



Bachelor of Science Programme in Development Studies (BIDS)

*Internal Displacement, Place attachment and post-
conflict trauma in Sucre, Colombia.*

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Abstract

This essay gives an insight into the situation of IDPs in Sucre, Colombia. The aim of the study is to try to draw on the concepts of internal displacement, place attachment and post-conflict trauma to see how IDPs view themselves in respects to these concepts. Colombia has the second largest number of IDPs in the world making the situation for IDPs a highly relevant case to study. When one talks about IDPs in Sucre it is important to remember that most times the moving is not voluntary. In many cases in Sucre the time and type of displacement is closely linked to the economic capacity of the IDP. Also the option to go back home after the displacement is highly related to economic means. This is something that needs to have a greater part in the discussion regarding IDPs situation in Sucre. In addition, it is significant to let the IDPs talk about their situation in a qualitative study to shed some more light on how they view their situation. There is a change in how IDPs view themselves and their rights within the Colombian society. With the recognition of victims of the conflict the label IDPs has started to change into something desirable.

Key concepts: Colombia, Sucre, Internal Displacement, Place Attachment, Post-conflict trauma.

Acknowledgements

I want to start by sending thanks to Clara-Inez Beltran without whom and her good contacts and persistence this thesis would never have been possible. In addition I would like to thank all the people at Famillas en su Tierra in Bogota and Sinclejo that helped to get in contact with the participants in the field. Additionally, I would like to thank Camilo Tellez with family for all the support in Colombia. A special thanks goes out to Cezar, Eduardo and Hilberto, all the technicians at FEST, working in the field and for all the extra help and support you provided. Most of all I would like to thank all the people who participated in the interviews and invited me in to their homes let me take up their time to ask questions without asking anything in return. Second, I would like to thank my supervisor Christian Abrahamsson who always believed in me and let me make this thesis my own and showed me another side of academia with more freedom. I would also like to thank Noura Alkhalili who step in the last week of writing and saved me from myself. Last but not least I would like to thank the department of Human Geography at Lund University that believed in me and sent me on a field study to Colombia and to SIDA that made this possible.

List of Acronyms

CID	Conflict Induced Displacement
ELN	Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias the Colombia
FEST	Famillas En Su Tierra
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
MFS	Minor Field Study
ID	Internal Displacement
Red ORMET	Red de Obervatorios Regionales del Mercado de Trabajo
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
UNHCR	United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees
USAID	United States Agency for International

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1. Introduction

1.1 Internal Displacement

The subject matter of ID is an increasingly relevant issue with the numbers of IDPs increasing since the 1980s when it was first brought up on the agenda. Before that IDPs rested under the same authority as refugees without having a framework to protect them, being under the jurisdiction of the country. This increasing focus was due to the many civil wars and the changing agenda in the 1990s from receiving countries to “take care” of the problem of refugees in the “home” country. ID is most pressing in the area with ongoing conflicts and as an effect of natural disasters worldwide.

However, it was not widely talked about until the 1980s for several reasons: 1. The number of IDPs increased heavily. 2. Countries reluctance to take in more refugees and therefore needed to address the problem. 3. Communications between organizations was easier and the communication through the media was faster and created popular opinion within the international community. 4. In the post-cold-war discourse it was more acceptable to interfere with sovereign states if they were posing a risk to their habitant which was a line that the UN pushed hard for. 5. It was believed that a state could not develop without including the group of IDPs (Cohen et al, 1998:3-5).

ID is rather different to handle on an international level than that of refugees. First of all, IDPs are still within the borders of the country they are targeted by, not necessarily by the government but someone in the country are acting in a way so that they cannot stay in their homes. Because they are still in their country of origin they fall under the jurisdiction of their own sovereign state and refugee laws do not apply which makes it hard for organizations that work with IDPs to get access to them (Cohen et al, 1998:8). In many of the cases with IDPs the government is very reluctant to take responsibility due to their involvement in conflict.

In the case of displacement it is common for the younger and older generation to stay behind to take care of the home and land while the middle-aged generation is preparing to get settled someplace else. This can have both good and bad consequences depending on the area of the conflict. In many ways old and young people are more affected by uprooting than the middle-aged. The young because home gives a sense of comfort which can apply for the old as well and that they are not as physically movable and therefore more prone to stay in one place. If the level of violence in the area is low this can be a good solution but if the level of violence is very high it can have devastating and lifelong effect on both the young and the old. Moreover, the education for the young is effected when they do not attend school during the time of displacement and after (Cohen et al, 1998:24-25). Not only young is affected by the conflict and the population at large. Many IDPs sell of the property when moving leaving them with very little economic security and leaving their previous professions behind due to many reasons such as, lack of tools, new labor market and lack of access to the field of profession. Since many of the IDPs are working in agriculture the food industry is affected leaving large parts of the country without supply of food (Cohen et al, 1998:25-26).

1.2 Conflict and ID in Colombia

The armed conflict in Colombia consists of the left wing guerillas FARC and ELN and the state that has been going on since early 1960's. There are also the paramilitaries employed by the large landowners and drug lords. These four actors have been fighting for landownership and civil rights for half a decade now. In 2008 the government declared the right wing paramilitaries to be dismantled, but this has been highly debated if this is the case. The conflict started out as an ideological conflict to today mainly being about access to land and the funds that provides (Fadnes & Horst, 2009:117). The conflict has affected both the social development of Colombia and the accessibility to social services for people living in the periphery (Lonzono-Garcia et al, 2009:161). It has devastating results on the access to the labor market when it has been moved away from ones former source of income, which mostly consists of agriculture leaving these people extremely vulnerable.

Landownership has been one of the main issues of the conflict when ownership of land in Colombia, like Latin America in general, is unevenly spread. The main issue is that the elites are both large landowners, and serve in the parliament (Fadnes & Horst, 2009:117). The conflict has affected both the social development of Colombia and the accessibility to social services for people living in the periphery. The center of the conflict has been located primarily in areas of agriculture and areas rich in minerals and natural resources (Fadnes & Horst, 2009).

The conflict in Colombia cannot be categorized as any other. It is not a conflict between two actors fighting with arms rather the conflict is more complex than that. Many actors are involved and the expression of violence is very diverse, through kidnappings, drug wars, terrorist attacks on civilians and much more. Thomson (2011:325) states: "*volatile statistics might lead one to believe that Colombia has had various distinct civil wars.*" stating that there is not only one struggle going on in the country but many parallel, active on and off. Furthermore, the many actors involved results in fragmented legal and geographical targeting, when it is fought by many actors (Meertens, 2002:3).

During the 1950s and 1960 there was an intensification of the violence with the tensions between liberals and conservatives referred to as "*la violencia*". This period lay down the fundament for mistrust that is still relevant in both rural and urban areas and is a big obstacle in the process of building up the country (Meertens, 2002:3). There have been many waves, with some calmer periods disturbed by intensifications. The latest intensification occurred in 2001 when the peace talks with the FARC and other armed guerillas were collapsed with a result of intensified violence. At this point, displacement occurred in all 32 municipalities in the country with some more affected than others yet this gives an image on how extensive this wave of violence was (Meertens, 2002:4-5).

Wars can be seen as development in reverse which hampers development and makes a country poorer. This is true in the case Colombia in many ways, but not in all. Colombia has had economic growth despite the ongoing conflict in the country and all parts of society are involved in the conflict, from the president to the farmer living in the countryside (Thomson, 2011:322). Moreover, the conflict in Colombia has been heavily influenced by the drug trade

going on as a mean to finance the conflict for the armed groups. The armed groups existed before the drug cultivation but in Colombia today the conflict has expanded to include rights to land in order to grow drugs. In other words the drugs have become as much a commodity to fight for as the land itself. Some even mean that the conflict has moved from being a rights based conflict to become a greed based conflict on the bases of drug trafficking (Thomson, 2011:324).

