



**MOVING OUT OF POVERTY:
UNDERSTANDING FREEDOM, GROWTH AND DEMOCRACY FROM THE
BOTTOM-UP**

NATIONAL SYNTHESIS REPORT¹

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Preface

This study is part of a global research effort entitled *Moving out of Poverty: Understanding Freedom, Democracy and Growth from the Bottom-Up*. The research involved 20 studies in 16 countries around the world. Deepa Narayan, Senior Adviser in the World Bank's Poverty Group, initiated and led the research effort.

The global *Moving out of Poverty* study is unique in several respects. It is one of the few large scale comparative research efforts using mixed methods to focus on mobility rather than static poverty. The study attempts to learn first hand from poor women and men who have managed to move out of poverty over time, about the factors, processes and local level institutions that came together to support or hinder their asset accumulation. It is also the first time that a World Bank report draws on people's own understanding of freedom, power, democracy, inequality, empowerment and aspirations – and how these concepts link to creating wealth for the poor across different growth, social and political contexts.

We want to congratulate the country research teams for undertaking this work. We also want to thank Gobind Nankani, Former Vice President, World Bank and John Page, Former Director, Poverty Group, World Bank under whose able leadership and guidance, the study was formulated and launched. Deepa Narayan led the overall study design, content and methodology development and management. She was supported by a small core team based both in Washington D.C. and New Delhi: Patti Petesch, Study Coordinator, helped in overall study coordination and methodological guidance; Soumya Kapoor served as the coordinator for the South Asia country studies and provided extensive research support. Mohini Datt, Kyla Hayford, Divya Nambiar, Denis Nikitin, Saumik Paul, Sarah Sullivan, and Sunita Varada provided additional research assistance at various phases of the study; and Oykiao Koo Tze Mew and Sunila Andrews provided administrative assistance. More than a hundred colleagues within the World Bank also contributed greatly in many ways, including identifying and supporting the local research teams.

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This research effort would not have been possible without the participation of hundreds and thousands of women, men and youth who took the time to share their lives with the study teams. We must now ensure that the findings lead to follow-up action to make a difference in their lives and in creating wealth for them.



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CONTENT

PRESENTATION	5
1. INTRODUCTION	6
1.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY	6
1.1.1 The purpose of the investigation	6
1.1.2 General characterization of the communities	6
1.1.3 General characterization of the households.....	10
1.1.4 Methodology of the study.....	11
1.2 CONDITIONS AND NATIONAL TENDENCIES.....	16
1.2.1 Balance on the internal forced displacement in Colombia.....	20
1.2.2 Policies on the internal forced displacement	23
2. EFFECTS OF THE ARMED CONFLICT AND THE INTERNAL FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON THE WELLBEING.....	31
2.1 ARMED CONFLICT AND INTERNAL FORCED DISPLACEMENT	31
2.1.1 Effects of the armed conflict	35
2.1.2 Effects of the internal forced displacement	40
2.2 PERCEPTIONS ON SECURITY AND PROTECTION MEASURES	46
3. PERCEPTION ON THE PROSPERITY OF THE COMMUNITIES AND THE WELLBEING OF THE HOUSEHOLDS	53
3.1 PROSPERITY OF THE COMMUNITY	53
3.1.1 Access to physical and social infrastructure.....	56
3.1.2 Processes of communitarian organization	57
3.1.3 Institutional intervention	58
3.1.4 Public Security.....	59
3.1.5 Job opportunities	60
3.1.6 Education opportunities.....	60
3.2 RELATION BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL POVERTY LINE AND THE COMMUNITY POVERTY LINE	61
3.3 PERCEPTIONS ON THE WELLBEING OF THE HOUSEHOLDS	63
3.3.1 Characteristics of the households in the best conditions	64
3.3.2 Characteristics of the households in the worst conditions.....	68
3.4 FACTORS ASSOCIATED TO MOBILITY	69
3.4.1 Factors associated to ascendant mobility.....	69
3.4.2 Factors associated to descendent mobility.....	70
3.4.3 Factors helping the resistance of the households to the effects of the conflict 71	
4. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS	73
4.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MOBILITY.....	73
4.1.1 Family networks and friendship	76

Matijasevic, Carolina Villada, Mónica Ramírez, Miguel Ángel Rivera, Adriana Quiceno, Lina Isabel Trujillo, and Alejandra Velásquez.

4.1.2	Communitarian relationships.....	78
4.1.3	Political and institutional relationships	95
5.	ECONOMIC FACTORS AND MOBILITY	110
5.1	SOURCES OF INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT	110
5.2	ECONOMIC ROLES OF WOMEN	125
5.3	HOUSING	128
5.4	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE	135
6.	CAPACITY FOR INDIVIDUAL AGENCY	141
6.1	POWER AND MOBILITY	141
6.1.1	Economic power	143
6.1.2	Power as a self-determination capacity	143
6.1.3	Power as the exercise of authority and domination.....	145
6.1.4	Power as self-confidence and the desire of moving on	146
6.1.5	Education and Power	148
6.2	FREEDOM AND MOBILITY	152
6.2.1	Freedom and the armed conflict	152
6.2.2	Concept and the current experience of freedom.....	154
6.2.3	Economic freedom.....	156
6.2.4	Freedom not circumscribed to the economic capacity	157
6.2.5	Genre and freedom	158
6.2.6	Health and freedom	159
6.3	HAPPINESS AND MOBILITY.....	160
7.	ASPIRATIONS	164
7.1	ASPIRATIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS.....	164
7.2	YOUTH ASPIRATIONS	167
7.2.1	Factors hindering the youth aspirations.....	168
7.2.2	Factors favoring the aspirations of the youth	172
8.	CONCLUSIONS	173
9.	SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS	177
10.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	180
11.	GLOSARY	184

ABBREVIATIONS

ANDAS: National Association for Solidarity Help, in Spanish.

CODHES: Consulting Office for Human Rights and Displacement, institution promoting the consolidation of the peace in Colombia and the integral realization of the Human Rights, emphasizing in the people and the communities affected by the intense armed conflict. SI

DIAN: Taxes and costume enforcement.

ECOPETROL: State Oil Company.

FEDEPAPA: Colombian Potato Producers Federation.

JAC: Communitarian Action Boards, non profit organizations composed by the neighbors of a neighborhood or a vereda, to encourage their communitarian development.

JAL: Local Management Board, public corporation composed by the ediles, and with the purpose of promoting the progress in their territories.

LEY: Superstore NO

LIMPAL: International Women League for Peace and Freedom.

ICBF: Colombian Institute for the Family Welfare, in Spanish. Government institution in charge of the integral protection of childhood and family.

SENA: National Learning Service in Spanish.

SIJIN: Judicial Police.

TELECOM: Communications Company in Colombia.

PRESENTATION

Moving out of Poverty: Understanding Freedom, Growth and Democracy from the Bottom-Up is a world wide investigation developed with the purpose of understanding, from the perspective of men, women and youth, the economic, social, political and institutional factors assisting the transition to move out from poverty. It was structured directly from the study of *Voices of the poor*, and included quantitative and qualitative methods, always looking forward to the understanding of the mobility within the different political, social and economic environments. The study has been developed on countries with great and poor economic growth, with democratic systems, with strong and weak governments, and countries with peace and armed conflict.

In the Colombian case, the study focused on determining the factor that help people recovering from the losses caused by the armed conflict and/or forced displacement, from the perspective of those who have seen themselves affected by these Phenomena. The investigation was developed in eight communities, six of these located in the urban areas of the municipalities of Pasto, Sincelejo, Ibagué, Cartagena and Floridablanca; all of them receiving communities of the internal displaced population and the other two, in the rural area of the municipalities of Pasto and Tolúviejo

The study development was framed inside the conceptual and methodological parameters established by the World Bank, but some adjustments were done in order to follow the particular characteristics of Colombia, especially the main characteristics of the internal displaced population.

The study is full of testimonials of the participants, due to the interest of rescuing their perspective regarding to the process of recovery after the conflict. It is structured in nine chapters: the first one of them presents especial methodological aspects of the study in Colombia, a general characterization of the communities and households, and the national tendencies building the context of the investigation; the second chapter focuses on the effects of the armed conflict and forced displacement on the family welfare; the third one analyses the perception of the participants on prosperity and wellbeing; chapters four and five examine the social, political, economic factors helping and hindering the process of recovery of these people; the sixth one is focused on the analysis of the importance of enterprising spirit; the seventh chapter presents the main aspirations of the households and the youth that participated in the study; and the chapters eight and nine dedicate to conclusions and implication of politics extracted from the results.

1. INTRODUCTION

Two sections will be discussed in this Chapter: the first one is oriented to the general presentation of the study, emphasizing the particularities of the Colombian case. The second one presents a synthesis of the national context framing the study, as well as a brief advance on the internal forced displacement in Colombia and the aid politics aiming the victims.

1.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

1.1.1 The purpose of the investigation

The analysis of the family, work, social, cultural and politic ruptures caused by the armed conflict and internal forced displacement reveal the drama of these problems. The recovery from the losses suffered because of both pictures us a considerable complexity. For those in situation of displacement the obstacles appear not only because of their lack of knowledge about their new habitat, but also because of the economic, social and political limitations imposed by their new environments, usually urban ones; the weaknesses in the implementation of the aid policy aiming the population in situation of displacement, especially when it comes to the actions of social and economic stabilization and the fulfillment of the rights related with the truth, justice and reparation. The conflict zones, on their side, usually suffer of strategies for the prevention of the internal forced displacement and are strongly affected on their economic, politic and social activities.

In this context, the study *Moving out of Poverty: Understanding Freedom, Growth and Democracy from the Bottom-Up* was focused, in the Colombian case, on determining the helping factors on the situations of armed conflict and internal forced displacement, from the perspective of those affected by these situations. The analysis is focused on the period after the most critical moment of the conflict, referred to the experience of the armed conflict, the rural communities or the internal forced displacement for those established in the urban areas of the country.

1.1.2 General characterization of the communities

The study was developed with eight communities; six of them located in urban areas, reception sites of the internal displaced people, and the other two in rural areas (Chart 1). The six urban communities are constituted (at least most of them) by displaced people, coming from different corners of the nation. The rural communities had also suffered the effects of the armed conflict, one of them displacing itself and then coming back when the battles between the FARC and the Colombian Army ceased. The other rural community did not experience a massive displacement, but it did suffer the impact of the conflict in their own territory and the neighbor municipality.

Chart 1. Communities participating in the study

Community	Location	Municipality	Department	Position according to the focus of the study
Cerotal	Rural	Pasto	Nariño	Displaced community with later return
Macaján	Rural	Tolúviejo	Sucre	Direct menace but no massive displacement
Los Álamos	Urban	Ibagué	Tolima	Reception community of displaced population
Revivir de los Campanos	Urban	Cartagena	Bolívar	Reception community of displaced population
Nelson Mandela	Urban	Cartagena	Bolívar	Reception community of displaced population
Villa Katy	Urban	Sincelejo	Sucre	Reception community of displaced population
El Pilar	Urban	Pasto	Nariño	Reception community of displaced population
González Chaparro	Urban	Floridablanca	Santander	Reception community of displaced population

Source: CRECE

Cerotal is a *vereda*³ of the '*corregimiento*'⁴ of Santa Bárbara; located 27 km from the town of Pasto at 2900 meters above sea level and with an average temperature of 6°C. Currently it is inhabited by 470 people, distributed among 94 households. Almost all of them are catholic, all of them speak Spanish and mix race, even though some of them descend from the local natives. This community was forcedly displaced to Pasto in 2002, because of the armed conflict between the FARC and the Colombian Army, returning after some time. It is possible to notice the effects of the armed conflict now days.

Macaján is a '*corregimiento*' of Tolúviejo municipality, located in the northeast of the coast zone in the Morrosquillo Golf, in the Sucre department (state), one of the 27 departments of the Colombian Atlantic Region. Its temperature is 28° Celsius (82.4 Fahrenheit), with an altitude of 150 meters over the sea level (492 feet). Currently it has a population of 2.678 inhabitants; most of them are catholic, although an important part of it professes the evangelic religion. All inhabitants speak Spanish, and no other language or dialect is spoken. The main source of income in this region is agriculture, developed in small farmlands, sometimes rented, and next to the populated center. Some households own tiny plantations in the backyards of their houses, where they get some production in a small scale. Even though this place was affected by the conflict, massive displacements did not happen. In some isolated cases, households were forced to leave the '*corregimiento*' because of threatening and violent acts; some other arrived there from neighbor villages, where the conflict acquired greater proportions: Chinulito.

³ A small territorial base, characterized by sharing the use of infrastructure for education and health, as well as having the same community organization.

⁴ Administrative territorial unit of the rural sector belonging to a municipality. It usually contains *veredas* or little countryside extensions and its most important authority is the *Corregidor* ('*corregimiento*' governor) or inspector

Los Alamos neighborhood is located in the urban zone of Ibagué, capital city of the department (state) of Tolima, with an altitude of 1821 meters over the sea level, and a temperature of 24 °Celsius. This community is composed currently by 800 inhabitants approximately, most of them displaced by violence. The neighborhood is almost a year-old, and is the result of the efforts of the community, CENDES Tolima⁵, USAID⁶, FUPAD⁷, the University of Ibagué and the Mayor's Office, which donated the terrains. The people beneficiated by this project came from a settlement called "Villa del Sol"; this place suffered a take over by a group of displaced people in 2002. All the people speaks Spanish and they are, almost all of them, mixed-race. Their main source of income is informal commerce. Women dedicate specially to catering inside the neighborhood and providing domestic services. Men, on their side, do informal sells and some of them do bricklaying and agricultural labors, especially during the harvest times.

The **González Chaparro** neighborhood is located in the south of Floridablanca⁸ municipality, in the department of Santander, in the northeast of Colombia. Its height is 925 meters over the sea level and the average temperature is around 25 °C. The history of this community goes up five years ago, when the terrains properties of the municipality were invaded by the displaced population coming from the rural areas of Santander; the settlement created by these people was named Villa Nazareth. A short while after that, a group of people with great poverty conditions who called themselves "the roofless", invaded the terrain next to Villa Nazareth and created a settlement called Transuratoque. The González Chaparro neighborhood was created as the result of the relocation of both settlements by the Mayor's Office in February, 2005, even though the construction begun in 2002. The 80% of the population professes catholic religion and a minor proportion is involved with evangelic church or has no creed at all. The whole population is mixed-raced and speaks Spanish. The neighborhood is conformed by 304 households among displaced and non-displaced, being the last ones a minor proportion. Currently, the main sources of income of the community are related to the informal economy, with remarkable place among men the informal sales, the bricklaying and gardening; while women dedicate to domestic jobs.

Villa Katy is a neighborhood located in the northern limit of the city of Sincelejo, capital city of the department of Sucre, in the north of Colombia, with a temperature of 27 °Celsius and 231 meters over the sea level. The settlement currently counts with 430 households, approximately 2.000 people. This settlement was created in 1999⁹ as a result of the invasion of some terrains, property of the Department Government, by the internal displaced people coming form the rural areas of Sucre and some other zones in the country. Since 2002, the Territorial Zoning Plan of the Mayor's Office incorporated this neighborhood to the urban area of the municipality, acquiring the category of *sub-normal neighborhood*. The community is mostly, evangelic. The most common sources of income for men are informal sales of fruits in the downtown, the sale of water inside the

⁵ Productive Development Center, University of Ibagué.

⁶ United States Agency for International Development

⁷ Pan-American Foundation for Development

⁸ Floridablanca, with the municipalities of Girón and Piedecuesta, belongs to the metropolitan area of Bucaramanga.

⁹ Nevertheless, in 1997, there were already some families.

neighborhood, the cultivation of small rented farmlands, and “mototaxis”¹⁰. Women on their side, dedicate to household services, laundry and catering.

Revivir de los Campanos neighborhood is located in the southeast of Cartagena, approximately 15 kilometers away from the downtown of this city, tourist district and capital city of the department of Bolivar, in the northern coast of Colombia. This region has a tropical weather and its average temperature is 30 °C. There are approximately 700 people living in the community, most of them internal displaced people. This neighborhood was conformed four years ago, with the participation of the community. Even though there is no record of a massive invasion, this settlement received displaced people living within precarious conditions in different places of Cartagena. Most of them are mixed-race, only one family has indigenous ascendance, and many of them of black race. The total amount of the households talks Spanish and most of them belong to the evangelic church, although there is a good proportion of Catholics. The main sources of income for the community come from informal economy, being common among men the labor of informal sales of fish, fruits among some other products, just as bricklaying and similar jobs, usually temporary. Women, on their side, dedicate to the household services or catering inside the neighborhood. Some of them have little businesses, as grocery stores or cell phone booths.

Nelson Mandela neighborhood, located on the urban area of Cartagena, gathers the major part of internal displaced population in the city. There have been new arrivals since then, which has provoked the fast growth of neighborhood and consequently, the formation of new sectors. Because of its antiquity, among some other factors such as the institutional intervention, this neighborhood has an infrastructure that will not be found in the other communities included in the study. There are 40.000 inhabitants in this neighborhood, approximately the 80% of the population professes the catholic religion, speak Spanish and most of the mare mixed raced, even though there are also some black and indigenous raced, being the last one a minor proportion. The main sources of income for the community come from informal economy, being the most common activities between men the informal sales, bricklaying and some labors like it, usually temporary. Some of them are the owners or managers of small businesses. The people in the Ambarema Peasants Association, on their side, dedicate to the agricultural work in the farmlands nearby and complement their income with informal sales and some other labors.

El Pilar neighborhood belongs to the comuna¹¹ five of the town of Pasto, capital of the Nariño department, located in the southwest zone of the country. It is 2 km from downtown; has an average temperature of 14°C and is located at the bottom of the Galeras volcano at 2527 meters above sea level. The neighborhood was founded around 33 years ago and it started receiving displaced people approximately five years ago. It is currently inhabited by 4,000 people, all of them Spanish speakers. The principle sources of income and jobs in the neighborhood are in the formal and informal commerce and services in the construction and automotive mechanical sector. For women, their principle economic activity is in household services; mainly providing laundry services. For both men as well

¹⁰ It is a category of public transportation, using a motorcycle. In Sincelejo, it is illegal to work with mototaxis, but anyway this economic activity is really common.

¹¹ Community composed of several neighborhoods

as women, the jobs in the adjacent market place called “El Potrillo” are one of the most important alternatives of making a living for them. Just a minor proportion of the population suffers an internal forced displacement situation.

1.1.3 General characterization of the households

The information of the *Household questionnaire* used in the study allows developing a general description of the demographic characteristics of the communities. Even though some of the samples are not representative, it is possible to identify some important differences between the rural communities and the displaced population living in urban areas.

The analysis of the demographic characteristics of the households reveals a high predominance of kids and youth; in most of the cases it overcomes the social weight these groups have in the wide proportion of the country (DANE, 2003). While the 50% of the Colombian urban population and the 56% of the rural population are less than 25 years old, the urban communities show 64% and the rural ones a 62%.

The sizes and structure of the households in the reception communities are very similar to the data obtained in the questionnaires applied by the Andes University in 2004 (Ibáñez and Moya, 2006). While in the mentioned questionnaire the average size of the households was 5.3 people, the current study showed a lightly higher rate (5.6 people). The distribution of these people based on wide rates in their age (less than 14 years old, between 14 and 60 years, more than 60 years old) is practically the same on both cases: 2.2, 3.1 and 0.3 people (2.1, 2.9 and 0.3 in the displaced questionnaire). In the rural communities of the study, there is a lightly higher average size of the family (5.7 people).

The distribution of the population of the communities according to their sex reveals a predominance of men in rural communities, 55.3%, 3 points above the average of the rural zones in the country (DANE, 2003); meanwhile the urban areas present a higher rate of women (51.9%).

About the women household head rate, there is an ascendance of the 38% of the urban communities, almost the same rate presented in the displaced questionnaire of the Andes University (39%). In the rural communities, the proportion of the women household head is much lower (25%), even though higher than the national average in the rural areas, 21% (DANE, 2003).

Associated with the predominance of the female leadership in the urban communities, the 72% of the households report the presence of the husband or the wife, rate which is higher in the rural areas (92%). The same way, single parenting is much more frequent in the urban communities (28%), comparing with the rural areas (only 7.7%). In fact, the 59% of the households with women head of households are single parenting managed, while the 96% of the households where the leadership is in hands of men have both parents.

About the kinds of households, it is important to point out that, even though most of the households seem to share the same nucleus (59% in urban areas and 62% in rural ones), the rest tend to be extended, especially with the presence of grandsons.

