasing and that new spatial movements not associated with a definite change of residence are taking place, such as circular migration (Florez, 2000; Goueset, 1998, quoted by Florez, *op. Cit.*, p. 3). Florez acknowledges the influence of violence over internal migration, especially for two historical moments: the first, between 1938 and 1951, when at least one million people migrated to urban areas due to political violence in rural areas. The second, is the increasing wave of forced

displacement which affected Colombia from the mid 1990s onwards, which Florez estimates at two million people, quoting the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children of 2002 (*op. Cit.*). Florez supports the argument of Ibañez and Velez (*op. Cit.*), who claim that the immediate effect of forced displacement on urban areas can be perceived in terms of higher labour participation rates of individuals with rural origins, low education levels and high illiteracy rates, which, according to the authors, are more characteristic of forced displacement than voluntary migration. However, the stylized facts compiled in this literature review would historically challenge this argument, seeing these specific labour market effects as a recurrent regularity for historic periods mostly characterised by rural-urban voluntary migration as well as for periods characterised by involuntary migration / forced displacement (see for example Bernal and Lopez, *op. Cit.*; Martine, *op. Cit.*).

Florez uses information from the Informal Module of the National Household Survey, years 1984, 1992 and 2000, in order to analyze the dynamic evolution of migrants' features at different moments in time. The descriptive analysis of the main labour force indicators for short time migrants (less than a year of residence on current location) resembles the profile reviewed in the previous paragraph: higher labour participation rates of individuals with rural origins, low education levels and high illiteracy rates. Finally, a quantitative estimation of the determinants of labour incorporation in the informal sector is provided through a multinomial logit model, which offers empirical evidence to support expected theoretical regularities between the migration condition: the shorter the residence, the higher the probability of being employed in the informal sector; the higher the education level, the lower the probability of being employed in the informal sector. All these regularities are quite useful for determining the main features of the informal urban sector in Colombia. However, given that the relationship between displaced individuals and the urban labour market is provided by an hypothetical relationship supported by an *ex-Ante* attribution to involuntary migrants of specific features, such as higher labour participation rates of individuals from rural origins, low education levels and a high illiteracy rate, Florez's exercise, although highly useful, is imprecise in portraying the difficulties related to the patterns of employment faced by displaced people incorporated into Colombian urban labour markets.

Neira (2004) evaluates the dynamic evolution of economic conditions between economic migrants and displaced individuals in the town of Soacha, a municipality located close to Bogota, which has been a remarkable recipient of displacement communities. The author uses data made available through the Experimental Census of Population and Living Conditions, applied in Soacha by the National Statistics Department (DANE) as one of the testing modules for the fore coming National Population Census. The results of this experiment provided information about 89.333 households composed of 363.378 individuals, from which 17.751 (4.88%) were considered IDPs. Statistical consistence tests were applied to some specific features that appeared to exhibit differential patterns between economic migrant households and IDPs households identified in the census. The gender of the head of IDP household happened to be different to the standard pattern (30% of IDPs households have female heads, which is lower than the standard result found in other studies) but nonetheless, female household heads were still higher than the Colombian average (24%, according to Ibañez and Velez, 2003, p. 13). In general, displaced households seem to have lower living standards than both voluntary migrant and local households: lower levels of school attendance, higher unemployment rates. The author concludes that despite the overall low standards of life found in Soacha as a whole, the displaced communities experience worse social and living condition standards than the rest of the population.

Access to land property and forced displacement in Colombia, the report of Ibañez and Querubín (2004), comprises most of the work developed by Ana Maria Ibañez with different co-authors. Similarly to their 2003 paper, the focus is again on determinants of displaced people's desire for return to their original living places, and by focusing on municipal determinants of displacement, the work retraces the methodological approach of Ibañez and Velez (*op. Cit.*). The main purpose of their study is to identify in greater depth the whole set of determinants, with a greater emphasis placed on evaluating the patterns of land property and forced displacement. To this end, they utilize information provided by the Information System on Displaced Population due to the Violence (RUT) from the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops' Conference. A very detailed description of the main features of displacement is obtained from this information, from which we can highlight, for the purposes of this review, the increasing evolution of reactive displacement, and a high percentage of households with a female head. Finally, a municipality-related database on forced displacement features

is used in order to establish specific profiles of causality for forced displacement, patterns of land property, state presence and the prevalence of violent activities such as massacres and selective murders. The overall results of this significant work reinforce the preliminary evidence of a close relationship between land property and forced displacement in Colombia. Territorial expansion and the forced appropriation of land are conflict strategies adopted by the illegal army forces. The study therefore recommends the reinforcement and protection of property rights as one of the most effective public policies for the prevention and alleviation of forced displacement, given the fact that land property constituted a major influence on the possible decision of IDPs to return to their former inhabitation places.

2.5 Concluding Remarks of the Survey

In this section I will attempt to summarize the most remarkable features of the historic and demographic evolution of internal migration in Colombia between 1962 and 2004. To this purpose, the literature review presented in point 1 will be deconstructed in two ways. First, I will outline the main features that have characterized the evolution of internal migration in Colombia between 1960 and 2004, including forced displacement as one of the expressions of this evolution.

The second deconstruction focuses on providing an epistemological analysis of the way internal migration in Colombia has been approached as a research subject by the different disciplines that have studied it. I have already introduced the most stylized facts of the evolution of internal migration through my multidisciplinary literature review, and it is now interesting to compare this to specific disciplinary approaches. My hypothesis is that the epistemological foundations of some disciplines, economics in particular, have in some sense “constructed” historical perceptions regarding internal migration in Colombia, its determinants and perhaps also its consequences.

2.5.1 Internal Migration in Colombia 1960-2004

In this chapter, I have focused on reviewing the literature available on the subject of internal migration in Colombia between 1960 and 2004, which chronologically comprises the interactive process of both geographic distribution and demographic evolution of the Colombian population for the last third of the XXth century. Through this literature review I want to expose possible historical regularities that can be found ,

related to four main subjects. The first one is the demographic transition, which took place in Colombia mostly in the 1960s. The second one deals with the profile of migrants, whose profiles (in both education and gender) are related with positive self – selection. The issue of migration being mostly involuntary and related with violence episodes is the third one, and seems to be an historical regularity for most of the XXth Century in Colombia. Finally, reviewing the reports about forced displacement a demographic profile can be found, it deals with the composition of the displaced families, their dependancy ratios, the gender of the head of household and some other socio-economic features.

2.5.1.1 Demographic Transition and Population Mobility

Kirk (1996) succinctly defines the concept of Demographic Transition as a theory which states that societies that experience modernization progress from a pre-modern regime of high fertility and high mortality to a post-modern one in which both are low. As he acknowledges, this definition is stripped to its bare essentials. More applicable to our case, we follow the definition of Mesclier *et al.*, *op. Cit.* (p. 12): “...a period of demographic disequilibrium characterized by a high natural growth of population (low mortality rate, high fertility and birth rates²⁰) which happens between two periods/regimes of demographic stability characterized by low natural growth of population: a “traditional” regime (high mortality, fertility and birth rates), and a “modern” demographic regime (low mortality, fertility and birth rates).”

From the documents already reviewed, we can therefore extract most of the indicators related to demographic transition: i.e. a period of demographic disequilibrium characterized by natural population growth. For Colombia, this occurred in the 1960's. At the beginning of the XXth century, the population was growing at a rate of 1.8%, which eventually increased to 3% in the 1960s (Florez, *op. Cit.*). By the end of the 1960s, the Colombian population was growing at a yearly rate of 3.2%, with an even higher rate of growth in urban areas (Bernal and Lopez, *op. Cit.*). Eventually it returned to 1.8% at the end of the 1990s. As a whole, most of the growth of urban areas (rate of

²⁰ Fertility Rate: Number of children born in a year, usually expressed per 1000 women aged 15-44 years. Birth Rate: Number of children born in a year per 1000 population. Mortality Rate: Number of deaths in a year per total population or per 1000 population.

growth of the percentage of total population living in urban areas), was dependent on increasing rates of immigration (Mesclier *et al. op. Cit.*).

The whole process of population growth was geographically distributed by continuous flows of internal migration, which, as I have discussed, may have been related to violence and forced land appropriation. The geographic mobility of a population has different expressions. One of these is manifest through rural-urban migration. People living in urban areas increased from 31% in 1938 to almost 69% in 1993. This process occurred mainly during the 1950s and 1960s: the proportion of urban population increased from 39% in 1951 to 52% in 1964 (Florez, *op. Cit.*), when the proportion of the Colombian population living in urban areas first exceeded its rural equivalent (Posada, *et al.*, 1993). However, the change in the rural-urban distribution is not the only indicator of population mobility per se. It is important to ascertain just how mobile the population is, and this can be analyzed from population censuses, which, for the period of coverage of this literature review, includes five official population censuses: 1938, 1951, 1964, 1973, and 1993. No specific references were found for the 1985 Census. The specific evolution of the Colombian population's mobility can be traced back this way:

- Schoultz (1972): Colombian internal migration is related to a homogeneous spatial distribution of migrants (they do not concentrate in just one main city as with the remaining Latin-American countries (Jefferson, 1939; Ortiz, 1957).
- Galvis (2002): Between 1938 and 1951 the rural-urban migration rate was 1.2%, which increased to 3.3% for the period 1964-1973.
- Bernal and Lopez (1970): According to national censuses, by 1951, 14% of the Colombian population had been born in a different province to that in which they were living at the time of the census questionnaire. This percentage was 18.1% for the National Census of 1964.

- Martine (1975): The 1964 National Population Census information actually implies a higher level of mobility. From a total population of 17.5 millions of people in 1963, 6.3 million (around 36%) could be considered migrants.
- Schultz (1971): More than one-third of the Colombian rural population who were less than 40 years old in 1951 have left these areas by 1964.
- Fields (1979): By 1973, 22% of the Colombian population could be classified as lifetime migrants, which would imply a reduction of internal migration flows, once compared with the 36% of lifetime migrants found by Martine in the 1963 National Population Census.
- Mesclier et al. (1999): The percentage of the total Colombian population who, at the moment of the National Population Census of 1993, were living at a different province than that in which they were born, was 40%, whereas 15% of the total population were “recent migrants” (people who had been living at their current residence for less than 6 years).
- Martinez (2001): For the specific case and conditions of the 1993 National Population Census, every Colombian citizen would internally-migrate at least once in his lifetime. This likelihood of migration can be classified as middle-upper when compared to countries with high population mobility, such as England, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

2.5.1.2 The Profile of Migrants

According to my review, the focus for Internal Migration studies in Colombia has usually been the profile of migrants and the determinants of their migration decisions. Given the importance that violence has had as a determinant of forced displacement, which is the baseline for this literature review, I will specifically analyze the way the relationship between violence and migration has been portrayed in the literature on internal migration in Colombia in the last quarter of the XXth century. With regard to the first feature, we can extract some salient profiles:

- The earliest flows of rural-urban immigration in the 1960's and 1970's were highly female-selective (Schultz, *op. Cit.*; Martine, *op. Cit.*).
- The profile of migrants is highly dependant upon the region they hail from: qualified, skilled migrants tend to come from the higher classes in intermediate cities, whereas low skilled workers tend to come mainly from rural areas. (Cardona and Simmons, *op. Cit.*)
- Education profiles of migrants are higher than that of the native population at the area of origin and lower than the native population of their destination (Cardona and Simmons, *op. Cit.*). Education profiles of migrants follow a specific pattern of self-selection: the larger the city, the higher the level of education of migrants that can be expected (Martine, *op. Cit.*).

2.5.2 Migration and Violence: A historical regularity for Colombia?

The perception of a permanent, endemic presence of political violence in Colombia's history is usually contrasted with the established perception of a country with more than 150 years of bi-partisan rule, which supposedly exemplifies it as a paradigm of civilian and democratic administration in Latin America²¹. Migration perhaps, as an ex-post social construction (Cardona, *op. Cit.*), has not remained impervious to these contrasted perceptions. Using my literature review, I would like to address the most remarkable patterns linking violence and migration, as perceived in the academic discourse on internal migration in Colombia, especially between 1960 and 2004. This does not here entail deepening the methodological significance of supporting the idea of Colombia having a structural pattern of violence throughout its history, given the fact that forced displacement is a modality of migration explicitly related to the violent environment that generates the irregular context that surrounds the displacement decision. In order to support the case for a structural pattern, the conditions of the humanitarian crisis of forced displacement which started in Colombia in the early 1990s and became critically

²¹ This paragraph closely follows Sanchez (1985, p. 1). He portrays the continuous presence of violence in Colombia ("...a Country of permanent and endemic warfare") with the following examples: In the Nineteenth century, after fourteen years of the Independence war, Colombia went through 8 general civil wars, fourteen local civil conflicts, two international wars with Ecuador and three barrack coups. In the Twentieth century, the country has gone through a war with Peru, a popular uprising in 1948, 15 years of political conflict (i.e. *La Violencia* period) and an increasing process of violence from the late 1980s until the present.

much worse in 2002, would require a historically structured approach. At the same time, a literature review of more than 25 years of internal migration studies would provide illumination of the portrayal of specific short-term conditions according to a proactive view of the historical process of internal migration in Colombia.

It could be argued that any perception of the phenomenon of migration is time- and space-specific. Depending on the prevalent conditions, the discipline and the methodological approach utilized, migration appears as either voluntary (economic mostly), or involuntary (as an expression of a reaction to violence taken as a push factor). Throughout this literature review I have emphasized those studies which acknowledge the presence of violence, mainly of a political nature, as a historical influence on the nature, scope and outcomes of most of the migratory flows of the second half of XXth century in Colombia. I clearly distinguish these studies from others which, although implicitly or explicitly recognising the influence of violence on migration (i.e., most of the reports about the recent humanitarian crisis of forced displacement), consider it as a short-term kind of phenomenon. Those studies which emphasize the historical regularity of violence as a determinant of migration are: Guzman *et al.* (1962), Cardona (1978), U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993), Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996), Colombian Bishop's Conference (2000), Pecaut (2000), Segura-Escobar (2000), Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999, 2002), Casasfranco (2001), Fajardo (2001), Fagen *et al.* (2003) and Florez (2003). However, the historical factor in these studies, is usually specific in terms of attempting to uncover the genesis of violence (how far can it be traced back) and its causes. Studies which delve deeper into the past for such regularities (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*; Fajardo, *op. Cit.*), usually trace the geographic process of inhabitation of the country in the XXth century as a whole, which can be usefully portrayed through Fajardo's combination of "long term population movements" and "displacement circuits": the patterns of land property concentration and thereby the irregular appropriation of land, the expansion of the colonization frontier and the urbanization process that have together constituted the structural features of migration. The remaining studies reviewed emphasize the analogies between the communities displaced by violent procedures of political cleansing of *La Violencia* with the displaced communities of the last 20 years.

2.5.3 Migration and Violence: Bounded by disciplines?

It could be argued that there is enough evidence of historical regularity to acknowledge the influence of violence, especially political violence, on the scope, evolution and perhaps even outcomes of the migratory flows identifiable in Colombia between 1960s and 2004. However, the interdisciplinary approach that I pursue here reveals another interesting regularity: the historical relevance of violence over migratory flows in Colombia is generally absent from migration studies coming from disciplines such as economics or demography (see Table 2.3 for a taxonomical classification of studies on internal migration in Colombia 1960-2004). In this chapter, I would like to explore some possible explanations for this intra-disciplinary pattern of research, although this would still be in need of a more elaborate epistemological and historical deconstruction, which perhaps could be the subject of further research.

Based on the premise that forced displacement is one modality of internal migration, I decided to expand the original scope of my literature review from studies about forced displacement in Colombia to the wider scope of studies about internal migration in Colombia. From the chronological point of view, if I had uncovered specific documented flows of migration that happened to have an economic, voluntary character, this would have been no surprise. However, to find that in 30 years of continuous research on migration, economic studies of the subject had failed to acknowledge the influence of violence on internal migration in Colombia, appears remarkable. I would argue thereby that demographic studies of internal migration require a radically different approach. Although economic studies seem to conceptually acknowledge the influence of violence on internal migration, their reliance on information provided by official population censuses and household surveys means that they lack the in-depth information necessary to accurately analyze the phenomena. This deficiency is reflected in a structural lack of questions, that would examine the link between violence and migration, throughout the entire history of public statistics based on official household surveys and population censuses.

I conjecture two possible explanations for the lack of research regarding the relationship between violence and internal migration in the literature available on the subject in Colombia between 1960 and 2004. The first one is rather political: as Cardona (1978) claims, a proactive, voluntary explanation of internal migration has been used as an *ex-*

post political and historical explanation, not just for Colombian migratory processes, but for Latin American as a whole. The second one is epistemological, and will be extensively considered in my theoretical framework chapter: the methodological tools applied in economic studies of internal migration, mostly based on the Expected Income Hypothesis and New Economics of Migration theoretical frameworks, are unhelpful for understanding migration based on reactive, non-utilitarian decisions, which are the kind of decisions characteristic of forced displacement. Thereby, without making subjective judgements, it may be said that most of the economic studies of internal migration in Colombia present an, if not biased, at least incomplete, perception of the whole economic environment for migratory processes. It might be countered that some internal migration flows took place in rather peaceful periods of Colombian history (i.e. the 1970s), but given the fact that I have found sufficient empirical and conceptual evidence for the claim that violence constitutes an influential historical regularity for patterns of migration in Colombia, the holistic explanatory power of purely economic factors does not hold for the Colombian case.

2.5.4 Is there a profile of Forced Displacement?

Thus far, I have reflected on the regularity unearthed by my literature review of studies on internal migration in Colombia between 1960 and 2004. With regard to the issue of forced displacement as a specific historical phenomenon whose earliest manifestations can be traced back to the late 1980s and early 1990s, and which has affected almost 2'000.000 people (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2002), it would be useful to know if there are specific demographic profiles for the affected population. Table 2.3 (Appendix) presents a taxonomical classification of the reviewed studies on forced displacement following the criteria provided by the study of the Colombian Bishop's Conference (2000).

Given their humanitarian orientation towards helping, reports from NGOs and other agencies are quite useful in providing detailed features of displaced communities. Amongst them, due recognition must be given to the structured framework developed through various studies by Ana Maria Ibañez and her different co-authors. A review of the findings of these different studies provided the following remarkable common features:

- **Land Property and forced displacement:** Various studies found specific evidence to suggest that forced appropriation of land is one of the determinants of forced displacement. Patterns of land property suggest that they are structural determinants of forced migration in Colombia, which has indeed been shown, both through surveying individual patterns of land property of displaced households (Kirchhoff and Ibañez, 2001; Ibañez and Velez, 2003 but more conclusively by Ibañez and Querubin, 2003) and on an aggregate level by Suarez and Vinha (2003, quoted by Ibañez and Querubin, *op. Cit.*) and by Fajardo (2001), who finds that forced displacement is greater in those provinces that have higher levels of concentration of land property.
- **Modalities of displacement:** Although displacement does not seem to have a specific profile in terms of individual or collective episodes of displacement, it has evolved into a rather preventative and highly reactive (surrounded by effective direct threats or episodes of violence) phenomenon: according to Ibañez and Querubin (*op. Cit.*, p. 41), the incidence of reactive displacement grew from 40% of total forced displacements to 77% in 2002.
- **Social cohesion:** Displacement destroys (traditional?) social networks (Henaó *et al.*, 1998). By 1999, 65% of displaced populations were members of different modalities of communitarian organizations (Lozano and Osorio, 1999). (I do not understand this: is displacement destructive of social networks or does it encourage membership of communitarian organizations?)
- **Determinants of the return decision:** The possibility of returning to their former residence areas and communities is increasingly a less favoured option for IDPs in Colombia. The longer the household remains displaced, the lower is their propensity to return. Those households involved in agriculture activities are more likely to express an explicit will to return to their former residences, whereas other economic activities do not seem to generate the same interest in the possibility of returning (Ibañez and Querubin, *op. Cit.*).

- Increasing incidence and expansion of displacement: According to the quantitative information available, forced displacement seems to be expanding both in terms of its demographic incidence (a higher number of IDPs through time) and its geographic incidence. The calculation of the Indexes, both of intensity (number of people who have been displaced from a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants, Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*) and Pressure (number of displaced people either expelled or received in a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants, UNDP, *op. Cit.*) reveals that forced displacement has spread to the continental part of the country as a whole (San Andres, an island in the Caribbean ocean is the only municipality that has not been affected by displacement).
- Displacement as an historical regularity: Closely related to my consideration of violence as a structural influence on internal migration in Colombia, there are some quantitative regularities that need to be highlighted. One of them is the quantitative dimension of forced displacement: by 2002, almost 2'000.000 were forcibly displaced in Colombia (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*). This brings into sharp contrast the predictions found in the U.S. Committee for Refugees' report: "...if current trends continue, there may be as many as 1.5 million *desplazados* in Colombia by the year 2000. If displacement increases – and evidence collected for this report suggests that displacement in Colombia is increasing markedly – the international community may face a situation similar to *La Violencia*, when more than two million Colombians were displaced" (U.S. Committee for Refugees, p. 3). Fajardo (2001, p. 69) finds a similar pattern²².
- Gender, Race and Age: Given the detected profile of displaced households and the fact that men between 20 and 45 years old are the demographic group most involved in the phenomena of violence in Colombia, either as victims or perpetrators, it can be said, as with the 1999 report of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, that displacement in Colombia is a "women's issue". However, the issue of gender cannot be analyzed solely from the

²² Other estimations available for that period are much lower and range between 800.000 people being displaced (Guzman, 1968) and 1'000.000 (Florez, 2003).

perspective of males and conflict. Qualitatively, gender considerations inform all dimensions of displacement: the destruction and inception phases (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit.*) and the transition between the private-rural social sphere and the public-urban one (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*). Additionally, according to information provided by RUT, the information system of the Colombian Bishop's Conference, female-headed displaced households are almost twice as likely to have been victims of selective murder of one of their members. Quantitatively, the percentage of female-headed households is higher for displaced communities (31% for Meertens and Segura-Escobar, 31% for Codhes, 1997; 45% for Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*, 30% for Neira, *op. Cit.*) than for the aggregate distribution of the Colombian population (24%, according to Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*). Regarding the ethnic background of displaced communities, it is more concentrated in some specific groups: close to 30% of displaced people are either from indigenous or afro Colombian (black) backgrounds, whereas they represent only 18% of the total Colombian population.

Appendix to Chapter 2

Table 2.3
Summary Table of Internal Migration Studies in Colombia

Author	Title	Discipline / Emphasis on Internal Migration or Forced Displacement	Methodology/ Data Source	Conclusions
Guzman <i>et al.</i> (1962)	"La Violencia en Colombia"	Sociology / Political Science. Forced Displacement	Analysis based on review of ethnographic studies, press reviews, literature reviews, and official records.	The first expressions of migration due to violence can be traced back to the 1930's. Forced displacement due to political cleansing was a regularity for the whole period of 1930-1960. As a whole, more than 800.000 people migrated internally due to political violence.
Lipman and Havens (1965)	"The Colombian Violencia: An Ex Post Facto Experiment"	Sociology Forced Displacement	The study applies an Ex Post Facto technique to two groups (experimental and control) in order to estimate three criteria: Identification, Anomie and Attitudes Towards the State and the Church, under the hypothesis that a higher degree of personality disorganisation can be found amongst those persons directly affected by violence.	Displaced people have personality disorders due to the violence that they have experienced. Forced migrants exhibited higher degrees of insecurity than other migrants or non-migrants. Displaced individuals manifested higher levels of anomie.
Adams (1969)	"Rural Migration and Agricultural Development in Colombia"	Sociology Internal Migration and Forced Displacement	Compares the profile of rural – urban Colombian migrants provided by 700 interviews applied between 1964 and 1965 with profiles provided by previous studies.	There was a relationship between the level of education and the propensity to migrate to urban areas. Land property was not found to have any significant influence on the tendency to migrate from rural areas. The average age of migrants at the moment of migration was estimated to be around 30 years of age. Most of the rural-urban migration in Colombia in the 1960s was mostly individual. For him, family out-migration was a more predominant feature in Colombia during the intense rural violence in

				the early 1950's.
Bernal and López (1970)	"Estudios de Migración en Colombia"	Sociology Internal migration	Analysis of rates of migration, urban/rural unemployment and underemployment rates and geographic flows of population. Distinction between geographic zones of attraction and zones of repulsion.	The growth of unemployment and underemployment rates and the growth of hovels in the city suggest that migration is more than just a rational decision. There are clearly two migration dynamics. One of them is economic migration (qualified / educated people) and the other is reactive migration (due to political violence and poverty).
Schultz (1971)	"Rural – Urban Migration in Colombia"	Economics Internal Migration with violence as push-factor	Estimation of the effect of socio-economic factors on migration rates, calculated by gender and/or age. Uses basic regional criminality statistics combined with socio-economic information taken from the National Population Censuses of 1951 and 1964.	There is empirical evidence to support the explanatory power of pull factors (higher urban wages) and push factors (violence, low rural wages) on rural-to-urban migration.
Cardona and Simmons (1972)		Sociology Internal Migration	A socio-economic survey was applied to 3835 men aged 20 to 54 years in order to analyze their socio-economic features and, on the case that they were migrants, their age of arrival to Bogota. A sub-sample of 256 men living in rural areas with an out-migration tradition to Bogotá provided the control group.	Socio-economic profile and economic outcomes out of migration is highly dependant of the region where the migrant came from. Educational profiles of migrants are higher than the native population of the area of origin and lower than the ones of the native population of Bogotá.
Shoultz (1972)	"Urbanization and Changing Voting Patterns: Colombia 1946 – 1970"	Political Science Internal Migration and Forced Displacement	Uses data from the National Department of Statistics (for population levels and geographic distribution) and the Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil (for voting patterns in the presidential elections of 1946, 1962, 1966 and 1970)	The particularities of the Colombian situation would suggest that low-income urban inhabitants could be moving towards political radicalism, as they kept their affiliation to their rural political party and their traditional rural political rules.

Martine (1975)	"Volume, Characteristics and Consequences of Internal Migration in Colombia"	Demography Internal Migration	Identification of some of the most significant determinants of migration (particular features exhibited by migrants). Data used comes from the basic sample of the 1964 National Population Census (around 350.000 people).	Colombia has a very high level of internal mobility. By 1964, 30% of its population were migrants. The highest migratory dynamics were detected among young, single, female people and the economic adaptation of migrants was explained by human capital variables (education, qualification).
Cardona (1978)	"La Migración Rural Urbana. Manifestación y Agente de un Proceso de Cambio Social"	Sociology Internal Migration	Sociological and historical review of literature about internal migration and social change in Latin America.	Two models of migration policy are identified: the "integration" model, under which economic development of the cities leads to economic development of rural areas, so that migration should thereby be allowed and encouraged. The second one is the "conflict" model, which portrays a contradictory relationship between urban and rural elites and their different perceptions regarding economic policy priorities. The "integration" model has been used as an ex-post political and historical explanation of the Latin American migratory process.
Micklin and Leon (1978)	"Life Change and Psychiatric Disturbance in a South American City: The Effects of Geographic and Social Mobility"	Psychology Forced Displacement	Analyses the relationship between mobility (social and geographical) and psychiatric disturbance. Interviews were applied to 981 adults living in Cali city to test the relationship between geographic and social mobility and manifestations of psychiatric symptoms.	There are higher levels of psychiatric symptoms among women and persons with low education levels, although the authors claim that the migration experience is not a very stressful situation.
		Sociology		Female economic and social empowerments are possible outcomes of the rural-urban

Whiteford (1978)	"Women, Migration and Social Change: a Colombian Case Study"	Internal Migration	Ethnographic research among migrant women living in working class neighbourhoods of Popayan city.	migration process, due to the possibility of expanding their social networks and the fact that they exhibited a more proactive-flexible-pragmatic attitude towards job search activities.
Marmora (1979)	"Labor Migration Policy in Colombia"	Economics Internal Migration	Presents the main features of the Labor Migration Policy started in 1975 by the Colombian government. Using data from the National Statistic Institute (DANE) the author shows the different Colombian migratory flows.	The different internal migratory flows and economic development have led to new seasonal population movements (linked to harvest periods) and emigration flows.
Fields (1979, 1982)	"Lifetime Migration in Colombia: Tests of the Expected Income Hypothesis", "Place - to - Place Migration in Colombia"	Economics Internal Migration	Test of the Expected Income Hypothesis using a particular sample of people living in 12 geographic areas, extracted from the National Population Census of 1973.	The 1979 study showed that according to the 1973 Census data, migration has been mostly determined by economic opportunities. The rates of lifetime migration adjust to different regional labour market conditions. There is a higher migratory dynamic for women than men. The 1982 study showed that migration is not a short-distance displacement in the Colombian case. Women have a higher propensity to migrate than men.
Shefer and Steinvortz (1993)	"Rural-to-Urban and Urban-to-Urban Migration Patterns in Colombia"	Economics Internal Migration	Quantitative analysis aimed at identifying factors that may explain and help to predict the direction and intensity of rural-urban flows of internal migration in Colombia. Uses data from the 1985 National Population Census to estimate the determinant of population inflows into the main 23 urban areas of Colombia between 1980 and 1985.	Provides empirical support to Fields' results. Population size at the destination place, relative income at the place of destination and unemployment rates at both places of origin and destination were all found to affect migration flows in Colombia.
			Qualitative study that tries	Is one of the few

U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993)	"Feeding the Tiger: Colombia's Internally Displaced People"	Human Rights Forced Displacement	to raise attention to the increasing phenomenon of internal displacement in Colombia. Quotes different humanitarian sources for the profile and amount of forcibly displaced people.	documents that raise the subject of Colombian refugees in Ecuador and Venezuela. Asserts that Colombia has historically been a country of displaced peoples, suggesting a structural pattern or behaviour whereby violence leads to migratory movements.
Leibovich (1995)	"La Migración Interna en Colombia: Un modelo explicativo del proceso de asimilación"	Economics Internal Migration	Uses data from the 1993 National Population Census to evaluate the economic determinants of internal migration.	Wage differentials between migrant and non-migrant workers are mainly explained because they have lower educational profiles.
Meertens and Segura Escobar (1996)	"Uprooted Lives: Gender, Violence and Displacement in Colombia"	Sociology Forced Displacement	Analysis of the gender perspective. A semi-structured interview was applied to displaced households located in three Colombian regions. The data base was information available from NGO's of a humanitarian persuasion.	Women are more affected through the household destruction stage whereas they perform better than men in the inception phase.
Erazo <i>et al.</i> (1999)		Economics / Policy Making Forced Displacement	Aims to provide a literature review of forced displacement studies in Colombia. Presents the main aggregate figures and geographic areas of expulsion and reception, together with a review of government policies related to forced displacement. Finally introduces some basic conclusions towards formulation of specific policies related to forced displacement.	Political violence is the most usual cause of forced displacement, mostly related to political cleansing or the domination of strategic areas. The studies reviewed show the alarming dimension of the plight of forced displacement. However, these studies have been focused on quantification and characterization of the affected population, and qualitative studies regarding the causes and consequences of forced displacement, but efforts are required to provide new studies that approach the complexities of forced displacement.

Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999)	"Charade of Concern: The abandonment of Colombia's forcibly displaced"	Human Rights Forced Displacement	Review of information systems on forced displacement in Colombia in order to establish the quantitative dimensions of displacement and to identify some regularity for these studies, mainly related to the most vulnerable populations (women and children).	There is an historical relevance of violence for the migration dynamics in Colombia. There is a lack of precise, consensual figures for forced displacement. Displaced communities seem to have a rather stable demographic profile in terms of gender. Forced Displacement is clearly a "women's issue".
Mesclier <i>et al.</i> (1999)	"Dinamicas socio-economicas del Espacio Colombiano"	Geography – Demography Internal Migration	Aims to provide a structured <i>Atlas</i> , comprising the demographic evolution of the Colombian population using data from the National Population Censuses of 1973, 1985 but most importantly, 1993.	Colombia is characterized by a having high population mobility between rather stable places of origin and destination. Most of the population growth of urban areas is furnished by increasing rates of immigration, which provides empirical evidence for the demographic transition hypothesis. Long-distance migration in Colombia has two main destinations. One is big urban areas, the second is the territories located at the border of the "Colonisation Frontier".
Muggah (1999)	"Capacities in Conflict, Assessing the State's Resettlement of IDP's in Colombia",	Policy Making / Institutional Supply of Attention Forced Displacement	Tries to compare the similarities between natural catastrophes, population relocation process (infrastructure) and forced displacement due to violence.	The document strongly emphasizes the relocation of the displaced population, rather than any return to original living places, given the persistence and even growth of political conflict.
Colombian Bishop's	"Desplazamiento Forzado en Antioquia:	Sociology	Literature review of studies of forced displacement in Colombia. Review of information	Displacement is a quasi-permanent and recurrent figure of Colombian history: "...it may be said that displacement is the vertebral axe of the territorial conformation of the country". The

Conference (2000)	Aproximaciones Teóricas y Metodológicas”	Forced Displacement	available on information systems, public records and bibliographic references.	study provides a taxonomical review of studies on forced displacement in Colombia. The Colombian crisis of forced displacement differs from other international crises through the fact that it has a highly multipolar profile of violent actors together with a disaggregated specific regional character.
Pecaut (2000)	“The Loss of Rights, the Meaning of Experience and Social Connection: A consideration of the Internally Displaced in Colombia”	Political Science Forced Displacement	Literature review.	The lack of accountability and historical responsibility related to <i>La Violencia</i> period led to the construction of an imaginary on which the political and social perception of issues, including migration, is constrained by violence, with migration as no exception. The differences with previous episodes of forced displacement are mainly related to the perception of public opinion and with the fact that the current crisis has urban connotations that were not present in the past.
Segura-Escobar (2000)	“Colombia: A New Century, an Old War and more Internal Displacement”	Sociology Forced Displacement	Aims to provide an empirical / qualitative overview of forced displacement as a complement to Pecaut’s reflections on the subject.	There is a trade off between accurate identification of affected communities and the homogenization that their role as victims implies. The social stratification of rural and semi-rural society is erased in the characterization of the victim population. When communities expelled from their lands and uprooted from their habitats are dealt with as an abstract social category, their heterogeneity is blurred. The future landscape of

				displacement combines two factors: realistic uncertainty and illusive hope.
Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2001)	"Unseen million: The Catastrophe of Internal Displacement in Colombia"	Human Rights Forced Displacement	Aims to assess the condition facing children and adolescents displaced by violence, using reports provided by the information systems on forced displacement in Colombia.	Despite of the lack of consensus over aggregate figures on displacement there is consensus on the fact that both the number of IDPs and the geographical extension of forced displacement have increased. Displaced children suffer from a lack of access to education and health services. They are particularly affected by the traumatic effects of violence and possible disintegration of the family nucleus.
Meertens and Stoller (2001)	"Facing Destruction, Rebuilding Life: Gender and the Internally Displaced in Colombia"	Sociology Forced Displacement	Deconstruction of gender-differentiated effects of the displacement process. Life stories and ethnographic reviews. Taking female-headed households as the target group, they highlight the case of widows and their life experiences all through the process of displacement.	Integration into economic activities seems to be easier for displaced women than for men. The perspective of better employment opportunities, combined with a relatively higher autonomy, and obviously, the uncertainty of the evolution of internal conflict, may explain why only a reduced percentage of female heads of household prefer to return to their former rural living places.
Casasfranco (2001)	"Las Migraciones y los Desplazamientos Forzados"	Human Rights Forced Displacement	Literature review related to the human rights' issues generated by the historical process of internal migration flows in Colombia.	Violence has been a historical regularity as a determinant factor on both migration and geographic distribution of the Colombian population. The national government has historically neglected the displaced people's rights, having mostly just focused on humanitarian activities.