Another aspect of the conflict in Colombia that makes it different is that it is not ethnic driven. Members of all groups have many different ethnicities represented within the groups. The armed groups do not fight for right for one specific ethnic group either and motive for joining one particular group differs greatly between the members.

In the case of Colombia there is government programs working with IDPs in the country backed up by USAID. The larger umbrella program dealing with IDPs is Acion Social that works as a social agent dealing with IDPs. Under that umbrella is the program FEST working exclusively with IDPs living in rural areas. Within the program of FEST there are four components of dealing with displacement. First, are the incentives and option of moving back to the place of displacement or if that is not possible relocate to someplace else. Second is monetary help to get the housing in order. Third, is the food security which is help to set up a farm near the house. Last is the productive idea focused on agriculture to start working the land again to establish a more long term re-settlement in the area (ABC Famillas En Su Tierra).

1.3 Aim and research question

The aim of this study is to further investigate how IDPs give reason to their situation considering internal displacement, place attachment and post-conflict traumas. Thus, to understand the links between the three components stated previously in relations to IDPs in Sucre, Colombia. This thesis ambition to answer the following research question:

How do IDPs in Sucre, Colombia view themselves in relation to internal displacement, place attachment and post-conflict traumas?

2. Literature review

2.1 Internal Displacement

Due to the difference in time of displacement the repercussions post-displacement differ. What happens before, during and after the displacement determines how a person handles the everyday life.

There are three stages that all IDPs go through in displacement; the first is the pre-phase where their history is taken into account alongside their economic and social conditions. IDPs are as a base often the most vulnerable in a society with low social and economic capital resulting in low mobility. It is during this phase of displacement the trigger occurs, it can be a conflict or a trauma of some kind that forces one to leave one's home. The second one is the period of displacement with emphasis on the traumas that triggers the displacement and the traumas experienced during the displacement. The last is the post-displacement phase regarding the time, IDPs, to reestablish in an area or move to a new area (Siriwardhana & Steward, 2012:20). The phases are referred to as pre-flight, flight and post-flight/resettlement. All these phases and the length of them can later on have crucial effects on both the health and the wellbeing of IDPs.

Siriwardhana & Steward (2012:20) mean that the period of post-flight/resettlement and the length of that period can be determining for the mental stability and health for IDPs. Since, the ties to society and comfort are often taken away leaving the displaced in limbo or replaced with an over belief that the society will take care of the situation (Siriwardhana & Steward, 2012:21).

In the case of identity creation among IDPs the main focus has been on the label of being an IDP and how that transcends to identity. One example of this is Guerrero (2010:59) the emphasis is put on the identity creation among IDP children and a more ground up view on identity where she considers how identity is created in images and the way children talk about their situation. In this study she concludes that the children rather than adopting the status of being an IDP constructs their own identity around being an IDP that differs largely from the definition set as a humanitarian label (Guerrero, 2010: 62).

2.1.1 Definition, Internal Displacement

The definition to be recognized as internally displaced according to the UN is "persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or manmade disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country" (Cohen et al, 1998:16). This definition has however been updated to " who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular, as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of, armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border" (Cohen et al, 1998:18). The first definition was believed to be too narrow to fully grasp who was internally displaced but under what circumstances it happened. In the later definition the time aspect of the time of displacement is not emphasized which in the case of

Colombia is beneficial when the displacement often has been a long process of leaving and coming back or being gradually displaced from one's home.

Moreover, the Colombian government has adopted the guiding principal on ID by the UN. Within the guiding principle is the aim for IDPs to have the same right as the population in general without discrimination in terms of sex, gender etc. and not be a complement to seeking asylum in other countries. Similarly, it is stressed in the guiding principles that it is the home state of the IDPs that has the outmost responsibility and jurisdiction over IDPs and therefore IDPs have the right to demand help from their own government. There will not be much focus on the guiding principle in this paper because it is a rather juridical complicated paper and due to time limitations and lack of knowledge in law it will only be treated here as it was mentioned in the key-informant interview with a government official in the field.

2.2 Place attachment

There has long been an idea that people attach themselves to the place they live but how that happens is not all clear but with the tools of place attachment we can try to understand why people create attachment to a place. In this lies an assumption on why people stay in the same place such as family history, sense of community and ties to the climate but mostly has to do with how one builds up a picture of the past (Scannell & Gifford, 2010:1). Moreover, it is assumed that attachments grown over the period of time a person stays in one location and provides a sense of security and continuity which created problems when that attachment is uprooted (Brown, Altman & Werner, 2012:183-187). Changes can be associated to something good, like a new step in life, a step forward but it can be related to something bad and might happen too fast (Brown, Altman & Werner, 2012:186).

Scannell & Gifford (2010:2) proposes a three dimensional framework to understand place attachments. First, one needs to understand who the attached is and how the person makes sense of the place on both an individual and a collective level. Second is to understand what happened there and how does one behave in it. Thirdly, it is important to understand why people are attached is how it looks and what characteristics people are attached to. One has to think about the individual and the collective to understand place attachment, which ties in to the first step of the place attachment framework. One can create individual attachments but still have collective memories which include the rather vague feeling of belonging to a group and feeling home. People can relate to a place to the extent that they relate to it as a part of the personality (Scannell & Gifford, 2012:3). With that feeling being a part of one's personality comes a sense of responsibility, to take care and sustain (Brown, Altman & Werner, 2012:187).

In the article *A Place to Call home: Identification with Dwelling, Community, and Region* by Cuba and Hummon (1993) the focus is put on place identity and how one creates meaning in the location of habitant and what that can function as in a society. Emphasis is put on how a person identifies with an area and the people living there give it meaning. The article gives an account of how the development of place with the focus on culture to the globalization of community with a more individualized view on place identity, with the media taking over (Cuba & Hummon, 1994:114,127). Moreover, the bond deepens exponentially with the time

spent, the level of social involvement and in what period of life one spends there. Furthermore, gender plays a part in the affection. Women and older are more articulate in their attachment and talks about it in more emotional terms reflecting structures in society at large (Cuba & Hummon, 1994:123-4). There are three levels of place attachment that need to be taken into consideration; dwelling, community and region that can create a web used to further understand how and why people are attached in an emotional way. In addition, it is not too much the residence itself that determines the level of attachment but rather the construction and interpretation of the place with the characteristics that it has.

Some humanistic geographers refer to the phenomenon as sense of place which is not the exact same but there are many similarities. This is about how we are connected to our environment and how that environment holds many of our feelings and memories. With the time limitation and due to the sensitivity of the subject of feelings stored in the land this study will focus on place attachment to try to understand how IDPs identify themselves in relation to land. There is a difference when talking about place attachment and place identity where the first is “positive bonds developed from behavior, cognitive and affective ties between individuals or groups and multiple levels of their socio-physical environment” and the later “Clusters of positive and negative cognitions or beliefs about a wide variety of places that help define self-identity”. The last definition relevant in this case is sense of place defined as “Place meanings, attachment and satisfaction that derive from social construction as well as place proprieties” (Brown, Altman & Werner, 2012:183). The first is then when a person creates ties through behavior towards that environment that are positive. In relation to this is then place identity a stronger attachment when the place or places in this case is a part of the construction on identity. The latter, is then not a place in itself but rather how a person constructs that place in relation to the social and physical place.

2.2.1 Citizenship

When talking about citizenship one must remember that it is not something static but a process that changes all the time and means different things for different people. Moreover, in theory, citizenship is supposed to include everyone in who is born in a country but in many cases it fails to do so (Garcia, 1996:8). Often the failure to include all parts of the society has to do with ethnic minorities. In Colombia, it is true with ethnic minorities being excluded, and it is more pressing for farmers living in the country side. An important point is that a citizenship does not include equal rights for all (Garcia, 1996:8). It is believed that citizenship can enhance the sense of belonging to a place and hence the attachment and the feeling of being equal (Garcia, 1996:11). From this one can draw the correlation between a strong sense of citizenship gives a strong sense of belonging.