1.1.4 Methodology of the study

The study development was framed inside the conceptual and methodological parameters established by the World Bank and consigned in the Methodological Guide developed for the research teams of the countries participating in the study (Narayan and Petesch, 2005). According to the proposals of the Guide, some adjustments were done in order to follow the particular characteristics of Colombia, especially the main characteristics of the internal displaced population.

Based on the sample suggested by the Andes University, the team made contact with the regional offices of 'Social Pastoral'¹², through the Colombian Episcopal Conference, with the purpose of evaluating the viability of the development of the study on each municipality. Several places seemed to gather all the proper conditions in the beginning, but these were not chosen because of public order issues or because it was found that the conditions relative to the existence of the community were not met by these.

Finally, from the initial sample (Ibáñez and Moya, 2005), only three municipalities were chosen: Pasto, Ibagué and Sincelejo, for a grand total of four communities. The other four communities were selected with the support of the Andes University, the Colombian Episcopal Conference and some other institutions of the country currently participating and developing projects with the internal displaced population.

The methods for data collection, both quantitative and qualitative were used in their totality, according to the parameters of the Methodological Guide (Chart 2). The study had the support of local facilitators, contacted through the Social Pastoral and some other institutions intervening communities with displaced population, such as CENDES – Tolima (Center for the Productive Development, joint to the University of Ibagué) and the San Buenaventura University of Cartagena. The aid of the local facilitators allowed the team to develop a faster field work and a prudent and respectful intervention, accorded with the dynamics of the communities participating in the study.

The instruments designed for the study development had to be modified in some aspects, to adjust them to the characteristics of each population. In the first place, in order to facilitate a better comprehension by the participants of the study, some terms were modified, especially in the *Household questionnaire* and the Community Profile. In the second place, the order of the questions was modified when the team considered it convenient. According to the suggestions of the third bulletin of the study, the order of some sections was modified, starting with the exploration of concepts such as *Liberty, Power and Democracy* and finishing with the section of *Economic Opportunities and the Governance Role*. In the case of *Life History*, it started with Occupational History and not with the Migratory one, looking forward to board the last one through the generation of a confidence environment

¹² NGO depending from the Colombian Episcopal Conference.

with the interviewed, which would allow them to talk easily about the events related to their displacement. In third place, some questions were annexed to the instruments, aiming to focus on the aspects of the conflict and the internal forced displacement. The same way, some questions were suppressed because those were already present in some other sections or in the same section, with some other words.

Chart 2. Summary of the field work activities

Methods for data collection	Kinds of participants	Total amount of participants
Community profile	3 female leaders 8 male leaders	11
Community Timeline	14 women 13 men	27
Focus group discussion: Ladder of life	56 men 53 women	109
Focus group discussion: Livelihoods, Freedom, Power, Democracy and Local Governance	Section 1: 56 women Section 2: 50 women Section 1: 51 men Section 2: 43 men	200
Focus group discussion: “Youth Aspiration” ¹³	38 women 33 men	71
Focus group discussion: “Conflict and institutional Mapping” ¹⁴	45 women 27 men	14
Minicase	5 women 14 men	19
Household questionnaire	183 women 69 men	252
Individual Life Stories	47 women 34 men	81

Source: CRECE

Finally, it was necessary to do some changes in the time reference to compare the situation of wellbeing. With the rural communities, the instruction of using a period of ten years to analyze the comparisons included in the *Community Profile*, the *Household questionnaire* and the focus group discussion *Ladder of Life*. In the urban communities it was necessary to execute a modification: in some cases the indicated period was used, while in some others it was necessary to begin from the moment of the constitution of the community, or, from the moment when the participants of the study arrived to the community (Chart 3).

¹³ In some communities it was really difficult to achieve a good response of the youth; they were usually developing an economic or educational activity, or they just felt apathy towards the study. Due to this reason, the suggested age rates were not fulfilled in all the cases.

¹⁴ Only inside the rural communities it was possible to analyze the trajectory of the armed conflict; this is because the households in the urban areas come from different places and have different experiences and perceptions towards the armed conflict. This circumstance implied analyzing not one but several trajectories of the armed conflict based on the particular experience of each one of the participants of the study. That is why the focus group discussions focused on some other conflicts, usually related to the criminality or the armed groups operation, such as “cleaning job”. Nevertheless, there were several opportunities to analyze the impact of armed conflict in the households of the communities.

Chart 3. Periods used for the comparisons included in the Community Profile, Household questionnaire and the focus group discussion Ladder of Life

	RURAL COMMUNITIES				URBAN COMMUNITIES			
	Cerotal	Macaján	El Pilar	Villa Katy	González	Los Álamos	Revivir	Nelson Mandela
Community profile	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and six years ago	Today and five years ago	Today and four years ago	Today and six years ago	Today and ten years ago
FGD Ladder of Life	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and six years ago	Today and five years ago	Today and four years ago	Today and six years ago	Today and seven years ago ¹⁵
Household questionnaire ¹⁶	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and six years ago	Today and five years ago	Today and four years ago	Today and ten years ago	Today and ten years ago

Source: CRECE

That way, the questions referred to the *Ladder of Life* included in the *Household questionnaire*, take as reference a period of ten years in half of the urban communities, while the other three take it from the moment of the constitution of the neighborhood or the settlement. This circumstance allows, in three urban communities – El Pilar, Revivir and Nelson Mandela-, identify the impact of displacement in the wellbeing of the households (when comparing their current position in the Ladder of Life with ten years ago), while in the other three communities – Villa Katy, González, and Los Álamos-, allows to analyze the recovery these households had after displacement (when comparing their current position with the moment when they got to the community).

Following the methodology proposed by the World Bank, **eight synthetic indicators of mobility**¹⁷, using the mobility matrixes created in the focus group discussion *Ladder of Life*. Due to the impossibility of developing the agreement meetings between men and women in most of the communities, it was necessary to select the matrixes when there was more than one classification; this selection was based on the best information men or women could have, and the amount of households classified.

The mobility matrixes of two communities have some particularities that it is worth to mention and explain: (i) In Nelson Mandela and El Pilar, the matrix includes the displaced and non displaced population, while the classification in the other communities was done with the displaced households; (ii) In El Pilar it was not possible to develop the classification of the households in the focus group discussion because of the mutual ignorance of the households. That is way each family classified itself and a ten years period

¹⁵The settlement was established approximately ten years ago, but the people in the list of households used for the classification in the Ladder of Life have been there approximately for seven years.

¹⁶ Applicable period for the questions related to the Ladder of Life.

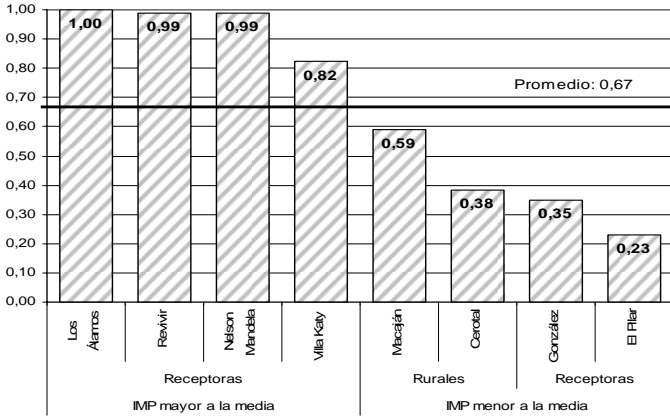
¹⁷Falling in Poverty, Moving out of Poverty, Shared Prosperity, Rich Mobility, Poor Mobility, Prosperity Index, Mobility Index or Net Prosperity Index.

was taken as a reference to the comparison of their situation of wellbeing. That is how it is possible to see that the mobility matrix of this reception community is the only one where the first step in the *Ladder of Life* corresponds to the moment before displacement.

Due to the characteristics of the displaced population, to the short time some of the households have been experiencing displacement, and the reference period used in the construction of the mobility matrixes, some of the transition groups proposed by the World Bank are inexistent in several communities (particularly, the faller households and the mover households). That is why some synthetic mobility indicators are not very useful to classify the communities (because their value is zero, or because it is undetermined); that is the case of the mobility indicator for rich. Due to the focus of the study, the most adequate mobility indicator and the one counting with some comparison information in all the communities, is the *Mobility of the Poor Index-MPI*.

There is an advantage in the fact that the reference period in the classification of the displaced households is the moment when they arrived to the reception communities; it allows to understand the factors contributing to the reestablishment of the population. As long as the IMP gives practically the same order of the prosperity, net prosperity and mobility indexes, it is considered enough and sufficient to use the first one to categorize the communities according to the “promoted” mobility inside the poor households, representing most of the households. In the Graph 1, there is an illustration of the order resulting from the use of the *Mobility of the Poor Index*.

Graph 1. Position of the communities according to the Mobility of the Poor Index



Source: Focus Group Discussion Ladder of Life

Based on this order, it is possible to Classify the communities according to their position in the Average Mobility of the Poor Index: (i) Communities that have indices higher than the average index: Los Álamos, Revivir, Nelson Mandela and Villa Katy; (ii) Communities that have indices lower than the average index: Macaján, Cerotal, González and El Pilar. Given the differences between the reception communities, on one side, and Cerotal and Macaján, on the other, for some analysis the rural or urban condition will be taken in account.

It is important not to forget that the Mobility Indexes of two of the communities (Nelson Mandela and El Pilar) includes the displaced and non displaced households. If only this indexes are calculated for the displaced households, their value gets lightly reduced in Nelson Mandela (from 0.99 to 0.98), but it falls really hard in El Pilar (from 0.23 to 0.08). For the effects of the typologies of these communities, this distinction does not affect the order because El Pilar would continue being the community with the lower MPI. Nevertheless it is important not to forget that this is the only reception community which index is calculated based on the period before the displacement situation (the first step of the ladder corresponds to the situation ten years ago). And if this situation creates problems of comparability with the other reception communities, the knowledge on the neighborhood and the situation faced by the displaced households induces to think that if the classification had been based on the arrival moment, the MPI would had also been reduced.

Now then, the characteristics of the communities with a higher MPI are not homogeneous, existing important differences in some variables: the way these have been affected by the armed conflict, their rural or urban location, and the constitution time, among others. For example, Villa Katy is barely six years old, and is conformed basically by displaced households, while El Pilar is the oldest community (33 years old) and possess a heterogeneous population¹⁸, as well as Nelson Mandela. In this last community, the study was focused in the members of a Peasants Association, and this circumstance creates some special characteristics in this communities. Some of the findings have to be interpreted and that is way, because the particularities of these communities can be better understood in the Community Synthesis Reports.

Nevertheless, the evidence in the *Household questionnaire* aims to the existence of some common characteristics, though with some exceptions: i) greater social asset ii) greater security perception (excepting Los Álamos); iii) greater participation of the economic associations (excepting Los Álamos); iv) greater proportion of the households owning a business; and v) greater facilities to establish a business comparing with some years ago. The qualitative sources evidence on their side, two additional characteristics, common to the four communities with the higher MPI but also to González Chaparro, one of the communities with the lower Mobility Index: greater institutional presence and the achievement of some major collective goals, especially related to the access to housing conditions¹⁹. On the other side, the participants of the communities with the higher MPI perceive more prosperous than before, consider it is easier o move on and believe the prosperity will be greater in the future.

¹⁸ In El Pilar and Nelson Mandela, the list of households would include displaced and non displaced. Nevertheless, it is important to precise that some of the focus group discussions are basically constituted by displaced population, while the participant households shared this characteristic in their totality.

¹⁹ Even though no housing projects have been developed in Nelson Mandela and Villa Katy, the communities are not considered invasions or settlements. Villa Katy was incorporated since 2002 to the Territorial Zoning Plan of the Mayor's Office as an urban part of the municipality, acquiring the category of *subnormal neighborhood*. In Nelson Mandela, there have been important labors aimed to the physical and social infrastructure, giving the population the guarantee of not being vulnerable to eviction. In both cases these are considered as vulnerable sectors inside the urban area, with their basic needs unsatisfied.

1.2 CONDITIONS AND NATIONAL TENDENCIES

In this section, there is a synthesis of the national context framing the study. This synthesis includes the relation between the main tendencies in the country on economic growth, poverty, basic and social services, and governance for the decade 1995-2005. When the available information allows it, there is the inclusion, besides the national indicators, of some for the displaced population, the region where communities of the study are located, and the zones (urban and rural).

The regionalization of the country includes its capital (Bogotá D.C.) and five groups of neighbor departments: Atlantic, Pacific, Western or Andes and the Orinoquía-Amazonic. The communities of the study are located in the central region (Los Álamos), Atlantic (Macaján, Villa Katy and Nelson Mandela), the Western (González Chaparro) and the Pacific (Cerotal and El Pilar). About the Orinoquía-Amazonic Region (one of the most affected regions by public order issues and with the highest rates of displaced people), even though it is not included in the study, it the place of origin of some of the households displaced in El Pilar.

Growth. The beginning of the decade 1995-2005 concurs with the hindering of the Colombian economic growth, followed by a big crisis at the end of the nineties and a recovery beginning the 2000. A similar evolution happened in the different regions, though the greatest dynamic was seen in the Atlantic and the Western region, as well as the lowest dynamic happened in the Central and Pacific region.

Poverty. According to the *Mission for the design of a strategy to the reduction of poverty and inequality* (MERPD in Spanish, 2006), almost half of the Colombian population was poor in 2005 and the 15% was homeless, taking their incomes as the main criteria. These levels are practically the same at the beginning of the decade 1995-2005, but inferior to the rest of the years. It is important to outstand that the greater poverty and homelessness rates of the period (58% and 25% respectively) were registered in the year of the economic crisis, 1999.

The zoning analysis shows that poverty and homelessness are outstandingly higher in rural than urban areas, and the Gap grew in the last years. In 2005 the poverty affected the 42% of urban population and the 68% in the rural zone, while the levels of homelessness were 10% and 28%, respectively. The regional indicators –available for 2004- reveal that the Atlantic region has the greatest poverty levels (around 57% in 2004), followed by the Central and Western regions (55%) and finally, the Pacific region (51%). About the homelessness rates, the Western region presented the highest rate (21%), followed by the Central and Pacific regions (19%). Finally, the Atlantic region registered the lowest level of homelessness.

Income distribution. Colombia is, after Brazil, the second country in Latin-America with the most unequal income distribution. The evolution of the Gini coefficient shows a persistent deterioration in the income distribution until 1999 and, since then, an irregular behavior, with increases in 2002 and 2004, and reductions in the rest of the years. This

tendency has been similar in the rural and urban zones, even though the inequity is higher in the first one.

About the regional indicator, the available data –to the year 2000- show that, between the regions where the communities of the study are located, the Pacific region has the most unequal income distribution, followed by the Atlantic, Oriental and finally, the Central region.

Human development. In the World Inform on Human Development of 2005 (PNUD, 2005), Colombia appears with an index of 0.785, placing it in the 69th position among 177 countries. If this data is compared with the data of 1997, it is possible to infer that, even though the index has improved, the position of the country according to the world context decreased: in 1997, Colombia was 57th between 174 countries.

If the evolution of Colombia's HDI (Human Development Index) estimate is analyzed, it is possible to see an irregular behavior in the analyzed period. The most remarkable thing is that the economic crisis at the end of the nineties had no negative effect on the index, which remained stable until 2002. Only in 2003 the country was able to overcome the index of 1996 and 1997. Although the evolution of the HDI by regions is similar to the national behavior, the numbers in the index are different, and this reveals regional inequalities: the Central and Oriental regions have the higher numbers, while the lowest ones are found in the Pacific and Atlantic regions.

Basic services: The country has made some important efforts within the last years to improve the coverage of the basic services network, particularly in rural zones. In the case of electric energy, almost 100% of the urban houses had the service in 2003 and the 83% in the rural area. In the regions where the communities of the study were located, the best coverage was found in the Atlantic region and the worst in the Pacific one. For the displaced population, the coverage in 2004 was 89%, it means, less than the national average in 2003.

In the case of the aqueduct, the coverage reaches an 86% in the country, and the Gap between urban and rural areas is much wider: while the 97% of the urban houses count with the service, in the rural zones there is a little less of fifty percent of inefficiency. Among the displaced people the indicator (66%) is remarkably reduced compared to the urban average. By regions, the worst coverage is found in the Atlantic region, and the best one in the Central region.

About the sewer system service, the differences between urban and rural zones are huge (90% and 16% respectively). About the displaced households, a little more of the half had the service in 2004, much lower than the urban average. The regional comparisons show an important Gap between the Central region, with the highest coverage, and the Atlantic region, with lowest coverage.

Given the geographical characteristics of the country and the high costs of the connection of these services in rural areas, the use of the methods to replace some basic services (such as the septic hole, among others) has been extended to many people. At the national level,

the 92% of the households have some sanitarian service; this proportion is near to the 99% in urban areas and 72% in rural areas. The region with the highest availability of this service is the Central one, and the lowest is the Atlantic region.

Chart 4. Coverage of basic services, 2003

	Energía	Acueducto	Alcantarillado	Sanitario
Nacional	95.4%	86.1%	71.2%	92.1%
Urbano	99.7%	97.4%	90.3%	98.6%
Rural	82.9%	53.0%	15.6%	72.2%
Desplazados*	88.8%	66.2%	50.6%	nd
Atlántica	95.3%	79.1%	50.7%	84.0%
Central	94.9%	89.0%	74.3%	95.4%
Oriental	93.9%	80.1%	68.3%	90.6%
Pacífica	93.2%	82.2%	63.3%	86.6%

Fuentes: DANE, Encuesta de Calidad de Vida (2003);* Universidad de Los Andes, Encuesta Detallada de Hogares Desplazados (2004)

Social services. In the following paragraphs, some basic indicators on education and health in 2003 will be presented. These indicators have been selected because it is possible to make a comparison with the displaced population (Ibáñez and Moya, 2006).

The educational attendance of the Children of primary school age goes to the 95% in the national average. In the other hand, the Atlantic region has the highest attendance, while the Pacific region has the lowest one. By zones, the rate is 97% in the urban and 90% in the rural. In the case of displaced population, the attendance is 82%, which means that 18 of each 100 kids of displaced households do not go to school.

On the other side, the educational attendance of middle and high school age population is 69% in the whole country. Such as the previous case, the Atlantic region has the highest attendance rate, and the Western region has the lowest once. About the Gap between the rural and urban areas, it is even wider: while in the cities 75 of each 100 kids and youth attend middle and high school, only 53 of each 100 kids and youth were attending in rural areas. Among the displaced population, their level is 68%, lower than the urban areas.

For the national average, the analphabetism rate in the head of households was 10%; in the cities 6% and the rural areas 22%. In the displaced households, the proportion of the head of households who cannot read and write is close to the quarter (24%), and this puts them in a difficult situation comparing them to the urban head of households. By regions, the lowest rate is found in the Western region, while the highest one can be found in the Atlantic region.

Finally, the education level among the head of households is close to the seven years, which means that, in average, they have approved until second grade in middle and high school . The regions where the indicator is higher are the Central and the Western regions, while in the Atlantic and Pacific regions the head of households have lower education levels. In this indicator, the difference between urban and rural zones is really big, the same with between the first ones and the displaced households: the urban head of households studied almost eight years (third grade in middle and high school), but in the rural area

only 3.7 (less than fourth grade in primary). According to the Detailed Questionnaire of Displaced Households (Ibáñez and Moya, 2006), the indicator is 5.7 for the head of households of displaced people, a high level comparing it to the rural one²⁰.

About the coverage on the Social Security System, particularly to health issues, the country has done some important efforts in the widening of the Subsidized regime, designing some instruments to focus the efforts in the households in the worst situations. At national level, the 62% of the population was covered in health in 2003. The 63% of this population was affiliated to the contributive regime and the 37% to Subsidized one. On urban zones the *global* coverage was 65%, in rural it was 52%. The distributions by regime in these areas are completely opposed: while in urban zones almost three quarters of the population are covered with the contributive regime, in rural zones the same proportion is affiliated to the Subsidized one. These differences are explained by the formality of the job sources in the city and the informality of the job sources in the countryside.

Chart 5. Health and education indicators, 2003

	Asistencia 7-12 años	Asistencia 13-18 años	Analfabetismo jefes	Escolaridad media jefes	Cobertura salud
Nacional	94.9%	69.1%	9.6%	7.0	57.2%
Urbano	97.2%	75.3%	5.6%	8.0	60.9%
Rural	90.1%	52.7%	22.0%	3.7	47.5%
Desplazados*	81.5%	68.2%	24.0%	5.7	67.0%
Atlántica	97.3%	74.5%	16.3%	6.6	55.7%
Central	93.9%	64.5%	9.4%	6.1	58.8%
Oriental	95.9%	63.8%	8.5%	6.1	65.7%
Pacífica	90.4%	65.4%	11.2%	6.6	55.7%

Fuentes: DANE, Encuesta de Calidad de Vida (2003);* Universidad de Los Andes, Encuesta Detallada de Hogares Desplazados (2004)

On the other hand, among the displaced population the *global* coverage was 67% in 2004 and, even though there is no regime discrimination, it can be inferred that most of them are affiliated to the Subsidized regime. The regional comparisons show the highest coverage in the Western region, and the lowest in the Atlantic and Pacific region.