Kirchhoff and Ibañez (2001)	"Displacement due to Violence in Colombia: Determinants and Consequences at the Household level"	Economics	Household survey applied to a sample of 376 households, divided between 200 displaced households at Bogotá, Medellín and Cartagena, most of them having been displaced from the departments of Antioquia and Córdoba, combined with a control group consisting of a sample of 176 households from these departments.	When analyzing possible causes and modalities of displacement, the direct threat of violence may be related to the level of wealth of the household. Pertinence of social networks and active membership of social organisations increases the likelihood of being subjected to direct threats and thereby, of displacement. Improved information regarding economic conditions in the recipient cities reduces the probability of displacement.
Galvis (2002)	"Determinantes de la Migración Interdepartamental en Colombia, 1988-1993"	Economics Internal Migration	Uses data from the 1993 National Population Census in order to estimate and obtain the empirical evidence to the Gravitational Model of Migration.	Internal migration is highly affected by specific features of potential destinations, mainly related to the average wage rate. Lack of statistical significance of some economic variables on the quantitative estimation of migration propensities may be explained by the fact that insecure living conditions may supplant standard economic patterns of migration.
Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2003)	"Displaced and desperate: Assessment of Reproductive Health for Colombian IDPs"	Human Rights Forced Displacement	Review of information systems for forced displacement in Colombia and application of a reproductive health assessment: visits to villages, IDP camps and marginal communities in order to conduct meetings and focus group sessions with displaced communities.	There is a critical lack of access to reproductive health care for Colombian IDPs, due mostly to the lack of coordination between the national policy institutions and the local-decentralized health service providers. Adolescent pregnancy levels among IDPs were found to be nearly twice the standard for adolescents in Colombia's general population.
				Forced displacement is

Fagen <i>et al.</i> (2003)	"Internal Displacement in Colombia: National and International Responses"	Human Rights Forced Displacement	The study is part of a series of reports that aims to compare the international response to complex migration emergencies. It provides an evaluation of the information related to IDPs in Colombia, based on public policy reports, NGO reports and legislation related to forced displacement.	intrinsically related to the evolution of internal conflict in Colombia: as far as it is not explicitly included on the agenda of any peace agreement, its increasing dynamics will not be mollified. Both the Colombian government and humanitarian agencies have failed to acknowledge the irreversible consequences of forced displacement.
Ibañez and Velez (2003)	"Forced Displacement in Colombia: Causality and Welfare Losses"	Economics Forced Displacement	Evaluation of the welfare losses caused by the displacement experience. They apply the model provided by Kirchhoff and Ibañez (2001), which estimates the displacement decision as a function of economic and social variables.	Specific features of households seem to provide a greater influence for the likelihood of being displaced. Displacement is highly related to violent procedures of land appropriation. Displacement seems to be an explicit strategy of armed actors looking to undermine social cohesion and to obtain effective control of the civil population. Forced displacement from rural areas is related to a loss of 25% of their welfare levels, and the degree of loss changes, depending on the nature of displacement (preventative or reactive).
UNDP (2003)	"UNDP Report 2003: A <i>cul-de-sac</i> with ways out"	Human development Forced Displacement	On his deconstruction of the causes and effects of internal conflict in Colombia, the report focuses on displaced people as one of the forms of victimization. Offers an alternative estimation of the regional magnitude of forced displacement by calculating the index of intensity of displacement (number of people who have been displaced from a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants) and the index of pressure	The geographical patterns of both the intensity and the pressure indexes of displacement show both the increment and geographical extension of forced displacement. The Colombian government has failed, both in preventing displacement and in providing accurate attention to its victims.

			(number of displaced people either expelled/repulsed or received at a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants.	
Florez (2003)	"Migration and the Urban Informal Sector in Colombia"	Economics Forced Displacement	Approaches forced displacement from the perspective of the economic incorporation of IDPs in urban labour markets: how the recent inflows of migration, especially forced displacement, have affected the evolution of the informal sector. The author uses the Module on Informality from the National Household Survey 1984-1992-2000. Estimates a multinomial logit model of determinants of labour incorporation in the informal sector.	Given their specific educational profiles and work experience, IDPs are more likely to find a job in the informal sector, and they share some features with the standard urban informal workers: higher labour participation rates of individuals with rural origins, low education levels and high illiteracy rate.
Ibañez and Querubin (2004)	"Acceso a Tierras y Desplazamiento Forzado en Colombia"	Economics Forced Displacement	Analysis of the information provided by the Information System on People Displaced by Violence (RUT) from the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops' Conference, which contains detailed information from 32.093 displaced households. A model of random utility is estimated in order to identify the most important determinants of the return decision.	Return does not seem to be an option highly favoured by displaced people: only 11% of the people displaced in 2001 returned to their homes. The specific features of the displacement event (being either preventative or reactive) have a huge influence on the possibility of return: economic variables, exception made of agriculture activities, do not have any influence on the evaluation of a possible return for those households who were reactively displaced.
Neira (2004)	"Desplazamiento Forzado en Soacha: Se recuperan los	Economics	Comparative analysis of the dynamic evolution of economic conditions faced by economic migrants and displaced people in the town of Soacha, on the	The percentage of displaced households with a Female head is usually higher than the normal standard for the total Colombian population profile. In general, displaced households seem to have lower living standards than those of

	desplazados del choque inicial?"	Forced Displacement	outskirts of Bogotá, using data from the Experimental Census of Population and Living Conditions.	comparable economic migrants. Despite the overall low standards of life to be found in Soacha town as a whole, the displaced communities are facing lower social and living condition standards than the rest of population.
Ibañez and Querubin (2004)	"Access to land property and forced displacement in Colombia"	Economics Forced Displacement	Comprises most of the work developed by Ibañez with different co-authors. Focused on identifying the determinants of displaced people's desire for returning to their original living places. Uses data from the Information System on Displaced Population due to Violence (RUT) from the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops conference, to create a municipality-related database on forced displacement features to establish specific profiles of causality on forced displacement, land property, among others.	There is a close relationship between land property and forced displacement. Territorial expansion and forced appropriation of land are conflict strategies for the illegal army forces. Reinforcement and protection of property rights are the most urgent and necessary public policies for preventing and alleviating forced displacement.

Table 2.4

Resumé Table for Studies on Forced Displacement 1993-2004

Author	Criteria / Discipline	Thematic Approach
U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993)	Human Rights	IDP's quantification Internal Conflict
Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996)	Sociology	Gender Studies Internal Conflict Gendered experiences of expulsion and inception.
Erazo <i>et al.</i> (1999)	Policy Making	IDP's quantification Profiles of displacement Humanitarian attention programmes.
Muggah (1999, 2000)	Economics of Involuntary Resettlement	Socio-economic effects and traumatism.
Colombian Bishop's Conference (2000)	Sociology	IDP's quantification Debate about numbers Human Rights Reviews/Evaluations of Colombian legislation, public

		initiatives and Constitutional jurisprudence.
Pecaut (2000)	Political Science	IDP's quantification Internal Conflict Life stories, Ethnographies of displacement
Segura-Escobar (2000)	Sociology	Gender profiles, ethnographies of displacement. Gendered experiences of expulsion and incorporation.
Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999, 2001 and 2003)	Human Rights	Reviews/Evaluations of Colombian humanitarian attention programmes.
Meertens and Stoller (2001)	Sociology	Gender profiles, ethnographies of displacement. Gendered experiences of expulsion and inception.
Casasfranco (2001)	Law / Political Science Studies	Human Rights The basic human right not-to-be forcibly displaced Reviews/Evaluations of Colombian legislation, public initiatives and Constitutional jurisprudence
Kirchhoff and Ibañez (2001), Ibañez and Velez (2003), Ibañez and Querubin (2004)	Structural Approaches addressed to identifying possible causes and effects of Forced Displacement / Quantitative Studies	IDP's quantification Profiles of displacement: Information Systems on Forced Displacement. Humanitarian attention programmes. Internal Conflict Private Interests Socio-Economic Causes, Effects and Traumatism
Fajardo (2001)	Structural Approaches addressed to identifying possible causes and effects of Forced Displacement / Quantitative Studies	Internal Conflict Private Interests Socio-Economic Causes and Effects
Fagen <i>et al.</i> (2003)	Quantitative Studies Law-Political Science Studies	IDP's quantification The debate about numbers: The "Grey Figure" Reviews/Evaluations of Colombian legislation, public initiatives and Constitutional jurisprudence
UNDP (2003)	Human Rights	Internal Conflict Private Interests Socio-Economic Effects and Traumatism.
Florez (2003)	Structural Approaches addressed to identifying possible causes and effects of Forced Displacement.	Private Interests Socio-Economic Effects.
Neira (2004)	Structural Approaches addressed to identifying possible causes and effects of Forced Displacement.	Private Interests Socio-Economic Effects.

Chapter 3

The quantitative dimension of Internal Forced Displacement in Colombia: Technical discrepancy or political debate? ²³

“The total number of displaced persons in Colombia is estimated to be somewhere between 720.000 and over 2 million, depending on the source (governmental or non-governmental) and the period under study (the last five years for the first figure and the last 15 years for the second figure)”

UNHCHR (2002, p. 17)

“There is no agreement on the exact number of IDPs, and the numbers offered by different groups are conflicting, confusing and misinterpreted from one report to another. One fact is clear – numbers are increasing at an alarming rate and have reached crisis proportions”

Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, (2002, p. 7)

“Just how many Colombians have been forcibly displaced is much debated. Colombian academics writing at the close of 2001 and combining various sources estimated some 1.7 million....The fact that agencies tracking displacement fail to agree is not a reflection of the demographic professionalism of the various researchers. It is due to the differing bases on which the calculations are being made.”

Fagen *et Al*, (2003, p. 2)

Introduction

The quantitative issues related to the humanitarian crisis regarding the plight of population movements composed of flows of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), come with a sense of implicit irony. The dramatic situation of affected communities is usually defined and supported on an aggregate level by quantitative estimations generated by humanitarian agencies and state agencies. Counting IDPs and refugees provides scope for helping to create an increasing sense of awareness in the international community, and is a useful tool for NGO’s, multilateral agencies and public institutions as a diagnosis tool for designing well-directed emergency

²³ The basic concepts of this document were presented at the seminar “Construction of Statistics and Indicators of Forced Displacement and Human Rights in Colombia” held in Bogotá between the 22nd and 23rd of September 2004.

programmes. However, the timely availability of these figures usually comes with a trade-off of sub-optimal accuracy. As Crisp (1999, p. 2) points out: "... while all of the standard works on refugees are replete with numbers, few even begin to question the source or accuracy of those statistics".

This chapter will be an in-depth examination of IDP statistics and their main features, and more specifically, will highlight the statistics available for Colombian IDPs and the recent controversy regarding these figures that has recently been developing between the Colombian government- more specifically its agency, the Social Solidarity Network (Red de Solidaridad Social – RSS)- and some NGO's involved in bringing attention to IDPs, specially CODHES (Consultancy for Human Rights and Forced Displacement - Consejería para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento).

The structure of the chapter is as follows. First, a review of the different methodological approaches related to the pros and cons of counting refugees and IDPs. Sections 2 and 3 introduce the reader to the features of the information systems currently available on Forced Displacement in Colombia, and the recent controversy over data. Section 4 aims to study in detail the main issues under discussion: the way figures are obtained, their methodological foundations and the possibility for mutual comparison. Section 5 summarizes and concludes.

3.1 Methodological Approaches towards counting IDPs and refugees

Different approaches towards the counting of refugees and IDPs coexist among the actors involved in the humanitarian regime. Accordingly, counting IDPs and refugees is indebted to different academic perspectives. The position of Harrell-Bond *et al.* (1991, 1992) represents the extreme opposition to counting refugees and IDPs. Whereas they recognize the need for basic statistics relating to the number of potentially affected persons, in order to provide accurate material assistance, they claim that counting refugees and IDPs is an impossible task. They give two reasons: one, a *contingent* failure (the practical difficulties for an accurate counting imply structural sub-estimations of the affected populations and thereby result in an insufficient assessment of needs) and two, a *substantive* failure (the foundations of the humanitarian regime is opposed to any normative definition of a structure that would entail mutual obligations between *givers* (donors) and *clients* (refugees and IDPs), this being perceived as part of

an *Ideology of Control* that characterizes most assistance programmes) (Harrell-Bond *et al.*, 1992, p. 206).

Agozino (2000) approaches the issue from the perspective of research methods and their theoretical foundations. In what is perhaps a more semantic approach, he argues that data collection is almost impossible and completely undesirable in migration research (Agozino, *op. Cit.*, p. 3). At first glance, this argument appears facile and easily dismissed, especially as it seems to challenge the very foundations for all empirical work on migration, particularly by academic disciplines such as demography, geography or even the economics of migration. After a detailed reading, however, it becomes apparent that *data* itself is not the category criticized by Agozino. His criticism addresses, rather, “the lie called *data collection*”, through the claim that researchers *receive* data rather than *collecting* it. This approach does not look to undermine migration data and its multiple purposes and possible uses, but merely tries to provide an accurate description of the activity accompanying the getting of the data. Nevertheless, it may be worth questioning whether the methodological foundations applied by Agozino provide strong support for his conclusions: most of the elements of his research are indebted to criminology studies based on black women, something he defends by arguing that “the experience of going to prison is very much like that of migration” (Agozino, *op. Cit.*, p. 3).

Crisp (*op. Cit.*) suggests a more proactive and pragmatic approach to the issue of counting refugees and IDPs, one which is closely followed by Bakewell (1999), who focuses mostly on the case of refugees in Africa. Crisp identifies the possible uses and utility of these statistics, having already recognized the fact that the collection of quantitative figures for refugees and IDPs may be related to *ideologies of control* intrinsically embodied in any assistance programme, regardless of how altruistic the purpose may be. Having thereby addressed the *substantive failure* argued by Harrell-Bond *et Al*, Crisp then focuses on the *contingent failure*: Why is it so difficult to produce accurate and consistent figures for the flows of displaced populations? Apart from the political considerations to be taken account of in the sub/over estimation of collective displacements, Crisp identifies contingent failures as arising from the *definitional* and *operational problems* faced when seeking to account for IDPs.

Definitional problems arise basically due to the fact that, as Crisp (*op. Cit.*, p. 5) points out, the notion of “internally displaced person” has never been defined in international law²⁴. A concept as simple as “internal” may become highly subjective given the ever-changing conditions of the political landscape, not to mention the multiple interpretations that can be given to the criterion of distance for displacement and its chronological duration: how far does the movement need to be to implicate “displacement”? Once it has happened, when does “displacement” end?²⁵ (Cohen, 1994; Lee, 1996; Mooney, 2002; Muggah, 2003; *Forced Migration Review* No. 17, 2003). However, even an accurate definitional set that incorporates binding and reinforcement features will not circumvent such definitional problems. The final section of this document will be devoted to describing and analyzing the recent controversy over IDPs numbers in Colombia, and will argue that this is mostly attributable to the application of differing definitional criteria grounded in underlying political motivations.

For Crisp, most operational problems are related to the intrinsic nature of forced displacement. Both geographical and demographic mobility imply a highly dynamic landscape. Usually it implies collective population movements happening in isolated geographic areas. Demographic evolution and social activities may imply increasing transformations in the structure of displaced and recipient communities. The forced character of displacement, if related to armed conflict, may well imply additional difficulties in accessing the territory and monitoring humanitarian issues. Registration, as desirable as it may be, could be practicably impossible.

Finally, an applied and empirical approach towards counting affected populations is provided by the Demography of Forced Migration. The Workshop on the Demography of Forced Migration provided highly reflective and challenging insights on this. Acknowledging the operational difficulties and challenges presented by the operative conditions of work with displaced communities, the demographical approach

²⁴ It may be useful to note that, even now, in 2005, six years after Crisp’s publication, Definitional Problems remain. Due respect and recognition must be given to his pioneering work to develop, implement and promote The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement as acknowledged international legislation, but one of the underlying conclusions of this paper is to argue that the Colombian case is a clear challenge to the binding power of this legislation.

²⁵ As Mooney (2002) points out, organisations and researchers engaged in compiling IDPs statistics need to know when to stop counting. However, this seems to be a position that pre-supposes that determinants of forced displacement lead to collective population movements, and thereby once displacement “finishes” it has a collective effect, which implies no further necessity for counting.

emphasized in this Workshop went beyond the understandable issue of humanitarian help: “without minimizing the primary need for numbers to plan service delivery and to inform policy debates, it is also important to keep in mind the need for historical understanding. The situations that create forced migration are tragic. Social science can contribute to understanding the dynamics and causes of a given situation, but that work requires accurate demographic data” (Reed *et al.*, 1998, p. 2).

From this survey, we can conclude that the counting of refugees and IDPs is usually an imperfect exercise. Its accuracy is affected by both objective and subjective factors, and given its social and political implications and the diversity of interests that are found amongst the different actors of the international humanitarian regime, the manipulation of surveys and estimates is highly likely. No institution has ever claimed complete accuracy for its estimate of refugees or IDPs and in cases where high levels of accuracy were achieved, such figures were consolidated at the price of sacrificing the individual’s mobility.

3.2 A review of the main information systems on forced displacement in Colombia

3.2.1 Some methodological remarks

In order to be able to accurately compare the different systems used to count and analyze IDPs in Colombia, it is important to establish the methodological issues that would allow us to characterize them. Suarez (2004) and Baarøy (2003) provide a useful summary of the main methodological issues involved for Information Systems currently available in Colombia, according to two specific criteria.

- a. Collection Methods: There are two prevalent information collection methods. One is based on *Primary Sources* (i.e. Registration). This implies collecting and identifying information about the determinants of displacement and the basic socio-economic background of the affected communities by using semi-structured questionnaires and surveys that are applied to prospective affected individuals when they register for a specific humanitarian program. The second collection method is based on *Secondary Sources*, and this may imply accessing information provided by Early Warning Systems (local Human Right Activists, Social Activists or Religious authorities monitoring possible violent

actions against communities, or National / International NGOs who have access to remote areas where collective displacements took place and from which Government agencies were excluded). It must be said that this second collection method, although of great humanitarian utility, only provides approximate estimations of the size and composition of the affected community.

- b. Survey Methodology: There are two main methodologies currently applied in Colombia. One is based on *registration*, i.e., persons who have fled and are looking for emergency aid, either from the Government or from humanitarian agencies (i.e. the Red Cross or the Catholic Church' Parishes). The second is usually called *estimation by contrast of sources*, and aims to appraise and account for those situations of forced displacement where communities and individuals affected, given multiple reasons, do not register for any of the Institutional Systems available. This may include estimations based on Early Warning Reports and even reviews of press articles.

3.2.2 Main information systems on Forced Displacement in Colombia

Currently, there are four main systems of information for Internal Displacement statistics in Colombia. They are²⁶:

- The Information System of the Social Solidarity Network (RSS) composed of the System of Verified Sources (SEFC) and the National Registration of Displaced Population based on the Unified Registration System (SUR).
- The Information System on Displaced Population due to the Violence (RUT) from the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops' Conference.²⁷

²⁶ The description of the information systems follows closely the one provided by Baarøy (2003, p. 9 – 11).

²⁷ Statistical and qualitative reports of RUT are available at <http://www.disaster-info.net/desplazados/index.cfm>

- The System of Registration of Services Provided, from the International Committee of the Red Cross (CICR)²⁸.
- The Information System on Human Rights and Forced Displacement (SISDHES) from the Consultancy on Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES).

From the point of view of the Methodological Criteria reviewed (Collection Methods and Survey Methodology), the information systems of CICR, RUT and SUR, given that one of their main activities is providing humanitarian emergency aid, are based on primary sources, registration being compulsory. As previously noted, semi-structured questionnaires and interviews are used in order to quantify and qualify the displacement experiences of the individuals applying for these services. SISDHES combines both primary and secondary sources, as it uses statistics provided by other information systems (which take registration as their primary source) and combines these with information provided by Early Warning Sources and press releases.²⁹

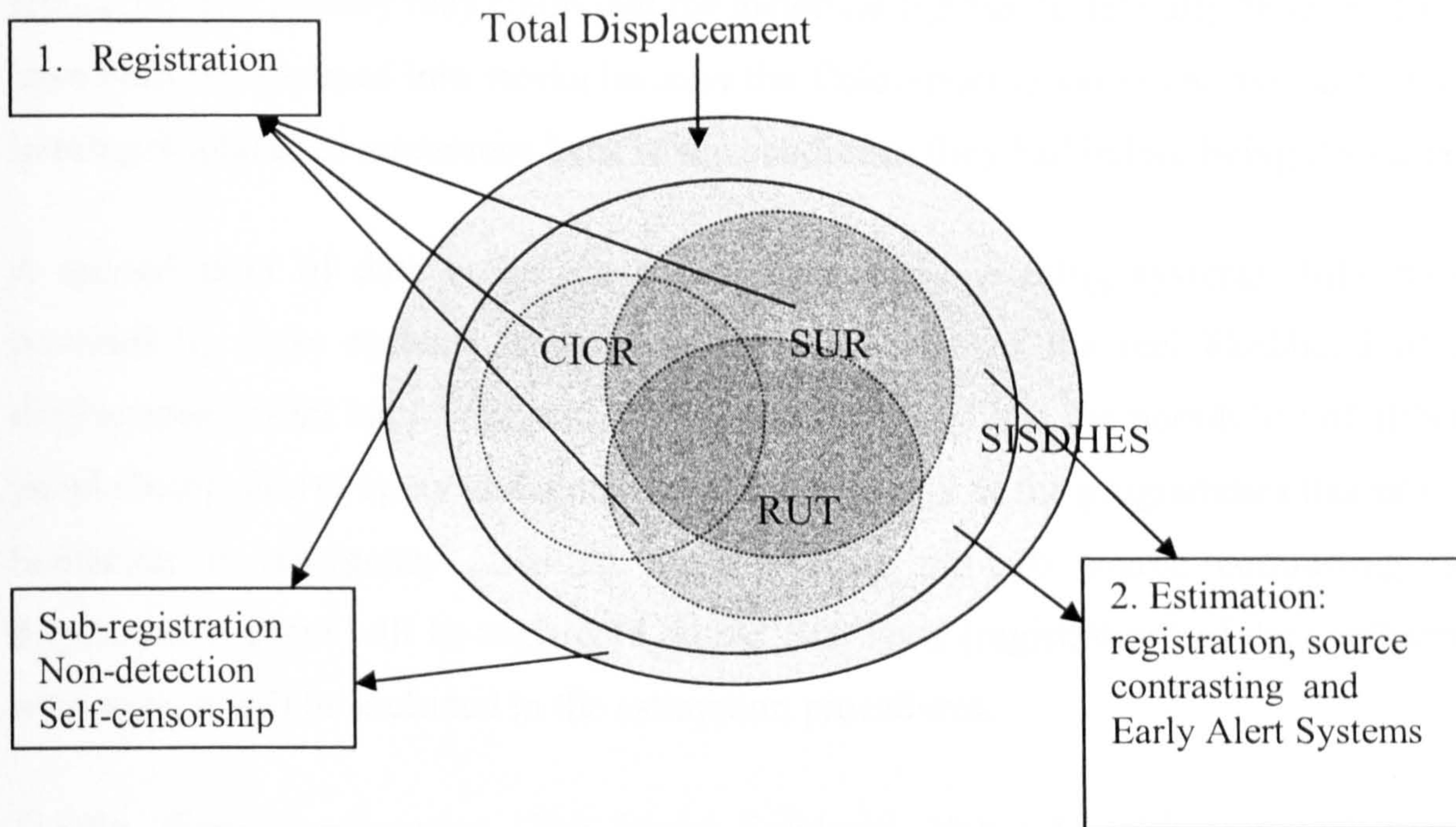
Figure 1 is a pedagogic attempt to summarize the aggregate picture of what could be the phenomena of forced displacement, by using the information provided by the different available statistical systems of information on forced displacement in Colombia, given its methodologies and data collection methods. Given its summarizing purposes and its pedagogic nature, it is important to make clear that the actual proportions and shapes are not a reflection of the percentage shared by each statistical system or of any subjective perception about them.

²⁸ Reports generated by ICRC include information regarding socio-economic features of the affected population (number of families/persons assisted classified by age, gender, female-headed households, municipality of origin and arrival), however, ICRC does not make any estimation about the total amount of IDPs in Colombia.

²⁹ According to Codhes, the possibility of double-counting and over estimation is reduced by processes of monitoring and source contrasting.

Figure 3.1

A conceptual model of Statistic Systems on Forced Displacement in Colombia



Note: The scale of this figure is not a reflection of the relative shares of each registration system. The purpose of this model is to provide a comparative synthesis of the coverage of information systems on forced displacement in Colombia.

The rationale underlying Figure 1 can be better apprehended if we suppose there is a concentric relationship between the phenomena of forced displacement and the methodology designed to identify/detect it. The core relationship is between some share of the affected population and their registration procedures. These individuals, by applying to the humanitarian emergency attention programmes, provide first-hand information about their displaced condition and the determinants of it. This information is the main input for the reports generated by systems such as CICR, RUT and SUR. They share some basic features, mainly related with four formats: declaration of the displaced condition, assessment of the declaration, characterization of the household and following up of services provided to IDPs. One important technical remark is that, given the current Colombian legal definition of what is considered as IDP, historical figures for the number of IDPs in Colombia are a *sui generis* combination of flows and stock. The government considers that once some basic humanitarian help and opportunities or relocation are provided, individuals can no longer be considered as

displaced. This would imply that, despite the increasing flows towards displacement, the stock of displaced people decreases. However, most NGOs argue that relocation is an ultimate option that in some sense discards the states' duty of compensation and reparation, and thereby they claim that the historical figures, technically based on flows, have been transformed into stocks because the Colombian government has been unable to bring displaced communities back to the conditions they had before being displaced.

A second level of data collection comes from early warning systems. Information provided by these systems is both uncertain in terms of the real likelihood of the displacement event happening and, once it has happened, for the possibility of affected people being able to apply and obtain registration in any of the programmes that provide humanitarian emergency attention. In this case, through source contrasting, this displacement event will be registered on our first level (registration) of data collection, otherwise, it will be included in the estimation procedures.

Finally, there is estimation. The Social Solidarity Network, with technical support provided by the Theme Group on Displacement (GTD) developed the System of Verified Sources (SEFC), aimed at more accurately estimating the magnitude of forced displacement through consultation with the organizations associated to SNAIPD (National System for Integral Attention of Displaced Population) (Baarøy, *op. Cit.*, p. 9-10). However, public reports on figures provided by this system, or institutional reports making reference to them, have become increasingly scarce. Currently, only Codhes-Sisdhes provides estimations of displacement figures that are not reliant on either registration or early warning systems. Essentially, Codhes reviews both regional and national-coverage magazines and newspapers, searching for displacement events (among other humanitarian issues), which are verified through NGOs, Church representatives, local authorities or even displaced communities. Table 1 provides a summary of the different information systems classified by their methodology and collection methods.

Table 3.1**Collection Methods and Survey Methodology****Currently Available Information Systems on Forced Displacement in Colombia**

Institutional Systems		Collection Methods	
		Primary Sources	Secondary Sources
Survey Methodology	Registration	CICR, RUT, RSS (SUR)	
	Estimation	CODHES (SIDHES)	RSS (SEFC), CODHES (SISDHES)

3.3 A critical review of the recent controversy over Colombian IDP figures

Recurrent reference to the inconsistency and disparity of currently available estimations for the number of IDPs in Colombia can be found in most reports and academic documents related to the issue. Up until the second semester of 2004, technical disparities had largely been recognized and accepted in the academic literature, institutional reports and public policy documents on the subject, with some specific studies and estimations being judged as recurrent/consensual/reliable quantitative references for specific periods: they were *i)* the early studies of the Colombian Episcopal Conference (1995) for the period 1984-1994, *ii)* the estimations of Codhes for the period 1995-1999, *iii)* the estimations of both Codhes and RSS combined for the period 2000-2003. Until 2002, technical inter-institutional meetings, mostly between RSS, Codhes and the Colombian National Statistics Department (DANE), were held in order to discuss methodologies and technical standards for IDPs' statistics.

After August 2002, the discussion about disparities for the real dimension of forced displacement in Colombia became highly politicized, mostly related to the *Democratic Security* policy promoted by the administration of President Alvaro Uribe. In its basic scope, this Policy aims to deal with guerrilla fighters and paramilitary troops by

increasing the amount of professional army soldiers, expanding the scope and strength of Plan Colombia (USA initiative against coca and poppy crops and drug-trafficking in Colombia) to fight other modalities of crime (kidnapping, terrorist activities), reforming anti-terrorist laws and finally, financially rewarding informants. The state of affairs became particularly bitter after the publication, in September 2003, of two reports: *El Embrujo Democrático: Primer Año de gobierno de Alvaro Uribe Velez* (The Authoritarian Spell: The First Year of Government of Alvaro Uribe)³⁰ (Plataforma Colombiana de Derechos Humanos, 2003) a critical review of the Government's performance between 2002 and 2003, and Colombia's *UNDP 2003 Human Development Report: A cul-de-Sac with ways out*³¹ (UNDP, 2003).

In his speech of September 8th/2003³², President Uribe reacted to the content of both publications by making explicit reference to what would become two crucial elements of the debate on forced displacement numbers: his perception of the role that human-rights NGOs were having towards his *Democratic Security* policy and his perception of the current situation of violence in Colombia. Regarding the first issue, President Uribe classified NGOs into three groups: i) Theoretical NGOs, whom he respects but with whom he disagrees, ii) Respectable human rights organizations, whose objective criticisms he was willing to discuss, (pointing out that other countries, with smaller problems than Colombia's had thrown these institutions out of their territories), and iii) Political lobby organizations which serve terrorism. Making reference to the UNDP Report conception of the Colombian Conflict as a war which all actors involved were losing, he said: "*Some people, from the Theoretical NGOs which I respect, say that this is a war which everybody is losing. They are wrong. It was the Nation who lost, when, under both weak theories and attitudes, it handed over its territory and its institutions only for terrorism to advance...Now, this is not a matter of losers. Here both the Colombian State and Society are winning. How can they say we are losing, when they don't take account of last years' indicators?*" Finally he presented a basic sketch of his

³⁰ Written by the Colombian Platform for Human Rights, Democracy and Development, a network of 80 Colombian human-rights NGOs. The report on Forced Displacement Attention Policy for this book was written by Codhes.

³¹ UNDP (2003). Specific criticism has been made of the IDP figures presented in this report. Its Chapter 5, in the section devoted to forced displacement, quotes figures from the SUR-RSS system, supporting the technical choices taken regarding the estimate of IDPs, "...for reasons to be explained in Chapter 9", which cannot actually be found there. Another criticised procedure is its claim that IDP figures would be more precise if displaced persons registered in the past three years were eliminated from the count.

³² Available at <http://www.presidencia.gov.co/discursos/framdis.htm>

perception of the Colombian Conflict: *“This is not a war. This is not a conflict. This is a rights-based democracy serving 44 millions of Colombians that has been challenged by a group of wealthy terrorists”*.

I must emphasize that this second issue has wider and more underlying consequences. If we consider the violent situation in Colombia as an expression of terrorist activities, instead of an armed conflict, then this carries many consequences and one major one: conflict would not be subjected to the regulations of Protocol II of the Geneva Convention. This means that the potential field of application of International Humanitarian Law would be reduced and civil populations could no longer be considered neutral to conflict. International organizations would no longer have the same possibility of enforcing humanitarian law, on this case, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

Between the time of this speech and September 2004, the Government claim for diminishing displacement figures, both in the short run (contrast of period-to-period IDPs numbers) and long run (the historical total-amount of IDPs), was the subject of an aggressive media campaign, emphasizing the message through using displacement figures based solely on registration, without any reference to the RSS's estimation system, the SEFC (System of Verified Sources). These figures were in direct contrast to the increasing Codhes figures³³. A dramatic breakdown point came with the presentation of a Codhes report on displacement figures for the first semester of 2004 (see Footnote 10). In reaction to these numbers and their implications, Luis Fernando Hoyos, director of the Social Solidarity Network (RSS) criticized the accuracy and objectivity of CODHES' estimations, saying that they were “manipulated”, “ill-intended” and were meant to be “...a direct attack against the National Government” (“Agarron por las cifras de desplazados”, *El Tiempo*, sept. 3/2004). What had been, until that point, internal technical differences, became at this moment, both public and political.³⁴

³³ For example, “Polemica por desplazados”, *El Tiempo*, Sept. 6/2004: “For the first semester 2004, Codhes reported 130.346 displaced people, whereas the Government says that there were only 72.072”, “El Desplazamiento, mas alla de las cifras”, *Diario del Sur*, Feb 8 /2005: “Codhes points out that at least 287.581 people were displaced in Colombia during 2004 ... Nonetheless, the National Government assures us (is assured???) that for this period, only 137.315 declared their displaced condition”.

³⁴ Since 1999 the UN Representative for Colombia created the Thematic Group on Displacement (GTD), a forum for the discussion of technical issues related to forced displacement. Although participation in

3.3.1 A review of the CODHES – RSS figures on Forced Displacement in Colombia 1977 - 2004

As we have seen, the new political environment of the first two years of the Uribe administration generated a highly uncertain and confusing landscape for the whole set of humanitarian issues related to the Colombian conflict. The Government's media strategy adopted in line with their *Democratic Security*, has had specific consequences for the way that indicators of forced displacement are perceived by the public and the international community. As previously stated, this is related to two specific issues: firstly, to the perceived role of human rights NGOs under the new political environment generated by government policy (in our case, the role of Codhes, the CICR and the Episcopal Conference and their comprehension of the issue of forced displacement and its dynamics), and secondly, to the perception of the Colombian Conflict as either political, or as a basic public order issue.

Figure 3.2 shows the aggregate historical pattern of forced displacement in Colombia according to public figures from RSS and CODHES, up to September 2004. Data from 1999 onwards has been specifically delimited in order to recognize an institutional limitation, as it was only in March 1999, through Decree 489, that the Social Solidarity Network was commanded to: *i)* coordinate the National System of Integral Attention to People Displaced by Violence and *ii)* be responsible for the National Registry of Displaced People (the Unified Registration System – SUR). Thereby, official records of displaced people under charge of the RSS only began at this time³⁵. If we consider endogenous data from RSS, this could explain the huge increment for forced displacement according to SUR data, once compared to SISDHES data.

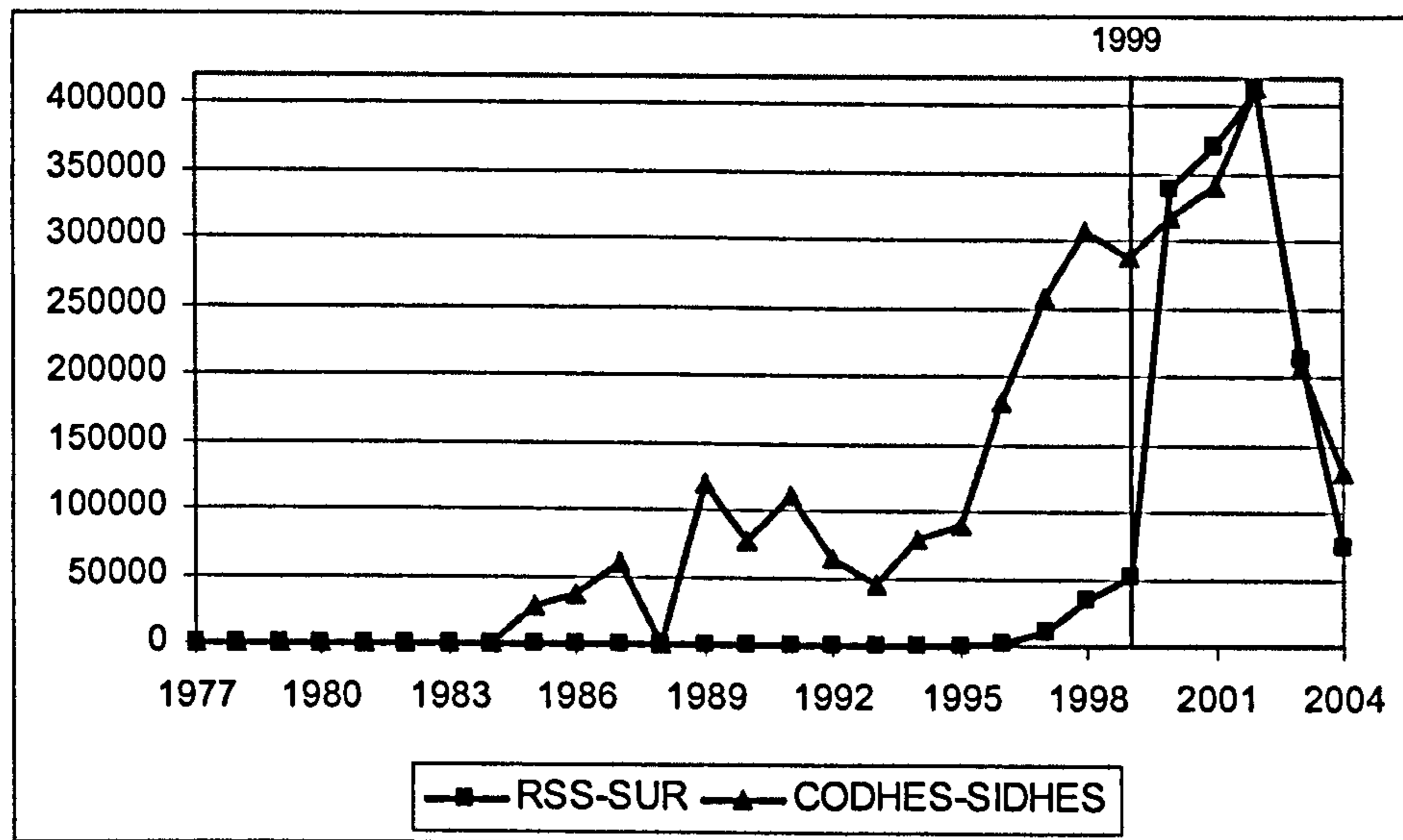
this group was initially restricted to UN humanitarian agencies, CICR, CODHES and RSS participated later as observers. Although the last joint (available) report of GTD dates from the year 2002, Merckx and Francisco (2003) recognised that the work of GTD helped to improve the registration system of the RSS, with the consequence that between 2000 and 2002 (first semester) its statistics became more in line with those of other sources.