In the case of Colombia, one can have a citizenship but the right to act on one’s citizenship can become a privilege that one part of the population can act upon. What is that then, can one say that one can have a citizenship but not the rights or possibility to claim those rights, is it then a citizenship? In practical terms yes, one can have a citizenship on paper but not the social or economic capital to claim the rights that entail. Needless to say, in theory there cannot be a citizenship without the rights that comes along with it (Garcia, 1996:10).

2.3 Post-conflict trauma

Fullilove's article (1996) is based on psychology of place where the emphasis is put on the process of forming an attachment to a place through three processes: familiarity, attachment and identity. When someone is confronted with displacement these three processes are being interrupted creating a sense of alienation. The first process is familiarity which is focused on the assumption that it is essential for humans to be familiar with their surroundings in order to know what is safe and what is not. In an unfamiliar surrounding everything can be perceived as dangerous without the knowledge of how it works in the new context. Subsequently, moving from one area to another is in many cases associated with a great feeling of insecurity and more focus on the details that in a familiar context never would be an issue. In the case of displacement this has both mental and physical affect after the event of the displacement (Fullilove, 1996:1518).

The second process of displacement according to Fullilove (1996:1518) is attachment and nostalgia. When someone is displaced and home is threatened that no longer feels safe and the person itself feels exposed when home no longer feels protected. The attachment is established during childhood and further deepened in adulthood when moving to another place. The nostalgia and attachment becomes more evident when the move is not voluntary but forced. In this case one has to consider what it is that has been lost and what that means for that person (Fullilove, 1996:1519-20). Many of the people that have been forced to move do not want to go back to where they were displaced or leave where they currently habitate because of the past trauma where home is no longer something that can be taken for granted for will be there when they get back (Fullilove, 1996:1520).

The third process is the identity and alienation is based on the correlation between place and a person's identity, hence place and identity becomes one and the same. In the case of displacement it is no longer a static entity resulting in an alienation and subsequently one's identity (Fullilove, 1996:1520).

In a time of conflict and violence the borders of what is human dignity is washed down when the violence puts the victims outside their line of moral. Consequently that means that the victims of a conflict are put outside their identity as well and have to reevaluate what moral is, resulting in a change of identity or in some cases a disintegration of identity. In the situation of conflict and violence all that was safe is viewed as a threat which is mirrored in changed or destroyed family relationships and the loss of communications with one's likes (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:182-5). Moreover, just because one has once been in IDP does not mean that when that label technically no longer applies that mental identity is gone and no longer apply (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:183).

IDPs are often portrayed as outsiders both by others and collectively by IDPs themselves. Even though being displaced means having displaced as one part of one's identity doesn't it mean that it is one's entire identity which can be the danger when a label as IDP is put on people. This can be dangerous in many ways when people are portrayed as "the others" and with the high level of mistrust in Colombia, a precarious level of de-humanization comes with that labeling (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:186,188). In line with this are IDPs often viewed as

morally bankrupt and in need of a new moral (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:198). Moreover, since the situation of IDPs often entail daily struggles to ensure food and security the process becomes highly individualized when the surroundings becomes a source of threat (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:188). The state has failed IDPs so many times it not viewed as safe either but rather as a source of disappointment and failed promises.

3. Background

3.1 Internal Displacement in Colombia

Colombia has the second largest group of IDPs in the world, 3.2 million due to the ongoing conflict in the country. The conflict in Colombia has affected the larger cities to large extent but has had devastating effects on rural areas (Lonzono-Garcia, 2009:159). The rural population has been forced to flee into the urban areas causing them to live under extreme poverty (Meertens, 2003:1). 98,6% of IDP live under poverty line and 82,6% lives under the extreme poverty line making this group one of the most vulnerable in Colombia. There has been many attempts to negotiate a truce between the guerillas and government but none of them has been sustained in the long run and the economic recession in 1998 has affected the IDP's negatively (Albuja & Ceballos,2007).

Returning is not an option and only 13% have expressed a desire to return and the number of people returning has seen a decline in the recent years (Meerten, 2003:3). In addition, IDPs are up to 70% engaged in agriculture and when being displaced to an urban setting that skill is no longer sought after resulting in high unemployment. The other 30% working with more administrative professions have an easier time finding jobs during the time of displacement. Correspondingly, the women are more likely to work in the urban setting than the men, in a small wending store or in a family (Meertens, 2002:8). In the cases of IDPs moving to smaller urban centers it is easier to find work in agriculture as a day-worker or rent land (Meertens, 2002:8).

In Colombia displacement is most common not in groups but families moving to a location where other family members or other relations to the family already live, even though mass migration is not totally uncommon. Migration is most common between rural-urban, when it comes to household migration but when it comes to group migration it is more common to move to smaller urban areas in the same department or municipality. (Meerten, 2003:2). In line with this most of the literature on the subject of IDPs in Colombia is focused on urban migration and little are done on IDPs returning or resettling in a rural area.

Since 2001 the focus of how to handle the problem of IDPs has been resettlement. In 2002 president Pastrana introduced "*demilitarized zones*" with the goal of having islands in the country where there were no conflict and IDPs could resettle without being affected by the conflict (Meertens, 2002:2). This did not work out in the way it was hoped to and when Uribe took over as president the situation was worse than ever and many of the IDPs that had resettled were displaced once more (Meertens, 2002:2,11). With the focus on resettlement the government has neglected to address the problem of what happens after the resettlement. There are strong economic reasons for resettlement with the security issues not being properly taken into consideration (Meertens, 2002:13).

3.2 Legal framework Internal Displacement, Colombia

It was not until the mid-1990s that the Colombian government claimed their responsibility of IDPs and laws were passed to ensure civil rights to IDPs, Law 387 (Fadnes & Horts, 2009:113). Law 387 states that IDPs have the right to humanitarian assistance but most

important, the right not to be displaced. The humanitarian assistance consists of emergency assistance with grants given over a period of three months to start with and then it has to be reevaluated (Fadnes & Horst, 2009:115). This however does not ensure that the help targets everyone affected. For example, the people displaced by the paramilitaries are not eligible for the grants since they officially do not exist since 2008. Nevertheless the humanitarian assistance is the only part of Law 387 that has been enforced since the law was adopted

Law 387 focuses on prevention of displacement by education, locating the sources of displacement and trying to work against it. It includes the right to military assistance in order to exit an area of conflict. However, in many cases the priority has been put on evacuating paramilitaries and higher ranked elites before helping the rural population (Fadnes & Horst, 2009:114,115).

The IDP law 387 in Colombia was first initiated by the UN Secretary General on IDPs, Francis Deng, together with the government and a number of NGO's working with IDPs. In practice the new laws gave IDPs rights on paper but they have been harder to implement on the ground and the government has not yet shown to take its responsibilities seriously (Fadnes & Horst, 2009). In addition, the elites are the ones managing the media making the invisibility of IDPs evident. There is a gap between the elites in power and the IDPs that creates a situation with very low levels of trust from both sides and hence low accountability. Furthermore, the government has put a terrorist mark on the FARC and ELN which makes the legal framework increasingly complicated to implement (Fadnes & Horst, 2009:117). The issue of IDPs has become depoliticized in the sense that they do not have to take any responsibility in the conflict. The situation is now such that IDPs are given grants as a way for the government to show that they are taking the IDPs situation seriously but in reality they are only treating the symptoms and not the root of the problem (Fadnes & Horst, 2009:166).