Governance. According to one of the most important Colombian economists, the precarious governance in Colombia and the high levels of violence are associated to the geographical characteristics of the country (Montenegro, 2003). According to his opinion, three factors related to the geography infer in the development and governance of the country: the multiple interior borders (jungles and inaccessible places) in Colombia, the accidents in the geography and, associated with this, the rate of dispersion of the population, “*in fact, the greatest dispersion in Latin America*” (Montenegro, 2003: 18). Nevertheless, the same characteristics have also helped the political stability because the fragmentation of the power created by the complexity of the Colombian territory “*has constituted the greatest obstacle hindering any group, sector or movement to take over the power*” (Montenegro, 2003: 26).

²⁰ An estimate based on the information provided by the Household questionnaire notices that the average education level in the displaced head of households in the city is four years, and 2.8 years for the head of households in rural communities.

For the analysis of the governance on the regional level it is good to present some of the results of the paper Political culture and Democracy in Colombia: 2005, developed by the Andres University and the Vanderbilt University (2005)²¹.

About the trust in the local governments, the highest levels are found in the Central region (58%) and the lowest ones in the Pacific (50%). The Western and Atlantic regions, on their side, present intermediate trust levels (55% and 56%). By zones, there is a higher credibility in the local governments among those living in rural areas (60%), comparing it with the urban inhabitants (53%).

It seems there is no association between the trust levels in the local governments and the management reports provided by these. Those who say that the local administration reports the results and the management of the resources are usually coming from the Pacific region (44.6), while the Atlantic region shows a lower number on this kind of demonstrations (38%). By zones, there are no big differences in the indicators.

It also seems there is no relation between the trust in the local administration and the perception of its honesty, even though there is indeed a connection between this one and the management reports. The order of the four regions of the sample according the people believing in the honesty of their local administrations is the same to the result of the management report providing: Pacific (highest level), Central, Western, and Atlantic. Nevertheless, in all cases the numbers of those who believe in the honesty of the local administration is lower than the results of those who think the local government provides management reports. The same way, there are no big differences in the perception of the honesty of the local administrations when using a zoning discrimination.

The fear of voting is probably one of the best indicators to measure governance. About this, the given results reveal that, among the regions of the sample, the inhabitants of the Pacific region show a higher fear than the Western and Atlantic regions, with a lower level.

1.2.1 Balance on the internal forced displacement in Colombia

The history of Colombia has been signed by multiple kinds of violence –political, organized, social, economic, urban, rural – that have occasioned a serious damage on the Colombian social structure. Among the most remarkable facts in the history of Colombian violence, we can see the multiple civil wars in the XIX century, the social rebellions starting the XX century, the banana massacre, the violence of the 50's, the creation of guerrilla groups, the rise of narcotraffic in the 80's, the appearance of paramilitarism and, in the last decades, the worsening of the internal armed conflict.

The historical continuity of violence in the country is a widely studied phenomenon and multiple causes are attributed. On one side, some of the investigations emphasize on the political exclusion created by the two grand traditional parties (liberal and conservative) as the main detonator of the Colombian conflict and some other insist in the creation of a

²¹ In the frame of this study several questionnaires were applied in order to get to know “the direct experience of the Colombian population” in subjects like the confidence in the institutions, the participation levels etc.

violence culture with some endemic characteristics, remarking it as the root of the Colombian violence.

The Colombian conflict, understood as a long term conflict with profound social, political roots, can hardly be understood without analyzing the character of the historical development of both the State and the Colombian society. The large trajectory the conflict, almost forty years without counting with the period known as “The Violence” (1948-1962), has been damaging and striking the social structure. The fragmentation of the armed actors (State forces, guerrilla, paramilitaries), and the common society, obstruct the achievement of any consensus around the most adequate channels to solve the conflicts and generate an environment of trust and confidence.

Nevertheless the variety of point of views around the origin of the internal conflict in Colombia, it seems there is a common spot when saying the institutional weakness of the State is one of the main factors causing the increase of violence in Colombia:

As a result of the violence in the fifties, the police and judicial institutions were severely weakened; in this environment, all kinds of illegal acts and the persecution of the west wing prospered (...) Based on a State with an enormous deficiency on the justice and legal system and the precarious attention paid to the population needs, there was an additional rupture in the access to fundamental rights, the illegal actions increased (...) and the narcotraffic prevailed (Gaitán, 2001: 101).

That is how the persistency of the illegal armed actors is associated with the erosion of the institutional structure of the Colombian State and its incapacity to maintain the monopoly on the use of the legitimate force, which is a main characteristic of the national states, and the cause of the falling of many of those. Now then, the state incapacity to overcome the conflict has left some horrible consequences. The internal force displacement is one of them.

The internal force displacement due to violence is a large trajectory phenomenon in the national history. In some other times, the rural violence and the precarious livelihoods in the countryside, joint to the transformations of the productive structures of the country and the consequent urbanization, provoked the forced migration of important groups of the rural population to the city.

In the time known as “The Violence”, the internal forced displacement was an especially critical phenomenon. The conflict between the traditional (liberal and conservative) led to a devastating battle, especially in the countryside. The switch in the relation rural and urban population²² can be adjudicated to the magnitude of the conflict, especially in the strongest part of it, in 1962. The solution offered to this crisis was the creation of the National Front, a political agreement signed in 1957 where the two parties agreed to alternate the presidency during four periods. Nevertheless, the sequels left by the violence and the political exclusion of the sectors opposing the two traditional parties, configured a

²² In 1983 only the 30.9 percent of the Colombian population lived in urban areas; this share only ascended to the 39.6 percent in 1951 to the 52.1 percent in 1964 after the 63.1 percent in 1973 (DANE, in Niño, 1999).

favorable situation for the rising of rebellion projects and the persistency of the armed conflict, especially in the countryside.

The forced displacement, most of them individual, continued happening in the decade of the 80's, encouraged by the new armed actors organized under the structures of paramilitarism and the dynamics of the narcotraffic. During the 90's, the armed conflict took dimensions that generated the massive displacements of the rural population to the urban areas. According to the study published by the Colombian Episcopal Conference in 1995, almost 600.000 people had been displaced from their homes because of violence between January 1985 and August 1994; that gives an excellent idea of the magnitude of the conflict.

Even though most the initial displacements were individual, near to the second half of the 90's there is a high tendency to the massive displacements. According to Gonzalez (2001) in 1997, for the first time in Colombia, two camps for internal displaced people were established in Pavarandó (Antioquia) and Turbo (Antioquia); these people were there almost two years. In June and July, 1998, 10.000 people belonging to 17 municipalities were displaced to Barrancabermeja, located in the Santander department.

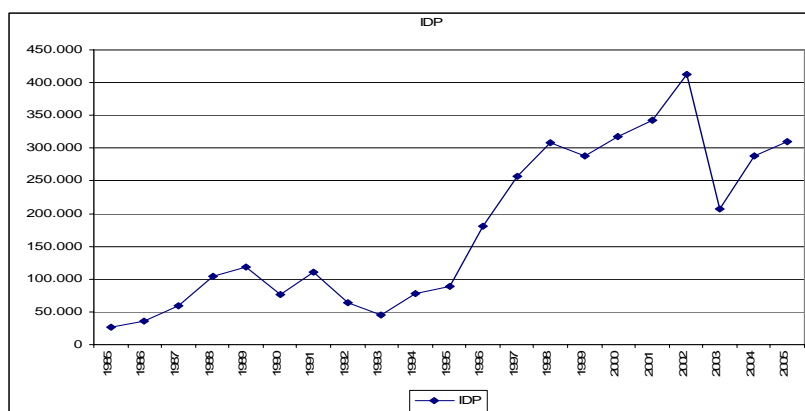
The violence suffered by the civil population, now declared a military target by the illegal armed groups, produced a massive displacement of 1.900.000 people near to the end of the decade, according to CODHES. The worsening of the armed conflict during the 90's has occasioned the attack of the armed groups against the population, particularly in rural areas. The dispute for the territorial control and the strategic resources found in the conflict areas are some of the causes of the internal forced displacement, recognized by the experts in the subject. According to Fajardo (1999, in Perez, 2001: 55) "those areas suffering displacement, instead of being poor areas, are those with the strategic resources produced by the economic activities linked to the oil industry and the mining activity, or where the illegal cultivations can be found Among the mining municipalities, 65% of them are displacing sites, as well as the 56% of the oil industry municipalities.

About the displacement dynamics within the last years, according to the government sources, the number of displaced people has been reduced²³. Nevertheless, such reduction can be explained by the reduction of the registration of the individual displaced events, because the number of the massive displacement events has not been reduced. There has been a great polemic around this. According to the numbers provided by the CODHES, the number of displaced people has been multiplied more than a hundred times in the last seventeen years (there was an estimate of 27.000 people in 1985). Besides, it grew a 75.1% between 1996 and 2000, coming from 181.000 to 317.000 people. According to some other data of this same institution, from 2003 to 2005 there was a new increase in the number of displaced people coming from 207.607 to 310.387, within the last year. According to their estimate, between 1985 and the first semester of 2006, the historical accumulated ascended

²³ According the available numbers of the registered population until June 2003, the 'Red de Solidaridad Social' reported a noticeable reduction in the intensity of displacement during the last semester of 2004 (Escobar, Jiménez, Ramírez, 2005).

to 3.832.527 internal displaced people in Colombia²⁴. Despite the disagreement among the institutions in charge of registering the numbers on displacement, the humanitarian crisis faced by thousands of Colombians leads to recognize the dimension of the problem that, during 2006 according to the 'Pastoral Social', reported 201.623 individual displacements²⁵. In the Graph 2, there is an ascendant evolution in this phenomenon during the past twenty years.

Graph 2. Behavior of displacement 1985-2005



Source: CODHES (2005)

The expansion and intensification of the armed conflict and some other parallel violence simultaneously, has implied the expelling of the population from the 87% of the municipalities and that the 71% of these have also been reception sites. This means that all the departments in the country are scenario for displacement, transit or reception of the people forced to migrate (CODHES and the Colombian Episcopal Conference, 2006)

1.2.2 Policies on the internal forced displacement

All these factors granted some recognition of the internal forced displacement by the Colombian State as a social phenomenon, by the first half of the 90's: the ascendant and general manifestation of this problem in all the national territory; the displaced population looking for any support; the claims these people did to the control organisms; the pronouncement of the social leaders, the mass media and the Catholic Church; the investigative efforts made by the Colombian Episcopal Conference and some other organizations; and the difficulties to handle the situation, faced by the local administrations of the reception sites (Parra, 2003 and Hernández, 1999). At the international level, there were also some facts that influenced the formulation of the policies: the dimension acquired by the Human Rights and the International Humanitarian Law during the 80's; the commitments of Colombia in this matter; the pressure of the non government organizations such as Human Right Watch and International Amnesty, especially through their declarations on the country's situation during the 90's (Parra, 2003).

²⁴ <http://www.codhes.org/Info/grafico-tendencias.htm>.

²⁵ <http://www.accionsocial.gov.co/contenido/contenido.aspx?catID=383&conID=556>

The first formulations of the policy regarding internal forced displacement in Colombia were developed based on the National Development Plan “Social Jump” 1994-1998 of the president Ernesto Samper. It is important to notice the CONPES document 2804 of 1995, where, for the first time in history, there is the development of a National Program of Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population in Colombia. In such document, according to Hernández (1999), the Colombian State explicitly recognizes the internal forced displacement; defines what is understood as “displaced person”; structures a policy for his or her integral protection; such structure was adopted in a good measure by the Law 387 of 1997 (Parra, 2003).

The **Law 387 of 1997** constitutes the first normative frame aimed to the Integral Assistance of the displaced population. Through this law, some measures are adopted to prevent the internal forced displacement and the attention, protection, consolidation and stabilization of the social and economic situation of the internal displaced people in Colombia, assuming as displaced person “any person that has been forced to migrate inside the national territory, abandoning their locality of residency or the usual economic activities, because his or her life, physical integrity, security or personal liberty have been affected or are directly threatened, with the event of any of these situations: Internal armed conflict, disturbs and tensions, generalized violence, massive violations to the Human Rights, infractions to the International Humanitarian Law or some other circumstances coming from the previous situations that can affect or are severely affecting the public order” (Colombian Congress, 1997: 1)

On its orientation principles, the Law recognizes the right of the Colombian people to not being forced to migrate against their will; it emphasizes the duty of the State to provide the necessary conditions to facilitate the coexistence among the Colombians, equity and social justice; and establishes the rights of the displaced: asking and receiving international aid; not being discriminated; beneficiating from the fundamental right of the family reunification; acceding to definitive solutions to their situation; coming back to their places of origin and not being limited in their motion liberty by any restrictions different by the ones established in the law.

To fulfill the actions of the Integral Assistance to the displaced population, the Law 387 establishes different instances in the regional and national order: (i) The National System of Integral Assistance to the displaced population –SNAIPDV in Spanish-, constituted by the group of private, communitarian and public entities that develop plans, programs, projects and specific actions, aimed to the Integral Assistance of the displaced population; (ii) The National Council for the Integral Assistance to the displaced population, advisor organ in charge of the formulation of the policy and the guarantee of the budget designation for the programs developed by the entities conforming the SNAIPDV; (iii) The National Plan for the Integral Assistance to the displaced population, designed by the National Government with the participation of the entities conforming the SNAIPDV; approved by the National Council for the Integral Assistance to the displaced population and adopted through the presidential decree; (iv) Information National Network for the Attention to the displaced population, instrument designed to guarantee a fast and efficient national and regional information to the SNAIPDV, for the execution of the policy; (v) National Fund for the Integral Assistance to the displaced population, with the objective of financing and/or co-

financing the prevention programs for displacement, return, stabilization and consolidation of the social and economic situation of the situation of the displaced people and the installation and operation of the Information National Network; (vi) Municipal, District and Department committees in charge of providing support and collaboration to the SNAIPDV.

As *Prevention Measures*, the Law states the stimulation of the constitution of work groups for the prevention and anticipation of the risks that displacement can generate; promoting the pacific coexistence and the action of the public force against the factors producing the perturbation; avoiding the arbitrary actions, discrimination and risks against the displaced population; designing and executing a Diffusion Plan for the International Humanitarian Law and the advisory of the department and municipality authorities, so they can include the prevention and attention programs in their development plans.

On the other hand, the *Humanitarian emergency assistance* is aimed to help, assist and protect the displaced population and attend their needs of alimentation, personal cleaning, supplying management, cooking utensils, medical and psychological attention, emergency transport and temporary lodging with dignifying conditions. There is the right to the HEA for three months max, which can be exceptionally extended to some other three.

Finally, the *Social and Economic Consolidation and Stabilization* states the implementations of some measures aimed to the creation of social and economic sustainability conditions for the displaced population the frame of the voluntary return or the resettlement in other areas. Such measures involve: productive projects; access to the National System of Agrarian Reform and the Peasant Rural Development; the encouraging of the small businesses; social coaching and training; social attention on health, education and rural and urban housing; attention to the childhood, woman and elders; and access to urban and rural employment plans.

One year after the approval of the Law 387, the Government issued the Decree **173 of 1998**, adopting the National Plan for the Integral Assistance of the Displaced Population. Based on the evaluation of the results in government policy, the year after a **CONPES document, the 3057**, was approved and it proposed a more efficient institutional outline to encourage the participation of the departments and the municipalities, and overcome the assistance focus of the current development (Parra, 2003). In the period between 1998 and 2003, some other decrees were issued to regulate the Law 387 and dictate some other dispositions in different subjects (Chart 6).

The **Constitutional Court** has made statements in many occasions on the subject of displacement to punish negligent or discriminatory actions and omissions of the authorities in charge of the attention to displaced population; to point out the institutional responsibilities on the attention of displaced population; to precise their constitutional rights; to establish the criteria for the interpretation of the norms regulating the help for this population; to reject the unjustified delay or the omission of the authorities to attend those in situation of displacement; to encourage the development of the policies and programs for the attention of this phenomenon; to precise the elements that determine the condition of displacement; to point out the obstacles that hinder an adequate attention to the displaced population and generate the violation of their rights; and to grant an effective protection to

the displaced population particularly when it comes to the individuals protected by the Constitution, such as kids, women household head, elders and ethnic minorities (ACNUR, 2004).

Chart 6. Decrees aimed to the regulation of the Law 387

Decrees	General Description
Decree 501 of 1998	Organization and functioning of the National Fund for the Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population.
Decree 173 of 1998	Adoption of the Program of Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population.
Decree 290 of 1999	Measures aimed to facilitate the inscription in the Birth Registry and the expedition of the ID.
Decree 489 of 1999	Designation of the 'Red de Solidaridad Social' to fulfill the functions developed by the Presidential Council for the Attention of the Displaced Population.
Decree 2569 of 2000	Measures aimed to avoid the institutional dispersion of the attention to the displaced problematic and some other dispositions.
Decree 2007 of 2001	Attention to the rural displaced population, in the frame of the voluntary return to their places of origin or the resettlement to some other place.
Decree 2562 of 2001	Education providing in the levels of kinder garden, basic and middle and high school.
Decree 951 of 2001	Conditions required to grant housing and economic aid to the displaced population.
Decree 2131 of 2003	Measures for the prevention and the attention of health to the displaced population.

Source: CRECE

In the sentence **T-025 of 2004**, the Court stated that the situation of the people in situation of displacement is unconstitutional, and ordered the Government to develop effective actions to solve the situation. The sentence was based on the default on the fulfillment of the Law 387 of 1997, the high number of claims presented by the displaced people in the different courts, and the worsening of the situation due to the omissions of the public policies; a group of circumstances that violate the rights of the displaced people (Global IDP Project, 2005). According to the CODHES, the sentence T-025 of 2004 reinforces the juridical frame of the protection of the communities affected by the internal forced displacement, from the perspective of the Human Rights. Aiming this general principle, it demands the development of the policies oriented to guarantee the vital minimum of the rights established by the international and internal commitments of the Colombian State and it claims for the future, institutional actions based on the criteria of progressiveness that allow the recovery and the construction of complete citizenship conditions to these people. In the same way, it claims the objective attention of all these displaced people that have been accepted in the Unique Register System –SUR. Additionally, it establishes a mechanism for the report of the results, for the one the sentence creates a system of “supervision hearings”, and assigns to the Public Ministry the work of developing a systematic evaluation (CODHES, 2005).

One year after the Court issued the mentioned sentence; the Government revoked the Decree 173 of 1998 and issued the **Decree 250 of 2005**, with a new National Plan for the Integral Assistance of the Displaced Population. Such plan counts with orienting and intervention principles, synthesized in the existence of a differential, territorial, humanitarian and right restitution focus. The intervention principles state, on their side, the responsibility shared among the entities, the cooperation and solidarity, the integrality, the participation and social control exercised by the displaced population and the attention to the vulnerability. The objectives of this Plan are established by the Law 387 of 1997. For

each one of the Phases – Prevention and Protection, Humanitarian emergency assistance and Social and Economic Stabilization, there are some actions for at least one of the Strategic Lines: Humanitarian Actions, Local Economic Development, Social Intervention and Habitat.

In July of 2005, the Congress issues the **Law 975 of Justice and Peace**, which objective is to “facilitate the peace processes and the individual and collective reincorporation of the members of the illegal armed groups to society, guarantying the rights of the victims to the truth, justice and reparation”. In the frame of such law comes the creation of the **National Commission to the Reparation and Reconciliation**, with an operation of eight years and a mixed character, because is integrated by the government representatives, the civil society, the victim organizations and the State control organisms²⁶. The functions of such Commission are: Guarantying the participation of the victims in the processes of the reparation of their rights; presenting a public inform on the rise and evolution of the illegal armed groups; recommending the reparation criteria with charge to the Reparation Fund; following and verifying the reincorporation and the work of the local authorities²⁷. Around the same days, the Government creates the **Presidential Agency for the Social Action and the International Cooperation**, through the Decree 2467 of 2005; with the one it joins the Colombian Agency of International Cooperation, ACCI in Spanish, and the ‘Red de Solidaridad Social’, RSS in Spanish. The new agency assumes, among others the programs of the RSS: Attention to the Victims of Violence, Integral Support of the Displaced Population and the Alimentation Security Network. It is also in charge of the coordination of the SNAIPD²⁸.