³⁵ However, this does not mean that official figures of displaced people were not available. Document Conpes 3057/1999 quotes statistics from the Ministry of Interior, according to which, by November 1999 there were 400.000 internally displaced persons (for a definition of Conpes document, see footnote 19).

Figure 3.2

Displacement in Colombia

SUR vs. SIDHES 1977-2004 /1



/1 Includes only first semester 2004.

From this moment onwards, the joint technical activities developed in the GTD (see footnote 12) and the internal discussions between RSS and CODHES seem to have led to more comparative and reliable estimations. At least this can be said for the period 2000-2002. Table 3.2 presents detailed data for SUR and SISDHES for the whole period 2000-2004, which includes the specific figures here under discussion.

Table 3.2

Colombia. Comparative Data on Forced Displacement

RSS (SUR) and CODHES (SISDHES)

2000-2004

Year	RSS-SUR	CODHES-SIDHES	Difference
2000	339.845	317.375	7.08%
2001	371.191	341.925	8.56%
2002	411.864	412.553	-0.16%
2003	213.697	207.607	2.93%
2004/1	73.681	130.346	-43.47%

Source: Official Reports from RSS and CODHES.

/1 First semester only

Some interesting remarks emerge from these aggregate, historical figures. Both time series follow the same patterns: increasing levels (with different levels of magnitude) between 1995 and 2002, and a notorious reduction thence. It is important to make clear that the specific figures for each year, provided by the two systems should not be equal, especially once public reports from RSS emphasize registration without reference to results provided by their System of Verified Sources (SEFC). We are talking about two different methodologies, and given the fact that one of them includes the other as one of its sources, actually one of them (SUR), should by logical construction exist literally as a subset of the other (SISDHES).

3.4 Deconstructing the debate: Using Crisp's approach to scrutinize IDPs' figures from Codhes and the Social Solidarity Network

A consensual conclusion from the review on methodological approaches towards counting refugees and internally displaced persons, is that optimal counting of these affected populations is an empirically unattainable task. This expresses the *Contingent Failure* of Harrell-Bond *et al.* (*op. Cit.*), which may be the theoretical analogy to the more pragmatic concepts of Crisp's *definitional and operational problems*.

These two last categories, definitional and operational, may prove quite useful for reviewing the methodological foundations of the information systems on displacement currently reflected by Codhes (Sisdhes) and the Social Solidarity Network (SUR-SEFC). In what follows, I will try to dissect the hypothesis that differences between the figures provided by these two systems may derive from different definitional and/or operational issues.

3.4.1 Operational Issues

In this specific section, the current operational challenges that may be affecting the currently available figures for forced displacement provided by estimation and registration figures will be reviewed. As Reed *et al.* point out, there are many specific operative issues that can affect the quality of IDPs counts: rapidly shifting populations, physical danger, and chaotic circumstances create difficulties for data collectors and affect the precision of data" (Reed *et al.*, 1998, p. 2).

One indisputable fact is that the whole registration system utilized by RSS, CICR and RUT does not account for all the internally displaced people in Colombia. Registration patterns may change due to specific short-term factors and thereby under-registration figures are rather specific in time. By 2001, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children suggested an under-registration figure of 78%³⁶ referring it to the Codhes Bulletin No. 39 (2001). This year seems to have been a critical time for these figures, as exemplified in this quote from the UNHCHR: "...registration of the displaced population has been increased in scope. Nonetheless, under-registration continues to make it impossible to estimate the extent of displacement in Colombia. The lack of flexibility and highly bureaucratic procedures make people view registration more as an obstacle to obtaining benefits than as the way to gain access to them" (UNHCHR, 2002, para. 144). For the year 2003, under-registration levels were estimated by Codhes and the RSS to account for 35% of total displacement, a figure that can be contrasted with a more conservative estimate of 10%, found in the UNDP 2003 Human Development Report for Colombia (Codhes, 2003, p. 2). Current levels of under-registration are greatest for remote areas and appear to be particularly concentrated in the border regions (Codhes, 2004).

Confinement is an expression of the internal conflict that has become increasingly visible for Colombia's picture of forced displacement, challenging both the whole legislative definitional set up and the humanitarian assistance system, given the fact that the issue here is not the forced nature of movement but the enforced lack of freedom to it. Small villages and communities are isolated, either by guerrilla or right-wing paramilitary groups, through food and economic blockades. These armed groups thereby behave like an occupying force, confining people and the circulation of economic goods in order to avoid 'infiltrations' from the enemy and subsequently improving their control over a geographic zone (GTD, 2002, p. 6, 10). As this report stated, communities who were victims of this abuse were not being registered, as it was rare for them to receive any kind of humanitarian assistance, despite being subjected to circumstances similar to those described in Article 1, Lay 387/97, which stated the definition for IDPs.

³⁶ This figure can be derived from the following statement: "...less than one in four (22%) IDPs are registered and receive government assistance".

Displacement due to the fumigation of illicit crops is another issue that could explain different displacement figures. Here, there is a radically different perception between NGO's and the RSS: whereas NGO's consider those who flee from these fumigations to be IDPs, the Colombian Government, i.e., the RSS, considers them *voluntary migrants* (Codhes, 2003, p. 6). If we take the former criterion as a rule of thumb, it would imply that some 35.000 people between 1999 and 2003- according to the Codhes' estimation- have been displaced due to the fumigation of illegal crops between 1999 and 2003 (Ceballos, 2003, p. 26).

Finally, some specific demographic issues may undermine any aggregate claim for accurate statistical significance. The last National Colombian Population Census dates from 1993. However accurate and consistent national, regional and province-related population projections may be, they are not a fair reflection of the current population levels and tendencies. Apart from this lack of updated demographic figures, there are increasing claims from the academic community demanding detailed demographic information regarding internal forced or voluntary migration, which are not currently available. Although the Government is presently preparing for a new population census this year, given the new methodology to be applied, increasing criticism has been made of the lack of accurate and adjusted figures for displacement and migration.

3.4.2 Definitional Issues: The Definition of IDP in Colombia and its methodological consequences

From the very beginning, this document has recognized both the transcendence and at the same time, the difficulty of outlining a definition of the concept of internal displacement, and of providing this definition with consensual, binding and reinforcement features. Towards this end, the seminal importance of the Guiding Principles on Forced Displacement has already been discussed. Up until now, no consideration has been given here to what constitutes forced displacement for the Colombian case, which is important in order to discard or endorse the hypothesis that differences between RSS and CODHES estimations stem from different definitions of what is understood by the displaced condition. I will now review the historical process that led to the inauguration of a definition of forced displacement in Colombian Law and the possible implications and deviations, both legal and institutional, that such a definition has generated.

3.4.2.1 Initial attempts. Reports from the Early Nineties

Currently, there seems to be some implicit agreement that forced displacement has been a recurrent phenomenon for the Colombian history of internal migration³⁷. However, earlier situations of displacement in Colombia, perhaps in a similar way to some other developing countries, were not initially diagnosed as forced displacement, as this analytical category had not been fully accepted and disseminated by the disciplines that dealt with migration, or perhaps because there was then a prevalence of proactive, development-related, theoretical explanations for Colombian internal migration.

In the early Nineties, “*Feeding the Tiger*”, from the U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993) was one of the first reports to provide both a qualitative and quantitative overview of the increasing crisis of internal displacement in Colombia. According to this report, by 1993 around 300.000 people had been affected by forced displacement in Colombia (US Committee for Refugees, *op. Cit.*, p. 1). At the end of the same year, the Colombian Government commissioned a report from the Permanent Consultation on Internal Displacement in the Americas (CPDIA), an independent organization explicitly focused on forced displacement, in order to elicit suggestions for governmental action that might successfully deal with the increasing humanitarian crisis.

Six months later, between the 10th and the 18th of June 1994, Francis Deng, the Representative for the UN General Secretary on Internally Displaced Persons, visited Colombia at the behest of the Government. In his report (Deng, 1995)³⁸, the conceptual, political and methodological problems that remain current issues for institutional reports about forced displacement in Colombia, were first highlighted [for an updated version of these issues, see Fagen *et al.* (2003) and Norwegian Refugee Council (2004)]. In order to illustrate the humanitarian dimensions of the displacement crisis, and acknowledging the lack of public estimates for the dimension of forced displacement in Colombia, the Representative’s report quoted the estimates already provided by the 1993 U.S. Committee for Refugees document, expressing, however, doubts about the accuracy of these numbers, and this mainly for four possible reasons. They were:

³⁷ Quoting Deng (1995, p. 5): “..It was repeatedly pointed out that the problem was by no means a new one; that displacement has been occurring for the past 40 years”.

³⁸ UNHCHR (1995) available at <http://www.ohchr.org/english>

- First, the definition of the term "internally displaced persons" in Colombia. The first attempt at a definition of the concept of Internally Displaced Person was suggested by the Colombian Government in a letter, addressed to Mr. Deng and dated 16 November 1993. In this note, the Government defines as displaced *"any person who has been obliged to migrate within the national territory, abandoning his place of residence or his customary occupation, because his life, person or freedom has been jeopardized or is threatened owing to the existence of any of the following situations: internal armed conflict, internal disturbances and tensions, widespread violence, massive violations of human rights, natural or man-made disasters, or other circumstances originating from prior situations liable drastically to disturb public order."* (Quoted in Deng, 1995, p. 5)

Although this definition closely followed that provided by the CPDIA³⁹ in their 1993 report (with the remarkable inclusion of natural or man-made disasters as one situation that could possibly lead to forced displacement), Deng considered the former to be too expansive and therefore proceeded to focus mostly on the methodological consequences of the use of the second - more precise definition.

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- Second, the prevalent profile of forcibly displaced peoples at the time of the report, made any estimation even more difficult. At that moment, most displacement events in Colombia involved isolated individuals or, at the most, groups of families (what is called in colloquial terms "drop-by-drop" displacement), and they were taking place in remote and dispersed geographic areas.

³⁹ The CPDIA defines as internally displaced *"every person who has been forced to migrate within the national territory, abandoning his place of residence or his customary occupation, because his life, physical integrity or freedom has been rendered vulnerable or is threatened due to the existence of any of the following man-caused situations: internal armed conflict, internal disturbances or tensions, widespread violence, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances originating from prior situations that can disturb or disturb drastically public order."* / Revised definition, approved in the course of the Technical Meeting of CPDIA on 15 April 1993. Deng (*op. Cit.*), p. 5.

⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the report does not expand on the implications that the application of either definition would have had for an accurate estimation, which considered for both the social and political environment at that time, would have been rather minimal, exception being made of the inclusion of natural disasters as one of the causes of displacement.

- Third, what the Report called the “attitude of the displaced towards their displacement”. According to this, displacement was suffered silently and without any intention whatsoever of obtaining public or humanitarian recognition.
- Finally, there was a lack of structured studies concerned with estimating, with acceptable methodological rigour, the number of internally displaced persons. The report expressed hope that the proposed research project of the Colombian Episcopal Conference would fill this void.

In September 1995, through the document Conpes⁴¹ 2804, the Colombian Government launched the National Programme for Integral Attention of Populations Displaced by Violence. This document recognized the State’s responsibility to address the increasing problem of forced displacement, and accepted that public initiatives for the problem of displacement had hitherto been short-term based, flawed and disperse (DNP, 1995, p. 3). The document seems to sustain a methodological concordance between the definition of forced displacement that it resorts to, and the quantitative estimations obtained once this definition was empirically applied: as a reference of the IDP definition applied to the potential population who would be targets for the Programme, document Conpes 2804 considered those who fell under the definition provided by CPDIA in 1993⁴²; and as a quantitative estimation, the document quoted the results (already available at that time) of the research project developed by the Colombian Episcopal Conference. This research project applied the CPDIA definition and according to its results, between 1984 and 1994 approximately 600.000 people had been forcibly displaced in Colombia. Rather peculiarly, given its coverage and detailed deconstruction of the policy issues and challenges related to the situation of displaced people at the time, the document Conpes 2804 fails to make a single reference to the Deng Report of 1995.

⁴¹ The National Council for Economic and Social Planning (CONPES) was created by Law 19 of 1959 and is the Government’s maximum authority for planning. The CONPES Documents are reports that analyse specific policy issues and determine activities and responsibilities for the public agencies that form part of the Executive Power of the Colombian Political System.

⁴² However, there were minor modifications in this definition. Two main changes occurred in the 1995 CPDIA Definition, as compared with that of 1993. Natural or man-made disasters (as one of the possible causes for forced displacement) were excluded and “infringements to International Humanitarian Law” were included as possible causes. Some considerations about the implications of the exclusion of disasters for the definition of IDPs in Colombia, can be found in Muggah (2003).

3.4.2.2 The definition of Internally Displaced Person in the Colombian Law. 1997 – 2005

Regardless of the institutional source of estimates, there seems to be a consensus that displacement increased dramatically in the mid 90s (Fagen *et al.*, p.3, Corte Constitucional, Sentence SU 1150/2000, p. 37). Perhaps this increasing humanitarian struggle was the catalyst for the Colombian Government's formulation and inauguration of a new set of humanitarian policies, based on the findings of document Conpes 2804. This document appears to be the first explicitly proactive recognition of the problem by the Colombian Government.

In the same year, the Colombian government produced two policy-related initiatives: the Conpes document No. 2924 and Law 387, the first being an executive summary of the institutional activities to be implemented under the latter. Fagen *et al.* (*op. Cit.*, p. 14) gives a clear depiction of the institutional environment that created the favourable conditions for this law: "The legislation came about thanks to advocacy from an impressive coalition of Colombian legal experts, academics, the Episcopal Conference, government agencies, the Colombian Senate, and international organizations –primarily UNHCR and the CICR. The law anticipated many of the measures in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, promulgated the following year by the UN Special Representative".

As we can see, Article 1 of this law endorsed the CPDIA definition of the criteria for defining what constitutes an Internally Displaced Person in Colombian law. It establishes: "*A displaced person is anyone who has been obliged to migrate within the national territory, abandoning his place of residence or his customary occupation, because his life, physical integrity, and personal security or freedom has been jeopardized or is threatened owing to the existence of any of the following situations: internal armed conflict, internal disturbances and tensions, widespread violence, massive violations of human rights, breach of international humanitarian law, or other circumstances originating from prior situations that might or do drastically disturb the public order.*" However, this definition closely follows that provided in the Introduction of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, excepting the explicit recognition of natural or man-made disasters as possible causes of forced displacement. A

paragraph appended to the article designated it the government's duty to "...set the regulations for what has to be considered the displaced condition".

After three and a half years had passed, the Colombian government had still not set the proper regulations for what counted as the displaced condition. Only after a specific order of the Constitutional Court mandated the then President Pastrana to provide such regulations (Sentence SU 1150/2000), were they forthcoming through Decree 2569⁴³, which apportioned specific responsibilities to the RSS and in its 2nd Title, regulated the "Condition of Displacement". It defined this condition as the fulfilment of three criteria: i) to be considered in the category defined by 1st Article, Law 387, ii) to declare this situation to the pertinent authorities (Office of the Ombudsman for Human Rights, Office of the Procurator General, Municipal Human Rights Office), and iii) to request that this declaration would be remitted to the authority in charge of registration in order to proceed (Ministry of Interior, Social Solidarity Network). Finally, in the same Title, the cessation of this condition is defined, mainly as when the pertinent authorities considered the conditions that supposedly led to the displacement, as false, or with the return, resettlement or relocation of the displaced individuals, which provided them with the possibility of accessing economic activities (Mooney, 2002, p. 10).

3.4.2.3 Clash of Powers: Considerations on the Colombian definition of Forced Displacement; for the Executive Power and the Constitutional Power

The previous sections reviewed the implementation, between 1993 and 1997, of the CPDIA definition of forced displacement as the one used in the public discourse of the Colombian government. As will be seen, that definition became the standard one applied and promoted by the *Executive* branch of the Colombian Government, as opposed to the one promoted and enforced by its *Judiciary*.

The Constitutional Reform of 1991 created the Constitutional Court, as one of the three visible heads of the Judicial branch of the Colombian Government, the Council of State and the Supreme Court of Justice being the other two. This court took over the Supreme

⁴³ On Sentence 1150 of 2000, the Constitutional Court called attention to the lack of implementation of initiatives related to attending to displaced communities: three and a half years after the promulgation of Law 387, regulations regarding the displaced condition had not been set up, the National Council for Attention of Population Displaced by Violence had not gathered, and the Observatory of Forced Displacement and the Early Warning Systems were not yet working.

Court's responsibility for evaluating the constitutionality of laws and reviewing *Acciones de Tutela* – legal injunctions for defence of fundamental constitutional rights, which citizens can demand from any judge.

It was through the *Acciones de Tutela* made by displaced communities that a wider, more comprehensive definition of forced displacement, based on constitutional jurisprudence, has consistently been defined. The seminal criteria for this definition can be found in Sentence T 227/1997, where in the particular considerations for this case, the Court, after reviewing the CPDIA definition of forced displacement proposed its own: "...whichever description is adopted for internal displaced persons, all of them contain two crucial elements: the coercion that instigates displacement and permanence within national borders. Given these conditions, there is no doubt that we are facing a problem of forced displacement of people" (Corte Constitucional, Sentence T 227/1997, p. 16).

After the introduction of Law 387 and Decree 2569, a conceptual discussion began to develop between the Constitutional Court and the Executive branch of the Colombian Government, represented in this case by the Social Solidarity Network (RSS)⁴⁴. Most of this discussion is of a semantic nature revolving around the concept of *displaced condition* and the possibility of access to humanitarian programmes made available to the affected populations through the RSS. For the RSS, it is the *condition* of displacement -proven according to Decree 2569- which provides access to its humanitarian programmes, whereas for the Constitutional Court, displacement is a *de facto* state, generated at the very moment when an individual is forced to flee.

This discussion seemed to have been settled through the Constitutional Court's Sentence T 327/2001. Among the considerations for its decision, the Court provided the following conclusive paragraph: "...according to the concepts of forced displacement consecrated in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Law 387/1997, the jurisprudence of this Corporation and the concepts provided by Codhes and the Colombian Lawyers' Collective, it is clear that forced displacement, being a *de facto*

⁴⁴ Among many others, this section has based its analysis on the following Constitutional Court sentences: T 227/1997, SU 1150/2000, T 327/2001, T 215/2002, T 268/2003, T 602/2003 and T 025/2004.

situation does not require, as an indispensable requirement in order to acquire the displaced condition, to have been declared as such by any public or private organization. A different matter is the fact that the Government has established a procedure in order to include this affected population in a National Registry of Forcibly Displaced People, a procedure which regulates access to humanitarian aids..., ...but it is not a mechanism that pretends to give an improper declaration to a *de facto* situation”.

3.4.3 Definitional Issues: A summary

I have reviewed the legislation related to the definition currently upheld of a displaced person in Colombia. From this review, we can conclude that this definition embodies at a general level the occurrence of two crucial elements: the coercion that precedes displacement and permanence within national borders after displacement. These two features, which constitute the foundations of the Constitutional Court’s jurisprudence are implicit within the definition provided in Article I of Law 387, which in turn harmonizes with the definition provided in the Guiding Principles on Forced Displacement, considered by the Constitutional Court as a “supranational normative body that is part of the Colombian Constitutional regulations on Forced Displacement” (Corte Constitucional, Sentence T 327/2001, p. 17). Registration is considered an administrative procedure but does not constitute the recognition of the displaced condition as such, the latter being a *de facto condition*. A straightforward conclusion is that a review of the definitional problems challenges the idea that figures based on registration can be considered an accurate characterization of the situation of displacement in Colombia, as they do not reflect what is considered to be an IDP by the Colombian legislation and the Colombian Constitution (*via* the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court).

3.5 Methodological Consistency: Technical Instruments and Conceptual Definitions

Scott (1990) provides a methodological model for research in the social sciences based on the dyad *Technical Instrument – Conceptual Definition*. To this last concept, Scott relates the notions or categories used in producing a report, which are approached on empirical bases by the technical instruments, i.e. the specific methods used to collect the information related to the conceptual instrument.

Specific application of this dyad can be found among case studies based on the deconstruction of technical instruments and conceptual definitions in the social sciences, as well as in the design of sector/policy-based sets of surveys and semi-structured interviews. The rationale for this exercise is based on the test for internal consistency between the conceptual definition and the technical instrument, evaluating whether it accurately detects, analyzes and comprises the behaviour of the conceptual definition. Among some of these, we can quote Vournas (1999) on the definition of unemployment in England, ILI (2002) on the evaluation of literacy and Newberry (2003) on the foundations of Accounting's conceptual framework.

As can be seen, the previous section provides excellent material for developing a case study for methodological deconstruction of the issues of Technical Instruments and Conceptual Definitions of forced displacement in Colombia. Following this, the purpose of this section is to evaluate the consistency between the conceptual definition of displacement and the technical instruments used to measure, estimate and examine it. Fortunately, for these purposes, the conceptual definition of displacement has already been provided. This is contained in Paragraph 2 of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID). In the previous section, the consistency and specific features of the Colombian definition of Forced Displacement, approached from the point of view of the GPID, has already been evaluated. From this, it can be said that there is homogeneity among both definitions, exception made of considering natural disasters as one of the causes of forced displacement. This homogeneity is both practical and philosophical: as Sentence T 327/2001 stated, the GPID are part of the supranational normative body, which provides the foundations for Constitutional considerations regarding forced displacement in Colombia.

Technical instruments, according to their definition, provide a wider landscape for analysis. They are the empirical tool used to approach the theoretical concept of forced displacement, and there can be as many as there are possible features related to it. It might be suggested that a normative evaluation of the relationship between the theoretical concept and the technical instrument used to examine it cannot be achieved. The only possible evaluation would be the scientific rigour and the internal consistency between them.

As we have seen, given the specific features of forced displacement as a social and humanitarian phenomenon, one of its possible technical instruments is registration. Once the displaced status of a potential applicant for emergency humanitarian attention programmes (i.e., those provided by RSS, CICR or SUR) is evaluated and recognized, information provided through her/his registration allows us to measure, estimate and examine the consensually-provided theoretical concept of forced displacement. Estimates based on a contrast of information sources are another available technical instrument. Finally, perhaps more accurate, but more expensive, both in terms of budget and time-availability, there are specifically-designed surveys and population censuses that include questions regarding the nature of migratory issues.

If we judge the information systems on forced displacement in Colombia currently available, none of them can be discarded or criticized for its lack of rigour or internal consistency. However, scientific objectivity in the production of a report does not eliminate the possibility of subjective interpretations, which appear when reports are used to support a biased interpretation of reality. Some specific studies have also sought to evaluate social policy episodes that implied the manipulation of conceptual and technical instruments (for the case of the United Kingdom in the 80s and 90s, see Levitas, 1996; Craig, 1998 and Vournas (*op. Cit.*)).

This kind of manipulation or *spinning* appears when, for political reasons, technical instruments become directly identified as the conceptual definitions. For the English case, this is exemplified in the procedure developed by the Government of the 1980's, which, through changing the employment definition from registered unemployment to claimant unemployment, artificially reduced the unemployment count by 170.000 to 190.000 people⁴⁵ (Vournas, *op. Cit.*, p. 2).

Now, if we review the case of the forced displacement information systems currently available in Colombia, we can evaluate if any of them identifies the conceptual definition with the technical instrument. The CICR specifically considers its figures as

⁴⁵ As an unemployed person under the new definition was considered to be only those over 18 claiming unemployment-related benefits, all those who were unemployed but did not qualify under these two criteria became inactive (out of the labour force) and thereby out of the unemployment count and the unemployment rate.

self-contained, anonymous and only representative of the population who have been beneficiaries of its humanitarian emergency programmes. The same can be said about RUT: Father Maurizio Pontin, head of the Migration Department of the Colombian Bishops' Conference, responsible for RUT, explicitly recognized: "...our system does not account for all the people who have been forcibly displaced in Colombia and we don't make any kind of estimations or projections"⁴⁶. Other studies that have used RUT's data acknowledge its specific coverage: "... data from RUT's Information System, however being the most extensive sample of forced displacement people available in the country, are not statistically representative of that population" (Ibañez and Querubín, 2003). CODHES does not claim its figures to be an accurate reflection of the real dimension of forced displacement in Colombia, especially given their acknowledgment of under-registration that they estimate to run at 35%.

However, it is the Colombian government's system which, through its extensive media campaign claims that its registration figures are the accurate representation of the quantitative dimension of forced displacement in Colombia, i.e., which means that registration, its technical instrument, is an accurate reflection of the conceptual definition of forced displacement and its humanitarian crisis dimension in Colombia. The technical instrument is here identical with the conceptual definition.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

As has been said, counting refugees and IDPs is a rather imperfect exercise, which may never be completely fulfilled. Nevertheless, it is absolutely imperative. With cases of humanitarian crisis, the earliest figures, although probably vague and inaccurate, could prove extremely useful in raising concerns and proactively helping to mobilize political attention. Once these issues are addressed and possible humanitarian initiatives have been evaluated and mobilized, statistics are crucial as they provide criteria for the allocation of humanitarian resources. Subsequently, statistics about refugees and IDPs flows are valuable for the long-term purpose of historical understanding. Data is required in order to deconstruct and understand the dynamics of forced migration. And finally, quantitative information about forced migration is important both for a collective memory and for raising social conscience and awareness.

⁴⁶ Presentation of the RUT Information System at the International Seminar "Construction of Figures and Indicators on Forced Displacement and Human Rights in Colombia", Bogota, September 22-23, 2004.

This document has dealt with the figures currently available on the humanitarian plight of forced displacement in Colombia and the debate about their degree of representativity and accuracy. Their methodological foundations have been deconstructed and scrutinized, starting with theoretical approaches towards the counting of IDPs and refugees, followed by a review of the evolution of the definitional issues related to the concept of Internally Displaced Person both in international and on national (Colombian) grounds. Debates over the figures of displacement provided by, on the government side, the Social Solidarity Network (RSS) and on the private-NGO side, by the Consultancy on Human Rights and Forced Displacement (CODHES), were described, and their methodological foundations, dissected and contrasted.

The Colombian normative framework in dealing with forced displacement is one of the most protective that there is in the world (GTD, 2002, p. 28). This is sustained by a whole body of regulations, comprising Law 387/97, its regulative decrees and derivative regulations, and the whole body of constitutional jurisprudence towards forced displacement that developed through the Constitutional Court.

Systems based on registration provide the most reliable (internally consistent) quantitative and qualitatively extensive information about the features of forced displacement in Colombia. However, given the high levels of under-registration, the incomplete geographical coverage of humanitarian programmes and the increasing emergence of new displacement modalities not yet fully understood or covered by the Colombian legislation, none of the registration systems illustrates accurately the quantitative dimension of forced displacement in Colombia.

Furthermore, figures based on estimation and figures based on registration seem to be converging as a consequence of improvement in the registration system (which increases the number of IDPs counted by registration) and the reduction of accurate information sources (which reduces the coverage and possibly the number of IDPs counted by estimation). This convergence would suggest that the estimation-based systems' capability of accounting for under-registration, self-censure and detection of new possible modalities of displacement is decreasing. Unfortunately, this situation,

although highly interesting and meaningful, is beyond the scope of this document, but may yet be interesting for future analysis.

The Colombian government's claims of RSS figures as an accurate representation of the quantitative dimension of forced displacement in Colombia are methodologically wrong: their technical instrument (registration) has been presented as the sole reflection of the conceptual definition of forced displacement. There are at least three arguments that support the idea that registration is a biased representation of forced displacement: *i)* Given its nature, registration is an indirect approach to migration, which, therefore, is unable to capture the realities of forced displacement, *ii)* the current Colombian constitutional definition of forced displacement does not consider registration as a constitutive-compulsory feature of the displaced condition: according to the jurisprudence of the Colombian Constitutional Court, displacement is a *de facto* state, generated at the very moment when an individual is forced to flee (i.e. individuals who have not been registered but yet have been displaced), and *iii)* registration is not considered the most rigorous international methodological practice. As Bela Hovy points out: "...registration statistics are usually beneficiary numbers that are used to keep track of how many people a program is serving". Therefore, they are unlikely to be an accurate record of all those who are displaced. For this reason, UNHCR does not use registration numbers as the only, nor even the major, source of its data" (quoted on Reed *et al.*, *op. Cit.*, p. 7). Rather sadly, the Colombian case was not meant to be exempted from this standard procedure. Annex Table No. 1 to the Conpes 3057 provides a clear picture of the original purposes of the different components of the RSS Information System, where estimation was supposed to illuminate the global figures on displacement as provided by the National Network of Information on Forced Displacement:

Table 3.3**Annex No. 1****Action Plan for Prevention and Attention for Forced Displacement****National Network of Information**

	<i>Global Estimation</i>	<i>Registration</i>
<i>Product</i>	<i>Global Figures on displacement</i>	<i>Registered person</i>
<i>Use</i>	<i>Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation</i>	<i>Humanitarian assistance, return, relocation and stabilization</i>
<i>Users</i>	<i>DNP, RSS, Finance Ministry, Interior Ministry, Ombudsman Office, International Community.</i>	<i>RSS, Auditor.</i>

Source: DNP, Conpes 3057, November 10/1999, p. 26.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that, regardless of the current interpretation of internal conflict held by the Colombian government, humanitarian regulations related to forced displacement still influence the duties and responsibilities for the Colombian government towards its citizens, which are both reinforced and supported by the international community. As Mr. Francis Deng declared in his 1995 report on forced displacement in Colombia (perhaps foreseeing situations like the one we are currently facing): "...the approach taken by the Representative in Colombia as a case study typified his general methodological orientation in carrying out his mandate...this rests on the recognition that internally displaced persons fall within the domestic jurisdiction and therefore the national sovereignty of the countries concerned...where Governments are unable and unwilling to provide protection and assistance to the suffering masses and unreceptive to international assistance, the international community is expected to step in assertively in order to fill the moral vacuum created by the failure of the Government to discharge the responsibility of sovereignty" (Deng, *op. Cit.*, p. 3). The current internal political climate of polarization in Colombia and the perception currently promoted by the government towards internal conflict, could vilify the humanitarian work currently undertaken by humanitarian agencies such as the CICR, UNHCR and NGOs such as Codhes. Their work must be encouraged and closely supported by the international humanitarian and academic community.

P.S. The 3rd of March, 2005, as the final version of this chapter was being made available for comments, the Social Solidarity Network (RSS) published on its website new figures for forced displacement between 1994 and 2004. The new figures for 2000-2003 are higher than the figures provided by Codhes, which generated the controversy between it and the Colombian Government in September 2004. The RSS has so far not made any public statement regarding this modification. Table 3a presents the updated figures.

Table 3.4

Colombia. Comparative Data on Forced Displacement.

RSS (SUR) and CODHES (SISDHES)

2000-2004

Year	Rss-Sur Sept. 2004	Codhes- Sisdhes Sept. 2004	% Difference At Sept. 2004	Rss-Sur March 2005	Codhes- Sisdhes March 2005	% Difference At March 2005
2000	339845	317375	7.08%	330039	317375	3.83%
2001	371191	341925	8.56%	373819	341925	8.53%
2002	411864	412553	-0.16%	423231	412553	2.52%
2003	213697	207607	2.93%	219315	207607	5.33%
2004	73681	130346	-43.47%	145995	287581	-96.98%

Source: Official Reports from RSS and CODHES.

Chapter 4

Displacement analysis from Registration Forms: The Case of *Caritas Diocesana* in Pereira, Colombia, 2002

Introduction

The main purpose of my research is to provide a multi-layered, interdisciplinary study of the issue of forced displacement in Colombia. To that purpose, I have already reviewed the pertinent studies over the last 15 years in Colombia, and combined this with a literature review of internal migration in Colombia between 1962 and 2004, thus extending both the time coverage of my literature review and incorporating a chronological account of the historical patterns of violence and internal migration in the country.

As we have seen, the acknowledgment of forced displacement as a modality of internal migration, whose most distinctive feature was the role of violence as a push factor, is a recent phenomenon. The notion of *Internally Displaced Person* (IDP), only became established in the mid 1990s and thereby earlier studies related to migratory flows, to some degree influenced by violence, were not defined as forced displacement. This led me to extend my review in both time and thematic coverage in order to include various methodological approaches to the subject of internal migration that deal with the Colombian case. Studies from disciplines such as Sociology, Political Science, Psychology, Demography and Economics have been reviewed jointly, in order to extract the most interesting features of both the historical internal migration process in the second half of the XXth Century in Colombia and to deconstruct methodological patterns related to the way the relationship between violence and migration- which lies in the very core of any theoretical approach to the issue of forced displacement- has been approached. From this methodological review, I chose two methodological approaches, in order to replicate them in combination with the information that became available to me through the field work that I developed in 2002 among IDPs communities who had been displaced to Pereira, a city located at the centre of the coffee region of Colombia, and which is the capital of the Risaralda province. The first methodological case, presented in this chapter, is a case study based on registration forms that members of these IDPs communities filled in order to apply for humanitarian emergency attention programmes provided by the Colombian government's main

institution attending to displaced communities, the Social Solidarity Network (RSS), and through different NGOs. My field work was made possible through the valuable institutional and personal help offered through one of them, *Caritas Diocesana* of the Colombian Catholic Church. The second case study, presented in Chapter 5, aims to replicate the pioneering study of Lipman and Havens (1965), and its methodological approach consists in an evaluation of 60 semi-structured interviews of residents in zones of Pereira city where most of the displacement communities had settled. Of these interviews, 30 of them were applied to heads of households who had been forcibly displaced to Pereira city, and 30 of them were applied to heads of households who actually lived in the same neighbourhoods as the displaced households. Finally, open interviews were applied in this chapter to a sub-set of the participants from the previous experiment, in order to evaluate their historical perceptions about violence and migration, and their patterns of adaptation to Pereiran society.

4.1 Forced Displacement as a Case Study

As already mentioned, my dissertation aims to provide an inter-disciplinary, multi-layered approach for analyzing the plight of forced displacement in Colombia. In order to understand the connotations of this approach, some background (general???) assumptions should be recorded, related to the nature of the information used for the purposes of my research. Given the fact that forced displacement is an uncertain, unpredictable phenomenon, it displays neither a seasonal pattern nor a specific demographic profile, thereby sampling cannot be considered statistically significant. Following this, I claim that each study of forcibly displaced communities is highly specific in terms of space and time, and can only be related to other studies through some very general features. The ethnographic conditions of the affected communities become merged with the social environment of the recipient locations in such a way that the conditions of destruction of the former social network and the inception into a new environment are very specific for each displaced community and geographic recipient area. Nonetheless, my research has proactive, deductive objectives and I would like to upgrade its explanatory power from the specificity of my research, mostly focused on episodes of displacement in the Coffee Region of Colombia, in order to make it comparable and contrastable with the studies of displacement discussed in my literature review.