Conflict does not only have devastating consequences for the people living in the area and for the area itself. Housing, infrastructure and the ecology of a place is heavily impacted by conflict which in turn affects people when wanting to reestablish themselves in an area. Furthermore, when people move back to a previously abandoned area the social codes in place before does not apply anymore which can create tension and confusion within a community (Cohen et al, 1998:24) In relation to this, the previous agreements on land and how to settle conflicts are not in place any longer resulting in a sense of lawlessness for some time after the reestablishment (Cohen et al, 1998:25).

3.3 Sucre, Colombia



3.3.1 Case study

This field study is constructed as a case study of the municipality of Sucre, Colombia. The aim with doing a case study is to get a holistic view of the connections between the conflict, identity creation and land in the case of this municipality. The reason for drawing the line with the municipality of Sucre was to ensure full anonymity of the participants in the field. The area of Sucre was chosen on the premises of how the conflict has affected the area and that the security in the area is so that IDPs are starting to move back to the homes they lived in before the displacement that gave unique insight to the post-flight period. Moreover, in the same area there is IDPs that has not returned but reestablished in an area close to the former home. It is imperative that the case study is chosen on criterias that makes them relevant to the studied case which I found that the case of Sucre was in the case of identity creation and IDPs in Colombia (Denscombe, 2009:64).

The limitations of doing a case study are that it can be hard to set the borders for the study so that it does not say anything about something that is not relevant to the case. Moreover, it is harder to generalize on a case study but not. When studying one case it is one phenomenon that is studied and that can occur in other settings where the research might not be applied but consulted (Denscombe, 2009:70).

Sucre	
Inhabitants	810.650
Main employment	Agriculture 25.8%
Number of municipalities	26
Numbers of municipalities with paramilitary presence 2011	17
Number of IDPs	54972
	Refrence:Red ORMET (2010), De Los Rios (2012:30)

In the capital of Sucre, Sincelejo, 35 % of the inhabitants are registered as victims of the conflict and most of them are IDPs coming from Montes de Maria, in which the

institutional power was very low due to the infiltration of illegal groups in the area. The area of Sucre together with Bolivar has been two of the municipalities most affected by many actors of the conflict, FARC, ELN, paramilitaries and in some cases the government. This area is in the middle of the violence¹ corridor with Montes de Maria in the center of the

¹ The “violence corridor” refers to the corridor going from Bogota down to Cartagena by the coast where the conflict has had devastating affects over the years.

conflict. During the period of 1998 and 2002 the area of Sucre and Bolivar experienced 50 to 60 massacres around the area of Montes de Maria.

During the time of Uribe, a military safety zone that lead to both the demobilization of the paramilitaries and lowered the presence of FARC in the area. But not without a prize. The social trust in the area went down due to the high military presence in the area and, the very low mobility for people because of the military check points. There has been a transformation in the way that policies were implemented. The change in the government plan took place giving the municipalities more responsibility handle the problem of IDPs enabling organizations working with IDPs in the area to take part in the implementation if the victims law. Nevertheless, some of the civil society organizations working in the area before the military safety zone were highly targeted by both guerillas and the government and some of the leaders were killed leaving the civil society with low trust in institutional change.

Many of the people living in the Sucre, even now when it is a less active conflict are living in the same way as if the conflict was still present. It can be applied in the way that conflicts are resolved within families with high levels of abuse and violence and the social projects that has started in the area of Montes de Maria has not yet shown to give results (Aldo Morales, Head Coordinator UNDP, Sincelejo).

4. Methodology

The methods used in the study were participant interviews with beneficiaries of FEST in the municipality of Sucre. In addition ethnographical observations were made in the villages where the participants lived. To get a better understanding of the situations of IDPs in both Sucre and Colombia key-informant interview were conducted with key-persons working with issues regarding IDPs. This is done through a qualitative case of Sucre, Colombia, as well to avoid any generalization of the IDPs situation in Colombia. The aim with doing a qualitative study is to be able to dig deeper and to with ambition to map IDPs understanding of their situation in relation to land. Furthermore with a qualitative study the relationships between people that create what we call society (Bryman, 2012:380).

4.1 Field Access

To get access to the field I had help from the program FEST working with IDPs in Sucre. Through them I got in contact with technicians working in the larger village whom helped me to get in contact with the participants in the field. The first week in the field was spent visiting families in the smaller villages with one of the technicians from FEST to get familiar with the area and so that the participants could meet us and get to know us better before we did the interviews for our projects.

4.2 Method of sampling

Before going to the field I thought that my population would be people living in rural areas in Colombia to get a more comprehensive study on land and belonging. When in the field I soon realized that it was not possible to do that and make a good study with the amount of time I had. Due to that the population had to be restricted to IDPs living in a rural area to narrow the population down and that it did not seem to add enough to include the whole population of rural inhabitants to the study. In the end the sampling was a mix of snowball sampling and purposive sampling on the bases of gender and occupation. The snowball sampling when in the field and getting to know the population in the villages which lead to getting to know one participant that lead me to another (Bryman, 2012:187). The purposive sampling was based on a strategy of gender, occupation, age but people with key roles in the community based on the assumption that they reflected more on the subject of belonging or what made the land important to them (Bryman,2012:418)

4.3 Positionality

When one travels as a tourist it is different in the sense that a tourist is a source of income and that when traveling gives a sense of belonging or rather a role to fill. When I went there with the purpose of conducting research that role did no longer apply and I felt a bit out of place and did not know how to relate to the context in the same way. In addition, the other student from Lund² was born and raised in Colombia and I felt that because I sometimes struggled with the language, I became a spectator of the settings rather than participating in it. It was a context with a long history of violence at present calm but the conflict was somehow always present when talking to people living in the area making me a bit uneasy. However,

² There was another student from Lund University doing a MFS in Colombia at the same time as me from the Department of Sociology with the focus on FEST.

sometimes it felt that it was more me than the people in the villages that saw me as an outsider. They were aware of the fact that I was a foreigner and in some cases people assumed things about the way that I lived in Sweden that was not necessarily true but they did not expect anything special of me because of it and talked in the same manner and on the same subject to me as the other student from Lund with Colombian background. In one instant I felt that people had a large error about who I was when I attended a meeting in one of the villages and they said that “it felt good to have the presence of the international community”. At that point I felt that the people in the village had greater expectations on me than I could fulfill. The fact that I sometimes felt a little bit out of place in the field had both advantages and disadvantages. The advantage was that I often found myself being an outside observer in the field rather than engaging in the what was going on providing insights that I would not have had if engaged in the activities. It feels important to state that in this process, with me as an outsider, the observations I made in the field is an interpretation on what I saw and not a truth of any kind and cannot be separated from my values (Bryman, 2012:39). With this is not meant that nothing I observed is valid or untrue but it is a subject looked at from my perspective and as long as I am transparent in the process I hope that the readers later can navigate better in my thesis. In the end one can have many fine ideas on how research is supposed to be carried out before going to the field but ones in the field there is so many things the researcher cannot control and things that are not what one expected (Bryman, 2012:41). When in the field the method is largely dependent on small decisions made along the way and problems occurring in the process.

In positioning myself as an outsider and an observer I find it important to state my ontological position as a constructivist which was I felt I became more firmly convinced on during my time in the field. Culture is in a constant change changing with the actors whom participants in that culture and how the participants relate to one another. One can however not be extreme in this position without making research unimportant or impossible and therefore need to have some measure of common sense when applying it. If everything is changing all the time and is affected by everything one can never say anything about anything and that results in research not meaning anything (Bryman, 2012:34).