After the T-025 of 2004, the Constitutional Court has issued the **Autos²⁹ 176, 177 and 178 of 2005 and 218, 266 of 2006** on the subject of the unconstitutional status of the situation of displacement, and various instances of the Government and the civil society (among them, the Attorney General, the People Defender, the Comptroller General, the Civil Society Commission for the Control to the Public Policy on Displacement and various organizations of displaced people) have exercised some control and have developed evaluation informs on the government actions aiming internal forced displacement. From the CODHES, even though the sentence has taken to greater financial and institutional commitments by the Government and the creation of participation spaces for the displaced communities, the fulfillment evaluations developed by the social organizations, the Public Ministry, the international community and the Constitutional Court, show a great distance from the orders of the great Court and the response of the Government (CODHES, 2005).

According to the “Inform of the High Commissioned to the UN for the Human Rights on the situation of the Human Rights in Colombia”, the 20th of January, 2006, there is a persisting situation of vulnerability of the displaced people and many communities suffering the risk of attacks and displacement. According to this inform, there have been

²⁶ <http://www.cnrr.org.co/antecedentes.htm>

²⁷ <http://www.presidencia.gov.co/sne/2005/octubre/04/06042005.htm>

²⁸ <http://www.red.gov.co/contenido/contenido.aspx?catID=3&conID=544&pagID=820>

²⁹ Autos are judicial providences, different to the sentences, designed to develop the trial, not to finish it. **Note from the Translator.**

advances on the attention to displaced population, particularly on the subject of the resources to attend the crisis, in the design of the instruments of the policy and the creation of participation spaces of the displaced communities, but these efforts do not guarantee the effective exercise of the fundamental rights of the displaced people, especially on the matter of housing, lands and the income generation. The inform points out, on the other side, that there has not been any answer to the situation of the displaced women, in many cases household head, and victims of the greater levels of violence; and that the application of the restrictive criteria of inclusion, exclusion and cease of the displaced condition, produces a limitation in the register of such condition that restricts the access of the people to the humanitarian assistance and underestimates the dimension of the phenomenon to construct consequent policies.

The CODHES and the Colombian Episcopal Conference (2005), make a balance, pointing out as the main strengths the attention policies aiming the displaced population:

- Normative and institutional frame: Colombia counts with a specific law for the Integral Assistance and protection of the displaced population and is the only country on earth in the one the Directive Principles of the Internal Displaced of the United Nations have a constitutional range. It also counts with the legal definition of spaces, coordination instances and the execution and control or local, department and national responses for the attention to the internal displaced population.
- Advances in the social response: the internal forced displacement has been occupying a more relevant space in the agendas of the international community; the native organizations, black race, women and peace movements; and the academic instances. On the other side, the organizations of the displaced population consolidate themselves as active subjects on the public politics.

On the other hand, the main limitations of the policy stated in the report of the CODHES and the Colombian Episcopal Conference, are the following:

- Context of the armed conflict and the humanitarian crisis: the persistence of the armed conflict and other kinds of violence; the state protection for those in risk or in situation of displacement present serious operative difficulties referred to the pertinence, opportunity and effectiveness of the answer; there is no respect from the armed actors towards the civil population; the persistence of the impunity structures related to the violation of the human rights and the infractions to the International Humanitarian Law.
- Programmatic aspects: the problem still occupies a secondary place in the state and social agenda; there is still a focus on the short term responses that do not establish conditions to consolidate long term and integral solutions; the ignorance towards the need of applying differential responses and policies of affirmative action, creating the basic conditions for the overcome of the inequality, disadvantage, vulnerability and weakness conditions found in the displaced population.

Chart 7. National Timeline: key events and policies related to the internal forced displacement

Year	Event	Policies or government actions
1995		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is stated, for the first time, a National Program for the Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population (Conpes 2084)
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The number of the displaced people increases progressively: while in 1985-1995 the annual average was 73 thousand, in 1996 the number increased to 181 thousand people. (CODHES, 2006) 	
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement of 257 thousand people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoption of the measures to prevent the internal forced displacement and the attention, protection, consolidation and social and economic stabilization of the displaced (Law 387) Creation of the Social Solidarity Network (Law 368)
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Andrés Pastrana is elected president. One of his main goals is to achieve a peace agreement with the armed groups. Displacement of 308 thousand people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoption of the National Plan for the Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population (Decree 173) Organization and functioning of the National Fund for the Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population (Decree 501 de 1998).
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The dialogues between the guerrilla and the State start. Worsening in the guerrilla attacks. Displacement of 288 thousand people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measures aiming the facilitation of the inscription to the Birth Registry and other documents (Decree 290 of 1999). Designation of the 'Red de Solidaridad Social' to fulfill the functions developed by the Presidential Council for the Attention for the Displaced (Decree 489 of 1999).
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement of 320 thousand people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measures aimed to avoid the institutional dispersion in the attention of the problem of the displaced population and some other dispositions (Decree 2569 of 2000).
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement of 342 thousand people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measures for the attention of the rural displaced population, in frame of the voluntary return or the resettlement somewhere else (Decree 2007, of 2001). Measures for the educative services in the kinder garden, basic primary and middle and high school (Decree 2562 of 2001). Economic aid and material aid in housing matters (Decree 951 of 2001).
2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> After several difficulties, the distension zone ceases as well as the peace process . Álvaro Uribe is elected president. Promises "tough hand" against the illegal armed groups. Hit on displacement numbers: 412.5 thousand people. 	
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement of 207.6 thousand people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Measures for the prevention and the attention on health of the population in condition of internal forced displacement (Decree number 2131 of 2003).
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement of 287.6 thousand people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sentence T 025 of the Constitutional Court, where it states the unconstitutionality of the situation of displacement
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Displacement of 310.4 thousand people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adoption of a new National Plan for the Integral Assistance of the displaced people (Decree 250) Statement of the Law 975 of Peace and Justice and the creation of the National Commission of Reparation and Reconciliation. Creation of the Presidential Agency for the Social Action and the International Cooperation; a fusion between the Colombian Agency for the International Cooperation and the 'Red de Solidaridad Social'. The new agency assumes the coordination of the SNAIPD.

Source: CRECE

- Normative aspects: some of the official agents lack of the training on the applicable norms, the response institutional frame and the fundamentals of the public policies; some juridical, political and administrative reforms have been introduced, and these have damaged the right frames of the displaced population or just do not know their rights; some official agents and institutions are still applying a restrictive interpretation of the public policies on displacement, which leads to the lousy attention of the displaced population.
- Budget aspects: there is a great distance between the dimensions and the needs of the problem, and the effective budget assignations, despite the efforts, the coverage levels are just not enough and the fulfillment of the basic rights of the population in situation of displacement lacks of effectiveness; there is just not enough money for the attention of the population affected according to the components, sector axis's and a differential focus.
- Institutional aspects: there is a persistency in the disarticulation and the lack of coordination of the state and government responses; just a few committees have been conformed, function periodically and have not achieved sustained actions; the mechanisms and institutional procedures do not notice the need of proper responses in emergency situations, which had to be, nevertheless, soon and effective; the lack of effective information on the offer and the institutional actions; the lack of political will to develop processes of results reports on the management and the public expenditure in matter of displacement, and not only when it comes to the Constitutional Court request; the persistency of the difficulties for the proper participation of the organizations of displaced people in the spaces of deliberation and decisions in the national, department and local environments.

According to the previous statements, there are important advances on the formulation of the public policy. Even though the efforts on the execution of such policies cannot be ignored, these are, according to the studies, clearly insufficient. Despite the prevention, Humanitarian emergency assistance and social and economic stabilization actions, the evaluations show these emergency actions have been developed within an Subsidized approach. Therefore, there is an important void in the prevention, stabilization and the rights vindication actions.

2. EFFECTS OF THE ARMED CONFLICT AND THE INTERNAL FORCED DISPLACEMENT ON THE WELLBEING

The study, according to the previous statements, was developed in eight communities, six of them located in urban areas (El Pilar, Los Álamos, Villa Katy, González Chaparro, Revivir de los Campanos and Nelson Mandela) and the other two in rural zones (Cerotal and Macaján). The six urban communities are constituted, at least most of them, by people in situation of displacement, coming from different parts of the country. The rural communities also suffered the effects of the armed conflicts, causing a massive displacement in Cerotal with a later return.

The Colombian armed conflict, with more evident effects in the rural zones, is one of the main causes of displacement in the population, usually emigrating to intermediate or big capitals. Excepting Macaján, where massive exodus did not happen, displacement has provoked the greatest impact on the households participating in the study.

The effects of the conflict do not disappear when abandoning the place of origin, but in the contrary, express themselves in a chain of marginalization, poverty and a psychological, social and cultural imbalance. The population in situation of displacement uses to face a hostile environment in the reception sites, where it is common to find some other kinds of violence. The analysis presented in the following paragraphs comes from the stories collected in the rural communities affected by the armed conflict and the urban communities in situation of displacement.

2.1 ARMED CONFLICT AND INTERNAL FORCED DISPLACEMENT

“It is a puzzle and you see no way out, we pay for this thing, the people”
Octavio, Woman, 62 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD³⁰

According to the official numbers, at the end of the nineties, it was considered that in more than 50% of the Colombian municipalities there was guerrilla presence, and near to a quarter of these, narcotraffic, or paramilitary actions were detected. According to the same sources, only the 15% of the population lives in municipalities free of the active presence of these agents (Rubio, 1998). Especially in this time, the military actions in different parts of the country got worse, bringing as consequence great massive displacements; this period concurs with the displacement of most of the people participating in the study.

In a general view, the armed conflict and the immediate and long term consequences undermine the possibility of the population to improve their live conditions. The association between armed conflict and poverty, added to the weak institutionalism of the

³⁰ In all the testimonials included in the present report we included the information source, name, sex, age and the community. For the information sources we use the following contractions: CT for “Community Timeline”; ILS for “Individual Individual Life Stories”; LFPD FGD for the focus group discussion ‘Livelihoods, Freedom, Power, Democracy and Governance’; CIM FGD for “Conflict and Institutional Mapping”; and Youth FGD for “Youth Aspirations”. With the purpose of guaranteeing the confidentiality of the information, the names of the participants have been modified.

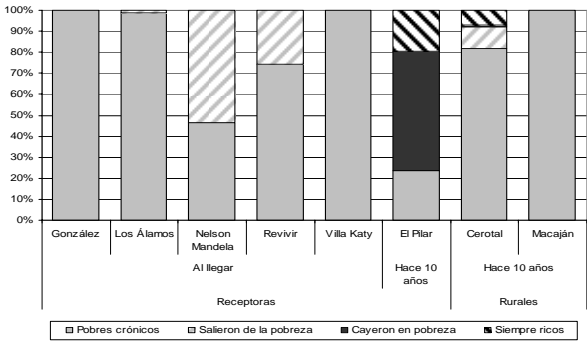
State, makes extremely vulnerable those who have been displaced or those who have remain in their places of origin, facing the violent consequences.

In this sense, the armed conflict hinders the possibilities to move out of poverty, due to the plunder of the livelihoods, and conducts to a hopeless state: “That defeated me over there, violence. I lost everything I had, 21 years working” (Sergio, Man, 52 years, Nelson Mandela, ILS); “the conflict started when we were in the Palmas; they killed a lady down there, they wanted to take my kids, they took ladies and young men, that was our fear and the people started to leave. I would not let my kids go out because I was afraid they would take them. The took two of our family” (Esperanza, Woman, 56 years old, El Pilar, ILS); “the zone we lived in was red zone during 12 years, the things were not very well, when it passed to be red zone ten or twelve years ago, we had to be very careful, doing the things right, not supporting one group or the other. In this month an armed group came in threatening the people living in the town. We heard ‘they are coming to kill everyone, let’s go’, and we took the decision of leaving Macayepo³¹ towards the Carmen de Bolívar, straight to Sincelejo” (Pablo, Man, 35 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

The armed conflict and the internal forced displacement represent, from the perspective of the study, multiple ruptures and social, economic, psychological, family, politic, and cultural losses, which traduce in the history of rootlessness and poverty, both difficult to overcome. The low share of the rural and urban households have been moving out of poverty and a high one has remained in it, it is an important evidence of the difficult conditions faced by the communities affected by the conflict, according to the Graph 3.

In this section the most relevant effects of the conflict on the wellbeing of the households will be discussed, based on the experiences of those who were expelled of their places of origin and those who remain in it. In the rural communities of the study, Macaján and Cerotal, there is the possibility to analyze the trajectory of the armed conflict during the last years. In the urban communities, instead, there is not a unique trajectory of the conflict, because the victims come from different places and were displaced in different periods.

Graph 3. Distribution of the households participating in the study³²



Source: Focus Group Discussion Ladder of Life

³¹ Municipality of the department of Sucre.

³² Only displaced population is included in the case of Nelson Mandela and El Pilar. The distribution changes a little when some other households of these communities are included and they were not displaced.

The store of the armed conflict in Cerotal, told by a teacher

Juan had the chance of sharing with the community not only the moments of the incursion of the guerrilla to the area, but also the most critical moment of the conflict, the displacement and later return of the households to the town “the guerrilla was staying here with no problem, especially in Las Palmas, *Divino Niño and Alizales*. I was afraid of going over there, because we would see them like anyone, like “*Pedro por su casa*”³³ with their rifles in their back”. According to his story, they all got used to the presence of the guerrilla: “The first days, the surprise. Then we got used to it, we got used to see them with their big guns. They would go to the supermarket and they would not pay a thing, and nobody could say anything. We coexisted with the guerrilla, but with fear”. Even though the community was in permanent turmoil, they had daily contact with the guerrilla. Juan points out three events where such interaction was really clear: the incorporation of the youth to the armed group and their training to seed ‘amapola’³⁴, the obligation of assisting them, and the construction of a road required by the guerrilla: “*They took us to open roads. Two or three teachers had skipped that, but they asked the parents where the teachers were, and they took us with the older kids ‘Fixing the roads also educates’ they told*”.

Despite the warnings about the armed conflict, Juan continued going to the school: “*It was like the Announced Dead Chronic. Mrs. Ana came telling us to clear the zone because there was going to be a battle (...) One could not panic. The kids took it as a game, with no fear. They had listened shootings before. But that day they heard mortar explosions and the ground was trembling. Juan took his motorcycle and drove to Pasto: “I had to be the strong one; we would scream “we are teachers! We are teachers!” all the time...the same Thursday many people had left, because they felt the “furusca”*³⁵ was coming. The cars were full of people; they felt displaced even before the greatest conflict”.

Some households decided to stay in the *vereda* despite the treat represented by the conflict, some others left to Pasto and returned, and some others stayed in the city for good: “A few people stayed, they were afraid to leave, they had no money, no transportation, no way to get to Pasto. Those ones with a car did left. The town became a ghost town, the houses were empty. They used to come and go during the year”. The reason of some households for staying in Pasto were, fundamentally, according to Juan, the intention of receiving help for displaced people and the consecution of a job in Pasto: “They had to stay in Pasto two or three months to receive the help. Some kids applied to the schools over there, but they did not like them, they wanted to go back to the school here in the town. Then, the parents would stay and the kids would return and keep on studying. The peasants would return. In the other hand, those who had skills on clothes designing or construction stayed in Pasto, some of them did really well and already have a house and everything. Some others got a job with house employees and watchmen, they used to come and go...the people started coming back only because they have left their land and animals. The ‘Red de Solidaridad Social’ was not really helpful. Instead of encouraging people coming back, they made the people stay in order to receive the help. Even more, they used to tell the people even when they were already here, to go over there to get the money, because they were already on list”.

From his perspective, the conflict created different situations that continue affecting the wellbeing of the community and its possibilities to move on. When it comes to the children, he says; “*You ask them before the conflict what they wanted to be when grown ups, and they used to say ‘driver’ or ‘peasant’*. Now days they say ‘policeman’, ‘soldier’, ‘guerrilla member’, and lately ‘paramilitary’. During the conflict “*the kids used to think anything was a machinegun, and they used to get guns, magazines and a grenade*”.

During the most critical moment in Cerotal, in 2002, the Army entered in the zone, causing the conflicts with the FARC, which provoked the massive displacement of the peasants: “*When it started, I was arriving from Pasto and I felt the shooting. I was with my kid and I*

³³ popular expression used to refer a person that can move around somewhere it no problem.

³⁴ Plant used to create heroin.

³⁵ Battle, conflict.

had no idea how to protect myself. The conflict started in Santander and extended until Cerotal; all households started to leave” (Carolina, Woman, 28 years-old, Cerotal, CIM FGD). Even though the population started to feel the effects of the presence of the guerrilla group, this presence was already known years before, without affecting the daily life of the community: “[In 1990] there was the rumor the guerrilla was around here...Then in 2000 we could see them in all the veredas, they would hire trucks to get “remesas”³⁶ to Los Alizales...they had militia, I mean, people in the town telling them everything they need to know. We had no permission of having cellphones, while the soldiers would tell us they would give us some. The guerrilla would station in TELECOM to avoid any leak of information, and we had to talk in code. Even with our family we had to be very careful because the clerks and the operators were also militia. They got into our privacy” (Carolina, Woman, 28 years-old, Cerotal, CIM FGD)

Right after the conflict ceased, the households started coming back to their lands “I think 100 households were affected by this situation, some of us left and some others started to come back really soon. There was no reason for us to come here because we had no money to seed” (Julia, Woman, 38 years old, Cerotal CIM FGD). Even now, the inhabitants experience the consequences of the conflict: “It destroyed our morale, the people suffered, they have no desire of progress and they say; to get out of here running, why would we kill our selves working...people just lost hope” (Ernesto, 59 years old, LFPD FGD).

On the other side, in Macaján, the paramilitaries exercised a great pressure on the population during a period of three years (2001-2004): “*The community never paid attention to the conflict. We had to ask permission for everything*” (Julian, Man, 24, Macaján, CIM FGD). Even there was no massive displacement; some households were forced to abandon the ‘*corregimiento*’, for good or temporarily: “*They killed the two brothers of some lady three years ago, that was terrible, and they killed them in front of his kids, around their work place, in Tolúviejo. During those days we were a little displaced, she used to come and go because she was afraid but she also had animals*” (Andrés, Man, 49 years old, Macaján, ILS). During these period, Chinulito³⁷, was completely devastated during the battles between the illegal groups and the Army; this situation, as it will be seen later, had an special impact on Macaján: “*Chinulito disappeared and Macaján did not, because no body messes with them [with the illegal groups], they are three miles away from here (...) it is possible to find the real conflict in the Montes de Maria*³⁸” (Carlos, Man, 49 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

In Macaján, due to the massive rejection and the absence of combats inside the ‘*corregimiento*’, the population resisted to displacement. According to Uribe (1999), the passive rejection is an indirect way of civil population to resist, in order keeping their physical integrity. This can be seen in reflections like the following: “*Macaján has been a*

³⁶ A word commonly used for naming the food supply

³⁷ It is a ‘*corregimiento*’ in the municipality of Colosó, located a few miles from Macaján. In 2000, there was a massive displacement towards Tolúviejo and Sincelejo, caused by the conflict between the official forces and the guerrilla groups. Currently there is a return process, but at the time of the development of the field work, only five households had returned.

³⁸ Macaján is located in a zone called “Maria Mountains, one of the most violent regions in Colombia, since the decade of the eighties and with the worsening of the situation since 1998.

peaceful town because it knew how to take care of itself; our people have not been involved with those groups” (Sebastián, Man, 49 years old, LFPD FGD); “you have to go with the flow in order to survive. Then it comes the spot when we become string. In 1998 the AUC appeared. We were affected mostly in the psychological part, for example, the bomb they planted on Thursday; we would expect another one next Thursday” (Evelio, Man, 34 years old, Macaján,

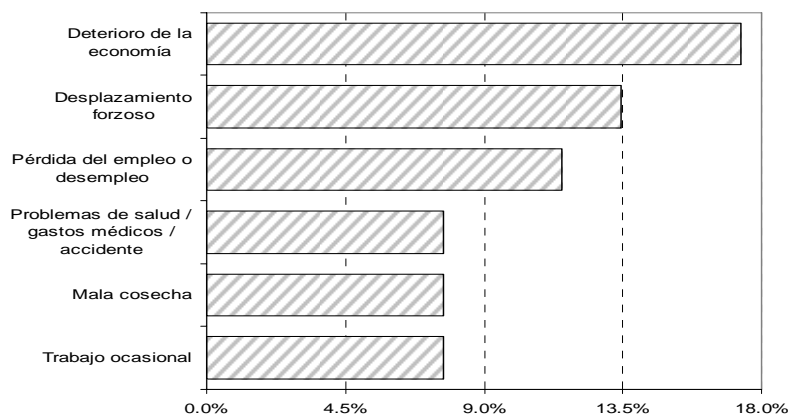
The experiences of the displaced households, belonging to El Pilar, Los Álamos, Nelson Mandela, Revivir de los Campanos, Villa Katy and González Chaparro, were not explored very deeply, because of the impossibility, in the context of the study, of boarding different trajectories of this phenomenon, in the original locations of the participants of the different communities. Nevertheless, their *Individual Life Stories* allow getting closer to the experience of the conflict in their places of origin and its effects on their wellbeing during their life in these places, finding regular elements on the incidence of the political conflict in many regions of the country and the current and severe effects.