For these reasons, I chose a Case Study approach for my research. Robson (1993, p. 46) defines case study as a strategy of research that involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence. The Case Study approach can be a valuable research methodology if the subject of research proves to require a holistic, in-depth investigation (Feagin, Orum and Sjoberg, 1991). In my case, the holistic approach is suggested through two sources: the theoretical implications of the research itself and the intrinsically national character of the Colombian forced displacement movement (internal Colombian conflict and displacement flows inside the Colombian territory). Further research is required in order to extend the work of Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996), whose study was based on information available from NGO's who work on forced migrants' support programmes and from semi-structured interviews that were undertaken in households in three Colombian regions. Meertens and Segura-Escobar's research is highly relevant to my research as it emphasises the impact of violence on migratory movements in Colombia. Finally, paraphrasing Zonabend's (1992) analysis of case studies of immigration to Chicago, such methodological approaches can be useful for Colombian Displacement, as they give special attention to comprehensive observation, reconstruction and analysis of the cases under study. "Case Study is done in a way that incorporates the views of the "actors" in the case under study". (Zonabend, *op. Cit.*, p. 52)

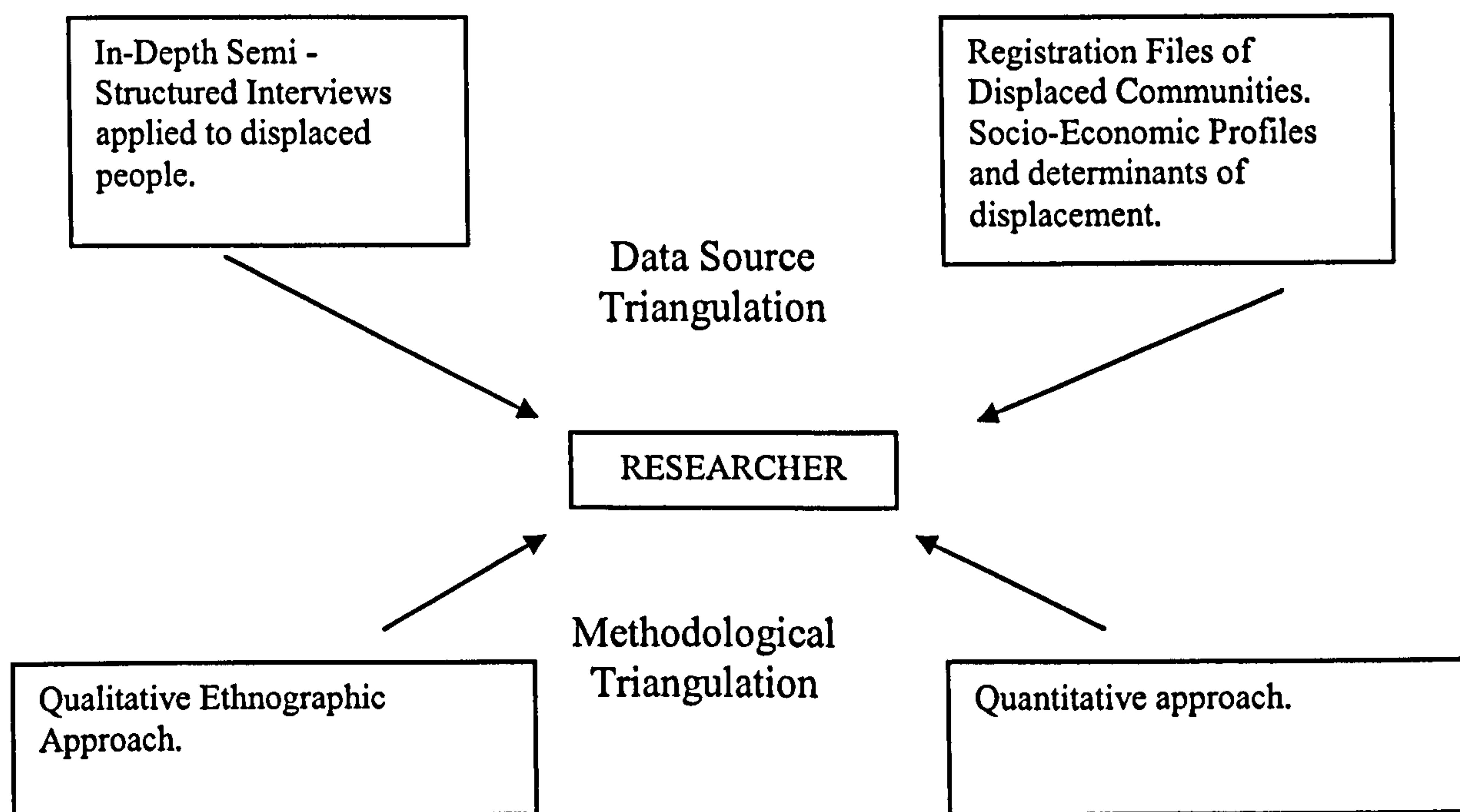
Yin (1993) provides a good survey of case methodology examples along with research designs for each of them. There are suggestions for three kinds of case studies: exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. Taking account of their main features, my approach is that research on Colombian forced displacement must be considered as a descriptive case, because of the latent possibility that problems may occur during the project. Once this distinction is achieved, the introduction of the case methodology for the research project must be via a case – study protocol (Yin, *op. Cit.*, p. 64).

Some interesting remarks arise from the combination of the main components of the research proposal and the sections of the case study protocol. The data collection activities and its particular conditions, can be classified as two of the sources of evidence in case studies of Stake (1995): archival records and interviews. The potential danger that the researcher might face, given the violent character of the phenomenon under investigation, prohibits any involvement in direct observation. The research, once

the specificity of the Colombian case is recognised, will provide qualitative analysis in the vein of the work of Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996) and quantitative analysis comparable to the studies of Kirchhoff and Ibañez (2001), Ibañez and Velez (2003), and Ibañez and Querubin (2004). This procedure follows the concept of *methodological triangulation* (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) where different approaches are used to increase confidence in the interpretation (see Figure 1). Finally, insofar as a new theoretical interdisciplinary approach to migration is offered, it will follow the criteria of Yin (1994), in the sense that the generalization of results pertains to theory and not to populations.

Figure 4.1

Colombian Forced Displacement as Case Study: Data Source Triangulation and Methodological Triangulation



Following this methodological approach, in the next two chapters I will present the contents of my field work with Displaced communities developed in the second semester of 2002. As already stated, this will be comprised of, firstly, a *quantitative approach* applied to analyze and provide a detailed aggregated portrait of forcibly displaced communities in Pereira, in the province of Risaralda, based on the registration forms of IDPs to humanitarian emergency attention programmes in year 2002 (this chapter). Secondly, there is a *qualitative approach* from the analysis of semi-structured interviews applied to 20 specific members of these displaced communities and 10

people living in their neighbourhood who have not experienced displacement. This approach focuses experiences, focused on the historical perceptions and experiences of internal migration and forced displacement and an update of a module of questions aimed to identify their perceptions towards anomie, thereby providing an update and contrast to the seminal paper of Lipman and Havens (1965).

4.2 An Overview to the situation of displacement in Pereira city and the Risaralda Province

The Coffee Region was one of many scenarios for episodes of political violence throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1980s the phenomenon of drug trafficking and the power struggle between drug cartels led to an increase in mortality rates, with Riosucio and Pereira among the most affected municipalities. Since then, new modalities of urban violence such as death squads and youth gangs have been the most prevalent expressions of criminality. According to testimonial evidence from displaced communities (see next chapter) regarding political violence, in the year 2002, the western part of the Risaralda province, comprising the municipalities of Mistrato, Pueblo Rico, Guatita, Quinchia, Anserma, Riosucio and Supia, were subject to a strong guerrilla presence, particularly with Front 47 of Revolutionary Army Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN), the Popular Army for Liberation (EPL) and the Guevarista Revolutionary Army (ERG).

According to members of *Caritas Diocesana*, the rural areas of municipalities such as Pueblo Rico and Mistrato have historically witnessed the presence of guerrilla groups, implying that the communities, indirectly and involuntarily established a coexistent relationship with them, especially in the most remote areas of these municipalities, where Indigenous populations are more prevalent. Since 1998, the military strategy of guerrilla groups in the zone has mostly focused on harassment and occupation of municipalities such as Mistrato, Pueblo Rico, Guatita and smaller villages such as San Antonio del Chami, Santa Cecilia, Santana, San Lorenzo, Bonafond and Irra. Testimonies collected by social workers state that municipalities like Chinchia and Mistrato have consistently provided hiding places for kidnap victims, given the historical knowledge of the area that guerrilla groups have managed to obtain through time. Communities have been forced to contribute to guerrilla activities, either with monetary contributions or through forced recruitment of their members. Thus, both

economic and social pressures constitute the most standard motivations for displacement to Pereira city by members of these communities. There are documented cases of members of the Indigenous Embera-Chami tribe having been forcibly recruited by guerrillas.

My database includes some of the displacement flows that show the reduction of population in municipalities such as La Celia by more than 40% in the last 8 years. A dramatic case is the village of San Antonio del Chami, attached to the municipality of Pueblo Rico, which has almost completely disappeared. In addition, as a consequence of the guerrilla occupation of the municipality of Pueblo Rico in 1998, a combined group of FARC and ELN guerrillas destroyed the basic infrastructure of the village, the Police station and the Catholic Church. It took four years for the Police to return to Pueblo Rico, a period during which the guerrillas became the pervasive form of power in the zone, which has a strategic location linking the province of Risaralda with Choco and in general, with all the Colombian Pacific Coast.

From 2000 onwards, the zone has been the scene of a dramatic process of re-conquest by paramilitary troops frequently linked with the drug cartels of the northern side of the province of Valle del Cauca (colloquially known as Valle). Members of these besieged communities have been the most regular victims of the strategies of both the guerrilla and paramilitary troops, who press the communities for explicit allegiance so as to avoid open combat. Collective disappearances and massacres have been recurrent strategies employed in the attempt to create a climate of permissive silence and forced loyalty.

The road that links the southern part of Choco province with the western municipalities of the Risaralda province has become the centre of this explicit war of illegal armies against the population, especially the Indigenous and Afro Colombian ethnic minorities. An increasing flow of displaced communities from remote areas to the south of Choco join communities displaced from municipalities that border this road (Tado, Itsmina, Pueblo Rico, Apia and La Virginia, at the outskirts of Pereira city).

Figure 4.2

Map of Colombia

COLOMBIA



This specific component of the Colombian internal conflict and the historical perception of the Coffee Region as prosperous, wealthy and peaceful, have increasingly been drawing displaced communities from remote areas to Pereira city. Sometimes this perception attracts displaced communities from the Coffee Region itself. In informal conversations that I had with displaced communities in the city of Manizales, the capital of the neighbouring province of Caldas, they unfavourably compared their economic and social inception outcomes with those of displaced communities in Pereira city. Pereira city was portrayed as more open-minded, economically dynamic and less elitist than Manizales, a city which has always been considered as one of the most conservative, elitist and least racially diverse in Colombia.

4.3 Registration Data from Pereira, Risaralda Province

As seen in Chapter 3, displaced communities in Colombia can apply for three different humanitarian emergency programmes based on registration processes, headed respectively by the Social Solidarity Network, the Colombian Bishops' Conference and the International Committee of the Red Cross. Registration at the Sole Registration System of the Social Solidarity Network is composed of four tiers; the sole declaration, the assessment of declarations, the characterisation of displaced households and the follow up to assess the services provided to IDPs. The declaration of displacement must be made at either the Office of the Ombudsman for Human Rights, the Office of the Procurator, or the Municipal Human Rights Office. The Colombian government, through the Social Solidarity Network, has 15 week days to verify and evaluate the condition of displacement. Next, the characterisation of displaced households, which is the basis for the information utilised in my report, is normally provided by NGOs who, through an agreement with the Social Solidarity Network, provide humanitarian emergency measures. This provides the advantage of closer knowledge of some of the particulars of the displacement condition, with the trade-off of highly decentralized quality control in data collection. Fortunately, the dedication of the technical team of *Caritas Diocesana* provided great reliability and consistency for the data collected, as will be seen from the information based on the basic displacement profiles that they collected.

As we've previously said, information based on registration forms can be considered as qualitatively representative of the displacement phenomena in Colombia, although its statistical significance is not precise. Among many other reasons, this is due to the fact that application of these systems is not random and is affected by different features. First, these systems are not homogeneously applied to the whole of the Colombian territory, and thereby some areas can be better represented in some of these information systems of humanitarian programmes. Second, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, there is sub-registration, as not all IDPs, for different reasons, mainly through distrust of public institutions, apply for these programmes (GTD, 2002, p. 29; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2002, p. 10, 2003, p. 10; Fagen *et al.*, p. 23). However, for the purposes of my case study, the combination of public resources made available through *Caritas Diocesana*, a respected NGO backed up by the Catholic Church, and the fact that the Coffee region is still perceived as one where Catholicism still predominates, would suggest that my data presents a representative picture of the situation of forced displacement in Pereira, and that the displaced communities who have registered through this NGO have done so without external pressure, which thereby would support the sincerity and reliability of the information collected.

4.3.1 Methodological Issues

In December 2002, through Consultancy Work undertaken for CHF-USAid aimed at identifying and promoting initiatives of generation of employment/income for displaced communities to the Coffee Region, I got access to the registration forms of 1109 displaced people in Pereira, one of the main cities of the Coffee Axis, located in the Western mountain range, in central Colombia. The communities who were part of these displacement episodes registered in order to obtain humanitarian help from Caritas Diocesana, an NGO from the Catholic Church who provide basic emergency support through a technical agreement with the Social Solidarity Network (RSS), the governmental agency responsible for coordinating public policies for IDPs in Colombia.

The methodological approach used in this exercise was based on a compilation of the socio-economic features of displaced individuals and households, extracted from the information provided in their registration forms. The regulations of the registration process implied that each displaced household had to fill in a registration form and thereby data processing of the registration forms provided an extensive portrait of the

displaced communities and their displacement experiences. A file of information was compiled initially by using an Excel file to organise the original information contained in the registration forms. Once all the information had been input into the Excel file, an SPSS file was created, in order to provide new ways to mine the data and provide cross-tabulations with new variables based on the recoding of those included in the Excel file.

A specific methodological issue must be addressed here. Given the way the information regarding my sample of displaced communities was collected through their registration applications, they are a self-selected (non random) sample of forced migrants, a feature that, in some circumstances, could lead to specification errors on possible estimations of behavioural relationships (Heckman, 1979). Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that the quantitative approach applied in this chapter does not include any estimation procedure that would claim that the possible behavioural relationships found on my sample could be used, by statistical inference, to describe the general patterns of behaviour for the all Colombian IDPs. In fact, one important lesson from Chapter 3 is that no empirical studies about IDPs in Colombia can claim to have an accurately designed statistical sample of the IDP population as a whole: if we don't know or cannot approach the real size of the universe (the IDP population) we cannot have an accurate sample. The inferences made on this chapter, based in the features of my sample are self-contained and they can only be compared with the findings from other studies on the basis of an inductive approach. Berk (1988), Lieberson (1985) and Winship and Mare (1992) provide detailed reviews on the effect of sample selection bias on inferences about social processes.

The data processing procedures applied, required inputting the information contained in the original format for the characterisation of displaced households, using quantitative software that would allow further detailed cross-tabulation and other compilation procedures. As mentioned, given the conditions of the registration process, 275 registration forms from the same number of displaced households were made available, from which 6 forms were excluded due to their lower standards of processing and the contradictory information contained therein. The original database file was input using an Excel worksheet, which contained 35 socio-economic variables as well as specific identification details. Given the fact that one of the ethical considerations of working with displaced communities is to protect identities and personal details, the original set

of 35 variables was reprocessed in order to exclude identity-related variables, but at the same time preserving household-specific features, which were important for enabling qualitative comparability with other studies.

The final version of the processed data was facilitated through exporting the Excel file to an SPSS platform, in order to optimize the advantages that this software has in combining qualitative and quantitative information. Tables 4.10 and 4.11 (Appendix) show the basic structure of the definitive SPSS file. The data compiled provides an overview of the displacement processes of 1009 people, displaced between February 2001 and July 2002, who had applied between March and November 2002 for registration for humanitarian emergency aid provided by the Social Solidarity Network (RSS) through *Caritas Diocesana*, the Catholic Church NGO of social work, in Pereira, Risaralda.

4.4 Data Processing and Main Features of the Sample

From the descriptive statistics of the sample (Table 4.12, Appendix) we can conclude that the profile of the displaced communities who applied for registration at *Caritas Diocesana* in Pereira showed a rather homogeneous distribution in terms of gender (male, 48%; female, 52%). The age structure suggests a young profile (40% of the IDPs were less than 15 years old, and 30% of them were between 20 and 40 years old). The 1109 Internally Displaced individuals came from 256 households, with a mean size of 4.33 members per household.

Household structure is a very important distinctive feature of forced displacement in Colombia given its specific demographic features. In the literature review chapter, I emphasized the gender-related regularity of displaced households being likely to have a higher number of female-headed cases than the standard general population (24% being the standard case for the Colombian population as a whole, and 31% for the study of Codhes, *op. Cit.*; 45% for Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*, 30% for Neira, *op. Cit.*). In this specific study, 43% of the households registered on the sample had a female head of household, a finding which was close to and tended to support the 45% level detected by Ibañez and Velez (2003). Deconstruction of the main features of the household structure of the dataset will be undertaken and meticulously analyzed at a later stage.

As can be seen from the detail of the Gender issues of the sample, the specific structure of dependency rates by gender is closely related to the demographic structure of the displaced communities. Males between 20 and 40 are usually the lowest percentage component of the demographic structure of displaced communities, given their high involvement in episodes of violence, either as perpetrators or victims (Schultz, 1971; Meertens and Segura-Escobar, 1996). The consequences of this specific situation extend to the structure of displaced communities and households. Table 4.1 shows the percentage structure of the sample by age-group and gender.

In most of the age-groups where a person might theoretically qualify as a head of household, there are more male than female members. Theoretically this pattern would imply a higher likelihood that a displaced man would be the head of the household. I wanted to test this and other theoretical possibilities by optimizing the information available from the data set.

Figure 4.3
Population Pyramid of the Sample by Age and Gender

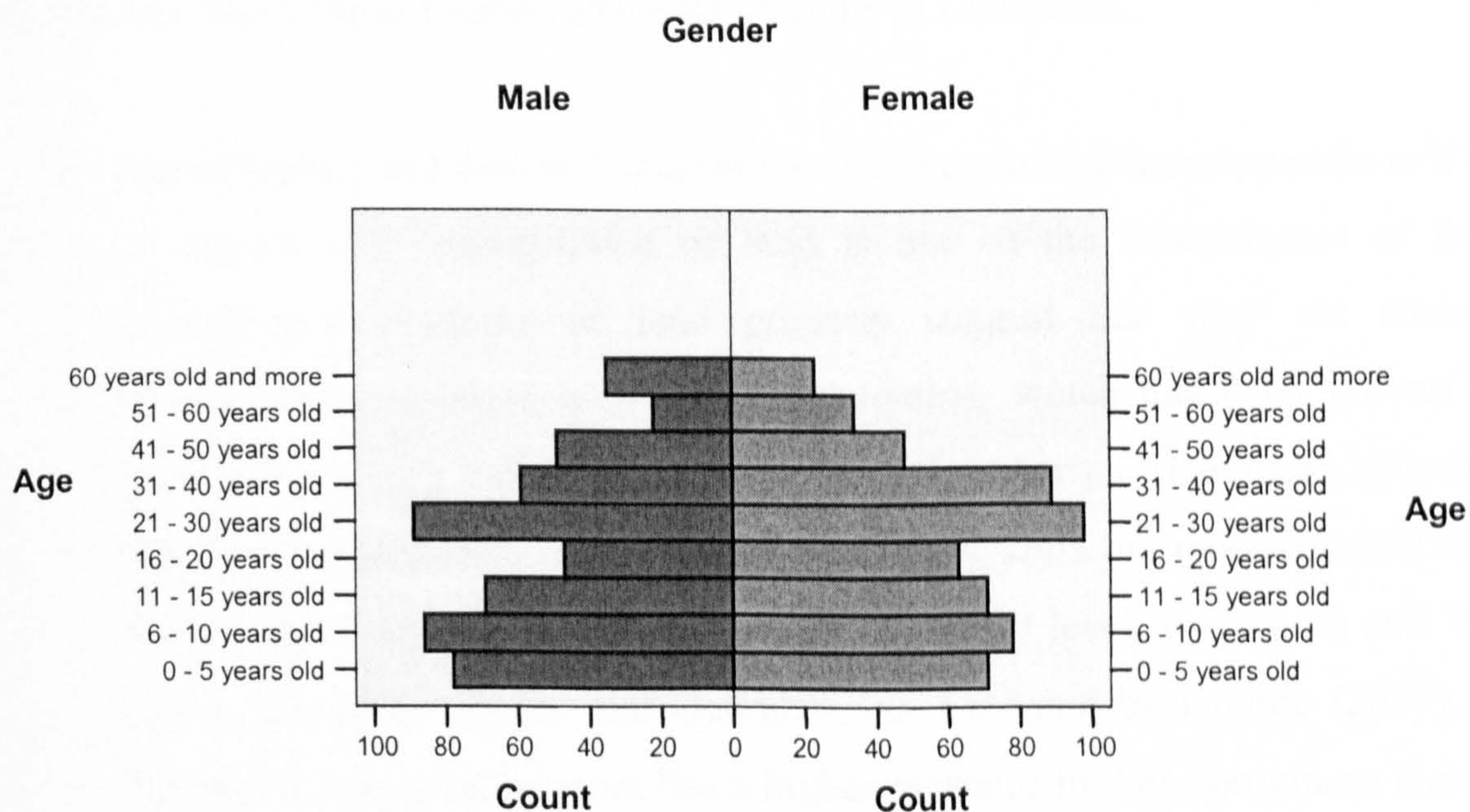


Table 4.1**Structure of the Sample by Gender and Group of Age**

Group of Age	As % of Own Gender Age Group		As % of Total Age Group	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 – 5 years old	52.35%	47.65%	14.61%	12.35%
6 – 10 years old	52.44%	47.56%	16.10%	13.57%
11 - 15 years old	49.29%	50.71%	12.92%	12.35%
16 - 20 years old	42.73%	57.27%	8.80%	10.96%
21 - 30 years old	47.59%	52.41%	16.67%	17.04%
31 - 40 years old	39.86%	60.14%	11.05%	15.48%
41 - 50 years old	50.52%	49.48%	9.18%	8.35%
51 - 60 years old	39.29%	60.71%	4.12%	5.91%
60 years old and more	60.34%	39.66%	6.55%	4.00%

4.5 Distinctive Features found among Displaced Communities' profiles found in other studies

Within the context of the Literature Review Chapter, I will proceed to evaluate the presence of these general patterns of displacement on the data processed. I selected variables from my database that were comparable with those found among studies based on different information systems available on IDPs in Colombia:

- **Land Property and forced displacement:** Various studies found specific evidence to suggest that expropriation of land is one of the determinants of forced displacement. Patterns of land property suggest that they are structural determinants of forced migration in Colombia, which has been proven both through surveying individual patterns of land property of displaced households (Kirchhoff and Ibañez, 2001; Ibañez and Velez, 2003 but more conclusively in Ibañez and Querubin, 2003) and on an aggregate level, by Suarez and Vinha (2003, quoted on Ibañez and Querubin, *op. Cit.*) and by Fajardo (2001), who find that forced displacement has a higher presence in those provinces that have higher levels of concentration of land property.
- **Social cohesion:** Displacement is a mechanism of destruction of social networks (Henaó *et al.*, 1998). By 1999, 65% of displaced populations were members of different modalities of communitarian organizations (Lozano and Osorio, 1999).

- **Determinants of the return decision:** The possibility of returning to their former residence areas and communities has become increasingly less favoured by IDPs in Colombia. The longer the period of displacement, the lower the propensity is to return. Those households who were involved in agriculture activities were more likely to explicitly express the will to return to their former residences, whereas other economic activities did not seem to generate the same desire. (Ibañez and Querubin, *op. Cit.*).
- **Increasing incidence and expansion of displacement:** According to the quantitative information available, forced displacement seems to be expanding both in terms of its demographic incidence (higher number of IDPs through time) and its geographic incidence. Ibañez and Velez (*op. Cit.*), in calculating the Indexes of intensity (number of people who have been displaced from a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants,) and Pressure (number of displaced people either expelled or received at a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants), showed that forced displacement had extended to the continental part of the country as a whole (San Andres, an island in the Caribbean ocean is the only municipality that has not been affected by displacement).
- **Displacement as an historical regularity:** Closely related to my consideration of violence as a structural influence on internal migration in Colombia, there are some quantitative regularities that need to be flagged. One of them is the quantitative dimension of forced displacement: by 2002, almost 2'000.000 had been forcibly displaced in Colombia (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*). This brings into stark relief the predictions of the U.S. Committee for Refugees' report and its possible historical ramifications: "...if current trends continue, there may be as many as 1.5 million *desplazados* in Colombia by the year 2000. If displacement increases – and evidence collected for this report suggests that displacement in Colombia is increasing markedly – the international community may face a situation similar

to *La Violencia*, when more than two million Colombians were displaced” (U.S. Committee for Refugees, p. 3), Fajardo (2001, p. 69) finds a similar pattern⁴⁷.

- Gender, Race and Age: Given the detected profile of displaced households and the fact that men between 20 and 45 years old are the demographic group most likely to be involved in violence in Colombia, either as victims or perpetrators, it can be said, as did the 1999 report of the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, that displacement in Colombia is a “women’s issue”. Qualitatively, gender considerations permeate all the dimensions of displacement: the destruction and inception phases (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit.*) and the transition between the private-rural social sphere and the public-urban one (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*). Additionally, according to information provided by RUT, the information system of the Colombian Bishop’s Conference, female-headed displaced households are almost twice as likely to have been victims of selective murder of one of their members. Quantitatively, the percentage of female-headed households is higher for displaced communities (31% for Codhes, 1997; 45% for Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*, 30% for Neira, *op. Cit.*) than for the aggregate distribution of the Colombian population (24%, according to Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*). Regarding the ethnic background of displaced communities, this is more concentrated in some specific groups: close to 30% of displaced people are either from Indigenous or Afro Colombian (black) backgrounds, whereas they represent only 18% of the total Colombian population (Fagen *et Al*, p. 3; Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, p. 9, Grupo Tecnico en Desplazamiento, 2002, p. 19).

As I mentioned, some features uncovered through my literature review, although highly interesting and pertinent for understanding the whole dynamic and historic profile of forced displacement, could not be replicated with the information available from my sample. I must mention amongst these, the nature of the displacement decision (preventative, reactive), the issue of social cohesion (from my data, the lack of response to the question regarding membership or participation in social organizations obviated

⁴⁷ Other estimations available for that period are much lower and oscillate between 800.000 people being displaced (Guzman, 1968) and 1’000.000 (Florez, 2003).

any further analysis) and obviously issues regarding forced displacement as an historical regularity. These issues are addressed in my chapter about patterns of anomie and the historical perception of internal migration. I will now present the main features of displaced communities that made up my database, trying to relate their profiles to those found in previous reports.

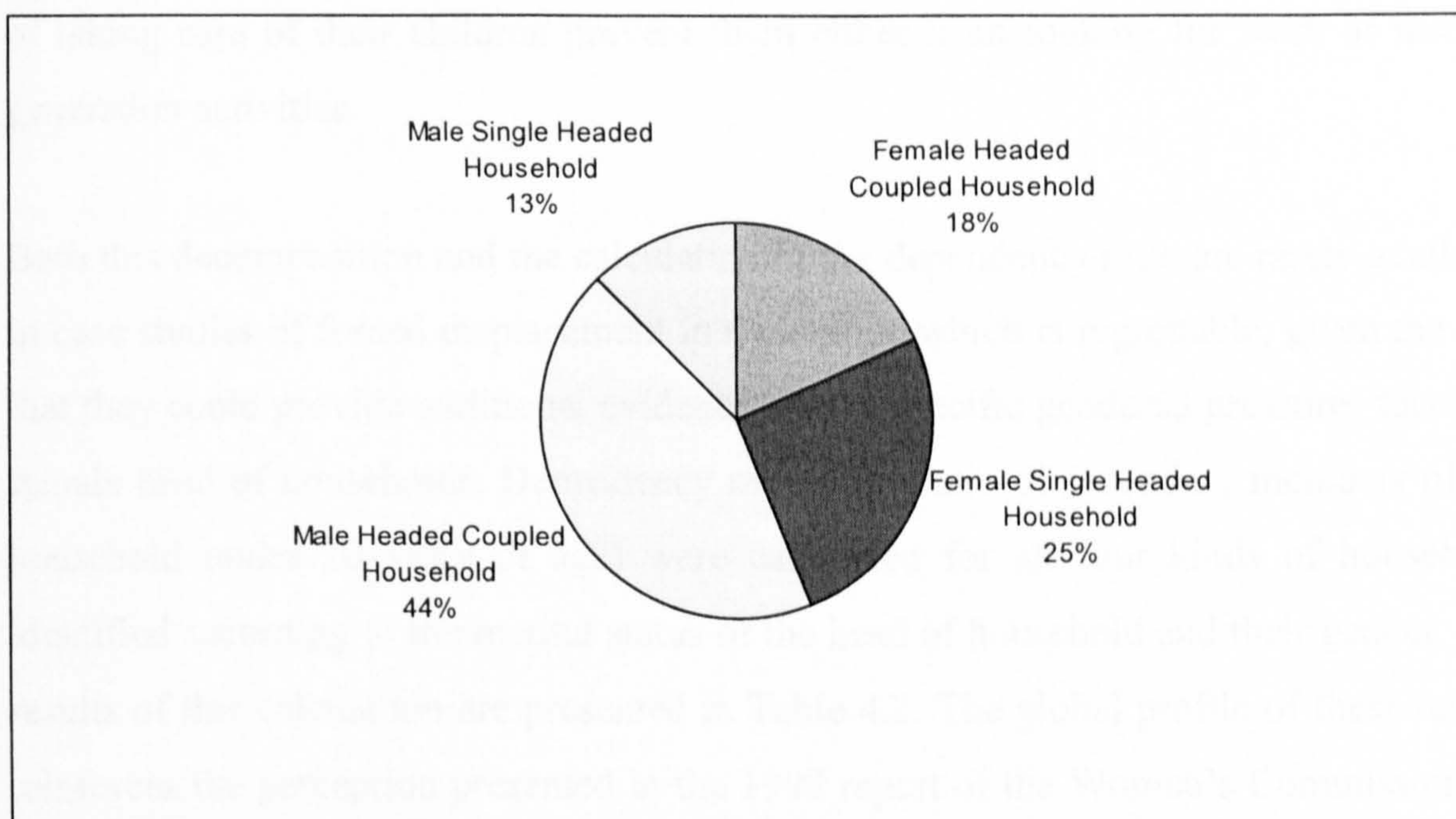
4.6 Specific Features of the Data Sample

4.6.1 Displacement and Gender

In this section I would like to evaluate the empirical evidence for gender-related regularity found in the studies reviewed. The first of them is related to the high percentage of female headed households found among displaced communities: 31% for Codhes, 1997; 45% for Ibañez and Velez, 2003, 30% for Neira, 2004, which seems to be higher than the aggregate national pattern for Colombia (24%, according to Ibañez and Velez, 2003).

Figure 4.4

Percentage Distribution of Head of Household by Gender



The data compiled shows a pattern of gender-headed households rather similar to that found by Ibañez and Velez (2003). For my case study, women are heads of 43% of displaced households, against a percentage of 45% that they found. Decomposition of the gender head of household between those with or without partners shows an even

more dramatic picture: 25% of all households have a single female head, which is even higher than the 24% of households with a female head for the Colombian population as a whole, disregarding whether they have a partner or not. This situation, as was emphasized by Whiteford (1978) in his study on migrant women in Popayan, and more recently, by the report of Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999), makes these households even more disadvantaged and vulnerable: "...when their husbands and male support network are killed, disabled or disappear, women are forced to operate in the "public" sphere, dealing with government representatives, NGOs and other officials, with whom they have had little contact in the past...this transition can be abrupt, intimidating and traumatic" (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999, p. 5).

Apart from the traumatic effects of the challenging roles of female heads of displaced households, there are economic outcomes as well. Even acknowledging Meertens and Segura-Escobar's (1996) point- that, in the inception phase of displacement, the fulfilment of immediate survival needs seems to rest with women, whether or not there is a male partner present- the ability of women to find work is diminished if the duties of taking care of their children prevent them either from looking for work or income generation activities.

Both this decomposition and the calculation of the dependency ratio are rarely available in case studies of forced displacement in Colombia, which is regrettable, given the fact that they could provide additional evidence for the specific gendered pressures faced by female head of households. Dependency ratios (the ratio of secondary members of the household under 20 years of age) were calculated for all four kinds of household, identified according to the marital status of the head of household and their gender. The results of this calculation are presented in Table 4.2. The global profile of these results reinforces the perception presented in the 1999 report of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children: forced displacement in Colombia is clearly a "women's issue".

Table 4.2**Average Size of Household and Dependency Ratio by Kind of Household**

Kind of Household	Number of Households	Number of Members	Number of Secondary Members	Average Size of Household (members)	Dependency Ratio
Female Headed Coupled Household	47	216	100	4.60	2.13
Female Single Headed Household	65	279	172	4.29	2.65
Male Headed Coupled Household	112	536	266	4.79	2.38
Male Single Headed Household	32	78	32	2.44	1.00
TOTAL	256	1109	570	4.33	2.23

Note: Dependency Ratio is expressed as the quotient between the number of heads of household according to a specific criterion and the number of tertiary members of household (non-partners aged less than 20 years old or 60 years old and more).

The average size of the household⁴⁸ and Dependency ratios provide a deeper insight into gender issues. Their results reinforce the perception for the vulnerability of female single-headed households, who constitute a significant share (25%) of the whole distribution of households of my sample, and on average 4.8 members per household. Their households are also notoriously larger than any other- twice as large as male single-headed ones and just as big as households with either a male or female head who actually have a partner. This situation is dramatic, given the combination of a relatively larger size of household in terms of the average number of members, and their lack of a partner as either a source of income or provider of child care. In order to construct a control for economic or domestic help that could be provided by other adult members of the household, dependency ratios were calculated for each kind of household. In some sense these are a sophisticated measure of the average size of household, as they indicate the number of members of the household (children or relatives older than 20 years old and younger than 60 years old) who would depend on the head. For the households in my sample, dependency ratios provide a final additional argument to support the higher vulnerability of female headed households: households with female single heads have the highest dependency ratio of all (2.69) compared with other types of household.

⁴⁸ Calculated as the average number of members of the household.

Perhaps rephrasing the implications of the results shown by the dependency ratios would provide more clarity for their implications: according to the conditions of my sample of displaced people in Pereira city, each of the 100 single women who were the head of displaced households were responsible for 265 people aged less than 20 years old or more than 60 years old (almost a ratio of 1 to 3). Compared to displaced households with a male head, this would imply the specific gendered burden of providing support for 27 people more than would males who actually lived with their partners and 165 more than households with a single male head. All this could be the aftermath of the effect of displacement on household composition found by Kirchhoff and Ibañez (*op. Cit.*, p. 22): for a sample of displaced households the percentage of household members below the age of sixteen changed from about 50% before displacement to 58% after displacement. Finally, the plight of single female heads of household becomes worse if it implies the dramatic experience of displacement where they may have become heads of household after the murder of their partner⁴⁹.

4.6.2 Ethnic Background

I applied a similar methodological deconstruction procedure to the information available on the database for the ethnic background features of the sample as I did with the gender deconstruction of the household's profile. Table 4.3 shows the households' structure according to their ethnic background. Although the possibility of an inter-ethnic household must be acknowledged, for the sake of simplicity and aggregate presentation, the calculations have assumed that the ethnic background of the head of household is representative of the household as a whole. Additionally, given the lack of response to the question of ethnic background (it accounts for 20% of the sample), I have focused my analysis on those individuals who have explicitly declared their ethnic background. The features analyzed also consider the situation within ethnic groups, not between them.

If we recall the demographic regularity found among displaced communities from our literature review, then according to the descriptive statistics of my sample, the Indigenous population comprises 10.73% of the sample. The Afro-Colombian (i.e. Black) population has a higher share of the sample, 13.17%. Individuals who explicitly

⁴⁹ Erazo *et al.* (1999) quote figures from a 1997 Codhes' report according to which 40% of female head of households become such after the violent death of their partners.

claimed to be of White background amount to 54.37% of the population of my study. The percentage found for both Afro Colombian and Indigenous (23.9%) follows the demographic pattern found in the studies of Fagen *et al.* (*op. Cit.*) and Grupo Tecnico en Desplazamiento (*op. Cit.*), who find the shares of these ethnic communities among IDPs to be between 23 and 33% of the whole affected population. Given the specific geographic features of my data (the location of Pereira city is close to some of the most populated areas for either Afro Colombian or Indigenous communities) these figures were expected. Nonetheless, they reinforce the idea of forced displacement as dramatically affecting these ethnic groups in particular.