4.3.1 Biases

In this section some of the relevant biases will be stated, with the ones not included not necessarily important but not as important in the context this study was carried out. In this case one must consider the project bias presented by Chambers (2008:34), when most of the project in rural areas is designed in an urban center and the money and directives still come from that end. When one then come as a researcher and want to look at the program one is often lead in one direction where the coordinators in the urban area feel the project can take a curious eye. This can result in that the “good” parts of a project are flooded in visitors and take on an attitude that does not match real results of the program. In the case of FEST this felt like a danger in the initiation of the study when the place of the study was established with the program pushing for one location which did not feel like the right fit for this study. In the end it was solved with being very firm on where I wanted to go and what was important for this study and that that was more important than just getting their support to go to the

field. In a situation like that it is important to remember that it is not a one way street. First, if the quality of the study becomes more important than the participants in the study the focus might need to be altered and second if the implementation of the study is more important the quality of the study that can result in the study not being taken seriously.

There are more biases one needs to take in consideration when doing a field study such as elite, male, active, present living biases. The first is important to take in consideration when entering the field and mapping out who is who in the context of the study. Most often it is the elite who welcomes people to the field and initiates the contacts with “outsiders” (Chambers, 2008:35). In the case of this field study because of the time limitation of the study it was hard to get around this bias when the data had to be collected within four weeks in the field. More time in the field might have given the other villagers to speak up or the ones not participating in the village activities to be more visible. The male bias was hardest to overcome on the level of FEST when most of the coordinators working higher up were men. In the field the solution was to do every other interview with women which was not a problem because the women spent more time in the house and was easier to get in contact with. On the same line the active, present, living bias was the hardest to get around when most of the men worked in the fields during the day resulting in a working bias with the villages without work being overrepresented in the study. Moreover, because the technicians in FEST were the gatekeepers most of the participants in the study were people who were more involved in the program. In the area of the study this might not be a big issue when almost all of the people in the villages were included in the program.

The most relevant bias in the case of Colombia is the security bias with the restriction to go places where the development worker might be put at risk (Chambers, 2008:45). This is highly relevant in the case of Colombia with the ongoing conflict where some areas are not possible to access because of the danger one might be put in. This was something that I discussed much with FEST before going to the field and the area was much picked on the basis of security. How to get around this is almost impossible to answer when no one should have to put their life at risk to conduct research but it marginalizes people living under already marginalized conditions. One way might be to outsource the work to someone more familiar to the area who know the area and can navigate the area so that the person is not put at risk but that does not solve the fundamental problem of the people living those conditions every day without getting their voices heard. There are certainly more biases to be stated but these are the biases that I felt was present during my time in the field and when thinking about the field in a retro-perspective.

4.4 Data collection methods

In this section the methods used in the study to collect the data will be presented more in-depth.

4.4.1 Key informant interviews

The key-informant interviews were conducted with people working within the field of IDPs in Colombia to get a more comprehensive view as a foundation of IDPs situations in Colombia.

The main objective in doing the key-informant interview is not to analyze their attitudes but rather get a more nuanced picture of the situation for IDPs and be updated on current events.

The first key-informant interview was made with Esteban Niva at Pontificia Universidad Javeria in Bogota about the social programs working with IDPs in Colombia and the history of them and how they work. The second one was made with Juan Sanchez at the university Los Andes in Bogota who was writing his thesis on IDPs and place attachment depending on type of migration pattern. When in the field one interview was made with Aldo Morales head-coordinator of UNDP in the area of Sucre to get a better understanding of the situation of IDPs living in the area and also what organizations worked to improve the situation for IDPs. In addition, two anonymous³ interview was made with two government officials working in the area to go more into detail on how the municipality worked with IDPs and on the topic of how their where viewed in that administrative process.

The key-interview with Aldo Morales⁴, Head Coordinator UNDP Sincelejo will be used to describe the area of Sucre in the background. This is due to a lack of written information on the historical background in the municipality in English. There might be a problem with having one oral source for one part of the thesis but I have tried to back up what he stated in the interview with data from Red ORMENT and cross-check the data presented by him in the interview in an attempt to try to verify the data taken from the interview. The other key-informant interview will be used to introduce the different headings in the analysis when they give a better overview on the subjects than the participant interviews.

4.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

The interviews were conducted in participation with another student from Lund and we did one part each with focus on our own subject and he help me with the language and translated what the participants said due to the language barrier. At this point I understood most of what they said but it felt better, to get everything right, that he helped me to translate during the interviews to avoid misunderstandings. There might be a problem of bias when it sometimes was impossible to translate every word but rather give and summarized account for what they were saying but I still felt that it was more important to avoid the participants feeling misunderstood if I missed something because of the language barrier.

The semi-constructed interviews were done with 15 participants living who had either returned to their land or reestablish themselves close to the original setting. Concerning their living situation the aim was to uncover how the participants view their situation and how they construct their world and forms their opinion (Bryman. 2012:471). The topics brought up in the interview were divided into three parts in line with the themes in the literature review [see Literature review]⁵. How much emphasis was put on the different parts of the interview

³ These two key-informants worked closely with FEST and therefore preferred to remain private in order to speak more freely.

⁴ For questions see Annex 2

depended on the participant's response to the questions⁶ when some of them were rather sensitive and referred to the time of the conflict.

Nevertheless, are there some practical issues to think about when doing the interviews, like where is a good setting, what might one ask without upsetting the interviewees and how to ask questions that participants can relate to (Bryman, 2012:473). The interviewees were chosen from the criteria stated earlier [see Method of sampling]. The data collection was made primarily with farmers since that were the main source of income in the area but I also tried to seek up participants that did not work with agriculture to include other perspectives.

4.4.3 Ethnographic observations

During the three weeks spent in the field conducting the participant interview and getting to know the setting were 5 observations were done. In line with the key-informant interviews and the participant interviews the observations was mainly focused on the three topics presented in Literature Review⁷. They were done between the interviews but also during some of the interview and during beneficiary meeting with FEST in the villages. During the first day in the Larger Village there was a large meeting with all the beneficiaries in FEST. During the meeting it was mainly technicians and coordinators from FEST talking and only of one the beneficiaries took the opportunity to speak. During the town meeting in the Small Village 1 I observed a collective thinking among the villages that I did not see in during the first observation in the church in the Larger Village. When one deals with migration it might be valuable to observe the daily life of IDPs to observe how the participants construct their daily live to further understand how they view their position in relation to the environment lived in. It is important to have an idea of how active one should be in the observation process. It is inevitable not to be active to some extent but the level can more or less be regulated (Bryman, 2012:446). The main purpose of conducting observations was to try to understand how the participants interacted with their surroundings.

4.5 Data analysis

The data analysis used in this study is thematic analysis with three overall themes⁸, each with sub-themes to summarize both the interviews and the observations. The reason for using a thematic approach is that the aim for this study is not generate new theory but test one or rather incorporate the theory with the empirical data from the field. The themes are consistent with the themes in the interviews but the sub-themes will rather be framed after subjects that are commonly repeated by the interview participants. The sub themes will not be used as regular sub-headings but rather a red tread going through the overall themes. It is important to be aware of what the difference in the answers lays to get a better understanding of the "outliers" in the data. The similarities or rather the repetitions can provide an understanding of what is missing in the data and it therefore might be good to start with the analysis already in the field to get an understanding of what the missing data is before leaving the field (Bryman, 2012:580). Furthermore, in the analysis triangulation will be used between the interviews,

⁶ For the exact questions asked see Annex 2

⁷ For observation guide see annex 3

⁸ In line with the ones stated in the literature review. For more indebt go to Literature Review

observation and other research done on the subject in an attempt to validate the data further. This is an attempt to further tie the data from the field to other research done on the area of IDPs and identity creation (Denscombe, 2009:188). There however a problem when trying to verify qualitative data when the setting never can be the same twice which means that the research can never be done in the same way once more and therefore never be fully verified. Moreover, since the researcher can influence the setting of the research creating the same kind of problem in verifying the data. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily make the research useless but the position of the researcher needs not be stressed even more (Denscombe, 2009:379). In the sampling there was a purposive sampling according to gender which later in the data analysis was not taken into account when the discussion around how gender changes outcomes it a very complicated and time consuming effort and I did not feel that I could have done that justice in this paper.