2.1.1 Effects of the armed conflict

“The fight was between the guerrilla and the government, we had nothing to do with it, and we were victims”
 Marco, Man, 57 years old, Cerotal, CT

According to the information collected through the *Household questionnaire* the main factor affecting the negative mobility inside the rural communities of the study is the *worsening of the economy*, factor that, according to the participants, is strongly associated to the armed conflict; “ There was more poverty, many people left their plantations and lost their belongings, their cow, their milk, their animals” (Gabriel, Man, 64 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD). The internal forced displacement and the loss of their jobs, occupy the second and third place.

Graph 4. Main factors hindering the wellbeing of the households of rural communities.



Source: Household questionnaire

The control exercised by the armed groups caused important traumas to the local economy, especially in Cerotal. The people of this *vereda*, fundamentally dedicated to the cultivation

of potatoes and the production of milk, watched how their income, not only during the conflict, but also later, was dramatically reduced: *“These same groups would impose their order, this was even worse when they imposed their law, their rules (...) This caused a chaos for our economy, because we could only go out after 6:00 a.m., at that hour the potatoes were cheaper”*³⁹ (Fabiola, Woman, 28 years old, Cerotal, CT)

The reduction of the transportation during the guerrilla presence in Cerotal made it really difficult to access the market located in Pasto, and this eventually caused many problems when commercializing the products: *“The potatoes had no chance, here many people used to gain their resources with the potatoes cultivation, many people ruined because potato was no longer a fine business”* (Ariel, Man, 64 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD). Besides, under repressive methods, the peasants say they had to abandon their cultivations periodically because they had to build a road or receive training by the guerrilla members: *“ They gave us an order: we had to go and build a road that connected the veredas in order to have an access to the mountains”* (Ezequiel, Man, 57 years old, Cerotal, CT); *“men used to be forced to go to the workshops, all Holy Week. When we were working they used to say ‘there is a meeting at this hour’ or ‘there is some work in the roads’ and they would not let us to work on our plantations”* (Martin, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, ILS). The reduction of the economic opportunities was also caused because the people in the best conditions stopped their cultivations and their productive activities in their farms: *“Because they had somewhere to live, they did not have to worry for cultivation; that is why the poor were affected because they had no jobs and almost had to ask for charity”* (Ariel, Man, 57 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD).

The agricultural employment was also affected in Macaján. The devastation of Chinulito affected the economy of the *‘corregimiento’* because there was a constant fluctuation of products between the both towns. Being a community of agrarian vocation, the worsening of violence in the area of the Maria Mountain hindered the activity of many peasants working in their own or rented plantations, or as farm workers in the area. Even though they were not expelled from their lands, they saw their integrity and their work affected by the situation: *“It did affected me because I was not working very well, I was afraid of the killing and that affected us all, that was in 2003. They used to kill neighbors here in Macaján and workmates”* (Mauricio, Man, 68 years old, Macaján, ILS). In a similar way, the continued violent acts created chaos in the local market, which reduces in rural communities, to the basic supplies: *“When this got bad, we almost take the violence choice. They arrived and killed some people, even though they were not from here, they were some “cachacos”*⁴⁰ *who had their businesses here and we were afraid of that”* (Sara, Woman, 52 years old, Macaján, ILS).

According to the stories of some displaced people, the armed conflict also affected the sources of income of their places of origin. This can be seen especially on the lack of work

³⁹ The potatoes producers need to be located in the market place before sunrise, if they want to get good spots and buyers, before other producers. The martial law imposed by the guerrilla between six p.m. and six a.m. affected the commerce possibilities.

⁴⁰ Expression used by the people living in the coast to call those ones living in the mountains, in the interior, especially in Bogotá.

as a consequence of the control exercised by the armed groups on the local production means: *“I had to leave my job because the guerrilla would not let us cross the river, they owned those areas. In the 97 we had to pay attention to the rumors: ‘you can go this day or the other, the plague [the guerrilla] is not over there’. We were always afraid, we could not sell our stuff freely, when that started, there was no liberty for working”* (Darío, 47 years old, Gonzalez, ILS); *“our hope disappeared when the paramilitaries arrived, now the guerrilla men were not our bosses, with them we could work, but the paramilitaries would not let us work, we had to close our businesses at 3:00 p.m., many killings used to happen”* (Maria, Woman, 54 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

Many people were also forced to change their economic activity: *“Back then the town was really nice, we lived from the manioc and banana. Then it got more and more populated, the time passed by and the healthy life just ended. Outsiders came to our time, and the coke appeared, the good stuff disappeared, the manioc and banana, there were a lot of deaths because of the coke”* (Mariana, Woman, 31 years old, El Pilar, ILS). The extortions and treats were also frequent: *“I was not satisfied with the work in the countryside, these people would mess a lot with us and they wanted us to give them money”* (Eliseo, Man, 43 years old, Villa Katy); *“there was a time, when they were here, when if you had products to sell, you had to have a permission issued by them, and if you sold anything, you had to pay them a tax, they used to stipulate a day for each one of them to sell (...) They used to go somewhere and ask for the ‘vacuna’⁴¹, or they would kill you. Among the possibilities for the “vacuna”, you could provide them with milk, meat or cheese”* (Francia, Woman, 64 years old Macaján, CIM FGD).

Besides the impact on the economic opportunities, there are frequent stories around the usurpation of the minimal spaces necessary for the communitarian coexistence and the individual autonomy. The hostilities among groups and the territorial struggle, frequently accompanied by armed conflicts, had made civil population a cross-roads target; they cannot live away from the conflict: *“They killed my dad in Caquetá, before his dead, everything was alright. They killed him because he was a police inspector in the Coast; the guerrilla used to say he was a mole of the army”* (Fabio, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

The “law”, word usually used to call the order imposed by the armed groups, transforms the daily space in a permanent martial law, trough the terror caused by treats and the violent acts against the population: *“We were always afraid because they were coming. We cannot ignore any of them [guerrilla or paramilitaries] because both are the law, and they will kill us. Everyone was alright until the law came in”* (Diana, Woman, 26 years old, Villa Katy, ILS); *“my husband left to Coco Tiquisio⁴² to work as a miner and we were displaced form there, there was much violence over there, we had to leave before something could happen to us, we were always afraid something could happen to us, just ones pay for the sinners”* (Manuela, Woman, 60 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

⁴¹ Some kind of tax, imposed by the armed groups to the peasants and businessmen.

⁴² Corregimiento of Tiquisio municipality, in the department of Bolívar.

About the effects of the conflict on the communities of origin, it is possible to outstand the following:

Changes in the domestic and communitarian life. The presence of the guerrilla groups and the paramilitaries had an impact on the life style of the population, when imposing a new dynamic in the daily life of its inhabitants: *“The presence of the armed groups comes from 1990 in a silent way. Between 1995 and 1999 was when it started to happen, they used to walk around like if it was their home, they imposed their law, 16 rules, there was a lot of delinquency, infidelity, parties and dances, all of that was regulated by them”* (Violeta, Woman, 30 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD); *“not having problems with our neighbors, for me that was not that bad; they asked who was the neighbor and they used to tell him or her ‘you cannot act like that, you have to act like this’. The good think was that young people could not fight among them, and kids could not be on the street after 6 p.m.”* (Manuela, Woman, 64 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); *“after that, we lost our organization. Years before we could go out at any hour, now they imposed their own laws. If you steal something, they would kill you”* (Sebastián. Man, 57 years old, Cerotal, CT).

The law imposed by the armed groups would also include the most frequent and common habits and circumstances, which reaffirmed the control exercised on the different aspects of the communitarian and family life: *“When we watched TV until 1 a.m., they used to knock the door and say ‘turn off your T.V.’, that happened to me once; the respect was lost. We used to loose our authority with our kids and wife”* (Esteban, Man, 34 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD); *“we could not go out because the groups would prohibit that, we could not talk out loud inside the houses because we had no idea who was listening”* (Manuela, Woman, 64 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); *“they used to impose a tax on those who turned off the outside lights; they had good and bad things”* (Estela, Woman, 53 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

Psychological Tensions. The participants of the study frequently refer to the psychological effects caused by the armed groups and the imminence of the conflicts: *“All this time I was afraid, that was not life, since my son was six years old, until now that I left. Psychologically I was really bad, I used to tell my kids to hide when I went to work, and never leave their hideout until I return. I would not let them watch TV after 8 p.m.. They were not happy, and when they go to school, I was afraid they would take my kids because the problem their father had. That was no life at all, at least here in Pasto we can sleep well”* (Carla, Woman, 31 years old, El Pilar, ILS). Additionally, some of the participants tell their experiences of aggression and treats lived in their places of origin, where they precisely chose displacement: *“I was outraged, they tied me, mistreated me to tell them when my partner was, they did lots of things to me, thanks God they did not kill us”* (Cristina, Woman, 35 years old, Villa Katy, ILS); *“I have two big kids, the oldest one is 18 years old, and my girl is 16. Some day some weird people came and said they were going to take my kids to recruit them. I was already living with Eugenio [her current partner] and he told me those people were “la gente del monte”⁴³. And they said they would come in eight days to take my kids, and I did not want to”* (Delia, Woman, 48 years-old, Los Álamos, ILS).

⁴³ Common expression to call the guerrilla or the paramilitaries.

Limitations in the activities of the communitarian organizations. The experience of the conflict affects the communitarian organizations in several ways, as a consequence of the intimidation exercised by the armed groups, the murder of the leaders and the worsening of the relationship with the local administration: *“The Boards (Community Action Boards) lost credibility in front of the Local Administration and the other institutions (...) the trust is less than 10 years ago, the official agents are afraid of coming here”* (Gregorio, Man, 41 years old, Cerotal CIM FGD). In Macaján, on their side, the figure of the *corregidor* disappeared because of the constant treats to the person in charge, they have no representative in the Mayor’s Office: *“There was a change in the administration with the authorities because they did killed a lot of people, they killed an inspector in Cañito⁴⁴”* (Marta, Woman, 38 years old, Macaján CIM FGD). The same way, the Community Action Board disappeared: *“ They killed the President of the Board and nobody wants to take his place (...) Now we are afraid of reassembling the Board”* (Diego, man, 34 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD). According to the participants of the study, the collective work developed years back, was also damaged by the armed conflict: *“When the violence came in, were afraid and we did nothing”* (Bernardo, Man, 59 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

Pressure on the leaders to exercise new roles: the experience of Cerotal evidences the strong pressures of the armed groups towards the leaders: *“They [the guerrilla] were the owners of the sector, they needed no mediators, and people would go immediately to them, because they were afraid. They would call the leaders in order to communicate the people, they wanted to use the leaders as informants, and they had to say they were nothing”* (Ricardo, Man, 41 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD); *“during more than two years the Boards and other organizations did not have any meetings, they would not listen to us in the administration, making assemblies was a felony, we stopped meeting from 2001 to 2003, they knew who were the representatives of the Communitarian Boards”* (Luis, Man, 64 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD).

Intimidation. The population is usually the victim of treats conducting to the loss of liberty of speech, and the creation of a distrust environment because of the fear of becoming a military target: *“That is really frustrating, you cannot talk, you cannot act, you cannot make mistakes (...) you trust no one”* (Luz Dary, Woman, 51 years old, Macaján, ILS); *“inside the towns the people had no freedom to do anything, had no liberty of speech, no economic strength to mobilize”* (César, Man, 34 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD); *“ten years ago people used to talk with no pressures, what happened left a silence”* (Teresa, Woman, 43 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

With the purpose of surviving, the population frequently adapt to the conditions imposed by the armed group: *“I was going to get a cow, but I told a neighbor I did not wanted that cow. Then they distributed the cow, gave me a piece of it and started to give me ron, glasses full of ron, but I took a towel and I did like if I was going to clean my mouth, and would spit the ron. They used to give us liquor to see our attitudes”* (Teresa, Woman, 43 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

⁴⁴ A neighbor *corregimiento*.

According to the stories told by the participants of the study, the intimidation also included some “gifts”, used to influence the civil population: *“They [the paramilitaries] tell you ‘we are going to give you this cell phone, this motorcycle and this 9 mm, so you can collect our money, and the 15% is for you’. They give you anything you want for you to feel big. And if you need money, they tell you ‘we will lend you some, how mucho do you need?’. They gave us seven million pesos, they want you to say yes and they tell you ‘we give you these seven million, you pay them with two little extortions’”* (Adolfo, Man, 29 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“they used to make parties, the guerrilla girls would attend to these parties and that is how they would hook the guys. Some others because they wanted, because they were older. One of these guys is in jail because he tried to leave the guerrilla”* (Ernesto, Man, 33 years old, Cerotal, Minicase); *“the young ones had said it was because of the lack of jobs and they could pay them well and help their households. They used to do anything the boss wanted because if not, he would kill them”* (Manuela, Woman, 64 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

Stigmatization of the population. Caused by the presence of armed groups, the populations enter in a space prefigured as dangerous, also called “red zone”: “people used to say to heads had to be brought to go to Macaján, we had a lousy fame” (Elena, Woman, 19 years old, Macaján. CT); “back then, a hectare was worth something, now it has no value, we were declared red zone” (Luis, Man, 57 years old, Cerotal CT). This circumstance affects the institutional presence and in general, the communication with other people of some other communities.

The lack of institutionalism of the State in many regions of the country has facilitated to the armed groups to take control of the life in the villages and the towns, because, as it can be seen, the armed actors occupy the role of the State in some functions like the administration of justice, the regulation of the markets and the monopoly of the “public order”. Added to the past mentioned, the government machinery has lost credibility when it comes to its capability of repairing the damages caused by the conflict: *“Currently, war is the highest investment of the Colombian State, an 80% of the income, and the lefts are for other purposes like agriculture, that is why we have a little resource for our stuff. Some people have used war as a source for getting resources for themselves. The Colombian State definitely thinks of war as a fine business, imagine how much money is coming from the United States!”* (Martin, Man, 22 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD); *“they abandoned us, the government, no body comes here”* (Juan, Man, 33 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

2.1.2 Effects of the internal forced displacement

“We left all our stuff, the future of our family. I saw the destruction of all my work, all my hard work during ten years”

Miguel, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS

All urban communities of the study are composed by people coming from rural areas, excepting El Pilar, where the non displaced are most of the community⁴⁵. That way, the

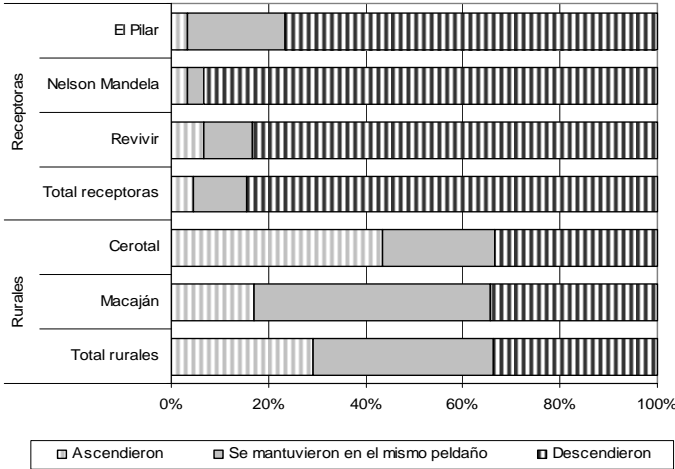
⁴⁵ Although in El Pilar we counted with the participation of non displaced in some of the FGD, the Household Questionnaire and the Individual Life Stories were Developer only with displaced people. The same way, many of the analysis of this community were focused on this population.

common denominator of the participants of the study is their rural origin and the experience of the internal forced displacement situation, with the remarkable difference that the households of Cerotal returned after a short period. Only a few households in Macaján were displaced while the households of the other communities were forced to abandon their places of origin years ago.

The internal forced displacement, occasioned by the dynamics of the armed conflict in the places of origin, is the main cause of the declining of the wellbeing of the households of the study. Despite its purpose of protecting the lives of those in danger, it partially reduces the risks and it demands challenges usually overwhelming the capabilities of the population. The changes in the wellbeing do not only refer to the loss of their lands and assets, but the fall in the income and the decrease in the goods consumption capability. It also has to do with the worsening of the livelihoods, the patterns in the vulnerability faced by the households during their adaptation in the reception sites and the limited opportunities for developing a dignifying life.

Even though the experience of the armed conflict in their places of origin creates some common effects to the internal forced displacement, the ruptures created by these one tend to be dramatic and imply greater problems to reach a recovery. The next Graph 5 includes the results of the mobility in both rural communities and the three urban ones where the comparison with the welfare step was developed comparing with 10 years ago⁴⁶; this allows seeing the effects of internal forced displacement.

Graph 5. Mobility of the households according to the comparison of their current wellbeing and the same step ten years ago



Source: Household questionnaire

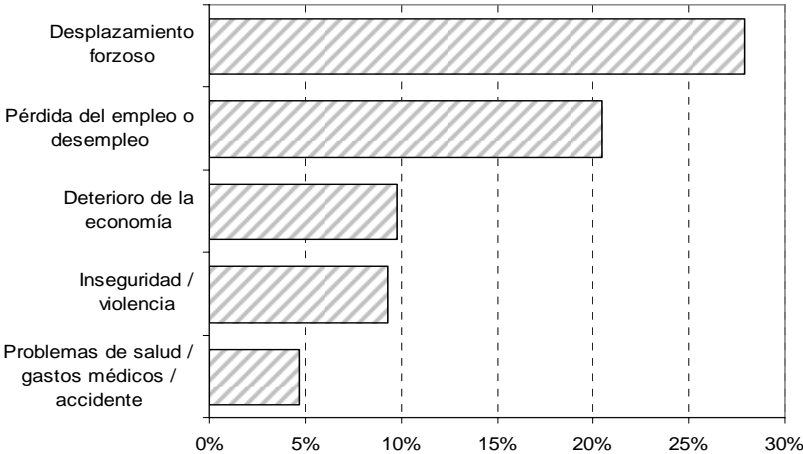
In the urban communities, where the initial step of the ladder was ten years ago, the internal forced displacement is referred, in the *Household questionnaire*, as the main negative mobility factor and the second place is occupied by the loss of jobs, associated to the first

⁴⁶ In the other urban communities, the interviewed compared their current situation with the arrival moment to the reception site. The results allow seeing the recovery achieved by some households after displacement: most of them (69%) claim some improvement in their conditions; the 13% consider they are just the same, and the 18% think they are worse.

one (see Graph 6). It is clear in such graph the weight of the conflict (first and fourth place) and the economic problems (second and third place) in the negative mobility of the households participating in the study.

The loss of the main source of income and the loss of the most important assets are the main effects of displacement in the economic field. Most of the households that owned something in their places of origin and today living in the reception sites faced the loss of their properties, and, in the best cases, achieved to selling them with an inferior price. Another common place, among the consequences of the armed conflict in the places of origin, corresponds to the loss of their assets different to land, usually constituting an important source of income for the owner: *“When the battle started, we were working and had to leave with the clothes we had on, no more (...) I had some animals, so I returned to check on them, but those were all dead”* (Patricia, Woman, 33 years old, El Pilar, ILS); *“we lost everything, even my TV, I could not bring it with me, only what I could carry in my bag. We could only recover our clothing, no more (...) The house is abandoned and I do not think we are going to be able to get it back”* (Alicia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS).

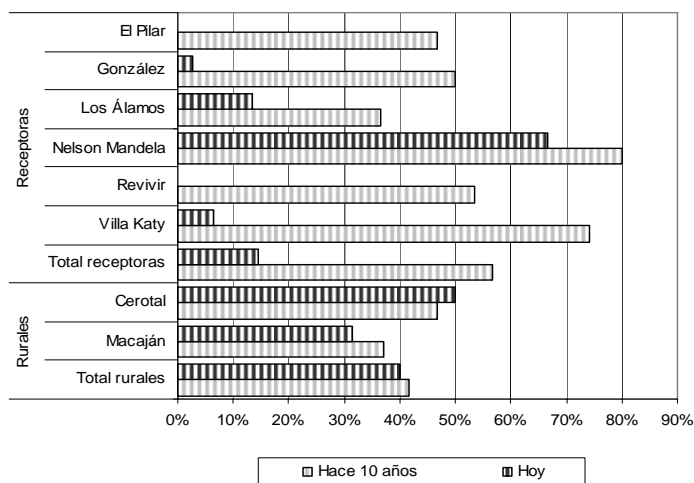
Graph 6. Main reasons for negative displacement in the reception communities where the ladder begun ten years ago



Source: Household questionnaire

The source of the main source of income, represented in the sale of the harvest, can be clearly appreciated in the Graph 7: in two of the urban communities none of the questioned households has, as a current source of income, the sale of their harvest. This share is really low in the rest of the communities excepting Nelson Mandela, community where the study focused on the Peasants Association, which has cultivation lands close to the settlement.