Table 4.13 (Appendix) endorses the relationship between Pereira city as the recipient region and its proximity to both Afro Colombian and Indigenous communities: 60% of the displaced people of Afro Colombian ethnic background came from the province of Chocó, which has the highest population concentration of Afro Colombians and shares its political border with the Risaralda province, whose capital is Pereira city. A remaining 16.5% came from Risaralda province itself. Regarding the Indigenous communities, 50% came from Caldas province, another which shares political borders with Risaralda province, which again, provided 18% of this specific ethnic displacement.

According to Table 4.3, the ethnic distribution of households does not show remarkable quantitative differences. Household average size oscillates between 4.10 (Indigenous) and 4.34 members, 4.25 being the mean for this sample. The detail of this table aims to extract as much information as possible regarding the combined patterns of vulnerability between gender and ethnic background. It can be seen that, despite the rather homogeneous aggregate picture, Afro-Colombian and Indigenous households exhibit higher dependency ratios than their white counterparts, explained by the fact that White households seem to have a higher proportion of tertiary members, which implies that once these members are withdrawn from the equation for dependency ratios, Afro Colombian households are the highest.

The issue of single headed households again provides a gender effect, with a higher incidence for white communities, who account for 60% of the households with a female head and 70% of the households with a single female head. This *Gender/Ethnic*

vulnerability reveals interesting findings. For female single-headed households, there is a lack of social and economic comparability with their male counterparts. Based on both their average sizes and dependency rates, I would argue that these male headed households are basically displaced males, who, for the sake of an economic definition of household are lumped together, for comparison's sake, with male heads who are part of a couple and with female households, irrespective of whether they are part of a couple or not.

Table 4.3

Main Features of Households according to their Ethnic Background

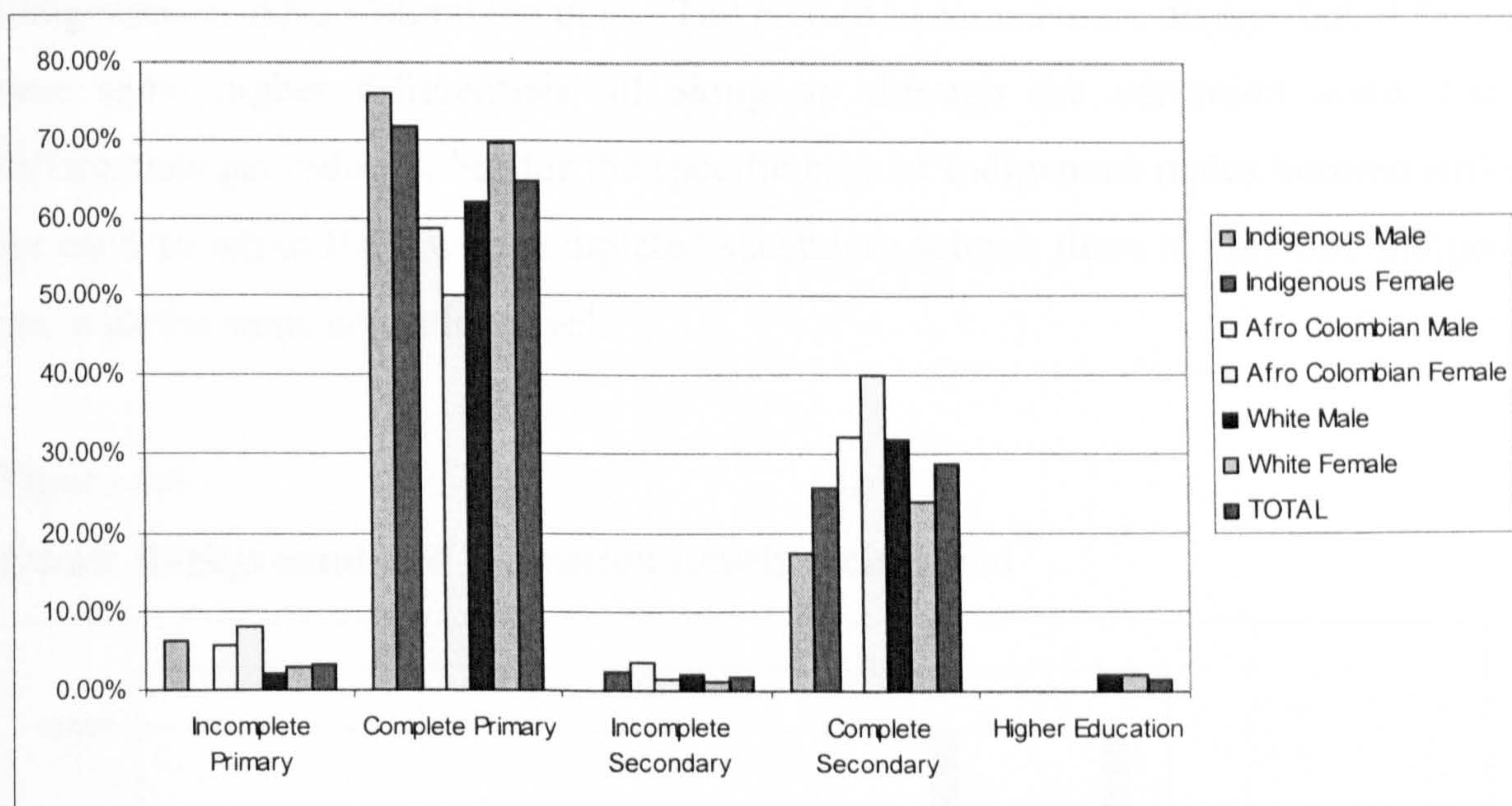
Gender & Marital Status of Head of Household		Ethnic Background			TOTAL
		Indigenous	Afro Colombian	White	
Total	No. of HH	29	35	139	203
	No. of Members	119	146	603	868
	No. of Secondary Members	67	82	297	446
	Average Size of Household	4.10	4.17	4.34	4.20
	Dependency Ratio	2.31	2.34	2.14	2.26
Female Headed Coupled Household	No. of HH	5	7	26	38
	No. of Members	20	44	105	169
	No. of Secondary Members	10	23	41	74
	Average Size of Household	4.00	6.29	4.04	4.77
	Dependency Ratio	2.00	3.29	1.58	2.29
Female Single Headed Household	No. of HH	5	10	35	50
	No. of Members	21	40	155	216
	No. of Secondary Members	15	29	94	138
	Average Size of Household	4.20	4.00	4.43	4.21
	Dependency Ratio	3.00	2.90	2.69	2.86
Male Headed Coupled Household	No. of HH	15	11	66	92
	No. of Members	71	53	315	439
	No. of Secondary Members	40	28	153	221
	Average Size of Household	4.73	4.82	4.77	4.77
	Dependency Ratio	2.67	2.55	2.32	2.51
Male Single Headed Household	No. of HH	4	7	12	23
	No. of Members	7	9	28	44
	No. of Secondary Members	2	2	9	13
	Average Size of Household	1.75	1.29	2.33	1.79
	Dependency Ratio	0.50	0.29	0.75	0.51

For this sample, it seems that the quantitative expression of a displaced single-male headed household is either a displaced man or a displaced man and a relative at most, whereas the quantitative expression of a displaced single-female headed household is a household with at least 4 members, at least two of whom are dependent on the woman

who acts as the head and who has a higher burden of duties than other kinds of heads of households able to count on the help and support of a partner. Following my previous analysis of gendered patterns of dependency, all the single-female headed households analysed in this sub-sample, disregarding ethnic background, display higher dependency ratios than any other kind of household. Finally, the most dramatic situation is for the Afro Colombian households whose head is a single woman: first, they have an outstanding size (6.29 members) and second, given the fact that most of their members are tertiary (either under 20 or over 65), they have the biggest dependency ratio.

Figure 4.5

Education Levels by gender and ethnic background



Note: Percentages calculated for population older than 5 years old.

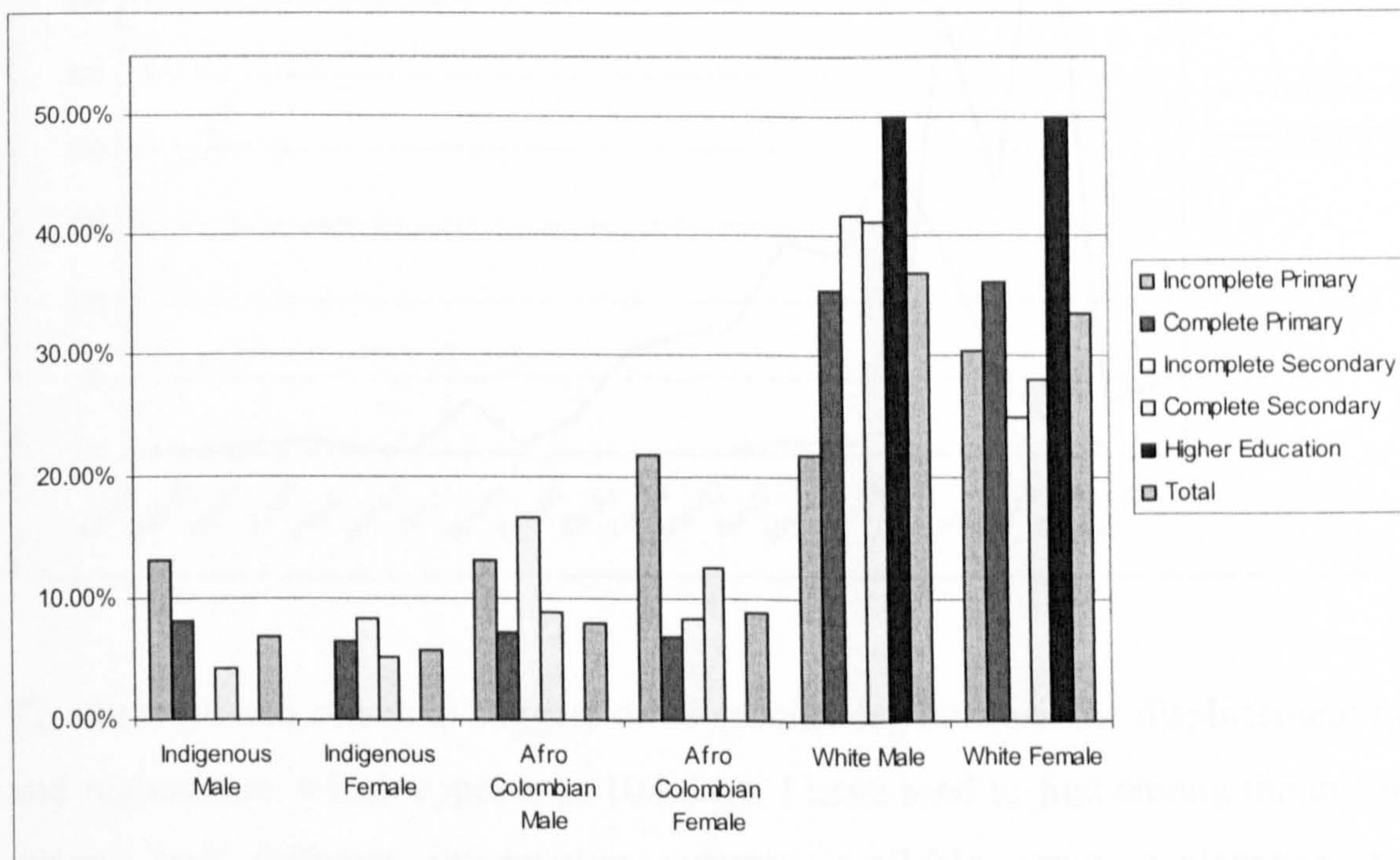
Educational attainment decomposed by ethnic background again reinforced the vulnerability of Indigenous and Afro Colombian communities, but in addition, showed the overall dramatic social situation of displaced communities. From the review of studies on internal migration in Colombia, we saw that education levels, as an indirect expression of the skills and capabilities of individuals, may provide a rather accurate predictor of the economic outcomes of migrants/displaced individuals in their new urban economic environments. Figure 4.5 shows the distribution of education levels among the sample of IDPs, by both gender and ethnic background. In terms of education levels, the general profile of the sample is concentrated at the primary and secondary levels, mostly completed, but more intensively grouped in the lower rank,

complete primary. This distribution is lower than the general Colombian standard, where most of the population are concentrated in either the complete or incomplete secondary stage.

Figure 4.6 shows a rearrangement of the percentages used in Figure 4.5, in order to provide a figure for the way education attainments are either distributed / concentrated between the different ethnic groups. As can be easily seen, white displaced individuals have much higher educational attainments than their Afro Colombian or Indigenous counterparts do. Gender differentials for each ethnic background are minimal. However, ethnic differentials for each education level again prove to be dramatic. For each ten white individuals of the sample with complete primary school, there are only two either Indigenous or Afro Colombian ones. The picture becomes more diverse but at the same time show higher differentials all along up through the education scale. Female differentials get reduced, but for the specific case of Indigenous males become striking: for each 10 white IDPs with completed secondary school, there is only one Indigenous one with the same education level.

Figure 4.6

Ethnic Background and Education Levels reclassified



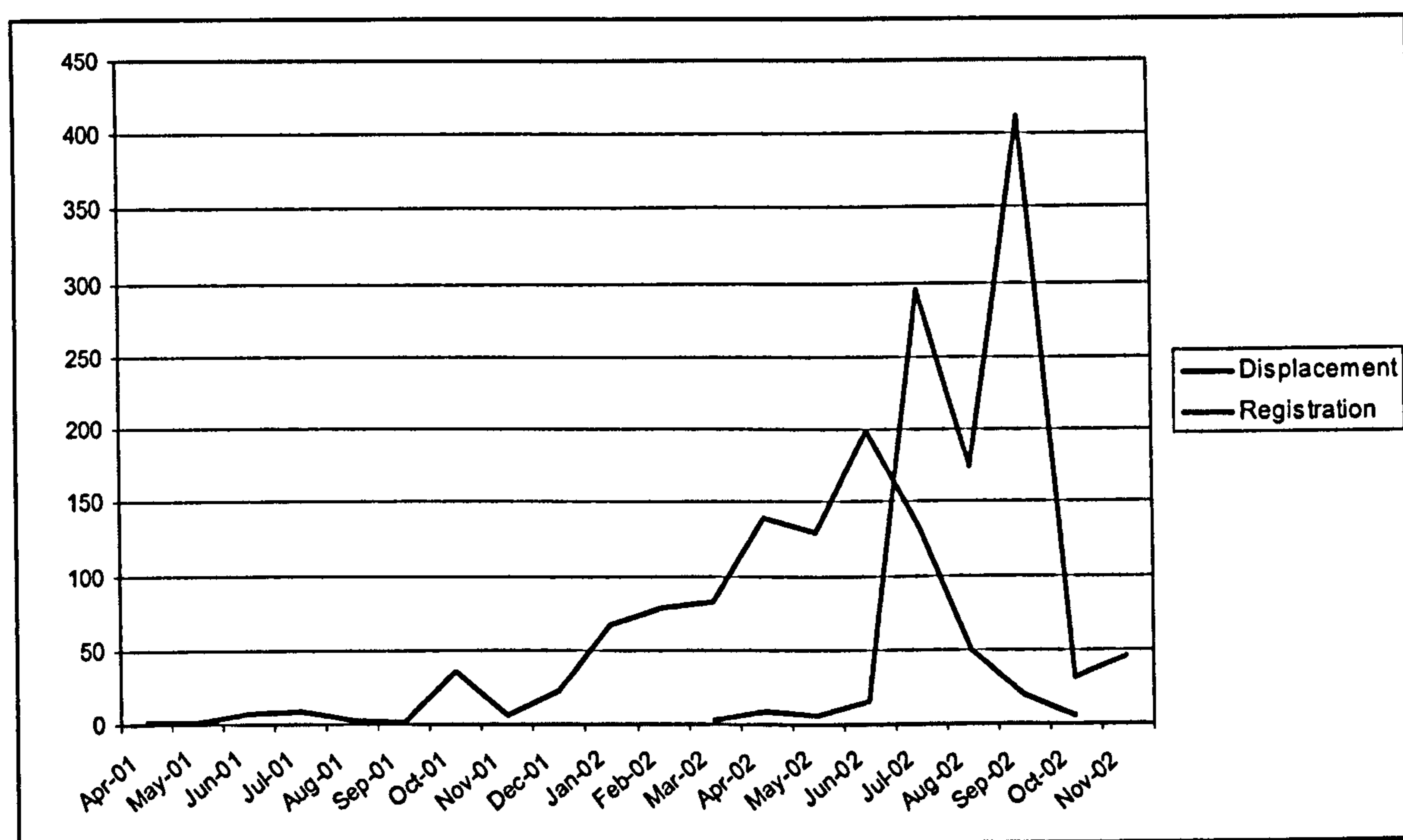
Note: Percentages calculated for population older than 5 years old.

4.6.3 Regional and Chronological patterns of Displacement among the Data

Cross-tabulations of the information available on the database allows a deeper portrait of some of the main features related to the displacement experience, and allows for common patterns that would not be available from a basic humanitarian report, such as registration forms are supposed to provide. As has been mentioned, the registration forms made available by Caritas Diocesana are part of the registration procedures for displaced communities and/or individuals whose forced migration experiences happened between February 2001 and October 2002, and who registered between March and November 2002. Figure 4.6 shows the chronological incidence of the displacement/registration episodes according to the data. Most (60%) of the displacement was concentrated in four months (April to July 2002), whereas most of the registration activities (89%) were concentrated between July and September 2002.

Figure 4.7

Chronological Concentration of Displacement and Registration



This time pattern seems to suggest some specific lag between the displacement incident and registration, which appears as 108 days. I have tried to find among the institutional reports and different information systems available some explanation for this displacement/registration lag, but I could not even find any inquiry into it. The time difference between the date of displacement and the date of registration is sometimes defined as *length of displacement*, which is actually a constrained and biased measure,

as it assumes that displacement finishes once the affected individual has registered to obtain emergency humanitarian attention, and not when the socio-economic conditions prior to displacement have been re-established. Geographical distance between the place of displacement and Pereira could explain some part of this lag, but a crossed-tab between the displacement/registration lag and the province of displacement does not show any correlation. The only explanation I can see is that given the argued distrust of IDPs to public registration (Grupo Tecnico en Desplazamiento, *op. Cit.*; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*; Fagen *et al.*, *op. Cit.*) the displaced households initially try to integrate into different localities until their desperate situation forces them to apply for registration, a process that takes, on average, three months.

The geographical distribution of the displacement episodes seems to follow the aggregate national patterns found in other studies, with some specific regional features. Table 4.4 offers the comparative percentage distribution of IDPs by province of displacement according to 5 different sources, one of which is my sample of data from *Caritas Diocesana* (CD 02).

Table 4.4

Geographic distribution of IDPs by Province of Displacement

Province	BC 95	BC 99	CD 02	BCRUT 03	RSS 03
Caldas	1.37	0.04	26.06	1.15	1.68
Risaralda	0.34	0.3	21.64	0.53	0.69
Antioquia	17.95	30.41	14.43	17.18	13.59
Chocó	0.68	2.32	10.64	5.46	7.1
Caquetá	2.74	0.19	7.12	4.65	5.07
Valle	2.48	0.49	4.96	3.3	6.15
Tolima	2.31	0.3	4.69	4.19	5.03
Meta	7.35	0.97	2.16	3.11	7.21
Putumayo	0.77	0.04	1.71	5.04	4.63
Huila	2.31	0	1.53	1.01	0.94
Norte de Santander	4.27	0	0.90	3.55	1.95
Cauca	4.44	0	0.90	2.97	1.45
Guaviare	1.11	0	0.72	0.91	4.04
Cesar	3.59	6.18	0.72	6.47	4.85
Santander	17.44	1.09	0.54	3.43	2.03
Arauca	3.33	0.6	0.45	0.94	0.35
Cordoba	5.81	36.4	0.36	4.45	3.22
Nariño	1.11	NA	0.27	1.64	1.15
Bolivar	4.35	3.33	0.18	12.45	20.35

CD2002: Caritas Diocesana 02, BC 95: Colombian Bishop's Conference 1995, BC 99: Colombian Bishop's Conference 1999, BCRUT 03: Colombian Bishop's Conference – RUT Information System 2003, RSS 03: Social Solidarity Network 2003.

Sources: BC 95 and BCRUT 03 quoted by Erazo *et al.* (1999), p. 178, BCRUT 03 and RSS 03 quoted by Ibañez and Querubin (2004), p. 32.

The geographical origin of the IDPs of my sample reflects some of the main patterns of the aggregate information systems. Some of the provinces who contribute most to flows of internal displacement at the national level are equally represented in the sample. Interestingly, the latter also finds displaced communities from the province of Caqueta, which is fifth in terms of percentage participation, but is the only one that does not share a common border with the province of Risaralda, for which Pereira is the political capital.

Apart from Caqueta province, the remaining four provinces providing most of the displacement flows towards Pereira city can be reclassified in two groups. Firstly, those big provinces with notorious levels of displacement (Antioquia and Choco), which appear in all the information systems on forced displacement as regular scenarios of forced displacement, and two, the small provinces of short-distance displacement (Caldas), or intra-province displacement (Risaralda). Caqueta can be placed alongside Antioquia and Choco in the group of big provinces whose internal conflict patterns and strategic importance have been regular historical factors that explain the high and persistence levels of displacement detected from these provinces. The situation of Caldas and Risaralda, especially given the regional implications of this quantitative exercise, must be approached in a different way.

Table 4.5 shows the calculation of the Indexes of Displacement (IID) and Pressure for Displacement (IPD) for the five provinces of my sample, who contributed most with their flows of displacement to the city of Pereira in the year 2002.

Table 4.5**Index of Intensity of Displacement (IID) and Index of Pressure for Displacement (IPD) by province**

Province	Percentage of IDPs in the Sample	IID (%)	IPD (%)
Caldas	26.06	1.605	1.299
Risaralda	21.64	0.424	1.293
Antioquia	14.43	3.223	2.789
Choco	10.64	4.003	2.706
Caqueta	7.12	8.541	5.027

IID: Ratio between the number of IDPs expelled from the province divided between the total population of the province.

IPD: Ratio between the number of IDPs both expelled and received at/from the province divided between the total population of the province.

Source: Ibañez and Velez (2002).

By definition the IID value must oscillate between 0 and 100. The IPD can be higher than 100. All positive values of the IID indicate presence of displacement in the province: the higher they are, the higher is the percentage of its population that is being displaced. By itself, the IPD, as the acronym suggests, only shows the quantitative incidence of the displacement plight at a specific province. However, if its value is higher than the IID, then this means that although the province has a problem of internal displacement ($IID > 0$), it is receiving IDPs expelled from other provinces ($IPD > IID$).

According to the geographic origins of the IDPs found in my sample, it can be said that the provinces of Caldas, Antioquia, Choco and Caqueta, are basically expulsive provinces, whereas the province of Risaralda- although it has problems of internal displacement (21% of the IDPs of the sample came from municipalities of the province)-, according to the data, is a recipient of internally displaced communities coming from other provinces.

My finding is supported by the IID and IPD estimations of Table 4.5. The province of Risaralda is the only one whose IPD is higher than its IID value, which means that at some level it has both internal displacement pressures and displacement coming from other provinces.

4.6.4 Perpetrators of Displacement

According to the information of the Registration Forms made available by *Caritas Diocesana* in 2002, the guerrillas were responsible for most of the flows of displacement that Pereira, as the destination place, experienced. This finding is highly specific to both the geographic zone and the moment in time when this information was compiled, as illegal forces do not distribute homogeneously through the provinces and their influence fluctuates through time. Actually, forced displacement is an expression of pressures of political cleansing or combat for the control of strategic areas, and thereby forced displacement is an expression of the territorial struggle for power.

Table 4.6

Perpetrators of Displacement by Province of Expulsion.

Province	Guerrilla	Both Guerrilla and Paramilitary Troops	Paramilitary troops	Army Forces	Other	Not Given
Antioquia	63	25	55	0	1	16
Arauca	5	0	0	0	0	0
Bolívar	2	0	0	0	0	0
Caldas	161	31	64	0	11	22
Caquetá	55	10	12	0	2	0
Cauca	3	0	6	0	0	1
Cesar	0	0	8	0	0	0
Chocó	51	39	22	0	0	6
Córdoba	0	0	4	0	0	0
Guaviare	8	0	0	0	0	0
Huila	14	0	0	0	0	3
Meta	16	0	7	0	0	1
Nariño	0	0	3	0	0	0
Norte de Santander	1	0	9	0	0	0
Putumayo	15	0	3	0	0	1
Risaralda	146	5	77	4	5	3
Santander	0	3	3	0	0	0
Tolima	44	0	4	0	0	4
Valle	21	8	23	0	0	3
TOTAL	605	121	300	4	19	60
%	54.55%	10.91%	27.05%	0.36%	1.71%	5.41%

According to the data compiled, for each person displaced by paramilitary troops, the guerrillas displaced two. As I said, this result is highly specific in terms of both space and time, as the aggregate picture of information systems on forced displacement shows that paramilitary troops are responsible for more displacement than guerrillas (49.31% against 19.71%, according to data from RSS quoted on Grupo Técnico en Desplazamiento, *op. Cit.*, p. 6). However, the most interesting profiles appear when geographic profiles of displacement are deconstructed by the different agents of displacement. The violent interaction between paramilitary troops and guerrillas is the basic explanation behind the biggest flows of displacement, for in those provinces whose profiles of displacement include a) displacement forced by guerrillas, b) displacement forced by paramilitary troops, and c) displacement explicitly forced by both agents, we find the highest levels of internal displacement. This means that explicit actions taken by either paramilitary forces or guerrillas against each other, provides the specific explanation for the highest regional levels of displacement, i.e., for the provinces of Antioquia, Caldas, Risaralda, Choco and Caqueta.

4.6.5 Resettlement or Return

The determinants of the decision of displaced households to return to their former home areas have become increasingly important for policy formulation, not only as regards the future dynamics of the internal migration challenges for the country, but also as the direction in which peace-building initiatives, reparation and compensation will have to go. The Colombian government has implicitly included these issues in the design of their policy for preventing displacements, which is based on making municipalities of expulsion secure once more, combined with the promotion of return initiatives, and humanitarian emergency support in the development of activities of socio-economic stabilization. The determinants of the perspectives of settlement among displaced communities have been examined by Ibañez and Querubin (2003, 2004) using data from RUT, the information system of the Colombian Bishops' Conference. Although its lack of a database with the same historical and demographic coverage as SUR's, prevents it from undertaking a quantitative exercise as developed by Ibañez and Querubin in their 2004 report, the descriptive level of my database does permit the identification of some basic correlations between the intentions of displaced households of either return, or resettlement in Pereira, and moving somewhere else.

Return, however, does not seem to be an option widely supported by displaced communities, and it has become increasingly less favoured. According to the 2001-2002 Report of the Social Solidarity Network, while in 1997, 37% of displaced families actually returned, this percentage was only 11% in 2001 (RSS, 2002). According to estimations of Ibañez and Querubin (2003, p. 270) based on SUR's database, only 11% of the displaced households registered on that system were keen to return to the places whence they were displaced.

The format of the characterisation of displaced households evaluates displaced individuals' intentions of settlement by providing them with four options: *i)* to settle at the recipient municipality, *ii)* to relocate somewhere else, *iii)* return, *iv)* to leave the country. According to my database, from 1109 displaced individuals- once we discarded the 343 IDPs who did not provide an answer to the question and acknowledging the case of one person who explicitly declared his desire to leave the country- I found that 581 people would like to settle in Pereira city, 161 would like to relocate somewhere else and only 23 explicitly stated their intention to return. For the purposes of exploring the main features of this pattern of response, I have focused only on this group of 765 people, which represents 69% of my sample. Recalculation of percentages for this sample as a whole (settle in Pereira, 76%; resettle somewhere else, 21.05%; return, 3.01%) shows that return is by far the least favoured of the options contemplated

Paraphrasing the results of Ibañez and Querubin, intentions to return diminish as the level of vulnerability of the displaced households' increases. Given the fact that vulnerability is usually considered in relation to a combination of factors mainly determined by the gender of the head of household and the ethnic background of its members, I have deconstructed this sub-sample according to these features.

Table 4.7

Intentions of Settlement by Kind of Head of Household

Kind of Household	Settle here	Relocate somewhere else	Return	Total
Female Headed Coupled Household	74.60%	19.84%	5.56%	100.00%
Female Single Headed Household	75.57%	22.73%	1.70%	100.00%
Male Headed Coupled Household	74.44%	22.58%	2.98%	100.00%
Male Single Headed Household	90.00%	8.33%	1.67%	100.00%

Previously, one of my main conclusions from the consideration of what I called *gender/ethnic vulnerability*, argued that accurate social and economic comparisons among the four different kinds of households identified in my sample should be made excluding the male single headed households, given that their average sizes and dependency rates are not comparable with the others. Accordingly, from all the comparable kinds of households, the female singled headed ones (i.e. the most vulnerable) show the lowest intention of return (1.7%) of them all. This finding substantially supports Ibañez and Querubin’s own (*op. Cit.*).

Once the intentions of settlement have been decomposed into the ethnic background of the displaced communities, it can again be seen that the most vulnerable (ethnic minorities) show the lowest inclination for return. It is nil for Afro Colombian minorities, and the Indigenous communities show a lower desire for returning than do White communities.

Table 4.8

Intentions of Settlement by Kind of Head of Household

Ethnic Background	Settle here	Relocate somewhere else	Return	Total
Indigenous	84.40%	12.84%	2.75%	100.00%
Afro Colombian	94.12%	5.88%	0.00%	100.00%
White	75.71%	21.45%	2.84%	100.00%

One of the final considerations for intentions of settlement, is the relation between them and the “length of displacement” (i.e. the difference between the displacement date and the date when the format of characterisation was applied to the displaced household). I have made clear my personal perception of the problems with this concept, but given the fact that more accurate measures for the length of the displacement experience are unavailable, I have used this calculation as a *proxy* of the length of the displacement experience.

Figure 4.8

Percentage Distribution of Intentions of Settlement by Length of the Displacement Experience

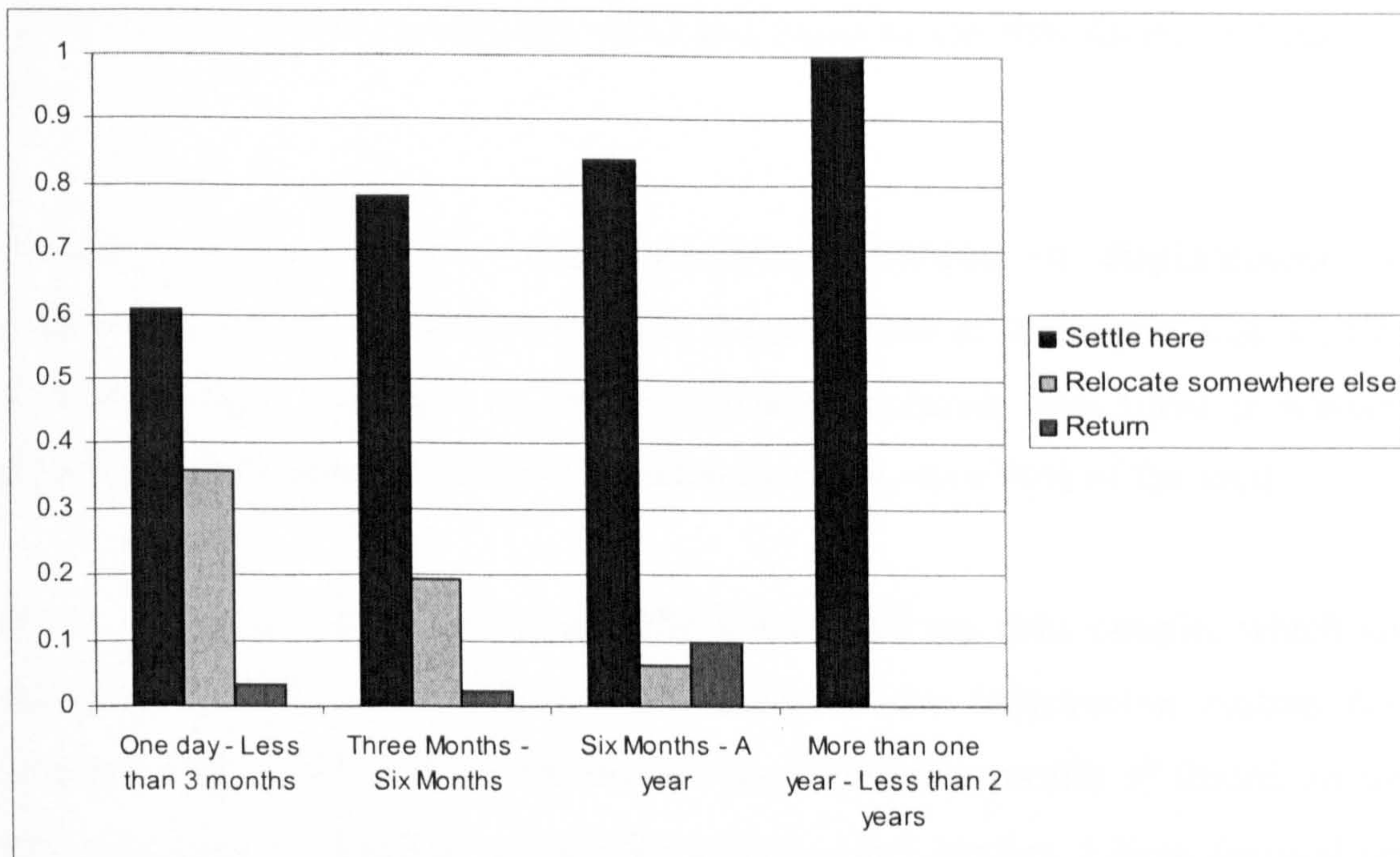


Figure 4.7 confirms the rather logical relation between intentions of settlement and the length of the displacement experience. It clearly shows that the intentions of relocation to other places is reduced as time goes by, whereas the intentions to settle at the current place increases through time. For Ibañez and Querubin (2004, p. 88), this suggests that the passage of time makes it ever more likely that displaced households will assimilate to the economic conditions of the recipient municipality and become active in its labour market, which, thereby, could reduce their inclination to return.

4.6.6 Land Property and Displacement

In order to check the influence of land property on the likelihood of being displaced, the existence of patterns of land abandonment among the community of IDPs that composed my data set was evaluated. Table 4.9 shows the distribution of households who forcibly abandoned land classified under the province (department) of displacement. From this, the influence of land property on displacement can be emphasized: geographically, there seems to be a general pattern of influence of land tenancy on displacement, as from all the displacement cases reported on the database, only one province, Santander, out of 19 provinces, did not report any land tenancy

involved for households displaced from it. Judging the incidence of land tenancy in displacement by the amount of displaced households who abandoned land, as a proportion of all the displaced households, I found that 58% of them explicitly argued to have left land amongst their possessions, a higher percentage than the 44% found in Kirchhoff and Ibañez's study (*op. Cit.*) and closer to the 50% found by Erazo *et al.* (*op. Cit.*).

In terms of land tenancy and geographical patterns of displacement, the most problematic situations seem to arise in the provinces of Antioquia, Caldas, Chocó and Risaralda. More than half of the households displaced from these provinces had to abandon land in episodes of land abandonment that were 70% of the total.

In my analysis, and given the specific features of my data sample, which cannot be considered either statistically representative of any information system (i.e. RUT, Codhes, SUR-RSS) or even representative of Pereira's profile of forced displacement, and supported by findings and evidence from other studies, I have focused neither on the kind of tenancy of land (owned, rented, collective property, colonist/settler) nor on the extension of the land abandoned. My point is that given the geographic extension of displacement and the multiplicity of agents who cause displacement, it is land property, *per se*, and neither its extension nor property form, which determines displacement. Ibañez and Querubín (2003, p. 274) found, using information from the RUT system, that there is no relationship between the kind of tenancy of land and displacement; even legal property of land does not prevent displacement.