5. Analysis

In this section the empirical data will be presented together with the theory and other evidence from previous research on the same subject⁹. In the analysis observations and interviews from the field will be supported by the research previously done presented in 2. Literature Review.

5.1 Internal Displacement

One of the main issues of displacement for in material terms is that the IDPs moved from rural areas no longer have access to their land to support their families. Many of the returnees have a hard time proving that they owned the land when the transaction was made in oral terms and not on paper. Due to that and the fact that many IDPs sold their land before leaving the area many of them have to rent land resulting in low economic security for the families. The two main reasons why IDPs do not return to their homes when they have the opportunity: 1. Land is too expensive to rent in the area they come from. 2. What happened in the area before the pre-flight was too traumatic to move back to the same area (Key informant 1, technician, Larger Village, Sucre). In line with Siriardhana & Steward economy and social aspects are crucial to include when talking about displacement. Low social and economic capital leads to low mobility as seen with the IDPs relevant in this case. The ones in the Smaller Villages were often the once who could not afford to stay in the area of flight but had to go back to earn their living, post-flight. The reestablished IDPs in the Larger Village often had the opportunity to stay because they had established economic and social capital in the Larger Village during the flight period.

5.1.1 Definition of IDPs

When talking about ID it is important discuss what it means and who is included and excluded in that definition. In the scope of this study CID is at the core in terms of the triggers of displacement but there are many sub-reasons for displacement that are harder to define. In many of the participant interviews they brought economic reasons as one of the main reasons for returning or reestablishing in a new area (Key informant 1, technician, Larger Village, Sucre). In many cases there is a fine line between the economic and the more hands on reasons such as conflict or natural disasters as causes of displacement which is not included in the definition of IDPs. This has brought up much criticism against the definition and discussions about how to broaden the definition without de-legitimize it (Cohen, 1998:18). In addition, in the key interview 2 in the Larger Village with one of the government officials working with IDPs one of the criticisms brought up was that the definition of IDP is too narrow and does not include the socio-economic reasons behind the displacement (Key

⁹ I have chosen on ethical grounds to not reveal the names of the villages where the field study was conducted. The reason for that is that I guaranteed the participants full anonymity when doing the interviews and I feel that I cannot give them that without excluding the names of the villages. Moreover, since the study was done with help from FEST, who will take part of the final report it feels even more important that FEST are not able to identify the participants in the study and gain more information about the participant without them sanctioning it. I have given the Smaller Villages where the returnee interviews were conducted numbers one and two and the larger village where the reestablished participant interviews were conducted is simply called Larger Village. All of the participants in the Larger Village whom are reestablished are originally from one of the Smaller Villages. I feel that I have a responsibility towards the participant in the study not to reveal this information but I feel that it will not affect the study to any large extent because the municipality of Sucre is rather small and the situation for IDPs are similar.

informant 2, government official, Larger Village, Sucre). In Colombia with the change in government policy and taking responsibility for the IDPs the label of IDP had become attractive to get when it includes a key to some social benefits closed to people without the label of IDP (Participant interview 1, Unemployed, Smaller Village 1, Sucre). With a seed of mistrust in the label IDP, who is and who is not, the wideness of the definition has changed when it now includes something that more people are in need of. In the work of Juan Sanchez (PhD Student, University Los Andes, Bogota) he meant that he does not want to limit displacement in Colombia to violence when it creates exclusion. It becomes increasingly hard to use one coherent definition in Colombia with many different actors involved in the conflict with diverse war tactics making for different types of displacement that does not always have to do with violence but rather social exclusion. Nevertheless CID is not to be underestimated in Colombia when it is a country in war that many people have been forced to live through and has given them scars for life and needs to play a major role in the debate when it is a big part of the everyday life of IDPs in Colombia.

5.1.2 Returnees

When people were displaced they talked about the alienation when they came to the new location, a feeling of not belonging and not being allowed into the new context. Moreover, in the new location there were fewer opportunities to work and live especially for the men that felt more pressure to provide for the family without any skills available to find work in the urban area. Many of the participants emphasized that the land had and still is the main pride of the families and that without the access to the land the providing for the family is very hard. Many of the participants expressed that there were people in the larger cities trying to take advantage of the IDPs and that there was a great stigma around being an IDP. In addition, the displacement takes the children away from school when they are not eligible to enter the school in the new place until they are properly registered in the area.

Many of the participants who returned express a great pride over the area that they live in but when the question if they want their children to stay in the area many are very reluctant for them to stay due to the lack of opportunities in the area to work with something else than agriculture. There are some that want their children to stay in the area but then in relation to the land and to keep the land alive and the skills on how to do it. The returnee IDPs working in agriculture are more prone for the children not to stay in the area than the reestablished IDPs in the village. In the case of the reestablished farmers it is a question of upholding traditions: *“It is a kind of attachment that you create with your family, it is our source of livelihood, it is what you do”* (Participant interview 15, unemployed, Larger Village, Sucre)

Many of the participants point out the economic situation as one of the main reasons for coming back to the village. *“Those who had money to leave left but the people who did not had to stay in the area during the conflict..... That is what we are, we are farmers”* (Participant interview 13, Farmer, Smaller Village 1, Sucre). In the interview with the government officials working with IDPs in the area the subject of economic induced displacement up, or rather the lack of talk of the economic reasons for displacement. In many cases the ones who stayed longer in the Smaller Villages and therefore were the ones most affected by the conflict were the ones without the economic means to leave the area. In other

words the emphasis from the government and NGOs working with IDPs in Colombia are the effect of the conflict with a lack of discussion about the economic reasons closely tied to time and form of displacement.

5.1.3 Reestablished

“There is a great difference from before the displacement, we were never rich but always had 30 pigs that we kept for security to eat or sell” (Participant interview 14, Taxi driver, Larger Village, Sucre). Many of the reestablished describe the life in the village in a romantic way where life was calmer and getting food never a problem since they lived of the land. With the displacement came both economic and emotional insecurity and a uprooting from the life they once knew. This can create a lack of trust and over-belief in society and that it will solve the situation in order to go back. In this case this might not be as relevant since the displacement occurred long time ago and the trust in society has been replaced by mistrust in society. Moreover, the length of the displacement has left the participant with a romantic view of the place left due to the displacement, *“one reason to go back to the Smaller Village is because it where was the place I was born and the place I grew old, it is a place of my own”* (Participant interview 14, Farmer, Larger Village, Sucre).

Many of the reestablished participants described a feeling of fear or anxiousness around the uncertain economic situation they experienced after and during the time of displacement and a romantic picture of what life was like before the displacement. *“We love our land, when you have something like that you take care of it, you love it and you appreciate it.”* (Participant interview 9, Larger Village, Farmer, Sucre).

5.2 Place attachment

When a person is displaced that persons loses a part of the culture that the place meant to that person. In the word of Juan Sanchez *“If they leave they lose their way of live, losing a part of their culture. They can start over but losing part of their culture and part of their identity.”* (Juan Sanchez, PhD student, University Los Andes, Bogota) In the process of losing the stable entity IDPs call home they lose the part of their identity¹⁰ that knows how to relate to it and knowledge about how to live there. Attachments can be reformed in new areas but when someone is exposed to treats to one’s home what is safe and what is not is no longer apparent. It can create small diaspora like communities with reestablished IDPs like the one in the larger village with people from the Small Village 2. They live in a cluster in the larger village and have good contact with the people still living in the Smaller Village 2.