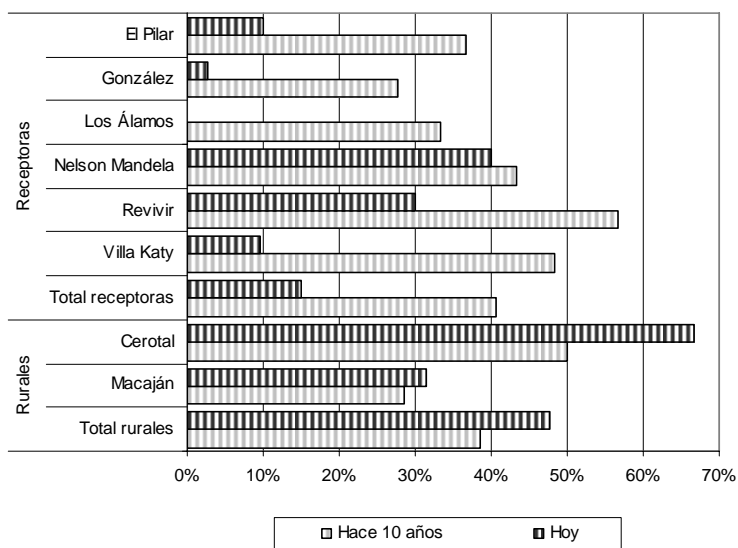
Graph 7. Share of the households having as a source of income the sale of their harvest



Source: Household questionnaire

About the loss of the assets, it is evident the reduction of the number of households claiming to own any land now days⁴⁷ comparing with ten years ago. The same happens with the cows and animals (Graphs 8 and 9).

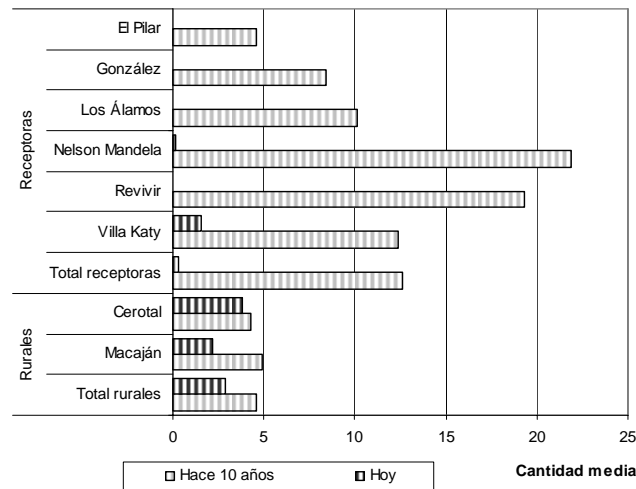
Graph 8. Share of the households owning lands



Source: Household questionnaire

⁴⁷ The current possession of land does not mean having the opportunity of using it, because some of the interviewed are referring to the land they abandoned during displacement. Additionally, some of the interviewed may be referring to the land they occupied as an invasion, especially in Nelson Mandela.

Graph 9. Average amount of animals



Source: Household questionnaire

Beyond losing the main source of income, the displaced population was forced to develop unknown labors for them, with lousy payments and unstable jobs, in a strange context. All that, in the middle of the family changes, the rupture of the social networks, the emotional traumas and the transformations in the construction of the self identity. The chain of exclusion faced by the participants in the study (affected by the armed conflict, coming from the countryside, many of them forced to be installed in the marginal urban sectors, with informal jobs and no labor guarantees) makes it really hard to recover the wellbeing and may condemn them to the experience of precarious situations, comparing with the conditions they had in their places of origin.

In these circumstances, the main factor, according to the analysis of the sources of information, hindering the recovery of the population, particularly in the urban sectors, is the lack of sources of job and the precariousness of the existing work, worsened by the stigmatization suffered by the internal displaced people. Besides, these people usually blame the following aspects as the ones causing the undermining of their wellbeing:

Rupture of the identity referents. The rough change in the social and physical space implied by moving from the countryside to the city creates an important rupture with the way of traditional life and mixes up the referents used by people to identify themselves: *“The government issued a law and it says the displaced must have land; without that we loose our identity as peasants, if we let our lands go away our identity dies because we have to do what we do not know how to do”* (Alicia, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, CIM FGD); *“the economic, moral and educational crisis started. With was a complete economic crisis, especially for Cerotal. Our kids had to leave school, be taken to a place and then to another. Cultural crisis, because they had to move from Pasto and change their costumes, they had to pay a rent”* (Berta, Woman, 30 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD).

Disintegration of the family nucleus and the changes in the interaction: Despite the possibility of consolidating bounds with the extended family in the reception sites, the family disintegration is frequent due to the migration of some members, looking for sustain, as well as the loss of the loved ones due to the armed conflict: *“It was very good before, we used to live with no hurries. Then, the paramilitaries came in, they killed my son. That was what defeated me over there, violence”* (Isidro, Man, 53 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“that was the motivation for my displacement; three armed men entered, in front of my kids, he owned nothing, but the terror was on his face, he was pallid. I was pregnant with my last girl, she is seven. They took him out of home and killed them a couple of blocks away”* (Marina, Woman, 37 years old, González. ILS). Added to the previous, the households usually experiment great tensions due to their economic limitations and the powerlessness they feel because of the lack of everything in the reception sites.

Loss of the social networks. Due to the circumstances of displacement, no matter if it is at an individual or massive level, the relationships beyond the family field are usually affected or lost due to the impossibility of communicating with their old neighbors and, therefore, being supported by them: *“It is hard to leave your friends, we were good friends, no body in Ortega can help us, sometimes the greetings get here. Those were good relationships, we were more humanitarian, we did not denied any favors”* (Gabriela, Woman, 34 years old, Los Álamos, ILS FGD); *“it was difficult where we were, but all people came here and spread in Sincelejo. Here is difficult [the communication] with our friends, because they live too far”* (Horacio, Man, 35 years old, Villa Katy, ILS FGD).

Problems for inserting the reception society. Because of the precedence of zones in the middle of the armed conflict, the “displaced” constitutes a social category that is suffering stigmatization in the reception site; this exclusion tends to hinder the access to work sources: *“They do not give jobs to the displaced, they say we are guerrilla or paramilitaries. They look at you in a weird way in Downtown. They give no jobs to the displaced people because they are guerrilla or paramilitaries”* (Ester, Woman, 36 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“I would not say I was displaced, because they would not give me a job”* (Sandra, Woman, 36 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD). These and many other evidence the problems of the reception communities to understand the drama of displacement and to take conscience on the violation of their rights.

Psychological effects: the psychological effects are not only circumscribed to the moments of high tension lived in the places of origin. Watching themselves exposed to the stigmatization, to the losses experienced during displacement and the short action range, has its emotional repercussions: *“the kids were affected, they saw they lacked of many things and I could not provide them, they lacked of the affection of their father, they were free over there and here, they could not go out by themselves”* (Lorena, Woman, 32 years old, El Pilar, ILS) *“I have been really affected by displacement, I was almost mad. If they had sent me the ticket, I would have left, I want to go back, but I am afraid of not finding my stuff”* (Francy, Woman, 35 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

Alimentation insecurity: Besides the physical health problems and the emotional stress, the conditions of healthiness and alimentation are strongly affected, due to the precarious conditions experienced by the people in situation of displacement: *“We cannot buy any*

food, we have no job to cover our alimentation; there we could grow our vegetables, there were eggs and animals, here we cannot have any hens or chickens because someone will steal them, there are people making their living of it, of the things people leave unattended (...) we reached the number of 20 chickens, we used to go to the banana three and get our banana, here we have to have two or three hundred pesos” (Eugenia, Woman, 29 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

Precariousness of the housing conditions. In the municipalities with the highest affluence of people in situation of displacement, it is common to see the formation of settlements or invasions in the urban peripheries; context in which the housing conditions are very precarious, facing situations of overcrowding and poor healthiness: *“We all have to sleep in a single room, put our mattress in the floor, because we have no money for a bed” (Martín, Man 56 years old, El Pilar, LOL FGD); “We do not have a house on our own, and the spaces are very small, we were used over there to live in a wide space, not like this one, we are not used to live like this, in a nine meters house, there we would have a house of 13x8 meters” (Ana, Woman, 29 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).*

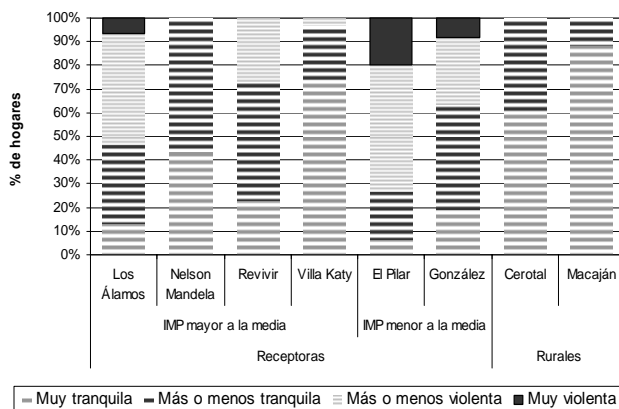
Feeling of vulnerability occasioned by the weak protection to the displaced population and the ignorance on the attention policies. The loss of the political contacts established in the places of origin and the insufficient knowledge on the political dynamics in the reception places makes it difficult for many people in situation of displacement to access the local political field, with the purpose of reducing their vulnerability: *“We have looked for help but we had no answer, we are looking no more because I am too busy. When they come to the Community Room they say YES to everything we ask, they promise and promise but nothing happens” (Patricia, Woman 42 years old, Revivir).* Some other participants, on their side, recognize the attention received at a local level, but strongly question the response of the national government: *“Many requests have been made, I write and request a lot, and I am very sad that the official agents tell me there are no resources to support my request. They say displacement is solved and that is a lie, there is much international support but that money stays in the pocket of the powerful (...) with the politicians in Ibagué we have had better solutions than with the State. They have made promises and have fulfilled them, like the governor of Tolima, with him we had real answers” (Manuel, Man, 47 years old, Los Álamos ILS).* The inefficiency of the State when it comes to the prevention of displacement is also visible.

2.2 PERCEPTIONS ON SECURITY AND PROTECTION MEASURES

In the communities of the study, the relative profit on security issues when escaping from the armed conflict does not exclude the displaced households of facing some other treats caused by delinquency and other problems in the urban communities. In fact, according to the Graph 10, both rural communities grade urban ones as more secure locations. In the urban communities, the sensation of insecurity is strongly connected to the problems of delinquency of the reception municipalities, outstanding also, in most of cases, an increase in the insecurity during the last years. The women of the urban communities perceive less security in the communities they are currently living in comparing to men, and in the rural ones the perception is completely the opposite. In general, women consider the effects of

violence in the different aspects of the personal and communitarian life have been less damaging.

Graph 10. Perception of the current security



Source: Household questionnaire

The results of the *Household questionnaire* allows to find an average correlation between the IMP and the perception of the security in the reception communities (0,56), which suggests that households have a greater chance of recovery in the safest communities. Even though this is not fulfilled in Los Álamos (community with the highest IMP and one of the lowest security perceptions in the study), it is valid for the rest. This finding may support the negative incidence of the delinquency in the mobility, but the information available is not very much. It is worth it, nevertheless, to outstand the case of El Pilar, one of the communities with the highest levels of insecurity and with the lowest IMP, where it is possible to see some effects of the delinquency on the economic activities of the population, especially in the businesses of the neighborhood: “*Now all businesses have bars...and all of them are closing early, there was a time when all businesses started being robbed*” (Claudia, Woman, 45 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD). It is also possible to see, even though in an isolated way, the fear some people feel when developing their economic activities, because of the danger of being victims of thieves.

Although in all urban communities suffered illegal acts, is in El Pilar where the delinquency is strongly pointed out as a decisive factor to hinder the wellbeing of the households. Among the facts configuring a highly dangerous view for the participants, it is possible to find the presence of gangs or the groups called “*grupos armados de limpieza*”⁴⁸: “*The gangs are more violent now, they are always in groups of ten, twelve or fifteen. Now, to steal from people, they start like if they were fighting, and when you stop to see what is going on, they assault you*” (Juliana, Woman, 36 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD); “*they made some cleaning. They used to say ‘in X part they found three, in Y part they found five’. ‘The hooded ones’ were providing cleaning service. They started killing the evil ones*” (Miriam, Woman, 75 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD). Also in Nelson Mandela, the delinquency is considered as one of the greatest problems affecting the

⁴⁸ Armed groups committing selective assassinations, usually to establish a territorial control.

community: *“Two years ago we had dead people every day, and in the light posts there were lists of menaced people”* (Aura, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, CIM FGD).

The illegal activities most frequently mentioned in all communities are assaults and robberies: *“They assault everyone here, in the houses, they stab people, that is frequent, not only one day and that is it; they even do their crimes with little kids. When these kids are 10, they will be thieves too”* (Catalina, Woman, 36 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD). Some other activities usually commented are sexual abuse, child prostitution, death threats, expelling and murder, behaviors associated with the use of illicit drugs.

Now the, those who materialize the problems of insecurity and delinquency, according to the perspective of the participants of the study, are:

Youth. The minor felonies and the conformation of gangs are frequently attributed to the young people: *“The assaults in the sector occur mostly in the entrance. Most of them are small crimes, young people do that over there and inside their houses too”* (Oscar, Man, 62 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD). From the point of view of the participants, displacement affected dramatically the young people, and that is why they might be vulnerable to the involvement to kind of activities: *“Displacement affected the youth. Adults are stronger for these situations, but young people feel vulnerable, the lack of opportunities makes them smoke pot, makes them assault people; they are more vulnerable to contamination”* (Jahir, Man, 43 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD).

People in situation of displacement. In the reception communities, it is common to blame displaced people when the quietness and the security of a neighborhood start being reduced. Especially in El Pilar, neighborhood where this population (displaced population) constitutes a minority, it is visible to see how the problems of security are attributed to them: *“With the arrival of the people from Putumayo, the things got complicated”* (Orlando, Man, 59 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). Besides the stigmatization suffered inside the reception society, inside the same communities designations and accusations happen, directly related with the precedence of the influence zones of one or the other group: *“In a community like this one you will find all kinds of people”* (Natalia, Woman, 36 years old, Villa Katy, CIM FGD).

Vulnerable population. In communities like Revivir, the coexistence with the vulnerable population, called as the “relocated”⁴⁹, has undermined, from their perspective, the conditions of security of the neighborhood: *“we had two rapes and the responsible for that crime is in jail: he was a relocated, the victim was a displaced person (...) the kids over here are not that much into the drugs, we know because we know all of them and we talk to their parents and we tell them what their kids are doing, or tell your own to stop hanging out with “fulano”⁵⁰. But with the young relocated ones, we cannot do anything, no body controls them”* (Augusto, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD).

⁴⁹ Households who were relocated a couple of years ago, after flooding and natural disasters.

⁵⁰ John Doe.

Armed groups. In the urban communities, the presence of gangs and the siege of groups connected to the guerrilla or the paramilitaries also make part of these treats: “Also the armed groups they say come around here. We are scared of going out” (Leonardo, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD); “there was a “grupo armado de limpieza”, they would kill anyone who was not doing the normal stuff” (Danilo, Man, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, CIM FGD); “uptown there are gangs with machetes, pistols, knives...I would not like to be stabbed or killed” (Mónica, Woman, 30 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD). Despite the previous, and despite their methods, the commonly called “grupos armadas de limpieza” are also attributed with some protection function, because they expel or kill those who do something reprehensible: “They killed because they wanted to finish all these people doing bad things, that was four years ago, recently founded the neighborhood” (Cristian, Man, 47 years old, Nelson Mandela, CIM FGD).

Police. Even though their main function was bringing protection, the police is also mentioned as a violence generator against the population especially the displaced one: “*the objective of the police was to disappear all displaced people. They used to talk lousy things about us. They used to plan bombs and people think those were the displaced (...) there are people that have left the neighborhood forced by these situations, everyone thought these people were guerrilla, “paracos”⁵¹ ”* (Natalia, Woman, 36 years old, Villa Katy, CIM FGD). Although this conception is not general, the communities that went through a problematic formation process –which included the invasion of some terrains-, faced mistreatments by the police: “*they set on fire our mattresses and plastics, they beat people, they arrested some others...*” (Adiela, Woman, 55 years old, Los Álamos, CT).

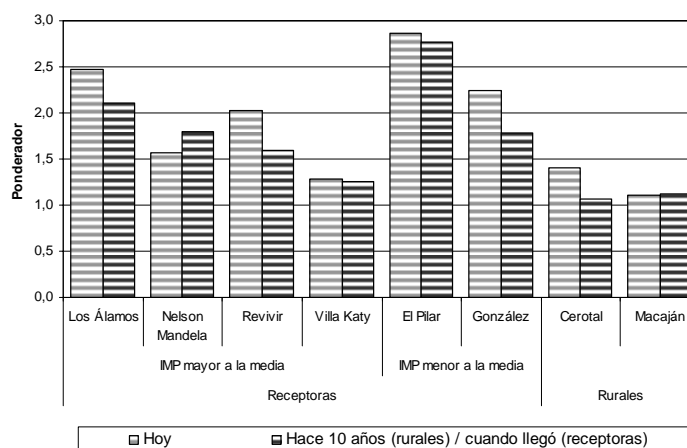
In all communities it is said that the delinquency problems are associated with structural issues, involving both the responsibility of the State, the family and the attitudes in the people, particularly the young ones: “*For me, the same costumes, modernism, easy money, and the lack of education*” (Humberto, Man, 51 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD); “*the situation of violence is due to the unemployment. There is no money, there are no jobs, a job is the first thing for anything...many of them have wife and kids, they suffer and that is why they make people suffer*” (Esperanza, Woman, 68 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD).

1.2.1 Perceptions on the changes of the security situation

In Macaján and Cerotal the perceptions around security were evaluated comparing their current moment with ten years ago (Graph 11), but this period does not give account of the turmoil time, during the incursion of the armed groups. In Macaján, the community with the highest level of security according to the perceptions of the participants, the reference of the period 2001-2004, when the armed groups exercised a great pressure, but they say their conditions and situation have improved: “We are in a better situation, we have changed a 60%. Of course, we are not in heaven, but we are better un deed” (Julian, Man, 59 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD). In Cerotal, on its side, they affirm it was safer ten years ago: “Ten years ago we were good” (Sergio, Man, 65 years, Cerotal LFPD FGD); “it was safer. No trouble” (Julieta, Woman, 24 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD).

⁵¹ Paramilitaries.

Graph 11. Changes in the perception of security⁵²



Source: Household questionnaire

In the urban communities, when the current perception of security is compared with the moment of the creation of the communities, or with ten years ago, it can be seen that only in Nelson Mandela, it has improved: *“I used to feel unsafe, now I can go to the doctor really late and nothing happens”* (Laura, Woman, 32 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“there was much violence, we used to find dead people in the street, there was no security”* (Gladis, Woman, 18 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

According to the participants, El Pilar and Villa Katy have experienced significant changes when it comes to the security situation; nevertheless, this contrasts, for the case of El Pilar, with the affirmations of the focus groups discussions: *“Ten years ago this one was one of the best neighborhoods. Some time ago they are coming from other sector. We used to walk with no troubles, it was safe. Now we find many gangs”* (Cecilia, Woman, 40 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“before we could go out, now that is not possible”* (Amelia, Woman, 68 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD). In the other urban communities, the participants perceive many problems in the security conditions with the last years.