Extension of land on tenancy similarly, appears to have no relationship to displacement. With small tenants, displacement can be a low-cost war strategy of land forced appropriation (USCR, 2001, quoted by Ibañez and Querubín, *op. Cit.*, p. 274), and for larger tenants there appears to be no relationship either: as I quoted from Fajardo (2002) displacement seems to be more frequent in those provinces with higher patterns of concentration of land property (where, thereby, individuals owning larger extensions of land would more likely be found).

Table 4.9**Land Abandoned by Displaced Households and Province of Displacement.****Caritas Diocesana – RSS. Pereira 2002**

Province of Displacement	Total Households	Land Abandoned	% of Households who abandoned land	% by Province of Displacement
Antioquia	29	18	62.1%	11.5%
Arauca	1	1	100.0%	0.4%
Bolivar	2	1	50.0%	0.8%
Caldas	59	38	64.4%	23.4%
Caquetá	17	10	58.8%	6.7%
Cauca	1	1	100.0%	0.4%
Cesar	2	1	50.0%	0.8%
Chocó	32	19	59.4%	12.7%
Cordoba	1	1	100.0%	0.4%
Guaviare	3	3	100.0%	1.2%
Huila	3	3	100.0%	0.8%
Meta	8	6	75.0%	3.2%
Nariño	1	0	0.0%	0.4%
Norte de Santander	3	1	33.3%	1.2%
Putumayo	6	4	66.7%	2.4%
Risaralda	57	30	52.6%	22.6%
Santander	2	0	0.0%	0.8%
Tolima	13	7	53.8%	5.2%
Valle	13	4	30.8%	5.2%
TOTAL	252	148	58.7%	100.0%

4.6.7 “Displacement Highway”: A detailed inquest to Displacement of Choco and Risaralda Provinces

The anecdotal evidence provided by members of Caritas Diocesana, concerning the pattern of flows of displacement which happen to converge in Pereira city, arriving from the southern of Choco province and then gathering with displaced communities from the western municipalities of the Risaralda province, was interesting for its humanitarian and academic import.

In December 2002, I attempted to retrace this road, from Pereira to any of the municipalities of the Choco province, but at that moment, a mixed offensive of guerrilla occupations of some municipalities of the Risaralda province combined with massacres executed by paramilitary forces in municipalities of the Choco province, made this trip too dangerous. Given this unfortunate circumstance, I tried to extract as much information as possible on this specific subject through the dataset, and through the

semi-structured interviews that I applied to some members of the displaced communities, some of them coming from municipalities and villages along this road.

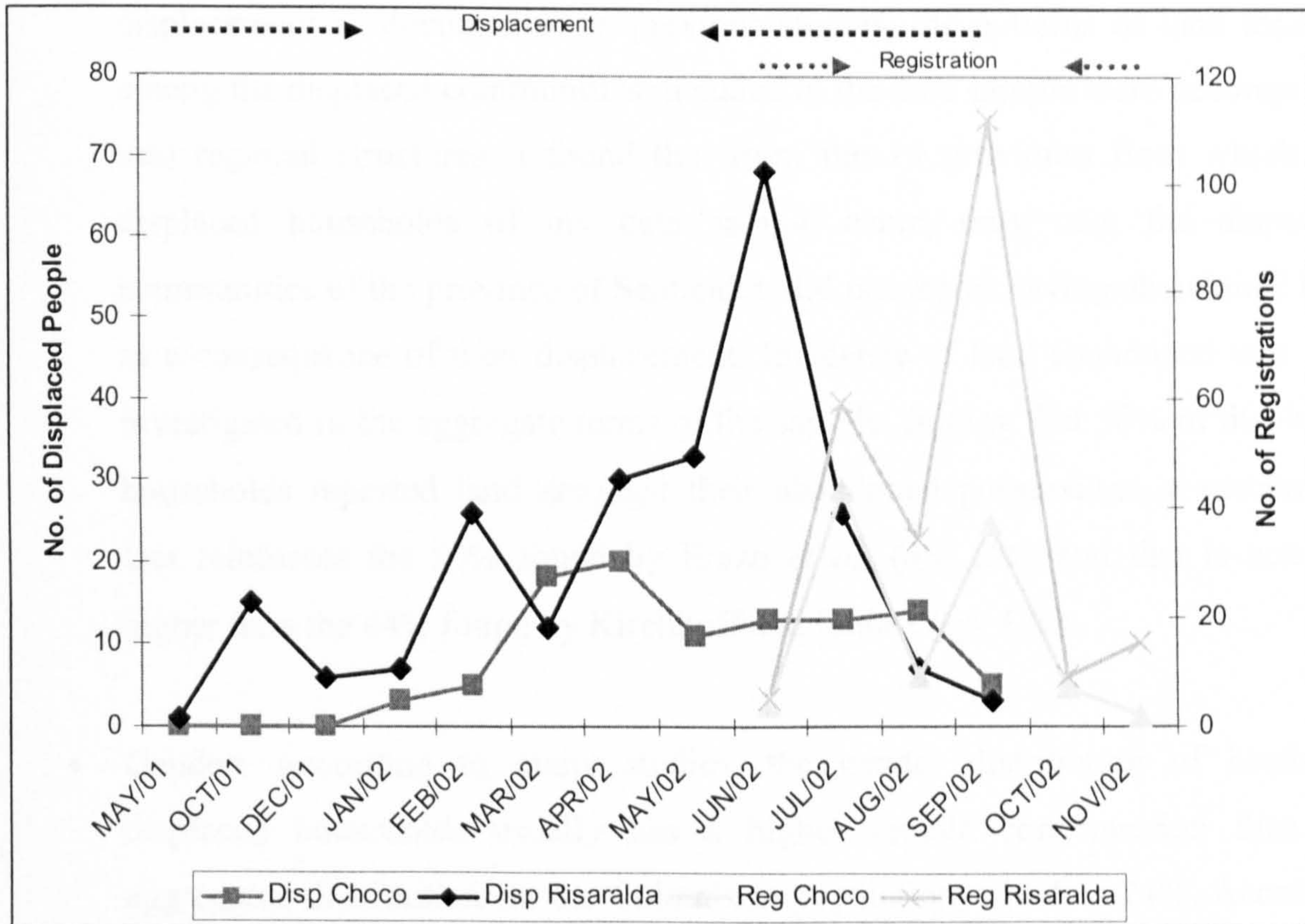
The road, as I said, connects the Choco and Risaralda provinces. Population in the region has a very rich ethnic mixture, composed mostly of Afro American communities, Indigenous communities of the Embera tribe and colonists of white or mixed background. In order to analyze the specific features of the displacement experiences of these communities a sub-dataset was formed, focused only on the information related to communities displaced from municipalities of the Choco and Risaralda provinces. According to the characterisation forms of these displaced households, the flows of displacement were initially mostly of an inter-provincial character, as the first episodes of displacement occurred in the municipalities of the Risaralda province (Belen de Umbria, Apia, Puerto Rico and Pereira itself). The Displacement episodes from Choco province, documented by the *Caritas Diocesana* humanitarian programme, started taking place from January 2002 onwards, especially from the municipality of Tado.

Again, there seems to be a rather peculiar gap between the date of displacement and the date of registration (a mean value of 116 days, more than 3 months), which in this case is even more interesting because we are talking about places which are rather close to the place of registration, whereas the mean length of this gap for the sample as a whole is even lower (108 days). The displaced communities of Risaralda province, despite having been displaced earlier than those of Choco, applied for registration at the same dates. Given the persistence of this situation, I would argue that the gap between the displacement episode and registration seems to be related more to the *supply* of humanitarian emergency programmes than with the *demand* for them.

Detailed analysis of the sub-sample confirms the anecdotal evidence provided by the social workers of Caritas Diocesana: displacements from the Choco provinces of Tado (53 displaced individuals) and Bagado (28 displaced individuals). But given the concentration of displacement among municipalities of the Risaralda province, displacement displays a clear intra-provincial character: not only does the province of Risaralda have the highest number of municipalities which suffered displacements, but its municipalities are among those with the highest numbers of displaced individuals (i.e., Puerto Rico, 50 IDPs; Quinchia, 50 IDPs; Santuario, 32 IDPs among them, see

Table 4.17, Appendix for the whole list of displacement by municipality/province). Displacement in the provinces of Choco and Risaralda has been caused by the confrontation between guerrilla and paramilitary troops, which account for 95% of the episodes of displacement.

Figure 4.9
Chronological Distribution of Displacement and Registration
Provinces of Choco and Risaralda



4.7 Conclusions

The purpose of this exercise was to provide one of the multilevel approaches to the issue of forced displacement based on information compiled from field work developed among displaced communities in the city of Pereira, in December 2002. The dataset was assembled using the information provided through the registration forms of internally displaced individuals who applied for humanitarian emergency attention provided by *Caritas Diocesana*, the NGO of social work of the Colombian Catholic Church. From a technical point of view, the filtering and recoding of basic information from the registration forms was initially facilitated through an Excel worksheet and subsequently transferred to an SPSS file. Through this process, information regarding the socio-

economic background and displacement experiences of 1109 individuals belonging to 256 households was recorded, with the purpose of both replicating in the sample some possible generalized patterns found in other case studies and institutional reports on the subject of forced displacement in Colombia, and to detect possible specificities of both the data sample and the profile of internal displacement in the city of Pereira. I will now present a summary of these exercises.

- **Land and Displacement:** In order to test the influence of land tenancy on forced displacement as documented in previous studies, the patterns of land tenancy among the displaced communities included in the data sample were decomposed into regional structures. I found that from the 19 provinces from which the displaced households of my data sample came, only one, the displaced communities of the province of Santander, did not report having abandoned land as a consequence of their displacement. Incidence of land abandoned was also investigated in the aggregate terms of the sample, finding that 58% of displaced households reported land amongst their abandoned possessions, a percentage that reinforces the 50% found by Erazo *et al.* (*op. Cit.*) and that is actually higher than the 44% found by Kirchhoff and Ibañez (*op. Cit.*).
- **Gender:** According to many studies, the gender distribution of heads of displaced households usually has a higher female concentration than the aggregated distribution for the Colombian population, which is 24%. According to my data sample, 43% of displaced households have female heads, a result similar to the 45% found by Ibañez and Velez (2003). A further decomposition was applied in order to differentiate between the households which, although having female heads, have a partner, from those which have a female head, but no partner, the latter being at the top of the vulnerability scale. I found that these households represent 25% of the whole sample, and 58% of female-headed households as a whole.

The calculation for the average sizes of all kinds of households and their dependency ratios (the ratio of secondary members of the household under 20, to the heads of household) reinforced the perception of the vulnerability of these female single-headed households. As they represent the largest group within the

whole structure of households of my sample, they have the highest number of average members of the sample (4.8 members) and have the highest dependency ratio as well (2.69 secondary members depending on the head of household).

- **Ethnic Background:** Similarly to the gender structure of displaced households and communities, empirical evidence compiled from different studies suggests a higher incidence of displacement among ethnic minorities. Although on aggregate terms, Afro Colombian and Indigenous communities constitute 18% of the total Colombian population, they usually represent a much higher percentage of displaced communities. Calculation of these percentages for my sample (23.9%) follows the demographic pattern found in the studies of Fagen *et al.* (*op. Cit.*) and Grupo Tecnico en Desplazamiento (*op. Cit.*), who find the percentage of these ethnic communities among IDPs to be between 23 and 33% of the total affected population.
- **Geographic Incidence and expansion of displacement:** Studies such as Ibañez and Velez's (*op. Cit.*) emphasize both the expansion and the dual character of displacement. The greater number of Colombian provinces either expelling or receiving displaced individuals, is reflected through an increasing tendency to experience both. These studies evaluate the increasing incidence of displacement (amount of IDPs per province). Given the conditions of my data, it was not possible to construct a dynamic picture for the geographic evolution of forced displacement, but using the geographic distribution of provinces of origin of the displaced communities of my sample, I replicated and extended the analysis of the data of Ibañez and Velez (*op. Cit.*) made in the UNDP report (UNDP, 2003, Chapter 5), finding in my data a significant incidence in three of the provinces responsible for most of the expulsion of IDPs (Antioquia, Choco and Caqueta). Further, by using the Indexes of Intensity and Pressure of displacement, I was thus able to confirm the role of Risaralda province as a significant recipient of flows of displacement.
- **Verification of Anecdotal Evidence:** The final procedures of this chapter were devoted to extracting from the dataset information, a specific displaced *circuit* (Fajardo, 2001): the one related to the road that connects the eastern part of

Choco province with the Risaralda province and the city of Pereira. According to conversations with social workers of *Caritas Diocesana*, this road has been a convergence channel for increasingly greater and more extensive flows of displacement from areas with a regular guerrilla presence and predominance, areas which have recently also become subject to paramilitary contra-offensives. Using a sub-sample of displaced communities from the Choco and Risaralda provinces, the episodes of displacement were deconstructed, with most of the information provided by the communities confirming the indirect descriptions of this regional pattern of displacement provided by the social workers.

Appendix to Chapter 4

Table 4.10

Description of Variables on SPSS file

Variable	Position	Label	Measurement Level	Type of Variable
HHCode	1	Household ID Code	Nominal	String
Gender	2	Gender	Nominal	String
Age	3	Age	Nominal	String
Ethnic	4	Ethnic Background	Nominal	String
Education	5	Education Level	Nominal	String
HousePos	6	Household Position	Nominal	String
GenderHHH	7	Gender of Head of Household	Nominal	String
HHCouple	8	Head of Household, Partner	Nominal	String
KindHead	9	Kind of Head of Household	Nominal	String
AllKindHead	10	All Displaced by Kind of Head of Household	Nominal	String
Datedisp	11	Date of Displacement	Scale	Date
Datearriv	12	Date of Arrival	Scale	Date
Datereg	13	Date of Registration	Scale	Date
Lengthdisp	14	Length of Displacement	Scale	Numeric
Province	15	Province of Displacement	Nominal	String
Municipality	16	Municipality of Displacement	Nominal	String
Land	17	Land abandoned	Nominal	String
House	18	House abandoned	Nominal	String
Animals	19	Animals abandoned	Nominal	String
Vehicles	20	Vehicles abandoned	Nominal	String
Machinery	21	Machinery abandoned	Nominal	String
FarmCrop	22	Farming / Crops abandoned	Nominal	String
Furniture	23	Furniture abandoned	Nominal	String

LandExt	24	Extension of Land abandoned	Scale	Numeric
Tenancy	25	Kind of Tenancy Arrangement	Nominal	String
MeasUnit	26	Unit or measure of land abandoned	Nominal	String
AfterDisp	27	Intention of Settlement after displacement	Nominal	String
Guerrilla	28	Guerrilla as agent of displacement	Nominal	String
Paramillitar	29	Paramilitary troops as agent of displacement	Nominal	String
Army	30	Army Forces as agent of displacement	Nominal	String
Other	31	Other agent of displacement	Nominal	String
AgeDisp	32	Agent of Displacement	Nominal	String
SocOrg	33	Participation on Social Organisations	Nominal	String

Table 4.11

Variable Values

Value	Label
Gender	1 Male
	2 Female
Age	1 0 - 5 years old
	2 6 - 10 years old
	3 11 - 15 years old
	4 16 - 20 years old
	5 21 - 30 years old
	6 31 - 40 years old
	7 41 - 50 years old
	8 51 - 60 years old
	9 60 years old and more
Ethnic	0 Not Given
	1 Indigenous
	2 Afro Colombian
	3 White

		Don't know
Education	4	
	1	Incomplete Primary
	2	Complete Primary
	3	Incomplete Secondary
	4	Complete Secondary
HousePos	5	Higher Education
	1	Head of Household
	2	Partner
	3	Son / Daughter
	4	Relative
GenderHHH	5	Other
	1	Male
HHCouple	2	Female
	13	Female Head of Household
	4	Male Partner
	7	Male Head of Household
KindHead	8	Female Partner
	FHCH	Female Headed Coupled Household
	FSHH	Female Single Headed Household
	MHCH	Male Headed Coupled Household
AllKindHead	MSHH	Male Single Headed Household
	FHCH	Female Headed Coupled Household
	FSHH	Female Single Headed Household
	MHCH	Male Headed Coupled Household
Land	MSHH	Male Single Headed Household
	1	Land Abandoned
	1	House Abandoned
House	1	House Abandoned
Animals	1	Animals Abandoned
Vehicles	1	Vehicles Abandoned
Machinery	1	Machinery Abandoned
FarmCrop	1	Farming / Crops Abandoned
Furniture	1	Furniture abandoned
Tenancy	1	Rent

	2	Own
	3	Colonist – Settler
	4	Other
MeasUnit	1	Sq Mts
	2	Hct
	3	Other
AfterDisp	1	Settle here
	2	Relocate somewhere else
	3	Return
	4	Leave the Country
Guerrilla	G	Guerrilla
Paramillitar	P	Paramilitary
Army	A	Army Forces
Other	O	Other
AgeDisp	A	Army Forces
	G	Guerrilla
	GP	Both Guerrilla and Paramilitary Troops
	O	Other
	P	Paramilitary troops
SocOrg	1	Participation in Social Organisations
	2	Participation in Social Organisations
	4	Participation in Social Organisations
	5	Participation in Social Organisations
	9	Participation in Social Organisations

Table 4.12**Descriptive Statistics of the Sample**

Socio Economic Feature		Frequency	Percent
Gender	Male	534	48.15
	Female	575	51.85
	Total	1109	100
Age	0 - 5 years old	149	13.44
	6 - 10 years old	164	14.79
	11 - 15 years old	140	12.62
	16 - 20 years old	110	9.92
	21 - 30 years old	187	16.86
	31 - 40 years old	148	13.35
	41 - 50 years old	97	8.75
	51 - 60 years old	56	5.05
	60 years old and more	58	5.23
	Total	1109	100
Education Level	0	197	17.76
	Incomplete Primary	71	6.40
	Complete Primary	562	50.68
	Incomplete Secondary	22	1.98
	Complete Secondary	247	22.27
	Higher Education	10	0.90
	Total	1109	100
Ethnic Background	Not Given	199	17.94
	Indigenous	119	10.73
	Afro Colombian	146	13.17
	White	603	54.37
	Don't know	42	3.79
	Total	1109	100
Household Position	Head of Household	269	24.26
	Partner	152	13.71
	Son / Daughter	496	44.72
	Relative	154	13.89
	Other	38	3.43
	Total	1109	100

Table 4.13

IDPs by Province of Displacement and Ethnic Background

Province of Displacement	Ethnic Background					Total
	Not Given	Indigenous	Afro Colombian	White	Don't know	
Antioquia	30	9	7	110	4	160
% within Province of Displacement	18.75	5.63	4.38	68.75	2.50	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	15.08	7.56	4.79	18.24	9.52	14.43
Arauca	0	0	0	0	5	5
% within Province of Displacement	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.90	0.45
Bolivar	1	0	0	0	1	2
% within Province of Displacement	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.38	0.18
Caldas	53	61	8	160	7	289
% within Province of Displacement	18.34	21.11	2.77	55.36	2.42	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	26.63	51.26	5.48	26.53	16.67	26.06
Caquetá	7	0	0	71	1	79
% within Province of Displacement	8.86	0.00	0.00	89.87	1.27	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	3.52	0.00	0.00	11.77	2.38	7.12
Cauca	3	0	6	1	0	10
% within Province of Displacement	30.00	0.00	60.00	10.00	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	1.51	0.00	4.11	0.17	0.00	0.90
Cesar	0	0	0	8	0	8
% within Province of Displacement	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.33	0.00	0.72
Chocó	7	15	88	8	0	118
% within Province of Displacement	5.93	12.71	74.58	6.78	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	3.52	12.61	60.27	1.33	0.00	10.64
Cordoba	0	4	0	0	0	4
% within Province of Displacement	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	0.00	3.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.36
Guaviare	1	4	0	3	0	8
% within Province of Displacement	12.50	50.00	0.00	37.50	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	0.50	3.36	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.72
Huila	11	4	0	0	2	17
% within Province of Displacement	64.71	23.53	0.00	0.00	11.76	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	5.53	3.36	0.00	0.00	4.76	1.53
Meta	2	0	0	20	2	24
% within Province of Displacement	8.33	0.00	0.00	83.33	8.33	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	1.01	0.00	0.00	3.32	4.76	2.16
Nariño	0	0	0	3	0	3
% within Province of Displacement	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.27
Norte de Santander	2	1	0	7	0	10
% within Province of Displacement	20.00	10.00	0.00	70.00	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	1.01	0.84	0.00	1.16	0.00	0.90
Putumayo	2	0	0	17	0	19
% within Province of Displacement	10.53	0.00	0.00	89.47	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	1.01	0.00	0.00	2.82	0.00	1.71
Risaralda	51	21	24	125	19	240

% within Province of Displacement	21.25	8.75	10.00	52.08	7.92	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	25.63	17.65	16.44	20.73	45.24	21.64
Santander	3	0	0	3	0	6
% within Province of Displacement	50.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	1.51	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.54
Tolima	11	0	0	40	1	52
% within Province of Displacement	21.15	0.00	0.00	76.92	1.92	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	5.53	0.00	0.00	6.63	2.38	4.69
Valle	15	0	13	27	0	55
% within Province of Displacement	27.27	0.00	23.64	49.09	0.00	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	7.54	0.00	8.90	4.48	0.00	4.96
TOTAL	199	119	146	603	42	1109
% within Province of Displacement	17.94	10.73	13.17	54.37	3.79	100.00
% within Ethnic Background	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 4.14

Educational Attainment by Ethnic Background and Gender

Ethnic Background	Incomplete Primary	Complete Primary	Incomplete Secondary	Complete Secondary	Higher Education	Total
Indigenous Male	6.52%	76.09%	0.00%	17.39%	0.00%	100.00%
Indigenous Female	0.00%	71.79%	2.56%	25.64%	0.00%	100.00%
Afro Colombian Male	5.66%	58.49%	3.77%	32.08%	0.00%	100.00%
Afro Colombian Female	8.33%	50.00%	1.67%	40.00%	0.00%	100.00%
White Male	2.02%	62.10%	2.02%	31.85%	2.02%	100.00%
White Female	3.10%	69.47%	1.33%	23.89%	2.21%	100.00%
TOTAL	3.42%	64.73%	1.79%	28.57%	1.49%	100.00%

Table 4.15

Distribution of Educational Attainment by Ethnic Background and Gender

Ethnic Background	Incomplete Primary	Complete Primary	Incomplete Secondary	Complete Secondary	Higher Education	Total
Indigenous Male	13.04%	8.05%	0.00%	4.17%	0.00%	6.85%
Indigenous Female	0.00%	6.44%	8.33%	5.21%	0.00%	5.80%
Afro Colombian Male	13.04%	7.13%	16.67%	8.85%	0.00%	7.89%
Afro Colombian Female	21.74%	6.90%	8.33%	12.50%	0.00%	8.93%
White Male	21.74%	35.40%	41.67%	41.15%	50.00%	36.90%
White Female	30.43%	36.09%	25.00%	28.13%	50.00%	33.63%
TOTAL	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

Table 4.16**Geographic Distribution of the sample by Province of displacement.**

Rank	Province	No. of IDPs	Percent
1	Caldas	289	26.06
2	Risaralda	240	21.64
3	Antioquia	160	14.43
4	Chocó	118	10.64
5	Caquetá	79	7.12
6	Valle	55	4.96
7	Tolima	52	4.69
8	Meta	24	2.16
9	Putumayo	19	1.71
10	Huila	17	1.53
11	Norte de Santander	10	0.90
12	Cauca	10	0.90
13	Guaviare	8	0.72
14	Cesar	8	0.72
15	Santander	6	0.54
16	Arauca	5	0.45
17	Cordoba	4	0.36
18	Nariño	3	0.27
19	Bolivar	2	0.18
	Total	1109	100

Table 4.17**Displacement in the Provinces of Risaralda and Choco by Agent of Displacement**

Municipality	Province	Total IDPs	Agent of Displacement				
			Guerrilla	Paramilitary troops	Both Guerrilla and Paramilitary Troops	Army Forces	Other / Not Given
Tado	Choco	53	9	14	27	0	3
Pueblo Rico	Risaralda	50	36	10	4	0	0
Quinchia	Risaralda	50	30	13	0	4	3
Santuario	Risaralda	32	4	25	0	0	3
Bagado	Choco	28	14	4	7	0	3
Apia	Risaralda	25	20	5	0	0	0
Mistrato	Risaralda	20	20	0	0	0	0
Belen de Umbria	Risaralda	17	10	6	1	0	0
Santa Cecilia	Risaralda	15	8	7	0	0	0
Quibdo	Choco	13	9	0	4	0	0
La Celia	Risaralda	11	0	11	0	0	0
San Jose del Palmar	Choco	10	6	0	4	0	0
Pereira	Risaralda	6	6	0	0	0	0
Paugil	Risaralda	4	4	0	0	0	0
Novita	Choco	3	3	0	0	0	0
Riosucio	Risaralda	3	3	0	0	0	0
San Antonio	Risaralda	3	3	0	0	0	0
Balboa	Risaralda	2	0	0	0	0	2

Itsmina	Choco	2	0	2	0	0	0
Lloro	Choco	2	0	2	0	0	0
Playa de Oro	Choco	2	2	0	0	0	0
Santa Rosa	Risaralda	2	2	0	0	0	0
Mombu	Choco	1	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		354	190	99	47	4	14

Chapter 5

Anomie Revisited: Displacement by violence in Colombia 1965 - 2002

Introduction

When talking with displaced people in Colombia, it is remarkable how experiences of migration are depicted in precise detail, with dates, places and background conditions embodied in life histories that I would not hesitate to describe as epic, if not for the fear that this qualification might in some sense imply a reduction of the dramatic living power of testimony and denunciation. Cohen (1996, p. xi) and Castles (2003, p. 17) have already reflected on the epic character that population shifts have acquired through civilizations and countries. Steinbeck's "*The Grapes of Wrath*" could perhaps be considered as a modern, western version of this figure.

Latin-America, specifically Colombia, is not unfamiliar with the emergence of these collective narratives of migration. I suggest here two illustrative examples: one of them, Antonio Caballero Calderon's *Serf Without Land*, written in 1954, portrays the struggle of a family of peasants whose lack of property rights over the land they cultivate embroils them in all sorts of manipulations of social and political allegiance and finally forces them to migrate to the city. The second one, *Antioqueno colonization in western Colombia*, written by James Parsons (1949), was a historical and economic survey of the colonization process of the Antioquia region and its southern neighbouring regions. It inaugurated a whole geographic and anthropological tradition related to the dynamic role of Antioquenos (colloquially known as *Paisas*) in the demographic and economic evolution of the Coffee Region of Colombia⁵⁰, where Pereira, the major city of my field work, is located. A third, recent study, is *Desplazamiento, cruda realidad*, the autobiography of Maria Rodriguez, a social activist whose family was forced to migrate due to the political persecution of *La Violencia*, when she was a child. What makes this book more interesting is the explicit use of the expression "displacement" to describe the forced migration of families and communities in that historic period.

⁵⁰ Parsons starts his study with the following outspoken phrase: "...the temperate uplands of the Northernmost Andes of Western Colombia are the home of the energetic and thrifty Antioqueños, the self-styled "Yankees of South America"".

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first provides an historical review of the population process for what is called the Coffee Region, where Pereira, the major city of my field work, is located. The review presents the main economic and social features of this process of migration, and reveals the irregular patterns of land property that may have led to historical regularities of violence and the forced appropriation of land. The second part of the chapter presents my application, in 2002, of an instrumental methodology for measuring anomie, first constructed and applied by Aaron Lipman and Eugene Havens, two American sociologists, in 1965 and published in the journal *Social Forces*, and which I here used to measure the degree of anomie amongst communities displaced by the political violence of *La Violencia*. The rationale for the exercise was to compare different kinds of perceptions related to the concept of anomie, between an Experimental Group, composed of displaced individuals, and a Control Group, composed of individuals who were not displaced, but who shared the same neighbourhood and living conditions as members of the Experimental Group. Finally I present the main highlights of interviews conducted amongst a reduced set of individuals from the previous experiment on anomie, addressed this time to eliciting perceptions of the historical relationship between migration and violence, and investigating the effect that these may have on processes of economic and social integration in their recipient living places, once they were displaced. In some sense, the whole chapter aims to find historical regularities between migratory processes, in order to provide long-term links and possible explanations to the crisis of displacement that Colombia has been experiencing since 1992.

5.1 Coffee and Violence: Between economic development and conflict

Any contemporary historical analysis of Colombia would be incomplete without some considerations on the role of coffee production, its economic development and the structural transformations that this process implied for Colombian society. In the case of my research, this development is especially important for the way it influenced Colombian society through its impact on regions, classes and groups. As Palacios (1988, p. 198) points out: "...the continuous growth of the production of coffee between 1920 and 1960 is the most decisive phenomenon in the recent economic history of Colombia". This national phenomenon is closely related to the field-work described in this chapter, whereas most of the features of the specific regions where the

research took place are closely linked to what can be called the Colombian economic coffee system.

5.1.1 A Territory's Formation: The Antioqueño Colonisation and the Coffee Axis

Palacios (1988) defines the *Antioqueño Colonisation* as the demographic phenomenon that compressed the economic occupation of private appropriation of uncultivated lands located in uninhabited and isolated spaces of the Colombian Central Cordillera (see Map Chapter 2). This process took place throughout the XIXth and the early XXth century, with the late 1880's and 1890's as the peak of the migratory wave. According to the current political map of Colombia, the geographic scenario for the *Antioqueño Colonisation* were the territories currently known as Antioquia, Caldas, Risaralda and Quindio, with some influence from the northern part of the Valle Province.

In 1569 the Spanish Empire created the province of Antioquia; a political entity conceived in relation to the search and extraction of gold. Santa Fe de Antioquia was its first capital city, replaced in 1675 by the Medellin Village. The attraction held by mining induced a stable flow of immigration for most of the eighteenth century, but as gold production eventually fell, agriculture replaced it as the main economic activity. Both of these, combined with an aggressive demographic growth⁵¹, led to an expansion of the colonisation frontier towards the south, up through the banks of the Negro river. This first demographic movement was increased by successive migration waves, each of them influenced, specifically, but decreasingly by Medellin's elite. The first migration wave laid the foundation for the towns of Sonson (1800) and Abejorral (1805) [Palacios, *op. Cit.*, p. 162]. Eventually, once this settlement became stable through the development of a subsistence agricultural system, it became the departure point for a second wave of migration, which involved the new settlements of Salamina (1825), Neira (1843) and Manizales (1848). The third wave of migration, which provided the foundations for most of the oldest cities of the Province of Quindio, was a different social phenomenon compared with the two previous ones. Palacios (*op. Cit.*, p.164) emphasises the more egalitarian and democratic pattern of the Quindio colonisation, based on three factors:

⁵¹ For example, according to Parsons (1968), the first census for the district of Sonson (1808) recorded 22% of families with eight children or more, despite the young age of most of the settlers.

- The profile of the main founders suggests that they were not highly connected to the Manizales and/or *antioqueño* elite.
- Instead of depending administratively and politically on the province of Antioquia, as most of the municipalities of the first two waves of migration, the Quindio province depended on the province of Cauca.
- The profile of colonists was more varied. It included people not only from the province of Antioquia, but also from other provinces, such as Tolima, Boyaca and Cundinamarca.
- There was a more democratic pattern of land-property distribution. For Quindio Province, land concessions were not linked to speculation, and through a continuous and generous policy of government land grants, small properties were made available. The right of proprietorship was acquired on the basis of “cultivation” (erection of a house or development of a clearing of vegetation).⁵²

The northern zone of the new Province of Quindío was characterised by lands located around 2000 mts. elevation, whose lower slopes would eventually become the most desirable for the development of coffee cultivation. According to Parsons (*op. Cit*, p. 77), the city of Pereira, located in this zone, was the only successful settlement with a non-Antioqueño origin. This city was founded in 1863 on the remains of the original sixteenth-century settlement of Cartago Viejo town. Its success was largely due to its privileged location, linking the trade flows between the north (Manizales and the southern Province of Antioquia), and the south (the cities of Popayan and Buenaventura).

Anecdotally, the Province of Quindío was an early recipient of forced displacement. Undocumented flows of displaced families came from the Provinces of Antioquia and Cauca during the civil wars of 1885 and 1900, running away from the threat of expropriation and political retaliation (Restrepo, 1921, quoted by Parsons, *op. Cit*, p. 79).

⁵² According to Palacios (*op. Cit.*), through avoiding the problem of unofficial peasant colonisation, Parsons fails by depicting a “too-rosy” version of this migration wave. For Palacios the atmosphere of uncertainty generated by the insecurity of title created “...a breeding-ground for certain patterns of crime and violence”, which, for some anthropological studies quoted by him, was a reduced form of the patterns present in the region at *La Violencia* period

5.1.2 The Coffee

It could be said that the formation of the *Coffee Axis* as a defined territory is the result of two different yet inter-related phenomena: the Antioqueño Colonisation of the cultural and social environment, which resulted in coffee production as the predominant economic activity.

As we have seen, the Antioqueño Colonisation process dates from the early XIXth century, but the introduction of coffee as one of the most favoured economic activities of colonists came 50 years later, in some sense following the geographical pattern established by the colonisation movement. Due to its nature, coffee would not be the first choice among colonists. As Parsons (*op. Cit.*, p. 141) states: "...coffee, by its nature, is not well adapted to a frontier economy... it yields its first berries only in the third or fourth year after planting, and not until the fifth year does it reach full production. Its cultivation implies a capital reserve and a permanence of occupation not commonly found among the men who cleared the virgin forests".

Coffee was introduced to Colombia through Venezuela, from the Venezuelan Andes into the low hills of the Colombian Eastern Cordillera, mainly in the provinces of Santander and Cundinamarca. In the Province of Antioquia, the earliest attempt at medium and large-scale production can be traced back to 1861, when a plantation of 2000 trees was established at El Tablazo, in the municipality of Rionegro (Monsalve, 1927, p. 237).

Parsons (*op. Cit.* p. 140) sees this occurring in the *Antioqueño* municipality of Fredonia in 1882, when several large-scale coffee haciendas provided with scientific methods of production started business. The success of this enterprise empirically supported the quality of volcanic outwash grounds: the large-scale haciendas of Fredonia were producing 13100 arrobas (1 arroba = 25 pounds) by 1888, whereas no other municipality could produce more than 2000 arrobas. According to Parsons, the workers of these haciendas would make up a substantial share of the colonists of the future, and thereby disseminate the scientific knowledge of coffee growing. The spreading of coffee cultivation, as one of the predominant activities in the zones of *Antioqueño* influence, was a result of the confluence of specific factors:

- Availability of soils with specific qualities: drain, organic content and minimal erosion.
- Specific structure of land property (*plotting*) and availability of a labour force (based on peasant family labour).
- Infrastructure: A rail network that linked the main Colombian trade ports with the warehouse centres inside the Coffee region, and a defined network of walking paths which allowed the carrying of coffee harvest from the deep colonisation frontier using mules ⁵³.
- Accurate Institutional arrangements: A fortunate combination of public economic policy, conditions of international demand and both internal and external institutional arrangements⁵⁴ provided a fecund environment for the development of coffee as the predominant economic activity in Colombia.

The combination of all these features enabled the dynamic spreading of coffee as an economic activity all through the *Antioqueño Colonisation* zone of influence. As Palacios states (*op. Cit.*, p. 195), by 1910 all the municipalities that we have mentioned as part of the founding process of colonisation had become important coffee-producing centres. Furthermore, the province of Caldas, created in 1905 and which incorporated most of these new municipalities, became the core of the coffee economy. Between 1913 and 1930 this province doubled its production levels every six years, and 1930 it was contributing one third of the national crop.

Parsons (*op. Cit.*, p. 103) collected some historical figures regarding the evolution of *antioqueño* population⁵⁵. Although most of the population remained located in the rural areas of the region, some of the intermediate municipalities grew to become main cities of the region. By 1938 Armenia, Pereira and Manizales comprised a population of

⁵³ Parsons quotes the Archivo de Antioquia (*archive*), to suggest that the standard rule of transportation was a combination of two drivers handling ten mules, each animal carrying between 200 to 250 pounds.