In addition the way of live is different in the larger village than the life in the smaller ones. An observation from Smaller Village 2 was the playground built by the government that never was used by the children in the village. They rather play in the grounds with a ball or many of them helped their parents to work in the fields transporting the crops from the field to the village by donkey. In many ways the way of life is very different in the larger village and the

¹⁰ Identity in this thesis is handled as an expression of how the participant puts her/himself in regards to the concepts presented in the analysis. When the interviews the aim to try to get a grasp of how the participants view themselves, and hence creating an identity, by trying to emphasize things they got emotional around during the interview. This was written down during the interview.

smaller ones. In the Small Village the children and the parents have common grounds to meet and talk about what is going on in the village. During the time I spent in the Smaller Village 2 they had a town meeting where the families had talked before about what they thought about FEST and what was wrong with the way that they treated the participants in the program. In the Larger Village on the other hand the reestablished did not participate in the community activities to the same extent and were not integrated into the social sphere

5.2.1 Returnees

“How can you take care of a house if you are not sure that you are going to live there?”(Participant interview 10) In this interview the participant describes the uncertainty that displacement leads to and how one can lose the sense of responsibility towards one’s surroundings in that process. In general the participants described a stronger attachment to the land and area before the displacement but still so strong that they preferred to come back to the area rather than stay in the urban area even with the memories and risks that came with moving back. Many of the participants working with agriculture expressed a lack of investments in the future when they do not own land and cannot plan for the future in the way they grow the crops.

“The land and family gives me a sense of belonging.” (Participant interview 12, Farmer, Smaller Village 1, Sucre) In addition to the individual place attachment to the fact that physical land gives a sense of belonging the land people live on give them a sense of belonging in a more collective sense with the people living together in the area. *“Living in Venezuela was easier but due to the strong family ties they [referring to a son] decided to go back to their land.”*(Participant interview 11, Farmer, Smaller Village 2, Sucre) Here the importance of family and the collective is emphasized that it also sometimes trumps the economic reason when the two are not in the same area and one has to choose. In addition one of the participants emphasizes the importance of having some meaning of life, that he finds in working the land. On the same topic, many highlights the productiveness in the area and how good the land is for farming. In both of the Smaller Villages the participants claimed that their land was better than the one in the next village and that was something they were proud of.

5.2.1.1 Citizenship

Only during one of the interview did one of the participants mention that they have a right to be helped by the state because they are citizens of Colombia and therefore have the right to be helped by their government *“We are Colombians and we need help from the Colombian government to rebuild our houses. The government need to change their way of viewing us as citizens rather than criminals.”*(Participant interview 13, Farmer, Smaller Village 1, Sucre) In this case there are some proof to that the one person who identified as a Colombian draws the conclusion that the government has an obligation to help for the family to rebuild their home in order to continue living in it. This supports the view that a strong sense of belonging is correlated with a strong sense of citizenship. Even though, the right to act upon ones citizenship is very low in Colombia giving somewhat of a backwards correlation between the place attachment and citizenship when the citizenship in practice means very little (Garcia, 1996:10). To some extent the Colombian government has taken a step in the direction of inclusion with the new recognition of victims and taking responsibility for IDPs in the

country. The framework for IDP to resettle is very time-constricted with help available for only a set time. After the timeframe of resettlement has past there is no longer any help from the government for IDPs (Meerten, 2003:3).

5.2.2 Reestablished

As with the returnees many of the reestablished are still working in agriculture but are to a larger extent renting land. This does not mean that they are any less proud of the work they do but rather that they express other kinds of problems when it comes to provide for their families. *“When you are renting there is an element of uncertainty and the owner of the land might come one day and say that he wants the land back.”*(Participant interview 14, Farmer, Larger Village, Sucre) This can be related to the loss the safety zone that a home represents and resulting in a way of life with great insecurity as a theme.

This sense of belonging can however change when a community has been abandoned over longer periods of time and those once very obvious rules that silently existed before the displacement does no longer apply and need to be rebuilt (Cohen, 1998:24). This however was nothing that the returnees expressed to any large extent but was brought up by many of the participants that were reestablished in the Larger Village. They expressed a change in attitude in the Smaller Villages had changes since before the displacement and that the people that lived there today was not the same as before the displacement. One participant talks about how the brother was not welcome back to the village because people in the villages did not like that he had a profession and competed for the jobs in the village. Conversely, this feeling of mistrust towards the people living in the villages does not apply for the land. The land is still described in a very positive manner and is perceived as the best in the area. In this lies a pride of making things grow and knowing how to take care of the land, a knowledge that has been passed on for generations: *“I am proud of being a farmer and making things grow...”* (Participant interview 14, Farmer, Larger Village, Sucre)

In many of the participant interviews the importance of the children living close to the participant so that they can learn the same values as the participant. *“I believe that it is important for my kids to grow up with me in this surroundings because the culture in the Larger Village is different with drugs and other things that we don't approve of.”*(Participant interview 9, Farmer, Larger Village, Sucre) Likewise, mostly men working in the field brings up the importance of teaching the children the ways of taking care of the land. In a way when lacking other kinds of education, how to take care of the land is one of the more distinct things that they have to teach their children that they can use to provide for their families. *“I am really proud that they [refers to his children] also work the land because it is something I taught them so that makes me really proud”* (Participant interview 15, Farmer, Larger Village Sucre). In many ways farming is a way of life and something the parents want their children to appreciate as well.

“Yes the relationship with work would alter with owing the land for the fact that first I would love work even more because if you love what you are doing you will enjoy it even more and you will have benefit from it.”(Participant interview 15, Farmer, Larger Village, Sucre) Many of the participants expressed a change in attitude towards the work in the land when owning

the land versus renting it. When not owning the land there was an element of insecurity about the future, not being able to invest in the land in a desirable way.

5.3 Post-conflict trauma

In the area of Sucre dealing with the post-flight IDPs is very complex when some have been displaced by three different groups sometimes during three different occasions. Moreover, it has been hard for many of the IDPs in the area to get recognitions as victims of the conflict when they have to themselves prove that they were in the area during the conflict. Sometimes that can take up to two years and does not in any way ensure a positive outcome. In addition in recognizing IDPs as victims of the conflict there is a danger in re-victimizing the people of the conflict putting another stigma on what it means to be an IDP in Colombia. *“I think what we do is to re-victimize people, families.”* (Key informant 2, government official, Larger Village, Sucre). In the process of putting a label on IDPs that has reestablished or returned the traumas of the conflict might be brought up to the surface again circling the problem of stigmatization once more. Nevertheless all of the participants expressed the importance of being acknowledged as victims because of what happened in the area and that it is important that the government takes responsibility for its citizens. In addition the government official in the larger villages stressed the importance of not waiting to start with the process of helping IDPs move back to their homes not to prolong the displacement even longer in areas that has been clam for some time. Moreover, just because one has once been in IDP does not mean that when that label technically no longer applies what the mental identity is gone and no longer apply (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:183).

5.3.1 Returnees

“It is not that you decide to go back but are rather forced to go back due to the lack of opportunities in the city.” (Participant interview 11, OCC, Smaller Village 2, Sucre) In this quote one of the participants expresses the reason for returning to the area after the conflict and that it is not always an option to stay due to the alienation in the area of displacement forcing them to go back to be able to provide for the family. It is a clash between the traumas experienced during the conflict and the attachment to the “lost” place they were displaced from.

Most of the participants that returned feel that it is important that the government acknowledge them as victims since the conflict took place in the area because of the hard times they had to go through during the conflict. *“As a consequence of the conflict many people carry large traumas and are still affected by it. Some are still crazy and families have been torn up because of it.”*(Participant interview 6, Shop keeper/Farmer, Smaller Village 2, Sucre)

“Before there was a stigma when IDPs were related to the guerilla and criminality” (Participant interview, Unemployed, Smaller Village 1, Sucre) With the recognition of victims there has come a change in the way others view IDPs as before the label of IDP was something associated with something dangerous and morally bankrupt whereas with the new recognition of victims there are some benefits of being a victim of the conflict. *“The new status we have as victims have changed the way people look at us and what it means. From*

stigma to services” (Participant interview 13, Farmer, Smaller Village 1, Sucre). With the recognitions the IDP in this case feels like the status of being IDPs is something desirable and therefore has changed the stigma of being an IDP into something different and better. Moreover, when one is forced out of one’s home environment a sense of loss of safety and unfamiliarity can be an effect of the displacement.