1.2.2 Measures to fight against the conflict and delinquency

There is the sensation of feeling unprotected by the armed forces of the State, considered inefficient to protect the population from the risks faced in the middle of the armed conflict in the rural areas and the problems of delinquency existing in the urban surroundings: *“We looked for the police, but they did not listen, they say they are coming and they do not”* (Mauricio, Man, 50 years old, González Chaparro, CIM FGD); *“somebody reports to the police, but the police itself is the one committing the crimes”* (Jorge, Man, 51 years old, CIM FGD). The way of facing these risks tends to reduce to individual protection strategies, and, with a little effectiveness, some collective ones: *“the first meeting to attack the issues of delinquency and drug addiction was developed only by displaced people, the last meeting was done with the leaders of the ‘relocated’ and they agree with the fact*

⁵² The data of the graphics correspond to the response alternatives: 1. Quiet, 2. A little quite, 3. A little violent, 4. Very violent. Greater the number, lower the security perception.

measures, they want all of us to go out and start killing thieves, they do not like social work, for them, these people have to disappear, but we like more the dialogue (...) We discussed and decided to create a Civic Front for Security with the two communities, and I told them we needed the support of the police, we convinced them and called the commander of the police to a meeting and he approved the measure. The delegates of the Security Front would go out with sticks and horns, to tell young ones to return to their house at 10 p.m. The police would send a patrol at 1 a.m., this lasted six months, then it finished because the creators of the security front ended making an alliance with the delinquency itself” (Asdrúbal, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD).

In the rural communities of the study, the possibilities of reaction or intervention of the population in front of the presence of armed groups, were extremely limited. Therefore, fulfilling the orders of the armed group constituted the only way to guarantee the public security during the periods of the conflict: “There was no measure, people had no alternative. You had to shut your mouth, if the Army was coming, or any authority, you could not say a thing, because they would say you were the mole and they would eliminate you” (Gustavo, Man, 64 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD); “here, when it happened, I buried my head on the ground and stayed there” (Isabel, Woman, 53 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD).

On the other side, there is no recovery program in the rural communities after a period of conflict. Even though in Cerotal, the return process counted with the advisory of some institutions, the people in the *vereda* consider this support has not been enough and happened because of the event, but is not going to continue, and today, they feel completely abandoned by the institutions: “Nothing happened, that is why the ‘corregimiento’ had a lot of problems, there were no credits for the people claiming they lived here, the land lost value, back then my land was eight million pesos, now it is two” (Juan, Man, 64 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD).

In Macaján there is an extremely different view when it comes to the recovery after the incursion of the armed groups: “Macaján needs progress. There is people are already living in Chinulito” (Adriana, Woman, 38 years old, Macaján, CIM FGD). Despite the optimism of many of the inhabitants, there is an insistence and the lack of institutions and the problems this represents for a full recovery. This obeys to the worsening of the economic opportunities in the ‘*corregimiento*’; of course it is not completely associated to the presence of armed groups, but also to the reduction of the sources of work, especially the close down of a factory that, in other times, occupied almost the entire employment offer in the ‘*corregimiento*’.

In urban communities, where security is associated to the presence of gangs or organized crime, the report of the illegal acts is a very difficult thing for the population, especially because of the fear to revenge. Therefore, they consider the authorities as the ones who have the responsibility to face the situation: “Without any help, what are we supposed to do! At least when there is some union among neighbors, something can be done. One day they stabbed a girl, a neighbor went out to check on her and the gang members threw rocks on her windows. If someone is being ripped, we have to get into our houses, with the pain in our souls (...) The SIJIN is the only organization they respect” (Aurora, Woman, 75

years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD). Additionally, the inhabitants of the communities adopt preventive measures, like not going out very late: “No body stays in the street after midnight, the people in the neighborhood is seeing people with masks, they call them ‘the black hand’, anyone giving the “papayazo”⁵³ there will be killed” (Rubén, Man, 73 years old, Los Álamos, CIM FGD).

Nevertheless, in some cases, the common effort of the authorities and the population has allowed to reduce the impact of delinquency, even though some of them recognize the inefficiency of the measures if there is no communitarian union: “In general terms, we need more solidarity, more collaboration, more save your brother. There have been alarms, but no collaboration, people is not united” (Bernardo, Man, 51 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD).

In general terms, in the communities affected by delinquency, there is a little efficacy of the police to reduce the insecurity situation: “The case has been exposed to the Prosecutor Office. Many letters, but the law does nothing” (Catalina, Woman, 26 years old, Los Álamos, CIM FGD); “somebody calls the police, but the same police is committing the crimes” (Marco, Man, 51 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD); “here you call the police, they get to the site, arrest them, give them a little trip and then let them go” (Liliana, Woman, 31 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD).

⁵³ Meaning a chance, an opportunity.

3. PERCEPTION ON THE PROSPERITY OF THE COMMUNITIES AND THE WELLBEING OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

In this chapter, it will be possible to see an approximation to the factors strongly associated to the prosperity of the communities; the relation between the Official Poverty Line and the Community Poverty Line; the main referents used to consider when is a family suffering the worst or the best conditions of wellbeing, and a synthesis of the main factors affecting the conditions of wellbeing of the households, which are examined in the following chapters.

3.1 PROSPERITY OF THE COMMUNITY

The perceptions around the prosperity of the communities and the changes these have had with the time, are really different. In five of the eight communities, men and women participating in the focus group discussions Ladder of Life concur when saying the prosperity they enjoy now is currently higher. This occurs in the four communities with the higher IMP and in El Pilar, neighborhood with the lowest Mobility Index. In the other cases it is considered it has not changed: Cerotal and Macaján –both rural areas- and González Chaparro, where, despite of the access to some resources highly appreciated in other communities, the participants consider the community is just the same, or worse.

The tendency to perceive a higher prosperity currently must be analyzed having in account that in the urban communities, excepting El Pilar, the comparison was done taking as a reference the moment of the constitution of the neighborhoods or the settlements: “We went out from a lousy settlement; we have to be in stage 2 or 3⁵⁴. I live in a little house, it is made of carton, but half of it is made of material, so I am moving on. And I think we all think we are moving on” (Antonio, Man, 66 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); “I see lots of people wanting to improve their situation. We all have the purpose of moving on, despite how hard it is, does not matter. We all have a house, it is better to forget displacement, to forget the psychosis, we do not talk that much about it, even the kids forgot it” (Nicolás, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). If the comparison was with ten years ago, when they were in their places of origin, the tendency would be different.

In the four communities with the higher IMP men and women consider it is easier to move on now days, which concurs with their perception of the prosperity of their communities. In the case of El Pilar, there are important things: even though they consider their community is more prosperous than before, they assure now days it is more difficult to move on. This can be understood, maybe, with the association between prosperity and improvement of the infrastructure, while the possibilities to move on are more related to the economic chances.

It is also important to remark the existence of the different perceptions inside a single community when it comes to the prosperity issues., as well as the valuations a single person

⁵⁴ The social-economic stages are the tool used by the Colombian government to classify the citizens according to their income. It goes from 1 (very low) to 6 (high).

does about the dimensions related: “If we see it in the social part, with the infrastructure, things are better. If we compare it with the moment we got here, it is better, we got to the subnormal neighborhoods, and we were rats. Here it is different, but in the employment issue, I always have to be looking for something. We all work in my family, looking for some money” (Juan Pablo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

About the future, again the four communities with the higher IMP consider that their prosperity will be higher; this is an expectative shared by women in Macaján, Cerotal and Chaparro, while men in these communities and El Pilar think the situation within ten years will be the same. Only women in El Pilar consider the situation will get worse.

The tendencies identified in the focus groups partially change in the interviews made to the communitarian leaders, who, excepting the representative of El Pilar, think their communities will be better within ten years. Nevertheless, when consulting these same leaders about the future of the next generation, only half of them think their life will be better (Nelson Mandela, Los Álamos, Villa Katy and Cerotal). On the other side, the leaders in six of the eight communities consider the economic situation of their communities will be better within ten years (in Los Álamos the leader considers it will be the same, and in El Pilar, that it will be worse); five of them consider the social situation will be better (again Los Álamos consider it will be the same and El Pilar, that it will be worse, adding to this last, Gonzalez Chaparro); while the others, excepting the leader of El Pilar, state that in the future the political situation of the communities will improve. In general, the leaders show themselves optimistic when it comes to about their future excepting El Pilar, where it is considered, in all cases, the situation will be worse. On the other side, the leaders of Cerotal, Nelson Mandela and Villa Katy think their communities will be better in all dimensions.

Now then, which are the referents used by the participants to valuate the prosperity in their communities? The analysis allows to conclude the criteria used by the participants to determine prosperity: physical and social infrastructure; processes of communitarian organization; public security; job opportunities and education; and institutional support⁵⁵. Such aspects constitute the essential components of the meanings attributed to prosperity, being perceived, at the same time, as the main means to reach it. This tendency remembers what was stated by Sen (2000) about the same element being a method and an end, when referring to the constitutive and instrumental role of liberty.

These factors were identified based on the events that, from the perspective of the participants in the Community Timeline, have been important in the prosperity (Chart 8); and the statements made by the focus group discussion Ladder of Life. In the following paragraphs there is a synthesis of the main statements around the identified referents, indicating, when it corresponds, the relation with the most positive and negative events in the communitarian history. It is important to make clear that there are no significant differences between men and women; and the differences among the communities are circumscribed to frequent reference: housing and institutional support in urban areas, and

⁵⁵ As it will be seen in the following chapters, it is about aspects closely related to the factors the participants consider as the most important in the recovery process.

security conditions in rural ones. As it will be seen, some factors are remarked because they favor prosperity in the community, while others hinder it.

Chart 8. Positive and negative events in the communities within the last years

	Positive events	Negative events
Cerotal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Construction of the aqueduct. ▪ Ad equation of the school. ▪ Others: creation of the Community Action Boards Cooperative and the remodeling of the Health Attention Center. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Presence of the FARC and armed struggle. ▪ Suppression of the sheriffs of the 'corregimiento'. ▪ Others: transfer of the Bobo River
Macaján	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Translation of the school in Chinulito and the improvement of the facilities. ▪ Improvement of the aqueduct and partial construction of the sewer system. ▪ Others: remodeling of the football field. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Worsening of the violence in the area. ▪ Massive unemployment because of the shut down of "La Ponderosa" ▪ Others: Forced displacement.
Los Álamos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Construction of the neighborhood ▪ Union, solidarity and respect during their life in the settlement. ▪ Others: Institutional support and the integration of the Displaced People Association. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Problems with the leaders ▪ Problems with the relationships with the institutions. ▪ Others: payment of the public services
González Chaparro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Translation of the community to a terrain given by the Mayor's Office. ▪ Formation of the security groups. ▪ Others: Improvement of the situation of problematic internal divisions in the community and institutional presence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Attempt of eviction. ▪ Opposition of the neighbors about the construction of the neighborhood. ▪ Others: Default of the company in charge of the construction; conflict caused by the name assigned to the neighborhood and the effects of the translation in the jeans of sustain of the community.
El Pilar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fixing of the streets ▪ Foundation of the School ▪ Others: Construction of the church and the health center. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Gangs ▪ Problems with the sewer system ▪ Others: suppression of the police post; displaced in the neighborhood and the shut down of the SENA in the neighborhood.
Nelson Mandela	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Construction of a clinic ▪ Construction of education infrastructure ▪ Others: Institutional support; attenuation of the bad name of the neighborhood and access to the local market. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Delinquency and violence ▪ Lousy housing conditions in the recent sectors.
Revivir de los Campanos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Construction of the neighborhood ▪ Conformation of a communitarian dinner. ▪ Others: the creation of a "olla comunitaria"⁵⁶ and the conformation of "Mi Efforts" association; access to information on their rights, creation of a Rotator Fund and the access to economic aid for the improvement of housing conditions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cut of the public services ▪ Translation of the relocated households. ▪ Others: problems with the institutions; loss of the vision of the community, unemployment and natural disasters.
Villa Katy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Institutional presence. ▪ Access to coaching ▪ Others: Conformation of the Communitarian Action Board 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Illegality of the terrains ▪ Deficient basic infrastructure ▪ Others: Contamination of the lake.

Source: Community Timelines

⁵⁶ Collective activity for preparing the food for communitarian benefit.

3.1.1 Access to physical and social infrastructure

All communities excepting Villa Katy⁵⁷ outstand, among the positive events, the construction of infrastructure, both physical and social, some of these constructions developed thanks to the programs aiming the people in situation of displacement. Such constructions have been developed due to the intervention of public and private institutions, and the common work in the same communities, that have participated, in many cases, of the construction process of their own neighborhoods.

No matter if the location is rural or urban; the communities find that one of the factors that have helped them to move on is the physical improvements in the location. The access to sanitary services such as an aqueduct and a sewer system, the construction of educative and health facilities, the reparation of the road and the construction of the same neighborhoods, are mentioned as the events that brought important consequences in the improvement of the life conditions: *“Each day it is more and more prosperous, they are going to fix the road, before we had no buses, there is water, energy, our houses are better, the projects are coming in”* (Angel, Man, 62 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); *“back then I used to suffer a lot because I had no services, but now we have water, energy, that changed, it is nice now”* (Eugenio, Man, 41 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). The infrastructure also appears as an important element in the aspirations of several communities: *“We have the dream of creating more services, building five more classrooms, to teach more kids, to give them a future. Our dream is having a learning workplace, to rehabilitate young people involved with drugs and stuff”* (Mauricio, Man, 35 years old, El Pilar, LOL FGD).

Now then, in El Pilar Nelson Mandela and Villa Katy the lack of good infrastructure is pointed as one of the main communitarian problems, being important having into account that in El Pilar there is a serious insufficiency of the sewer system, and in Nelson Mandela there are problems with the recently created sectors⁵⁸. In general terms, it can be affirmed that such problematic is associated to the conditions of material poverty characterizing a good part of the displaced population in Colombia: *“the 92% of the displaced population has not satisfied their basic needs, the 80% is in the homelessness, the 63.5% does not have proper housing conditions and the 49% does not count with the proper basic services”* (Constitutional Court, 2004). As it was stated in the Chapter 1, the access to the infrastructure and social and basic services is much lower in the displaced population than the rest to the urban population.

The housing constitutes, with no doubts, one of the most important factors when it comes to measure the prosperity (particularly for Los Álamos and Revivir) or as a fundamental part of their aspirations (especially in Villa Katy). Its value is associated with the possibility of counting with a safe and comfortable place to live, the protection of their goods and the use

⁵⁷ Villa Katy is an invasion settlement, incorporated from 2002 in the Territorial Zoning Plan of the Mayor's Office, acquiring the category of “subnormal neighborhood”. The development of infrastructure works in minimum, comparing to some other communities.

⁵⁸ Nelson Mandela started its conformation approximately 10 years ago, with a massive invasion by the displaced population. Some years later, more people started arriving, which made the neighborhood a lot bigger and the creation of sectors. This situation explains why, while some sectors have aqueduct and sewer system, the new ones have precarious habitability conditions.

of their income in some other needs they have: *“At least if it rains we are not going to be thinking it is going to flood, we do not have to be watching our stuff. I am a mother with five kids and I used to come here without giving them their lunch, now, I am a queen”* (Lina, Woman, 28 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD).

Despite the advantages pointed around the acquisition of a house and the construction of the infrastructure, the costs created by energy, water and sewer system in communities like González Chaparro, Revivir and Los Álamos has constituted a factor, in the opinion of the participants, that hinders prosperity in the community and the wellbeing of the households: *“For me it is better over there. I only have one bulb, a piece of refrigerator and a TV and mi bill comes for 30.000”* (Clara, Woman, 60 years old, González Chaparro, LOL FGD). Such circumstance derives, fundamentally, from the change that has represented moving to a new neighborhood and assuming the cost of the public services, because in the settlements they would use these illegally, or simply did not have them: *“There, in the “cambuche”⁵⁹, there was no energy bill, no water bill, we used to cook with firewood, we did not pay the energy, , here is different; there are no jobs here, but the bills are coming, the adults and the young ones start worrying”* (Felipe, Man, 44 years old, González Chaparro, LOL FGD). It is clear that such problem has a direct relation with the conditions of unemployment and poverty currently lived in the country and affecting in a greater measure the internal displaced people.

3.1.2 Processes of communitarian organization

The fulfillment of the guarantees established by the legislation (particularly the ones consigned in the Law 387 and the Decree 250 of 2005) demands the strengthening of the capacity of management of the communities. Even though not all the organizations referred in the Timeline have been legally constituted, it might be though that, in general, there is a correspondence between the multiplication of the displaced organized groups and the attention given to victims of the internal conflict. The leader of the Ambarema Peasants Association in Nelson Mandela says “when we started w had nothing, now we are many, we have more institutional support” (Yaneth, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD).

The communitarian relationships make part of the key events in the trajectory if five of the eight communities of the study: Cerotal, Los Álamos, González Chaparro, Revivir de los Campanos and Villa Katy. The strengthening of the solidarity bounds during the processes of struggle for the vindication of their rights, the conformation of the spaces of political mediation with the local authorities and the development of joint economic projects, appear as important factors helping their prosperity: *“Each sector has its representatives, and these are the speakers on front of the municipality. The have our voice, they get our questions over there, and if they are lucky, they get what we need”* (Daniel, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD).

⁵⁹ Little and precarious house, usually made of plastic, carton or wood and located in subnormal neighborhoods.

The action sphere of the existing organizations in the communities of the study is essentially local and their motivation depends of the events, usually linked to the consecution of housing, health attention and education, the access to public services and the basic resources. Nevertheless, some of these organizations show some stability in time and respond to the necessity of creating better economic opportunities. On the other side, beyond the quest for resources, the integration of the communities has taken great importance from the affective point of view: “During the four years we have been living here, we have learned to coexist and accept the inhumanities of some people. Some people are HEAad, some others are behind, because we all are there, in the ladder, we are not perfect; we have learned to love each other” (Horacio, Man, 33 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD). The difficulties between the leaders and the weakening of the communitarian organization constitute some of the most negative events in the trajectory of some communities within the last years.

3.1.3 Institutional intervention

The recognition of the internal forced displacement in 1995 due to the CONPES documents and the multiple legal instruments collected during the last decade, have contributed to visualize the dimension of the problem and to advance in the construction of a institutional structure to overcome this issue, even though such structure is too weak yet.

All urban communities, excepting El Pilar, mentioned as a key factor in the prosperity of the communities the institutional intervention they have counted with during the last years. These interventions have favored the access to greater educative opportunities, the consecution of important resources for the physical adjustment of some neighborhoods, the development of programs oriented to specific populations, and, in some measure, the widening of the economic opportunities: “*Nelson Mandela was a suffering neighborhood and that is why it has his name. He was the president of Africa and that guy suffered so much....he was in jail 35 years, and now he is free. The neighborhood is better now, it is recognized in all the country because we have had the help of many countries. The neighborhood has suffered, but it is getting better, we are getting all services. The good thing is that they gave us a clinic, three months ago*” (Alberto, Man, 66 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD).

The interactions with the institutions have had some problems also. In fact, the deterioration of the relationship with them constitutes one of the negative events in Los Álamos and Revivir, communities that, in the same time, recognize the institutional intervention as one of the most positive events in their history. The default of the company hired to build the houses has been pointed out by González Chaparro as one of the most negative events in the history of the community, while the others make reference to corruption issues, fundamentally.

The questioning against the institutions goes around the problems of the management of the resources destined to the displaced population and the lack of continuity of some processes, with the obvious lack of results: “*If the projects were like they are supposed to, Colombia would be wonderful, there would not be a single illiterate. The desires of the low class in Colombia are really hard, if we continue with these governments, things are not going to*

change, the projects are going to be projects forever, and they are not going to be true. We have to take advantage of our resources because we are a rich country. I feel poor, powerless” (Juan, Man, 33 years old, Revivir). Without ignoring the role of the institutions in the attention to the displaced people, the appreciation of the communities on the weaknesses in the attention of their problems, is associated with the fragmentation of the programs executed in the department and the municipality; and the lack of coordination among the different institutions in charge of providing the support to the displaced people.

In the case of rural communities, the institutional presence constitutes, on their side, one of the most important aspirations: *“Dreaming costs nothing, but maybe we should dream something: living better with better attention of the Government, now we are living in peace. And these ‘corregimientos’, so forgotten by the central administration...Now, in these country sides, with enterprising people, with little businesses, those things would help progress. Where the NGO give some money to do stuff...with sources of work, where our kids stay and do not have to leave to other departments. Where people can work in the countryside. Where there are government investments and small businesses credits. I wan institutional presence, that way people will be able to grow their lands and eat from them”* (Roberto, Man, 51 years old, Cerotal, LOL FGD).