⁵⁴ Palacios emphasises the dominant role of the Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia (National Federation of Coffee Growers), the Fondo de Estabilización del Café (Fund for Stabilisation of Coffee) as the main internal institutional arrangements, and the role of Acuerdo Internacional del Café (International Coffee Agreement) as the main international institutional arrangement that together provided a stable development path for Colombian coffee until the late 1970's.

⁵⁵ Some methodological warnings have to be made here. As it has been said, the Antioqueño Colonisation not only included people coming from municipalities of the province of Antioquia, but people coming from other provinces of the country. Consequently, the expression "Antioqueño" must be applied to the territories who were part of, either as departing or arrival place, this migration process.

200000 inhabitants, not insignificant when compared to Bogota, the capital city, which at that time had 330000 inhabitants (Perez, 2003⁵⁶). Regrettably, the pace of economic growth did not have the same impact on levels of social development. For a long time, both the rural and urban areas of the *coffee* region exhibited some of the worst indicators of basic health amongst the whole country, especially for infant mortality rates and the incidence of tropical anaemia and malaria. Although the aqueducts and sewers in urban areas meant lower levels of tropical disease, this was offset by specific public health problems amongst its ever-increasing population. For example, by 1965 the provinces of Antioquia and Caldas accounted for 40% of the venereal diseases reported in Colombia, often put down to the remarkable incidence of prostitution⁵⁷ and the double-morale of the conservative *antioqueña* culture (Gutierrez de Pineda, 1962).

5.1.3 Violence in the Coffee Region

According to Palacios (*op. Cit.*), there seems to be a link between the possibility of enforcement of land property, the uncertainty of land titles and violence for the Colombian Coffee Region case. As most of my case study will be devoted to understanding and analysing a specific group of people whose displacement experiences have been generated by violent episodes, it is important to approach violence in the *Cafetero Axis* from a historical point of view.

In the past, two main episodes of violence have been recognised as influential factors for the social profile of *cafetero* society. The first one comprised the struggle of colonists to maintain their hard-earned property located on the colonisation frontier, against the expansive wishes of big landowners and concession lawyers. This conflict evolved through the second half of the XIX century and probably the first 35 years of XX century, when the causes of violence eventually acquired a more defined political profile. For LeGrand (1984) the strategy applied by *hacendados* (big landowners) in order to obtain cheap labour, generated specific social clashes and gave rise to specific social movements of peasants. These base organisations opposed the attempts of agricultural entrepreneurs to enclose the peasants' fields and challenge their property rights, which would thereby reduce them, from land owners to simple share-croppers or

⁵⁶ He quotes the National Population Census of 1938. DANE: National Department of Statistics.

⁵⁷ Bergquist (1986) attributes the high levels of prostitution to the flow of temporary workers, the higher percentage of men against women and the lack of formal marriage arrangements.

*arrendatarios*⁵⁸. In this context, the violent incidents were usually situations of clearing and eviction, in which the municipal police force were asked to intervene in order to support the property claims of the *hacendados*. Here, the colonists clashed with the police or sometimes with private security bodies organised by *hacendados*. LeGrand (*op. Cit.*, p. 40) accounts for 450 clashes of this kind, which involved groups of more than 25 colonists, happening between 1875 and 1930, in the most typical recurrent form of violence for the coffee region.

A unique profile of land property structure was created through these confrontations between colonists and *hacendados*. This profile would also provide a specific environment for the way the phenomenon of *La Violencia* (the high-escalating Colombian political conflict that happened between 1945 and 1965) took place in the coffee region. For Palacios (*op. Cit.*, p. 164) the specific profile of the political conflict between supporters of the liberal and conservative parties (i.e. *La Violencia*) in the coffee region, cannot be understood without a review of the historic conflict for land properties in the region⁵⁹.

La Violencia is the most well-known and analysed episode of violence in Colombia's history. Sanchez (1985) concisely defines this phenomenon as "...the social and political agitation that shook the country from 1945 to 1965, which left between 100.000 and 300.000 people dead". As already noted, this phenomenon had a specific and unique profile for the coffee region. Sanchez calls attention to its portrayal by the inhabitants of this region, whose impotent role as mere victims of political violence led them to perceive *La Violencia* as a Great Historical Creature: it was perceived as an almighty order, which went beyond the will or the actions of the actors involved in it. This historical perception is the departure point for the research included in this chapter, related both to perceptions of anomie among displaced communities in 1965 and 2002, and to their narratives of migration and violence. In most cases, the latter are constituted through more than half of a century of demographic transformation of Colombian

⁵⁸ Workers from the coffee *hacienda* who received a small plot of land in return for their obligatory labour on the coffee plantation, Ocampo (1980, p. 265).

⁵⁹ Palacios asserts: "...The conclusions of recent anthropological studies seem to me plausible: the violence of the Quindío of the middle years of this century was a magnified form of a pattern of crime already present in the initial stages of colonisation". He quotes Arocha (1975), Fajardo (1977) and Oquist (1976). LeGrand (1984) suggested a similar pattern for other regions of the country, synthesizing the studies of Campo (1976), Bottia and Escobedo (1979) and Ramirez (1981) as his main references.

society, which seems to be trapped in a never-ending contradiction of development and internal conflict.

5.2 Anomie and Social Cohesion

Anomie is not without contention in the sociological literature. Rose (1966), aiming to provide a conceptual framework for empirical studies, indicates some possible interpretations for the term “anomie”: goals vs. structural limitations, cultural apathy with respect to standards of conduct, conflict situations in general (Williams, 1951); ambivalency of attachment to norms (Johnson, 1961); lack of goals or overemphasis on goal attainment (Bell, 1961); a situation of complete normlessness (Bierdstedt, 1957). Rose claimed that originally, in Durkheim’s *The Division of Labour*, anomie refers to a breakdown of the regulatory mechanisms, to which “normlessness” may well refer (Rose, *op. Cit*, p. 30). The specific application of the concept to the Colombian case is a clear and ironic reflection. Orlando Fals Borda, one of the most well-known scholars in the sociological studies of violence in Colombia falls within this ambiguous landscape. Quoting the manifesto against Eurocentrism (Fals-Borda, Mora-Osejo, 2003): “...As European and North American scientific paradigms have been conceived in the contexts of temperate-zones and their historical, cultural and material development, they are likewise conditioned by those contexts in the determination of collective thinking and action...Some of the paradigms have become dominant in many parts of the world, but the resulting imbalance has produced a...one-sided worldwide political system organised to favour the richer countries where southern realities and facts may be unknown, disregarded or unilaterally exploited...On the basis of the contextual hypothesis, it appears to us that those *ex novo* facts do not make Euroamerican scientific paradigms (notably Cartesian positivism, Newtonian mechanism and Parsonian functionalism) any better or more pertinent to local purposes, than those generated in other parts of the world. They are all social constructs and subject to revision and interpretation. It is therefore understandable that if a scientific frame of reference is not well rooted in its milieu, theoretical and practical lags will occur with consequent dysfunctional implications for sociopolitical and other systems. Such a situation is worsened when frames of reference are copied or badly adapted from extraneous paradigmatic sources, like those just mentioned...these imitations often become a source of local disorganisation and *anomie*”. Given the scope of the lack of precision for

the definition that I presented, it seems that we are guilty of the same imprecise adoption process that the manifesto criticizes.

Surprisingly, given the fact that Colombia is one of the clearest examples of a possible situation for anomie, the concept has been disappearing from the literature on violence in Colombia, which seems to favour, rather, the concept of social capital⁶⁰. Nonetheless, the Colombian case does not seem to be unique: Mehler (2004) has criticised the use of the “anomy state” as one of the most common catch-words used to describe situations of crisis in developing countries without having to delve deeper into the unknown triad of state, security and violence. In my opinion, a review of this kind of literature, particularly for the Colombian case, suggests that the focus of research has evolved from the dismal concept of anomie to the more optimistic and proactive social capital. As Portes (1998) explains, the concept focuses on the positive consequences of sociability whilst putting aside its less attractive features, and the potential fungibility of diverse sources of capital reduces the distance between the sociological and economic perspectives and engages the attention of policy makers seeking less costly, non-economic solutions to social problems. The lack of contemporary, comparative or referential studies of anomie for the Colombian case did not discourage me. I saw, in the possibility of testing a methodological approach to a new case of displacement due to violence, the best way to reinforce one of the main arguments of my research: that the relationship between migration and violence is an historical regularity in Colombia. Second, in terms of internal rigor, I tend to distrust the optimistic approach of Colombian social capital studies, especially given their relationship to studies oriented to policy design. As Castles (2005) points out for the case of migration studies, “policy driven research is not only bad social science – it is also a poor guide to successful policy formation”.

5.2.1 Anomie and La Violencia: The Ex-Post Facto Experiment (1965)

In 1965, as a result of a combination of two common factors related with the Department of Rural Sociology of the University of Wisconsin – Madison: first, its framework for anomie studies (eg. Sepulveda, 1965; Monahan, 1969, among others) and second, its applied research framework in sociological studies in Colombia, mostly

⁶⁰ The only recent reference study available is Alban (2005).

developed by A. Eugene Havens (Havens, 1965; Havens et. Al, 1965, among others), Aaron Lipman and A. Eugene Havens, two Fulbright Professors at the Sociology Faculty of National University of Colombia published their paper “The Colombian *Violencia*: An *Ex Post Facto* Experiment”. This publication was an effort to evaluate the degree of large-scale disorganization measured by the degree of personality disorganization exhibited by individuals affected by *La Violencia*, the historical period of political violence experienced in Colombia between 1948 and 1964, where 200.000 people out of a population of 14’000.000 were killed.

Lipman and Havens’ study was an empirical application of the attitude-type scale devised by Srole (1956) as an operational formulation of the anomie concept. Their basic hypothesis was that individuals directly affected by *La Violencia* had a higher degree of personality disorganisation than those who had not. This would be proved if a statistically significant difference in the intensity of disorganization was found between an *Experimental* group and a *Control* group. The Experimental Group was composed of 69 persons who, consequent to acts of violence, had been displaced and who migrated to Bogota to escape violence. The Control group was composed of 59 persons who had the same basic socio-demographic background to that of the Experimental Group, including similar migration profiles in terms of the time when they migrated / were displaced to Bogota and the regions they came from. Table 5.1 shows the summary of the main features of the groups.

Table 5.1

**Summary of Matched Characteristics of the Experimental and Control Group.
Lipman and Havens (1965)**

Characteristics	Experimental Group	Control Group
Age	45	35
Education	3 Years	4 Years
Sex	54%	57%
Years lived in Bogota (for migrants only)	10.17	11.12

Taken from Lipman and Havens, *op. Cit*, p. 239.

The sample contained some specific migration issues. Most of the individuals of the Control and Experimental group came from Boyaca, a region close to the city of Bogota

around the same time (the amount of years living in Bogota at the moment were rather similar, 10.17 years for the Experimental Group and 11.12 for the Control Group). The structures of age, education and gender were similar as well.

5.2.2 Measuring Anomia

As has been mentioned, the instrumental approach to the concept of anomie was the use of the attitude-type scale devised by Srole (1956). In his formulation, he acknowledged that his approach extended to cover a broader profile than Durkheim's in order to take account of additional elements of social integration. The measurement approach to anomie was constructed from four different scales measuring the selected personality variables.

The first was the Insecurity Scale, constructed by Lipman and Havens specifically for the study, and was designed to evaluate the degree to which an individual feels threatened by his social environment. The scale was composed of the following 13 questions:

Table 5.2

Insecurity Scale (Lipman and Havens, *op. Cit*)

- | |
|---|
| 1.1 One can safety travel alone in any part of Colombia during the day |
| 1.2 One can always trust people, even if one doesn't know them personally |
| 1.3 In Colombia, one can never know what will happen next |
| 1.4 I feel uneasy when I think about the future |
| 1.5 It is unfair to bring children into the present-day world |
| 1.6 I feel afraid when I go out alone at night |
| 1.7 If you see a crowd forming, it is best to get away as quickly as possible |
| 1.8 I'd feel safer living in another country |
| 1.9 One can safely walk alone in the street |
| 1.10 To feel secure one must keep his door locked |
| 1.11 I don't feel at ease when I leave my house alone |
| 1.12 I'd feel safer if I carried a gun to defend myself |
| 1.13 If I had difficulties on the street, people would help me |

Questions 3, 8 and 13 were not applied as they failed the pre-testing stage. The second scale included was the Anomia Scale, developed by Merton (1957) and applied by Srole

in his study. This scale was related to interpersonal alienation, understanding anomie as “...referring to the individual’s generalized, pervasive sense of “self-to others belongingness” at one extreme compared with “self-others distance” (Srole, *op. Cit*, p. 712).

Table 5.3

Anomie Scale (Merton, 1957)

- | |
|--|
| 2.1 Most public officials aren’t interested in the problems of the average man |
| 2.2 These days a person doesn’t really know whom he can count on |
| 2.3 Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself. |
| 2.4 In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better. |
| 2.5 Most people don’t care what happens to others. |

The third was the *Identification Scale*, defined as the degree to which a person feels committed to his group. It does not imply an acceptance or rejection of the common value system of the group, but merely a sense of commitment to this group. It was composed of nine questions.

Table 5.4

Identification Scale (Havens, 1962)

- | |
|--|
| 3.1 I believe that I am something important in Colombia |
| 3.2 One should work for the betterment of Colombia |
| 3.3 Every country has its rights and wrongs but Colombia is almost always wrong. |
| 3.4 I am happy being a Colombian |
| 3.5 The problems of Colombia are not important to me |
| 3.6 Colombia is important to me only as a place to live |
| 3.7 I am optimistic, and feel that good things will come to Colombia |
| 3.8 I don’t actually feel like a Colombian citizen |
| 3.9 I feel pleased when I tell people that I am a Colombian |

The last criteria evaluated were the *Attitude towards the Church Scale*, and adaptation of the original scale of Thurstone and Chave (1929). It contained nine questions

evaluated as a Guttman scale (true – false). All the previous scales answer patterns' were arranged on a five-point continuum from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree.

Table 5.5

Attitude towards the Church Scale (Thurstone and Chave, 1929)

- | |
|--|
| 4.1 I believe that the Church is losing ground, as education advances |
| 4.2 I think the Church plays a big part in fostering a good life and good customs for the people |
| 4.3 I believe the Church supports the common man |
| 4.4 The Church is the principle support in my life |
| 4.5 I believe that the priests are involved in business and neglect religion |
| 4.6 Outside of my home I consider the Church the best thing in the world |
| 4.7 I feel that the Church furthers brotherly relations between people and nations |
| 4.8 I feel the Church attendance is a good measure of the morality of a nation. |
| 4.9 I believe in the Church, but I believe that its influence is declining. |

Additional to the four scales, the study also applied an opinion survey, composed of 11 statements. They were evaluated along a five-point continuum, from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree.

Table 5.6

Opinion Survey Questions

- | |
|---|
| 5.1 Because of the Violencia, the majority of people have lost confidence in the Government |
| 5.2 The Violencia is no longer for politics |
| 5.3 The Church has not been very effective in diminishing the Violencia |
| 5.4 Because of the Violencia the people has lost confidence in the Church |
| 5.5 It is impossible to expect justice from judges |
| 5.6 Those who have caused the Violencia have made much money |
| 5.7 The military has benefited by the Violencia |
| 5.8 There are persons who have benefited by the Violencia |
| 5.9 The Violencia has augmented prostitution |
| 5.10 The government will be able to end the Violencia |
| 5.11 The Church wishes to help more to finish the Violencia |

Finally, value orientation questions (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961) addressed to measuring man's ability to control nature versus an inability and future versus present or past orientations. Related to future versus present or past orientations, three possible future conditions were offered, and each interviewee would select the one most related to his personal views. The future conditions were a) children would be having more in the future than their parents (i.e. future orientation), b) children living in the same way as their parents (present orientation) and c) parents wishing for the children to live as they themselves had lived in the past (a past orientation). The conditions related to man's relation to nature presented three possible choices to the interviewee and asked them to select the one most closely related to their preferences. These conditions were: a) man is being subjected by nature, b) man has to work with nature and c) man can control nature.

5.2.3 Main Findings in 1965

The methodological approach tabulated the five-point continuum in gradation, from five, "strongly agree" to one, "strongly disagree". The calculation of mean scores allowed us to obtain measurements of agreement for each group. Critical ratios evaluated the degree of statistical significance between the mean scores for the Control Group and the Experimental Group. These were the main findings of the experiment:

- The Experimental Group manifested significantly more insecurity than the Control Group.
- The Experimental Group showed a significantly higher degree of anomie than the Control Group.
- The Experimental Group exhibited a higher degree of national identification than the Control group.
- Attitude towards the Church was more unfavourable among members of the Experimental Group than among those of the Control Group.

- The opinion survey showed that both groups considered the government an ineffective force in controlling the Violencia, that it had generated increased prostitution and that this phenomenon was no longer related to politics.
- The Experimental Group was found to be more oriented to the past than the Control Group.
- The Experimental Group were more oriented towards man having to work with nature and less towards man's ability to control nature than the Control Group.

5.3 Revisiting Anomie in 2002

Through the field work developed among displaced communities in the city of Pereira, in 2002, already described on Chapter 4, I had the chance to re-apply the questionnaire used by Lipman and Havens in 1965. Working under the hypothesis that patterns of anomie in Colombia, given the increasing levels of all kinds of violence and its persistence, were rather homogeneous between displaced people and people whose migration experiences had not been related to violence, I introduced new questions and extended the questionnaire to open questions, in order to evaluate the idea that forced migration has been an historical regularity and thereby the recent crisis of forced displacement in the country has deeper, structural roots and is not just a short term phenomenon.

Following the methodological guidelines of the study of Lipman and Havens, I established contact with members of the displaced communities. The humanitarian conditions related to the migration experience faced by both Experimental Groups in 1965 and 2002, to some degree recreated the sample design issues faced by Lipman and Havens in their exercise. Their basic data was provided to them by the Committee for Refugees of Boyaca, whereas mine was provided by Caritas Pereira / the Social Solidarity Network, institutions, which, with due recognition given to the different historical landscape, were in some sense providing the same sort of public service: basic attention to IDPs (Caritas Pereira) and "refugees" (Committee for Refugees of Boyaca).

For my experiment, due to the understandable lack of trust among these communities, which implied a reduced level of documented contacts, I decided to reduce the size of both the Experimental and the Control Groups. I applied semi-structured questionnaires to 30 displaced individuals (the Experimental Group) and 30 individuals who were not displaced but were living in the same neighbourhood as displaced people (the Control Group). Table 5.2 shows the main features of both samples.

I applied exactly the same questionnaire used in 1965, but added a new set of questions, called transition questions. The purpose of this new set was to test for historical patterns of migration and select those individuals whose life experiences were informed by migration generated or related at some point to the existence of violence. Once the individual showed the profile required, three open questions were applied in order to obtain a small interview where I asked each interviewee to portray the history of his family and their migration experiences. The complete questionnaire can be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

Table 5.7

Main features of the Sample

Characteristic	Experimental Group	%	Control Group	%	Total
Gender					
Male	15	51,72	14	48,28	29
%	50,00		46,67		48,33
Female	15	48,39	16	51,61	31
%	50,00		53,33		51,67
Total	30		30		60
Age					
16 - 20 years old	2	66,67	1	33,33	3
%	6,67		3,33		5,00
21 - 30 years old	5	38,46	8	61,54	13
%	16,67		26,67		21,67
31 - 40 years old	7	46,67	8	53,33	15
%	23,33		26,67		25,00
41 - 50 years old	12	66,67	6	33,33	18
%	40,00		20,00		30,00
51 - 60 years old	2	28,57	5	71,43	7
%	6,67		16,67		11,67
60 years old and more	2	50,00	2	50,00	4
%	6,67		6,67		6,67
Total	30		30		60

Education	Experimental Group	%	Control Group	%	Total
Incomplete Primary	1	33,33	2	66,67	3
%	3,33		6,67		5,00
Complete Primary	18	52,94	16	47,06	34
%	60,00		53,33		56,67
Complete Secondary	8	47,06	9	52,94	17
%	26,67		30,00		28,33
Higher Education	1	33,33	2	66,67	3
%	3,33		6,67		5,00
Not given	2	66,67	1	33,33	3
%	6,67		3,33		5,00
Total	30		30		60

The sample selection criteria had some specific conditions. A harmonic balance between gender and age characteristics was required *between* the 1965 and the 2002 samples and *within* the 2002 sample itself. Given the fact that the size of the 2002 sample was going to be smaller than the 1965 sample, the cumulative distribution of each sample according to age and gender has to be maintained as far as possible. And due to the fact that the only aggregate information available for the 1965 Experiment was the one made available by the authors in their paper, I decided to maintain the comparative level based on the aggregate characteristics described by the authors, but focusing mostly on the internal comparative features of the 2002 sample.

Despite of a smaller size, the sample was more homogeneous in terms of gender, age, and education level than the 1965 sample. My perception is that this was an accurate profile if the purpose was focusing on the profiles of anomie within the 2002 sample (i.e. the Experimental vs. the Control Group), and how they compared with the 1965 sample. In terms of age, the 2002 sample is more homogeneous, with little difference between the age profiles of the Experimental and the Control group (for the 1965 sample the mean age was 45 years old for the Experimental Group and 35 years old for the Control Group, a 10 year gap that was considered not to have had a significant effect either on patterns of anomie for Lipman and Havens).

The education profile reflexes both a certain demographic regularity related to educational profiles by gender, and the possible effect of 20 years of economic and social development of the country. Unfortunately, given the fact that education profiles were measured in the 2002 sample by education level and not by amount of years of

education (the Colombian education system has been under continuous reforms that aim to stimulate and facilitate full completion of education levels), the mean of years of education cannot be compared between samples. However, from Table 5.2 we can see that the 2002 sample exhibits higher education levels than the 1965 one, a condition that pertains to both the Experimental and the Control group. In the 1965 sample, the mean was 3 years of education for the Experimental Group and 4 years for the Control Group. For the 2002 sample, 60% of the individuals of the Experimental Group and 53% of the Control Group had achieved a complete primary degree (six years of education). It was remarkable to see the significant presence of individuals with complete secondary degrees (17 out of 60 as a whole), which implies around 11 years of education. In general terms, it can be said, as Lipman and Havens did, talking about their own sample, that "...the two groups contain similar proportions of men and women, represent the same age group, (and) similar education" (Lipman and Havens, *op. Cit*, p. 239).

The original questionnaire of the 1965 Experiment was fully applied in the 2002 Experiment, and this decision was supported as much by the empirical evidence that would allow me to test the hypothesis of the forced character of internal migration in Colombia being an historical regularity, as it was by patterns of anomie being relevant among displaced communities. Nonetheless, some control questions were added to it in order to evaluate the current relevance of the issues addressed through the questions.

For the Insecurity Scale, in order to evaluate the structural effect of persistence of violence on Colombian daily life, the statement "*Disregarding of circumstances, I usually have a permanent feeling of insecurity*" was proposed to the interviewees, who evaluated their level of agreement with it. On the Anomie Scale, the concept of "self-to others belongingness" was evaluated from the perspective of the economic perspectives perceived by the members of the Experimental Group or the Control Group, given the fact that their migration experiences were different, the Experimental Group being those related to forced displacement. The statement included was "*I think the economic situation of my family can be improved with the support of the people of this city*". This sentence addressed the interviewees' perception of social cohesion, which, through previous testimonial evidence, although similar among members of these poor communities, was perceived differently by the general population of Pereira city, who

more inclined to stigmatize displaced individuals, in the sense illustrated by Pécaut (2000, p. 93): "...they know they are defined as 'displaced', and that the displaced come to be viewed as 'suspects'. Refugees within a city, because of the very fact that they came from a given area, may well be perceived as belonging to one armed group or another, despite the fact that many of them seek to merge with the population of their new residence to avoid being stigmatized as participants in the violence".

The Attitude Towards the Church Scale was modified to include a new statement which aimed to contextualize the contemporary role of the Church in its current historical context. It is important to account for the leading role of the Catholic Church in *La Violencia* period, either as active supporter of the Conservative Party and its governments, or providing humanitarian support to the victims of violence (Guzmán et Al, *op. Cit*, p. 292).

Without more detailed evidence, I suppose that the purpose of including a whole set of questions aimed at evaluating the perception of the Church among individuals both affected or not affected by *La Violencia*, was the same as Lipman and Havens', with the additional extension of including this evaluation as part of their whole portrait of anomie. In order to evaluate the current perception of the role of the Church and its involvement in violence, I included an extra assessment on this scale; "*I think the Church is not involved in Violence*", in order to isolate the possibility of historically recurrent perceptions, especially among individuals affiliated to the Communist or Liberal parties, who exhibit a traditional distrust of the Church. This statement, as the rest of those belonging to this Scale, was evaluated according to the Guttman Scale (true – false).

Finally, a statement that aimed to link the four scales, the opinion survey and especially the value orientation questions about future versus present or past orientations, was included. It aimed to evaluate both issues of the Anomia Scale, linking them to the opinion survey and through the possibility of law enforcement, evaluate the perception of the interviewees towards law enforcement against perpetrators of violence. The statement was "*I think that those who caused the Violencia will not face justice*".

5.4 Main Findings in 2002

5.4.1 Insecurity Scale

As can be seen in Table 5.3, the most important result of the exercise is that patterns of anomie seem to be equally spread between both the Experimental and the Control groups. This, perhaps, as consequence of the historical persistence of violence among Colombian society, and perhaps due to the recent increase in levels of violence experienced since the early nineties, as highlighted in the Introduction. Although the Experimental Group had, in general, higher scores than the Control Group- exception made of the Attitude towards the Church scale- differences in scores did not prove to be statistically significant. Even at 90% of confidence, the *F* values of each scale (1,401; 1,195; 0,655; 1,248) are lower than the critical values of the distribution, calculated with 1 and 60 degrees of freedom. It is important to recall that the study of Lipman and Havens found significant differences on all four scales between the Experimental and the Control Groups, the first group having higher scores on all the scales.

Table 5.8

Summary of scores by scale

	Insecurity	Anomia	Identification	Church
Experimental Mean Score	48,93	22,77	31,20	31,80
Control Mean Score	43,73	20,50	30,63	32,53
Variance Experimental Group	12,13	3,18	8,83	9,43
Variance Control Group	8,66	2,66	13,47	7,55
Maximum Possible Value	70	30	55	50
Maximum Value Experimental Group	55	25	39	37
Maximum Value Control	49	25	39	38
Minimum Value Experimental Group	43	18	26	26
Minimum Value Control Group	38	18	22	28
F Value	1,401	1,195	0,655	1,248
F Value 95%	4,08	4,08	4,08	4,08
F Value 90%	7,31	7,31	7,31	7,31

In relation to the four questions introduced in order to update the relevance of the questionnaire to current times, the results were very interesting. Mean score values were calculated for each of the four new questions. Table 5.9 shows the results. With respect to question 1.14, which asked interviewees about their perceptions regarding insecurity, both female and male members of the Experimental Group showed higher mean scores than the members of the Control Group, which is coherent with the possible traumatic consequences of the displacement experience. Following the gendered patterns of displacement that I presented in Chapters 2 and 4, the Insecurity score, measured according to the scores of question 1.14 suggested that this situation has a higher incidence among female members of the displaced group.

Table 5.9

Mean scores for set of new questions by gender and kind of group

Question	Female Experimental Group	Male Experimental Group	Female Control Group	Male Control Group
1.14 Disregarding of circumstances, I usually have a permanent feeling of insecurity	3.375	3.066	2.600	2.928
2.6 I think the people of this city will help us to improve our situation	2.00	2.06	2.62	2.71
3.10 I feel represented by the authorities as a citizen	3.2	2.46	3.2	2.92
4. 10 I think the Church has reduced its involvement in politics	1.75	1.80	1.68	1.71

The inclusion of a new question, looking to evaluate the perception of social cohesion among interviewees, found scores to question 2.6 that suggested that those individuals who experienced forced displacement, regardless of their gender, have a less optimistic perception of the economic and social environment they are facing, which in some way is theoretically what one might expect. The perception of political representation, which in some sense is an indirect measure of the perception of the government's political legitimacy, was investigated through question 3.10. As Crisp (1999) points out, social issues such as refugee or displacement crisis are an indication of state failure, and thereby by means of this question, I wanted to understand the perception that

displaced communities could have towards authorities and, in general, towards the government.

According to the mean scores, the female members of both the Experimental and the Control Group have a more positive perception of the representative role of public authorities than their male counterparts, although it can be said that the global picture provided by all the scores suggests a rather negative perception of authorities and how representative they are. Finally, according to the mean score for question 4.10, the interviewees think that the Church has not reduced its involvement in politics.

5.4.2 Opinion Survey

Following the methodological approach of the study of Lipman and Havens, I re-applied the 11 opinion questions, presented in the form of a statement, to be answered with the five-choice agree-disagree continuum. Each statement could thereby be analyzed by both the mean score for each group/statement and the critical ratio that would allow testing for statistically significant differences between the scores.

The results of the opinion survey confirm the global finding provided by the results of the different Scales' scores: there does not seem to be any statistically significant difference between the patterns of answer from the Experimental Group and those from the Control Group, which suggests the possible conclusion that patterns of anomie, at least those detected in this opinion survey, have become rather similar. This in some sense reflects the prevalent levels of violence in Colombia over the last 15 years, implying that the perception of a relative normlessness state is shared by individuals who have both been victims of forced displacement and those who have not. All this is suggested with due recognition of the fact that my sample is not representative of the phenomenon of displacement as a whole.

Similarly to the scores provided by the Scales questions, the differences on scores for the Opinion Survey did not prove to be statistically significant; even at 90% of confidence, the F values of each question are lower than the critical values of the distribution, calculated with 1 and 60 degrees of freedom.

Table 5.10**Difference between the Experimental and Control Groups for opinion questions**

Question	Experimental Group					Mean Score	Control Group					Mean Score	Test of Significance		
	SA	A	U	D	SD		SA	A	U	D	SD		F Value	F Value 95%	F Value 90%
5.1	4	16	10	0	0	3,80	4	16	18	1	1	3,70	0,574	4,08	7,31
5.2	10	16	2	0	2	4,07	4	19	7	2	0	3,83	1,847	4,08	7,31
5.3	3	7	11	7	2	3,07	4	18	17	2	0	3,80	2,016	4,08	7,31
5.4	1	1	8	13	7	2,20	1	2	14	12	9	2,13	0,852	4,08	7,31
5.5	7	13	5	4	1	3,70	1	11	17	3	3	3,13	1,164	4,08	7,31
5.6	16	12	2	0	0	4,47	14	15	3	0	0	4,43	1,224	4,08	7,31
5.7	2	11	9	5	3	3,13	1	7	18	11	2	2,80	1,231	4,08	7,31
5.8	6	13	8	3	0	3,73	8	16	13	1	0	4,03	1,407	4,08	7,31
5.9	2	8	6	9	5	2,77	4	9	15	8	0	3,30	1,431	4,08	7,31
5.10	1	2	4	12	11	2,00	0	5	10	16	3	2,43	1,369	4,08	7,31
5.11	5	13	7	3	2	3,53	7	15	11	1	3	3,73	0,890	4,08	7,31
5.12	6	18	6	0	0	4,00	5	20	10	1	0	3,97	0,925	4,08	7,31

A detailed analysis of the mean scores provided as answers to the opinion statements provides interesting results. According to the mean scores for Opinion Statement 5.1, both the Experimental and the Control Group of my exercise seem to have a better perception of the role of government in its fight against violence than the perception provided in the experiment of Lipman and Havens (mean scores of 3.8 and 3.7 in my survey against mean scores of 4.48 and 4.27 in Lipman and Heavens'. The original mean scores for their exercise are included in the Appendix to this chapter). Nevertheless, in both exercises, the Experimental Group had a higher perception of distrust towards the Government.

Opinion Statement 5.2 aimed to evaluate the incidence of political causes as possible explanatory factors of violence, according to the perception of interviewees. Members of the Experimental Group, who have been face-to-face victims of violence, do not seem to perceive it as political, which seems to follow the rationale of episodes of displacement where forced appropriation of land and other properties provides an economic explanation to violence, over the standard ideological-political explanation of Colombian violence.

The Opinion Statements 5.3 and 5.4 were related to the proactive / reactive role that the Church may have on diminishing violence. As previously noted, the possible reactions

of interviewees to this question may have had deep and strong historical roots, as for example, reflecting Liberal communities who were victims of violence and political cleansing in *La Violencia* period, and the Catholic Church in alliance with the Conservative government and the Police, who had a leading role in inciting violence against left-wing party supporters. This may help explain the mean scores found by Lipman and Havens, where perception of “the Church” (i.e. The Catholic Church, as by that time Catholicism was by far most accepted religion) was considered negative for both its ineffectiveness on eliminating violence and through this, the reduced confidence that people had in this institution. Mean scores for this question in the 2002 Opinion Survey of my study have dramatically changed, especially in the statement related to confidence in the Church, which basically indicates that the mean pattern of answer rejects the statement, further implying that although they recognised the ineffectiveness of the Church in reducing violence, my sample members did not lose confidence in the institution as a consequence. It may be argued that, given the increasingly complex character of violence in Colombia, and given the reinforcement of my interviewees that the Church no longer concerned only with politics, the Colombian Catholic Church did not have the same prevalent role that it had in 1965.

Opinion Statements 5.5 and 5.6 approached the perception of impunity on the sense of lack of expectations of justice, from the perspective both of equal treatment from the legal system and the punishment of those who have illegally profited from generating violence. I tried to update these two questions by including not just fair legal treatment and illegal profit, but the perceptions of interviewees of justice being done against violent perpetrators. Experimental Group mean scores for the 1965 experiment and mine were both pessimistic for the possibility of getting fair legal treatment from judges. In terms of the impunity of illegal profiteers, the mean scores of both groups, which suggest that violent perpetrators have made a lot of money (mean scores of 4.47 for the Experimental Group and 4.43 for the Control Group), uphold the argument that Colombian violence is a complex phenomenon that seems to have an increasing economic character. The Perception of the possible benefit that Army forces may have derived from violence, was evaluated through the Opinion Statement 5.7, and although the mean score for the Control Group did not change (2.80), the mean score for the Experimental Group increased (2.96 to 3.13), perhaps signifying increasing economic links between Paramilitary Troops and Army forces, as reviewed in many reports. Once

the pattern of benefit is extended from Army Forces to general individuals, mean scores increased, with Control Group scores higher than their Experimental counterparts. According to the mean score of Opinion Statement 5.9, prostitution is not perceived to have a significant relationship to violence.

Opinion Statement 5.10 evaluated the potential degree of success that the Colombian government would have on ending violence. In the 1965 Experiment, the mean scores of both groups were similarly pessimistic (2.6). For my experiment, the mean scores suggested an even more pessimistic perception, but not surprisingly, given the traumatic effects of their displacement experience, interviewees of the Experimental Group were more negative about the possibilities of the government ending violence (a mean score of 2.00 compared with a mean score of the Control Group of 2.43). Finally, both groups were highly pessimistic about the possibilities of violent perpetrators facing justice (mean scores of 4.00 and 3.97), which is coherent with the patterns of answer provided to Opinion Statements 5.5 and 5.6.

5.4.3 Value Orientations

In order to evaluate the effect of violence upon the interviewees' perception of the future and nature, a specific set of questions was applied. Perceptions of the future were gauged according to expressions of parents' desires for the future of their children. Interviewees were asked to choose between three possible outcomes for their children's future lives: 1) They will have a better life (a future, optimistic orientation), 2) They will have the same life as mine (a present, uncertain orientation), and 3) They will have a worse life (a past, pessimistic orientation). Table 5.6 presents the results.

Table 5.11

Value Orientations: Past, present and future orientation

Group	Past	Present	Future	Total
	2002 Experiment Responses			
Experimental %	6 20%	18 60%	6 20%	30 100%
Control %	7 23.3%	17 56.7%	6 20%	30 100%
Total %	13 21.7%	35 58.3%	12 20%	60 100%

Group	Past	Present	Future	Total
	1965 Experiment Responses/1			
Experimental %	38 55.1%	10 14.5%	21 30.4%	69 100%
Control %	14 23.7%	21 35.6%	24 23.7%	59 100%
Total %	52 40.6%	31 24.2%	45 35.2%	128 100%

/1: Lipman and Havens, *op. Cit* (p.243)

Perhaps one of the effects of the continuous persistence of violence in Colombia has been the change in perceptions about the future. The main conclusion of this specific component of Lipman and Havens was that the Experimental Group was oriented to the past to a significantly higher degree than the Control Group. For the authors, this was a suggestion that members of the Experimental Group, as direct victims of violence, desired through this return to the past, that their children could live as they had before *La Violencia* experience.