“It was better to go back to the land and die there instead of living like we did in the city.” (Participant interview 6, Shopkeeper/Farmer, Smaller Village 2, Sucre) IDPs are often portrayed as outsiders both by others and collectively by IDPs themselves. Even though being displaced means having displaced as one part of one’s identity does not it mean that it is ones entire identity which can be the danger when a label as IDP I put on people. This can be dangerous in many ways when people are portrayed as “the others” and with the high level of mistrust in Colombia as dangerous some level of de-humanization comes with that labeling (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:186,188). In line with this are IDPs often viewed as morally bankrupt and in need of a new moral (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:198). Moreover, since the situation of IDPs often entail daily struggles to ensure food and security the process becomes highly individualized when the surroundings become a source of threat (Holguin & Vargas, 2008:188). The state has failed IDPs so many times it is not viewed as safe either but rather as a source of disappointment and failed promises.

5.3.2 Reestablished

In many of the cases with the reestablished IDPs in the Larger Village they were the ones who had found a source of income in the larger village in order to stay. They are more articulate about why they do not want to go back to the Smaller Villages. *“I don’t want to go back because we are frightened to go back.”* (Participant interview 14, Farmer, Larger Village, Sucre) Furthermore, the reestablished IDPs in the larger village articulate about what it was like before the displacement but do not talk about the first time of displacement when that has become their everyday.

“We have one girl, 22 years, who studies at the university in the city; she gets help from a fund to go to university. Our daughter is suffering from nervous attracts since we lived in the village. A friend of the family was killed in front of their house one evening which affected the daughter greatly so that she had to see a psychologist.” (Participant interview 8, Taxi driver, Larger Village, Sucre)

This serves as an example of when what happened in the area of post-flight created memories that are so horrific that the whole family has been alienated from the place they once called home. Due to the memories of horror the family have attached to the place, there is no longer an option to go back and live in that area even if they have land and a house in the area. They have then been alienated from their homes and consequently also from a part of their identity.

“We do not want to go back to the small village [referring to small village 2] because of all the terrors we experienced in the area. We are very happy about the wife’s employment and that I can find other sources of income in the larger village.” (Participant interview 8, Taxi driver, Larger Village, Sucre)

This quote ties it back to the economic situations again when the monetary situations is a determining factors for if IDPs can go back or not resulting in the identity tying into the economic situation of the family to large extent. To draw from that is then that the economic situations is not only a part of IDPs identity but also a determining factors on how they form, their identity in a post-flight period.

6. Conclusion

That migration patterns relate to how and why IDPs create their identity can be established but it is the why questions that are relevant and in what way. The question that inspired this study was how IDPs in Sucre, Colombia, position themselves within the concepts of internal displacement, place attachment and post-conflict trauma. In this case there is not one answer to that but rather many.

First is the conclusion that ID affects IDPs differently much depending on the economic situation pre-flight and the duration of displacement is often depending on the economic situation of IDPs. When it comes to the label of being an IDP in Colombia it comes with both good and bad connotations. The bad is that it creates a re-victimization of the IDPs where in the post-flight they again have to see themselves as victims. On the other hand, the technical label of being an IDP includes benefits creating a demand of the label and lifting some of the stigma around the label.

Second, when it comes to place attachment many of the IDPs that had returned had done so because of the community feeling to be able to take part of that collective again. In the case of reestablished IDPs there was a larger mistrust in the current community and some expressed a loss of culture and matters in the new settlement that they wanted their children to have and that only they could give them. There was some talking about the responsibility of the government to help the IDPs as citizens rather than only help them to get back to the same level as before the displacement, pointing to a low level of trust in the government, and low inclusion.

Third, in order for Colombia to move past the state of conflict many felt that it was important to be recognized as victims for the government to take some of the responsibility for the conflict and start a process of healing the wounds. The group of reestablished IDPs showed a greater nostalgia towards the pre-flight period and what life was like before the displacement. With the victim label comes a recognition that the IDPs are a part of the Colombian society and therefore have rights that comes with it. It looks better on paper than it might do in reality because Colombia has a long way to go before the IDPs are fully integrated into the society.

As concluding remark, IDPs identity creation is highly connected to place attachment with the deviation that the movement of IDPs is not voluntary and is associated with more than just the land. In many cases IDPs in Sucre have experienced times of hardness in the areas from where they were displaced and that needs to be taken in consideration when developing social policy regarding IDPs in the area. Moreover, the social and economic situation of IDPs needs to have a larger part of the discussions when that is one of the main factors contributing to the duration of displacement.

6.1 Suggestions for future research

In the case of IDPs in the municipality of Sucre it might be interesting to further research the process of re-integration of IDPs with the new government act of helping IDPs to return to their former homes. Moreover, the aspect of the economic implications for IDPs in this area is a subject that needs to be further explored.

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8. Annexes

1. Interview guide key informant Juan Sanchez

- Tell us a little about your research?
- What is the primary identifier of Colombians?
 - -Does it differ in different parts of Colombia?
- What are the main values attach to being Colombia?
- How is identity being considered I social policy making?
- How strong is the attachment to land?
- How is it formed?
- Why?
- What can versus not you talk about in regards to land in Colombia?

2. Interview guide, key informant Niva

- Tell us a little about your work?
- What are the main constraints for IDPs in Colombia today?
- What are the social programs in Colombia targeted towards IDPs?
- How were the programs constructed?
- What are the main problems with the programs today?
- What works with the programs?

3. Interview guide key informant Aldo Morales, Head Coordinator UNDP Sincelejo

- What does your work entail here in the area?
- Can you tell us a little about the history of the area of Sucre?
- What are the difficulties when working in the area?
- What actors of the conflict are in the area?
- What has been going on recently in the area?

4. Interview guide key informant 1, field technicians FEST

- Is there a difference in how people view land depending on if they are reestablished or returnees?
- Why do people, in your opinion, return to their land?
- Why do people not return to their land?
- Is it important for people to own their land?
- Who owns their land?
- What can one not talk about when it comes to land?
- About the conflict, guerilla?
- Do people see themselves as victims?

- Victims of what? Whom?
- Does it differ before and after the recognition of victims?

5. Interview guide key informant 2, government official, Sucre

- What is required to become a victim of the conflict?
- What does the process look like?
- Why is it important to recognize people as victims?
- What is the main goal in recognizing people as victims?
- Who are eligible to become a victim of the conflict?
- What are you entitled to as a victim of the conflict?
- What is hardest to determine in the process of recognizing people as victims?
- What does it mean to be a victim?
- Do you think people see themselves differently after being recognized as victims?
- If yes, why?

6. Interview guide key informant 3, field coordinator, Sucre

- What does your work consist of?
- How does it work when people get the recognition as victims?
- Why is it important that only IDPs are enrolled in the program (FEST)?
- Why is it important to give IDPs back their land?
- Why do people return to their land?

7. Participant interview guide

- Where were you born and raised?
- Where did you live when not here?
- What is the main income of the family?
- (if farmer) How do you feel about working with the land?
- Do you own land?
- Is it important to own land?
- What does land mean to you in other than financial terms?
- Why did you move (not move back) back to the area?
- What influences where you live?
- Do you have children?
- Do they work in agriculture?
- If yes? Is it important that they grow up in the same area as you?
- What do you like about this area?
- Is there anything you are proud of in the area?
- Is there anything missing in this area?
- Is it according to you to be recognized as a victim of the conflict?
- Why?