The results for my interviews suggest a structural change in expectations, perhaps as consequence of the persistent and increasing complexity of contemporary violence in Colombia: both members of the Experimental (60.0%) and Control Groups (56.7%) showed an explicit present orientation. This could be interpreted as an expression of a wish for continuity of prevalent good times, but given the patterns of answer to the Opinion Survey and the fact that the Experiment Group has experienced explicit and direct violence, I see this present orientation as an expression of uncertainty and doubt about the future. Not a desire for continuity, but an expression of fear about the ever-repeating cycles of violence that some interviewees had seen throughout their life. In the open questions applied to a sub-set of interviewees, I will expand on this.

Table 5.12

Value Orientation: Man and Nature

Group	Subjected	With	Over	Total
	2002 Experiment Responses			
Experimental %	10 33.3%	14 46.7%	6 20.0%	30 100%
Control %	4 13.3%	13 43.3%	13 43.3%	30 100%
Total %	14 23.3%	27 45.0%	19 31.7%	60 100%

Group	Subjected	With	Over	Total
	1965 Experiment Responses/1			
Experimental %	13 18.8%	52 75.4%	4 5.8%	69 100%
Control %	13 22%	34 57.6%	12 20.3%	59 100%
Total %	26 20.3%	86 67.2%	16 12.5%	128 100%

/1: Lipman and Havens, *op. Cit*, p. 243

In the 1965 Experiment, the Experimental Group was found to be more oriented towards man being with nature, than the Control Group. This pattern seems to present in my 2002 Experiment: 46.7% of the members of the Experimental Group think that man has to work with nature, whereas 33.3% think that man is subjected by nature, which is almost twice the percentage of the members of the Experimental Group in 1965 that actually thought the same way.

5.5 Approaching the historical continuity of forced migration in Colombia through Narratives of Displacement

As already noted in previous chapters, the methodological approach to this research is to provide a multi-layered, interdisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of forced displacement in Colombia. This implies analyzing it from the aggregate –collective and national level and then going through the regional – community to finally reach the local and individual level, trying to take advantage of the information specifically available for each level, and generating added value from its analysis, but always having the issue of forced displacement as a common denominator of my research. For the first level, I produced two chapters, one devoted to reviewing and analyzing the literature available on internal migration and/or forced displacement for the Colombian case, in order to provide an historic and methodological overview of the process of internal migration in the country and the role that forced displacement has had on it. The objective of the second chapter was to deconstruct and critically evaluate the discussion related to how accurate and representative the aggregate IDP figures in Colombia are. The meso-level of approach (regional – community level) was applied in Chapter 4. Here, through information made available from the registration forms of IDPs who applied for humanitarian emergency programmes provided by the Colombian Government through Caritas Diocesana, an NGO of the Colombian Catholic Church, I

analyzed in detail the socio-economic features of the displaced communities who were forced to migrate to Pereira, one of the main cities of the Coffee Region.

This final chapter is concerned with the individual and local level. Its first part reproduced the experiment developed by Aaron Lipman and A. Eugene Havens in the early 1960s, which sought to evaluate the degree of personality disorganization experienced by individuals who were forced to migrate from their homes to the city of Bogota in the period of *La Violencia*, the dramatic period of massive murders and political cleansings experienced by Colombia between 1948 and 1963. I wanted to re-apply their research instrument, a questionnaire designed to evaluate different modalities and perceptions of anomie, to a new group of interviewees, as I saw the questionnaire, both the research questions and more importantly, the prevalent historical context (the current crisis of forced displacement as a consequence of the internal conflict), as providing the optimal conditions for evaluating, again in 2002, 37 years later, patterns of anomie among individuals once more displaced by violence in Colombia.

Evidence for this recursive figure of violence and displacement was reinforced through the chapter dedicated to the literature review of studies available on internal migration or forced displacement for Colombia, between 1962 and 2005. The concept of forced migration as an historical regularity for Colombia, was explicitly suggested by reports of the U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993), the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999) and Fajardo (2001). Given these, I decided to extend the basic structured questionnaire of the Lipman and Havens' study to include open-ended questions aimed at evaluating the perception of specific interviewees about theirs and their families' migration experiences. The criteria of selection to this specific group was provided by a set of "transition" questions, which allowed me to select those individuals whose life experiences had the potential to provide research material regarding the hypothesised historical regularity. The set of transition questions were:

- My family has never been affected by violence
- Mine is the first generation of my family that has been affected by violence
- My family has always been living in the same region

- My family's migration was caused by violence or related to it
- My family's migration process was related to the search for better economic opportunities

It must be made clear that my selection criterion was explicitly subjective. Given the pattern of answers that an interviewee provided to the transition questions, I chose 14 interviewees whose answers suggested interesting life experiences and asked them to accept a small interview based on three open questions. Unfortunately, four of them refused, for different reasons, mostly related to what they perceived as harmful for their security, and with the fear that the interview would bring back traumatic memories.

Now in the second and final part of this chapter, I want to present the main highlights of the narratives of voluntary migration and/or forced displacement provided by 10 interviewees, two of them from the Control Group, as given to me in their interviews. In these interviews I asked the interviewees to comment on three basic questions: 1) How would you describe the migratory process of your family?, 2) What are your perceptions of violence in Colombia, for the past and present? And 3) Do you consider yourself integrated into the society of the city where you now live?

5.5.1 Narratives of Displacement

The profile chosen for the interviews was set up in order to highlight the historical profiles of migration experiences, giving the prevalence that the role of violence may have had related to the migration decision-making process. Some interviewees provided detailed, intense and vivid testimonies of their migration experiences, sometimes tracing back two generations in time. The total picture generated from these interviews, supports the stylized facts of many of the studies surveyed in both this chapter and the one dedicated to the literature review: a country with permanent migration, whose voluntary or involuntary character is provided by specific conditions of time and space. Strategies of forced appropriation of land by the actors who generate the violence, seems to be the specific distinguishing criterion that separates periods characterized by forced displacement from those of predominant voluntary migration. Pedro, a 62 years old former peasant who migrated to Pereira 6 years ago with the family of his son, impersonated this process with his introductory talk to his interview:

“Perhaps it was my grandfather who started this whole thing...I mean, my dad used to say that leaving home was the only way for his dad to make a decent living according to his own principles. This is what my dad told me, as I don't remember my grandfather...but my dad said that he (my grandfather) used to say that there was a huge difference between wandering around and being free to move at will. He used to say that owning a piece of land would actually make you free...I remember that I did not get the idea, perhaps I was too young to feel like that, but for me it did not make sense, to be tied to a place would not make you free to move. But according to my dad, what my granddad meant was that owning a piece of land gives you dignity, and as long as you have it, you can go wherever you want, because you know where you come from...And you know? he managed to get some of that dignity, at least he had the chance to raise his children on his own land, until La Violencia came and one night the *Chulavitas*⁶¹ came for him, as he was a well know *liberal*, and they shot him. My grandmother had to leave the place with her children, and cheaply sold the land that had cost so much effort...do you follow me, son? The murderers took away their dignity, and they had to start all over again...In fact, I don't know how to answer when you ask me if I have been affected by violence, it wasn't me, but does that count?”

This testimony comprises two historical regularities that are strongly related to forced displacement in Colombia: one, violence, in this case of a political nature; and the second, the lack of protection for land property rights. They are interrelated and in some sense, in specific regions of the country, traces of both reappear generation after generation. We can here recall Palacios' argument: the specific profile of the political conflict between supporters of the liberal and conservative parties (i.e. La Violencia) in the coffee region cannot be understood without a review of the historic conflict for land properties in the region (*op. Cit.*, p. 164).

⁶¹ Colloquial expression for the Police at the time of La Violencia, which alluded to their conservative political filiation.

Narratives of migration and displacement and the perceptions of economic opportunities among my interviewees also displayed differences according to the ethnic background of interviewees. Alberto, an Embera indigenous peasant displaced from Tadó, in the Chocó province, described how he and his community were literally surrounded by paramilitary and guerrilla troops who fought each other in defence of their economic interests, an issue that Alberto did not understand, and that can be seen once more in the way he describes his search for income generation options in Pereira, once he and his family became displaced:

“...when we were living close to Tadó...notes were barely used, through our crops and hunting we managed to feed ourselves or make exchanges for things we needed...we, Emberás, have a close relationship with our land...I mean, time goes by, we live and die, but our land was always there. Until we came to Pereira, I have never seen any other landscape, and there was no need to...now I think people move to other places to keep themselves alive, as we did. The guerrillas used to come and go, but they did not stay for long...but then the Paras (paramilitary troops) came, and as one of them said, they came there to stay...some displaced communities who passed through Tadó told us that the Paras were starting huge African Palm plantations, fighting the guerrillas out there and forcing people to sell their land cheap or die there...one day they came to Tadó, and we had to leave...all the way up to Pereira we came, and now we are here, trying to make a living without our land...mostly through charity, as we do not have anything to exchange for notes”

This is a testimony to traumatic rupture in both time and space that can be perceived in all dimensions of the social and domestic environments, including the symbolic representations of land and identity. In this interview, the traumatic change between an economic environment mostly based on exchange of goods and with rather minimal use of currency. Apart from that, the lack of capitalist-subordinated labour relations can be seen in Alberto's perception of a lack of a means to subsistence due to the unavailability

of goods to exchange, together with a lack of understanding as to how best to search for income opportunities. Given that my basic training was in Economics, I found all the economic issues that arose from the interviews absolutely interesting and dramatic, challenging my rather optimistic macroeconomic view of the Colombian economy, with the daily, dismal challenges of all these microeconomic stories, if they can be called this. One of these was the explicit processes of accumulation and destruction of wealth that the experiences of displacement implied. Jose Luis' case, as a 59 year old tailor displaced from Acacías, a municipality in the Eastern plains, ,comprised a whole experience of violence, displacement, deprivation and destruction of wealth, in which the state's absence makes you wonder what the possibilities of real economic development for Colombia will be, when the government cannot maintain and protect individuals' capital accumulation, or perhaps, when this just makes it explicit that wealth obtained through violence and impunity, in the absence of justice, reflects the persistent patterns of violence through time, a claim sustained in the influential study of Deas and Gaitan (1995):

“...please excuse me if you find my mood very pessimistic, but actually the problem is that your questions made me think too much and in too deep...I told you already, I had to run away from Acacias, under both economic and physical pressure of the guerrilla. I had a small clothing factory, and I was employing around 10 people there. The guerrilla was blackmailing me for a regular contribution, and then they killed one of my sons, when he tried to avoid their recruitment. As I knew that they would come for my other son, and I felt that giving them money would only make them ask for more, we ran...do not ask me for my machines, my possessions, as right now it would be suicide to go back there...do you know why now I am so sad? The point is that my parents came to Acacias running from *La Violencia*, and they had to start all over again there. They taught me how to sew and then I became a tailor, and then...little by little we became sort of well-off, but

then the guerrilla killed my son, and we had to run away...and here I am, old and unemployed, as I don't have a sewing machine to work with, not even a place where I could work by hand...and now, when I think about all this time, should I tell my son that he has to start all over again?"

The dramatic experience of this man sadly reflects most of the regularities uncovered by my research and in other studies. First, the ominous, superhuman, and all-powerful figure of *La Violencia* as a Great Historical Creature (Sanchez, *op. Cit*), against whom any sense of justice or search for guilty perpetrators cannot prevail. Second, again, the perverse combination of violence and the state's lack of protection for property rights. And third, the historical regularity of migration being related to violence. Related to the historical perception of different episodes of violence in Colombia, immunity was one of the recurrent issues raised by the interviewees. Milton, a 32 years old school teacher of Afro-Colombian background, displaced from the municipality of Tado, exemplified the feelings of frustration and impotence that I found amongst the displaced interviewees:

"...you know, in the rural areas mythical figures are very usual...I think I learned to see *La Violencia* as something like that, because I was told that it has not affected my family. And when I found out what it was all about, I started thinking that we black people have been so neglected that around that time even our political filiations were ignored by Bogota's politicians. When my parents told me about it, I used to think of it as I thought of *La Madremonte*⁶² or something like that. But nowadays...this is different. Now I can tell you about the violence that brought us here, to Pereira...as I saw the faces of the men when they killed Antonio, my cousin's boyfriend. I know they are *paras*, I saw the blood and I ran, we all ran...you know, this is even worse than *La*

⁶² Myth of native origin which can be found in almost all the regions of Colombia. It is the deity that takes care of the mountains and the forests, which pursues the hunters, fishermen and woodmen of the forests. Its figure is that of a woman of great corpulence with bony and long hands, all the body covered by leafage and a scalp of mosses and long hair covering its face, leaving only its large eyeteeth and sprouted eyes visible. It is accustomed to living in the depths of the mountains and when there are storms, terrifies everyone with its shouts and penetrating moans.

Violencia, because I know who the murderers are, the guilty ones...but that is no consolation, as I don't expect them ever to face justice...”

It is important to emphasize the dramatic connotations of this statement. First, it says a lot about the perceptions of justice, reparation and in a global sense, about the state of anomie that I perceived among displaced communities. Second, it has dynamic connotations, because in a conflict where the recognition of guilt, compensation and pardon are absent, it is impossible to break the cycle of hate and to reinforce the legitimacy of the state.

Regarding the economic and social reception of displaced communities, the third open question of the interview allowed me to explore these issues in more detail. The question was “Do you consider yourself integrated into the society of the city where you live now?” Amalia, a 38 year old woman, head of a household with two little children, all of them displaced from Huila province, epitomizes through her testimony the same gendered pattern found in similar studies, especially that of Meertens and Segura – Escobar (*op. Cit*):

“...to ask us whether or not we feel integrated does not make sense to me. Inside of me, I don't want to integrate at all, as I know that this is not our place...that we do not belong here... now, that is different from the need to provide food and shelter for my family, because a mother's duty does not depend on the place where we are. I think that is the reason why my husband left, he could not face himself unemployed and desperate, he started drinking a lot, and I don't need another mouth to feed! ...so we discussed it and then he left...I've been trying to get a permanent job, but it is very difficult, so at least I manage to get some money doing the laundry and cleaning for two families here...”

Amelia's situation portrays the differential pattern of economic inception by gender, and despite her rural sense of identity and belonging, she is successfully trying to introduce herself into the urban economic environment, despite not wanting to interact in its social sphere. As Meertens and Segura state: “...the fulfilment of immediate survival needs seems to rest with women, even where the male “head of household”” is present.

“...women use more informal networks and mechanisms to survive than men, including begging in the streets, asking for money in market places” (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit*, p. 173).” I agree with them, that despite the traditional social roles in a rural society, the capability of successfully transferring their specific labour skills from their households and from the rural area to the urban environment, may explain this gender differential of economic inception.

As a whole, I found the testimonies of my interviewees replete with passionate stories of life, with death always acting as a connecting thread for their migration experiences. Much of these, unfortunately, fall beyond the purposes of this chapter, and perhaps beyond the purposes of my research. Nonetheless, I found in them, differential patterns of gender, and time-specific perceptions for episodes of forced displacement. Current violence, compared to *La Violencia* period, seems to have a more specific pattern of victimization, mostly focused on males, either as murderers or murdered, whereas during *La Violencia* a perception of political affiliation was extended to the family as a whole, as women and children were seen as potential reproducers of the political affiliation of the father/husband. From those narratives of migration and displacement that went far back into the past, there was a different perception of gender issues, perhaps explained by some sort of “backwards induction”. They were, in some sense, neutral in terms of gender, without comparative elements. In the most recent narratives—those focused on the crisis of displacement that has affected Colombia mostly from 1992 onwards—, specific expressions of gendered issues can be detected in the interviews: women present themselves as more vulnerable than men at the traumatic moment of eviction, which for Meertens and Segura-Escobar is explained by the dominant socio-cultural pattern in Colombian rural areas, with rather rigid divisions separating spheres for women and men. Nevertheless, and again following the same pattern detected by Meertens and Segura-Escobar, my sample shows economic inception into the urban environment of Pereira city, to be a less traumatic experience for women than for men. I would venture a combined explanation for this: first, there is the specific issue of the transference of gendered labour skills (which in some sense comes from the rigid division of economic and social spheres) between a rural and an urban economic environment. And second, as Franco (1992) points out, when men become unemployed they face a loss of their status as economic providers and a rupture

of their perception of masculine identity, which means that the impact of displacement could be greater for men.

Table 5.13

Appendix to Chapter 5

QUESTIONNAIRE ON PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT.

We would like to thank you for your cooperation. Our ethical compromise is to maintain absolute reserve of your identity and location. You will find a series of questions addressed to approach your perception of the situation of violence in the country.

1. AGE: _____ years

2. GENDER ____ M ____ F

3. How many years of education have you undergone? _____ years

4. Compatibility Code Characterization File _____

As said before, now you will find a series of statements related with your perception about the situation of violence in the country. Please choose a value from 1 to 5 according to your agreement/disagreement with the pertinent statement (1, strongly agree; 2, agree; 3, undecided; 4, disagree; 5, strongly disagree).

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
1.1 I believe I am something important in Colombia					
1.2 One should work for the betterment of Colombia					
1.3 Every country has its rights and wrongs, but Colombia is almost always wrong					
1.4 I am happy being a Colombian					
1.5 The problems of Colombia are not important to me					
1.6 Colombia is important to me only as a place to live					
1.7 I am optimistic and feel that good things will come to Colombia					
1.8 I don't actually feel like a Colombian citizen					
1.9 I feel pleased when I tell people that I am a Colombian					
2.1 I believe that the Church is losing ground as education advances					
2.2 I think the Church plays a big part in fostering a good life and good customs for the people					
2.3 I believe the Church supports the common man					
2.4 The Church is the principle support in my life					
2.5 I believe that the priests are involved in business and neglect religion					
2.6 Outside of my home I consider the Church the best thing in the world					

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
2.7 I feel that the Church furthers brotherly relations between people and nations.					
2.8 I feel that Church attendance is a good measure of the morality of a nation					
2.9 I believe in the Church, but I feel that its influence is declining.					
3.1 One can safely travel alone in any part of Colombia during the day.					
3.2 One can always trust people, even if one doesn't know them personally					
3.3 In Colombia, one can never know what will happen next					
3.4 I feel uneasy when I think about the future					
3.5 It is unfair to bring children into the present day world					
3.6 I feel afraid when I go out alone at night					
3.7 If you see a crowd forming, it is best to get away as quickly as possible					
3.8 I'd feel safer in another country					
3.9 One can safely walk alone in the street					
3.10 To feel secure, one must keep his door locked					
3.11 I don't feel at ease when I leave my house alone					
3.12 I'd feel safer if I carried a gun to defend myself					
3.13 If I had difficulties on the street, people would help me.					
4.1 Most public officials aren't interested in the problems of the average man					
4.2 These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on					
4.3 Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today, and let tomorrow take care of itself					
4.4 Despite what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.					
4.5 Most people don't care what happens to others.					

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
5.1 Because of the Violence the majority of people have lost confidence in the Government					
5.2 Violence no longer belongs in politics					
5.3 The Church has not been very effective in reducing violence					
5.4 Because of the Violence, people have lost confidence in the Church					
5.5 It is impossible to expect justice from judges					
5.6 Those who have caused the Violence have made much money					
5.7 The Military has benefited from the Violence					
5.8 There are persons who have benefited from the Violence					
5.9 The Violence has augmented prostitution					
5.10 The government will be able to end the Violence					
5.11 The Church wishes to help more to end the Violence					
5.12 My family has just recently been a victim of violence					

Transition Questions

Question	Yes	No	DK
1. My family has never been affected by violence			
1.1 Mine is the first generation of my family that has been affected by violence			
2. My family has always lived in the same region			
2.1 My family's migration was related to or caused by violence			
2.2 My family's migration process was related to searching for better economic opportunities			

Open Questions

1. How would you describe the migratory processes that your family has undergone in the past?
2. Could you give us your perception about the violence in Colombia in the past and now?
3. Would you consider socially integrated in the city where you have been displaced? Yes? No? Why?

Chapter 6

Conclusions

This research has been concerned to provide an interdisciplinary (sociology and economics) – multileveled approach to the issue of forced displacement in Colombia between 1992 and 2004. From the theoretical point of view, I surveyed the disciplinary theoretical approaches for migration and included a detailed presentation of those related to the Economics of Migration and the Sociology of Migration. Afterwards, I proposed the main foundations for my own interdisciplinary approach, capable of dealing with the theoretical complexities of forced migration and able provide a bridge between Economics and the Sociology of Forced Migration.

Following the interdisciplinary criteria, my literature review on studies on forced displacement for Colombia was expanded in terms of time and disciplinary approach. The period of analysis, which should basically be comprised to 1992-2004, was expanded to 1960 to 2004. The reason for this was to evaluate the influence of violence over internal migration, based on the literature available for the period. Once the initial literature was reviewed, one of the most interesting findings was that forced displacement had in some sense been airbrushed from the literature. It can be claimed that “forced displacement” as a concept only became accepted and widely applied in the mid 1990s, when the UN Guiding Principles were published, nonetheless if we had forced migration in the late 1940s and 1950s, generated as a consequence of explicit political cleansing of municipalities, it should be described as forced displacement, and the importance of locating these population movements is that it provides empirical evidence of forced migration being an historical regularity as part of the whole picture of the historical portrait of internal migration in Colombia. Up until the early 1990s, only a few studies acknowledged and emphasized the influence that political violence had on forging both the internal migration flows in the 1960s and early 1970s. Another possible explanation for this historical depiction of internal migration being mostly based on voluntary, economic decisions was the influence that the Development literature, based on Lewis’ model of “Economic Development with Unlimited Supply of Labour” (Lewis, 1954) could have had on the methodological approaches used to analyze internal migration in Colombia at that time.

The second extension for the literature review was in terms of discipline. Not only studies from economics and sociology were included but also studies from demography, psychology and political science. This extension allowed finding a specific pattern through which disciplines forged an historical perception of the internal migration process in Colombia. There are two discipline-specific perceptions: studies coming from demography and economics emphasize a voluntary, proactive, economic historical explanation of internal migration, whereas the studies based on sociology, psychology, anthropology and political science provide a more dismal, reactive explanation, which outlines the influence of violence over migration.

As already outlined in the previous chapters, the second guideline for my methodological approach was to proceed by using a multi-layered strategy to analyze the phenomenon of forced displacement in Colombia. This implied beginning with the aggregate –collective and national level and then going through the regional – community level to finally reach the local and individual level, trying to take advantage of the information specifically made available by each, and generating added value from its analysis, although always maintaining the issue of forced displacement as a common thread of my research. Two chapters were devoted to the aggregate level, one reviewing and analyzing the literature available on internal migration and/or forced displacement for the Colombian case, in order to provide an historic and methodological overview of the process of internal migration in the country and the role that forced displacement has had on it. The second chapter aimed to critically deconstruct and evaluate how accurate and representative the aggregate IDP figures in Colombia are. The meso-level of the methodological strategy (regional – community level) was conducted in Chapter 4, where, through information made available from the registration forms of IDPs who applied for humanitarian emergency programmes provided by the Colombian Government through Caritas Diocesana, an NGO from the Colombian Catholic Church, I examined in detail the socio-economic features of some of the displaced communities who were forced to migrate to the city of Pereira, one of the main cities of the Coffee Region.

On Chapter 5 I considered the individual and local level from two specific perspectives. The first one evaluated the patterns of anomie among a sample of displaced individuals, compared to individuals who had not been displaced, but who shared some basic socio-

economic features. In order to do so, I reproduced the experiment that Aaron Lipman and A. Eugene Havens applied in the early 1960s to individuals forced to migrate to the city of Bogota in the period of La Violencia, the dramatic period of massive murders and political cleansings experienced by Colombia between 1948 and 1963. I saw the questionnaire, the research questions and more importantly, the prevalent historic context (the current crisis of forced displacement as a consequence of the internal conflict) as providing the optimal conditions for evaluating, again in 2002, 37 years later, the patterns of anomie among individuals who, once more, had been displaced by violence in Colombia. Finally, a sub-set of 10 individuals from those who participated in the Anomie Experiment, accepted an invitation to expand on answers provided in the questionnaire and elaborate on issues mostly related to the historical perception of their migration experiences and the role violence has had on them. Their narratives helped evaluate the possible persistence of some historical regularity: the relationship between land appropriation, violence and displacement; the subjective perception of violence as a historic figure, closely related to the human anonymity of its perpetrators, as well as the possible impunity of their actions.

6.1 Theoretical Conclusions

My theoretical framework emphasized the differences between proactive migration and reactive-forced migration. To the basic diagram of forced migration provided by Richmond (op. Cit) to illustrate his proposal for the Sociology of Migration, I added a simple description of the decision-making process provided by two economic explanations of migration, which present bounded rationality and income-portfolio diversification (with risk aversion) as possible explanations to the apparent economic irrationality of forced migration. Under bounded rationality, individuals are not aware of the economic results of moving. In this context, population movements are constrained decisions, taken with a restricted set of information: if people stay, they could be physically damaged; if they leave, they will not be. Considerations of future employment possibilities and their levels of income are either not part of the first order optimisation condition or not part of the information set at all.

One of the main advantages of my theoretical approach is the possibility of using proactive and reactive behaviours for both the sociological and economic analysis. Another is the underlying discussion of structure and agency, to be compared to

rational-maximizing behaviour and constrained rationality. Recapitulating all of these, I reiterate the standard theoretical view of both economics and the sociology of migration with two purposes: first, to show the increasing need to provide theoretical economic approaches to forced migration and second, to bridge the gap between economics and sociology by showing a common landscape of what is available and what is still missing in theories of migration.

Apart from these theoretical considerations, some possible epistemological implications for the Colombian case can be pointed out. I have found enough evidence, both in the available literature and through my own research, to acknowledge the influence of violence, especially political violence, on the scope, evolution and even perhaps outcomes of the migratory flows identified in Colombia between 1960s and 2004. However, in my literature review, I found another interesting regularity: the historical influence of violence on internal migration is usually absent from studies coming from disciplines such as economics or demography. It seems that from 30 years of continuous research on migration, economic studies of the subject have failed to acknowledge the influence of violence on internal migration in Colombia, through some of the most violent periods of Colombia's history. My claim was that the epistemological foundations used as theoretical frameworks for most, if not all of these studies, emphasized the importance of voluntary, rational approaches of economic migration, and thereby they were not able to formalize the reactive decisions of forced migration. I acknowledge that this pattern would require a more elaborated epistemological and historical deconstruction, and perhaps will be the subject of further research.

For the case of the demographic studies of internal migration in Colombia, I argued that although they acknowledge the influence of violence on internal migration, their information, provided by official population censuses and household surveys, usually fail to include specific questions regarding violence and migration, and therefore they lack the requisite accuracy of information for comprehending the phenomenon.

6.2 Displacement in Colombia: Conclusive Remarks

6.2.1 Profiles of Displacement

The information made available through the literature review of studies on forced displacement, together with the specific analysis I presented in Chapters 4 and 5, provided the following features:

- **Land Property and forced displacement:** Various studies found specific evidence to suggest that forced appropriation of land is one of the determinants of forced displacement. Patterns of land property suggest they are structural determinants of forced migration in Colombia, which has been proven both by surveying individual patterns of land property of displaced households (Kirchhoff and Ibañez, 2001; Ibañez and Velez, 2003 but more conclusively in Ibañez and Querubin, 2003) and on an aggregate level by Suarez and Vinha (2003, quoted in Ibañez and Querubin, *op. Cit.*) and by Fajardo (2001), who finds that forced displacement has a higher presence in those provinces that have higher levels of concentration of land property. The results of the data processing of registration forms presented in Chapter four, show that from the 19 provinces of origin for my displaced household data sample, only one, the displaced communities of the province of Santander did not report any land abandoned as a consequence of their displacement. Incidence of land abandoned was also checked in aggregate terms of the sample, finding that 58% of the displaced households stated land amongst their abandoned possessions, a percentage that accords with the 50% found by Erazo et Al. (*op. Cit.*) and that is actually higher than the 44% found by Kirchhoff and Ibañez (*op. Cit.*). Finally, from the qualitative information provided by the interviews, specific patterns of forced land appropriation were uncovered, which were found to be closely related to the perception of violence as an historic influence on internal migration for Colombia.
- Regarding the figures for Anomie and Social cohesion, the study of Henao *et Al.*, *op. Cit.*, describes how displacement is a mechanism of destruction of social networks and thereby a clear expression of the destruction of social cohesion and the possible emergence of new modalities of anomie. However, the results from Chapter 5 focus more on the historical consequences of persistent violence: in contrast to the Lipman and Havens' study for 1965, by 2002, symptoms of

anomie seem to have spread homogeneously, proving perhaps that all the different modalities of violence have affected the population in either one or another form, and thereby the lack of sense of collective cohesion affects all individuals, regardless of their possible forced migration experiences.

- **Increasing incidence and expansion of displacement:** According to the quantitative information available, forced displacement seems to be expanding both in terms of demographic (higher number of IDPs through time) and geographic incidence. The calculation of Indexes of both intensity (number of people displaced from a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants, Ibañez and Velez, *op. Cit.*) and Pressure (number of displaced people either expelled or received at a specific region per 100.000 inhabitants, UNDP, *op. Cit.*), showed that forced displacement had spread to cover the continental part of the country as a whole (San Andres, an island in the Caribbean ocean is the only municipality that has not been affected by displacement). Data processed for displaced communities from Pereira city, presented in Chapter 4, showed an increasing incidence and expansion as well, despite their geographic concentration.
- **Gender:** Both the results presented in Chapter 4 and the studies reviewed reinforce the idea that displacement in Colombia is a “women’s issue”. Qualitatively, gender considerations traverse all the dimensions of displacement: the destruction and inception phases (Meertens and Segura-Escobar, *op. Cit.*) and the transition between the private-rural social sphere and the public-urban one (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *op. Cit.*), which aspects were also recounted by some of the displaced women I interviewed. As already mentioned, according to many studies, the gender distribution of heads of displaced households usually has higher female members than the aggregated distribution for the Colombian population, which is 24%. My data sample found a similar pattern: 43% of displaced households have a female head, similar to the 45% found by Ibañez and Velez (2003). Further decomposition allowed me to identify the households that had a female head who did not have a partner, which puts them at the top part of the vulnerability scale. I found that these households represented 25% of the total sample, and 58% of the female headed

households as a whole. The calculation of the average size of all kinds of households and their dependency ratios (the ratio of secondary members of the household under 20 to heads of household) reinforced the perception of the vulnerability of these female single-headed households. Not only did these heads of household represent a big share of the whole structure of households of my sample, but they also had the highest number of average members of the sample (4.8 members) and the highest dependency ratio as well (2.69 secondary members depending on the head of household).

- **Ethnic Background:** I reviewed the patterns of ethnic background of displaced communities detected by previous studies. It seems to be more concentrated in some specific groups: close to 30% of displaced people are from either indigenous or afro Colombian (black) backgrounds, whereas they represent only 18% of the total Colombian population. Calculation of these percentages for my sample (23.9%) follows the demographic pattern found in the studies of Fagen *et Al.* (*op. Cit.*) and Grupo Tecnico en Desplazamiento (*op. Cit.*), who find the share of these ethnic communities among IDPs to be between 23 and 33% of the whole affected population.

6.2.2 An unsolved issue: The quantitative dimension of the humanitarian crisis of forced displacement in Colombia

To date, despite this being a recurrent criticism included in almost every international report on forced displacement in Colombia, the issue of representativeness, consistency and the significance of IDPs numbers has not been resolved, and in some sense seems to have been brushed aside by both the Colombian government and the NGOs. Currently there seems to be more public emphasis on short-term figures than on the historical dimension of displacement. This seems to be due in part to the lack of technical clarity regarding the stock / flow procedure, because currently there is no consensus on when a person should no longer be considered displaced. It is possible that a big share of all flows have become a permanent stock, which makes the internal consistency of aggregate figures even more difficult to deconstruct. Given the fact that displacement figures are in some sense a measure of the lack of state's attention and protection, it is not surprising that they have become a subject for open discussion between the government authorities and NGOs and other members of the civil society.

These two parts in open discussion seem to favour two different perceptions and interpretations of the Colombian legislation on forced displacement. The government emphasizes a short term, humanitarian help-focused interpretation, which may be explained by the *contingent failure* on counting refugees and IDPs (Harrell-Bond et Al., 1991, 1992) as sometimes governments place priority on public budget constraints over humanitarian considerations. However, the internal conditions of forced migration in Colombia bring a completely different requirement to the duty of accurate counting of IDPs. In this case, different from the foundations of the humanitarian regime where there are not normative definitions of mutual obligations between givers (donors) and clients (refugees and IDPs) (i.e, the *substantive failure*), the Colombian legislation regarding forced displacement does establish normative definitions between the Colombian government and its citizens. Being IDPs in this case, the citizens demand, and deserve humanitarian attention, compensation and protection from the Colombian government. For the last five years, the political administration of Alvaro Uribe has emphasized the interpretation of IDP figures solely based on registration, something that implies some sort of technical spinning: the real dimension of a social phenomena gets reduced when the technical instrument designed to approach its quantitative dimension, becomes the conceptual definition of what the social phenomena actually is.

6.2.3 Displacement as an historical regularity for Colombia

From my point of view, to find and present evidence that sustains the hypothesis of violence being a structural, historical influence and determinant of migration in Colombia, is one of the most important issues raised by my research. I think its importance derives from its implications. If violence, mostly related to irregular patterns of land appropriation and structural land concentration, seems to be able to explain in large part the migratory flows experienced by Colombia in the XXth and the beginning of the XXIst, centuries, then this implies that the causes of forced displacement are not just short-term, but are, rather, deeply imbedded in the very construction of the Colombian nation-state.

I quoted in Chapter 2, those studies which strongly emphasize the historical regularity of violence as a determinant of migration: Guzman *et Al.* (1962), Cardona (1978) , U.S. Committee for Refugees (1993), Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996), Colombian Bishop's Conference (2000), Pecaut (2000), Segura-Escobar (2000), Women's

Commission for Refugee Women and Children (1999, 2002), Casasfranco (2001), Fajardo (2001), Fagen *et Al.* (2003) and Florez (2003). These studies, mostly from sociology, history and political science, emphasize the structural influence of violence on internal migration. As I said in Chapter 2, the perception of a permanent, endemic presence of political violence in Colombia's history is usually contrasted with the established perception of a country with more than 150 years of bi-partisan rule, which supposedly makes it a paradigm of civilian and democratic administration in Latin America. I quoted Cardona's point that migration as an ex-post social construction to sustain the point that in historic terms, migration may have been one of the subjects of a collective construction of denial. Nonetheless, the narratives of displacement garnered from my interviews, showed the possible existence of a collective memory: running from the potential or explicit threat of violence is one of the most regular explanations for migration, both in recent times and far back into the past. Violence, according either to the reviewed studies or to the testimonies of my interviewees, although still an anonymous mythical figure, has changed its face, and although the hope for punishment and justice is low among displaced communities, their memory is still strong. And right now, when a peace process seems to have been developed between the Colombian Government and paramilitary troops leaders', the issue of collective memory leading to evidence and justice is a paramount one. Personally, I hope that denial will not be the destiny of the whole recent phenomena of forced displacement in Colombia, because as a displaced woman said in one interview I read recently: "...sometimes for us is just better if everybody knows the true about our situation, than to know that the perpetrators have been sent to jail".

This reflection provides the closing link for some final thoughts, for whose lack of scholarly tone I beg sufferance. For four years, in order to study the internal migration processes and narratives of the people of my country, my own grandparents and parents among them, I became a migrant myself. I have been through the complete process of household destruction, the lack of identity and the confusion of the person who has actually been given the chance to go back in space to the place I was living before all this began, but who cannot go back in time to be who he was then. My process, however, cannot be compared to the struggle that all the displaced communities and individuals in Colombia have experienced. My contribution, if my research provides one, apart from any academic added value, has two personal purposes: memory and

understanding. Understanding in order to provide solutions. Understanding that foreigners and the international community may have got from my research. Memory, because, as has been said too many times, the people who do not know their history are doomed to repeat it. And this is what this document shows, that this is what we Colombians have done, falling again and again in cycles of violence and displacement, repeating the history of those we have superseded.

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