3.1.4 Public Security

Cerotal and Macaján, both rural, identify the armed conflict as the more harmful event when it comes to the communitarian wellbeing⁶⁰: *“When there was armed conflict, all the vereda had to leave. Some people left to Pasto and some others neighbor veredas. We were really affected. We used to be good, but now we are not. Some when the lands worth something, but now they do not, because of the conflict”* (Fabio, Man, 51 years old, Cerotal, LOL FGD). It is important to remark the existent association between the dynamics of the conflict and the worsening of the armed violence in the country. In front of the failure of the peace process between the FARC and the government, promoted by the president Andres Pastrana, intense combats were registered between the armed forces and the rebel groups. The region of the Maria Mountains, zone where Macaján is located, was one of the most affected areas. The same way, Nariño, department where Cerotal is located, was an important scenario of the armed conflict. The territorial disputes between the armed actors in the region, the fight against narcotraffic and the fumigation of the cultivations in the Pacific Coast and the Andes Zone occasioned the intensification of the internal forced displacement.

The insecurity caused by delinquency is commonly mentioned, on their side, in El Pilar, Nelson Mandela and Revivir. The most common effects are associated to the permanent fear of the communities, the damage in the image of the neighborhoods, the limitations to walk around the streets at night and the damage to their properties: *“The worst problem Nelson Mandela had was that, because it was a not recognized neighborhood, lots of bad people came in. Then the people from the mountains came and took over the neighborhood. They were hidden; they killed lots of people, but only the thieves. Many people left the*

⁶⁰ This problem was not mentioned because the Timelines started from the constitution moment, that means, the households had already been displaced.

neighborhood because of that. But the neighborhood has been improving its situation” (Martín, Man, 66 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD). This is barely a reflection of the insecurity lived in the national context. According to Carrión (2004), Colombia is the Latin-American country with the highest rates of homicides: its average overcomes the Andes region average in 49.3%. The urbanization process of violence, really accelerated during the last years, has advanced with the higher delinquency indexes in the main cities.

To the previous issues, it is possible to add, in some communities, the reduction of the public force, reflected for example in the suppression of the Police Post in El Pilar, despite having this, according to the rates registered by the Felony Observatory of the Mayor’s Office in Pasto, the highest rates in violent death in the municipality. The formation of the security groups constitutes an alternative for some communities, like González Chaparro, where this event is pointed as one of the most positive in the Timeline.

3.1.5 Job opportunities

The lack of job opportunities is stated in all communities as one of the situations affecting the communitarian prosperity, and which overcoming constitutes an important aspiration. In the rural communities there are serious difficulties, where it is possible to find the lack of lands, the cost of the agricultural raw materials, the difficulties for marketing the products, the low wages and the lack of the natural resources, factors that, from the perspective of the participants, drastically reduce the economic opportunities, taking the young people to migrate to coke zones and join armed groups: *“in these veredas we are 400 adults and 150 kids. Many people have left looking for money, to get coke, marijuana....the necessity, hunger....maybe you have never had a kid crying for hunger...there is much poverty over here. If the government had not forgotten us, if there was some employment, the peasant would not have to leave to the guerrilla, the paramilitaries, or to other departments to learn bad habits”* (Augusto, Man, 51 years old, Cerotal, LOL FGD). In Macaján, on their side, the participants of the Timeline refer to the shut down of the factory that represented the most important source of work in the town as one of the most negative events their history.

The urban communities, on their side, remark the lack of sources of income, therefore, the strong tendency to the informal economy: *“we need sources of work, industries, or some way to put a business, shoemaking, fashion designing”* (Carlos, Man, 62 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). Such situation is strongly worsened by the stigma placed on their backs because of being displaced people: *“You go to ask for a job and the first thing they ask you is your résumé and your age, and if you say you are displaced is like if they had seen the devil”* (Marta, Woman, 44 years old, González Chaparro, LOL FGD).

3.1.6 Education opportunities

The education was examined, in the context of the reflection about prosperity, as an important element for all communities, in both their capacity to power it and hinder it, when the lack of it. Its importance is related to the acquisition of the abilities to establish businesses, develop communicative abilities and the interaction and strengthening of the personal confidence: *“The best thing that could happen to us is having a house and the*

other is the coaching we have had, they have taught us many things, they have helped us to overcome difficult moments, to accept each other” (Fernando, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

The access to information on Human Rights and the rights of the displaced people constitutes in Revivir one of the most positive events in their history, while in Villa Katy they outstand the coaching opportunities. Nevertheless, as it will be seen HEAd, the references to the limitations in the education reaching by itself better economic opportunities.

3.2 RELATION BETWEEN THE OFFICIAL POVERTY LINE AND THE COMMUNITY POVERTY LINE

The precariousness of the conditions the displaced people and the unemployed are living it, frequently conduce to the overestimation of the income capability defined by the government –when establishing the Official Poverty Line- to satisfy the basic needs: *“We do not get to 15.000 a day”* (Yesid, Man, 60 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); *“the average is from 15.000 to 20.000 a day”* (Juan, Man, 22 years old, González Chaparro, LOL FGD). That is why; most of the communities located their Community Poverty Line below the Official one. Nevertheless, the overestimation is more frequent in the focus group discussion of women than men.

In the graphs 12 and 13 it can be appreciated the location of the Official Poverty Line (pointed line) and the Community Poverty Line (continued line), among the number of steps each focus group identified for their community in the Ladder of Life, as well as the steps identified for the neighbor communities.

In the seven focus group discussion of women⁶¹, and three of men⁶², the Official Poverty Line is over the Community Poverty Line; in four groups, conformed by men⁶³, this relation is inverted and finally, in two of the groups, one of women (Cerotal) and the other of men (El Pilar), both Poverty Lines are in the same step.

According to what we said before, among women there is the tendency of considering the family receiving the income defined by the government is not poor, while men follow the other tendency, because most of them consider that, with that income, a family is still poor: *“They are poor because that is not enough to pay the bills of the basic services (...) Only surviving, no more”* (Manuel, Man, 40 years, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). Nevertheless, in communities like Cerotal and El Pilar, this tendency is criticized: *“the person earning that is not poor, because he can buy clothing, give some education to their kids, pay for health attention”* (Isidro, Man, 57 years old, Cerotal, LOL FGD); *“that way I am no poor (...) the ones in the third earn 33.000 a day or more. For us, they are not poor because they have something to live with”* (Julio César, Man, 50 years old, El Pilar, LOL FGD). This can be

⁶¹ Los Álamos, González Chaparro, El Pilar, Macaján, Nelson Mandela, Revivir y Villa Katy.

⁶² Nelson Mandela, Revivir and Cerotal.

⁶³ Los Álamos, González Chaparro, Macaján and Villa Katy.

explained by the situation of the conditions in both communities: the lowest wage⁶⁴ is in Cerotal, and El Pilar is the community with the lowest IMP.

Graph 12. Location of the Community Poverty Line and the Official Poverty Line in the communities with the higher IMP

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
Álamos		5
		4
	4	3
	3	2
	2	1
	1	0

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera hombres
Nelson Mandela		4
	4	3
	3	2
	2	1
	1	0

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
Revivir	4	
	3	3
	2	2
	1	1
	0	0

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
Villa Katy	5	5
	4	4
	3	3
	2	2
	1	1

Source: Focus group discussions Ladder of Life

Graph 13. Location of the Community Poverty Line and the Official Poverty Line in the communities with the lower IMP

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
González Chaparro		4
	4	4
	3	3
	2	2
	1	1

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
El Pilar	5	
	4	
	3	3
	2	2
	1	1
	0	

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
Cerotal	3	4
	2	3
	1	2
		1
		0

Comunidad	Escalera Mujeres	Escalera Hombres
Macaján	5	5
	4	4
	3	3
	2	2
	1	1

Source: Focus group discussions Ladder of Life

Now then, from the perspective of some of the participants in the focus groups discussions, the Official Poverty Line does not reflect the structural aspects of the economic and social inequality of Colombia, because even though you count with the amount established by the

⁶⁴ At the end of 2005, when the fieldwork was developed, the daily wage was \$5.000, while the national average was reaching the \$12.000.

government⁶⁵, that does not assure some dignifying life conditions: *“a person with that money, 33.000 a day, can give study to their kids, can save, have a little base to start working. May have an income to the future and advance. We could move on with that money, but only if the economy stabilizes, the commerce in Colombia. In Colombia the most of the people is not only poor, but extremely poor, homeless”* (Robinson, Man, 33 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

The joint development of the elaboration of the Ladder of Life, where it is possible to see the characterizations of the households and the factors allowing and hindering mobility, and the definition of the Poverty Lines, contributes to the formation of an initial scheme of the conditions of the households in the different communities and the perceptions the participants have on their wellbeing.

In this context, the analysis on the location of the Community Poverty Line must be done having into account that the perception on poverty acquires a sense beyond the income, and in general terms, beyond the economic situation of the households. In the discussion, some social, cultural and personal aspects are considered, and not in the Official Poverty Line, but in the Community Poverty Line,

3.3 PERCEPTIONS ON THE WELLBEING OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

According to their position in the Ladder of Life, the households in the community were described by the participants in the focus group discussions, remarking the aspects that, they think, better characterize them. With the intention of identifying the criteria for valuing the wellbeing, we analyzed the main characteristics attributed to the households in the worst and the best conditions, that is, in the lowest and highest steps of the Ladder. It is important to point out that most of the characteristics are not exclusive of these steps, gaining a different importance in the Ladder of Life. On the other side, it is clear that the value assigned to some characteristics in the households is relative: for example, having a business is, for many, a sign of wellbeing, but establishing this same business through a highly cost credit hinders the good in this characteristic,

The most mentioned aspects when it comes to valuing the conditions of a family were the housing and the furniture; the availability of resources to assure the continuity of the education of the kids; the alimentation security; income; and the work stability. As an example, in the graphs 14 and 15 there are the ladders built in the FGD with men in Cerotal, and the FGD with women in Los Álamos⁶⁶. Based in the characteristics attributed to the households in the extreme corners of the ladder, we present now the characteristics of the households in the best and worst conditions.

⁶⁵ For urban areas, the government defines as poor a family with four people living with \$1.000.000 a month, or less. For rural areas, corresponds to a family of four to six people living with \$716.000 a month. These values take into account what the family produces for its own consumption, which is three dollars a day per person, for urban areas, and 1.5 dollars per person, for rural ones, meaning, above the International Poverty Line.

⁶⁶ The central frames represent the steps in the Ladder of Life, and the arrows content the factors affecting positive and negative mobility.

3.3.1 Characteristics of the households in the best conditions

Work stability and the existence of good income were the most commonly mentioned characteristics on the subject of the households in the best conditions in the urban communities and are, in most of the communities, those above the Community Poverty Line: “The have something to live with, some of them are watchmen, they work in buses, they have a salary” (Diana, Woman, 44 years old, González, LOL FGD). It is also remarkable the alimentation security and the possession of a business, possibility that depends, in a great measure, of an initial capital or ‘*plante*’⁶⁷ usually possessed by those who had the opportunity to sell some of the assets before their displacement: “*They have good alimentation; those working have assured their food, good food*” (Daniel, Man, 36 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); “*some of them have their store because of their economic capacity, because they bring their ‘plante’ from their place of origin, the others have had a hard time*” (Gustavo, Man, 39 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD).

Some other frequently mentioned characteristics were the possibility of the kids continuing their studies; the possession of a private vehicle; the best housing; the existence of good relationships inside the family; the best educational levels; the presence of many working family members: “*My family is in better conditions because my husband is always working, he is no drunk, he is no jerk, he does not mistreat my children, we live in harmony*” (Beatriz, Woman, 37 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

On the characteristics pointed in the urban communities about the households in the best conditions of wellbeing, only appears with some frequency in the rural ones the possibility of the kids continuing their formal education: “*They have an independent job, and can give some education to their kids, good alimentation*”⁶⁸ (Jorge, Man, 41 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD). Some other recurring aspects in these two communities are related to the possession of cows and terrains for cultivation, a house on their own in the vereda or in the city, and the capacity to create jobs: “*They have more than ten hectares; 100 or 200 liters of milk to Pasto, daily. They have cows, some people have their cars, potato cultivations, their terrains; they have houses in Pasto; they give some life for those who have nothing. Very few of those here in the vereda*” (Hernando, Man, 51 years old, Cerotal); “*they live better because they have their lands, cows, manioc, they can sell animals*” (Maria Eugenia, Woman, 37 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD).

Additionally to the households in the best conditions or wellbeing inside the neighborhood, some of the focus groups referred to the characteristics of the households in the neighbor communities, located in a superior step, considering that, in general terms “*they have a better quality of life*” (Rubén, Man, 54 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). This kind of households was identified in six communities, attributing to them the following characteristics: better housing conditions; stable job; presence of professionals in the house; business property or terrains for cultivation; and the possibility to guarantee the continuity of the children education. Some other general conditions in the communities, related to the

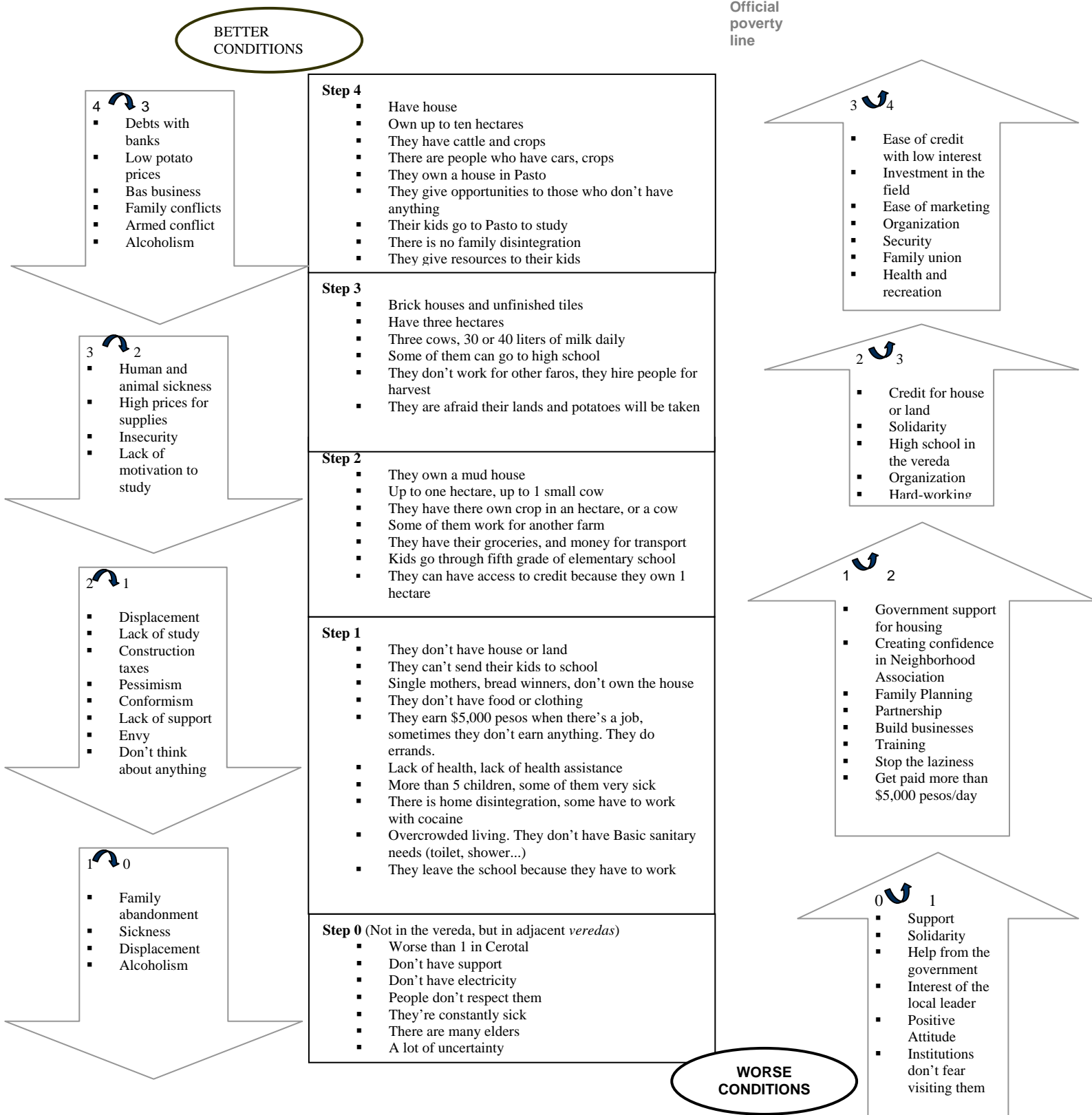
⁶⁷ Starting capital used to begin a business or any economic action.

⁶⁸ According to them, it is not enough with offering free school, but the possibility of offering their kids a good alimentation is necessary to have an effective access to education.

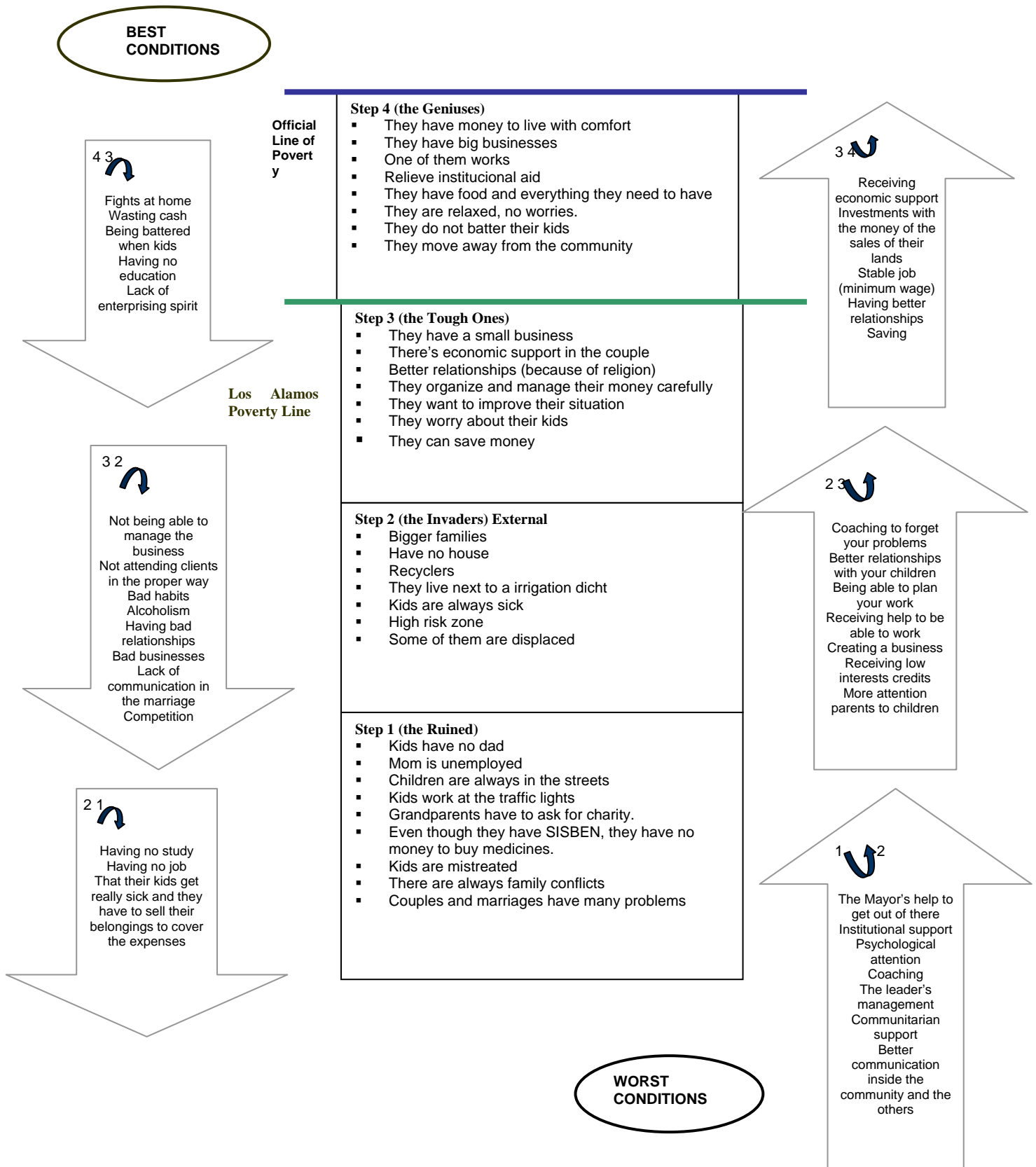
public services, the infrastructure and the commercial dynamics: “*They have more commerce, transportation routes, drug stores*” (Luis, Man, 22 years old, González. LOL FGD); “*there are good businesses, big stores, supermarkets*” (Mateo, Man, 62 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD).

Even though there is more frequency in the mentioned aspects, there are also important references to some family aspects –the composition of the family, relationships inside the family- responsibility, educational level, talents, enterprising spirit-: “Those in the best conditions live in peace and tranquility; they have something to leave with, there is comprehension, they know how to live in their family, in their community” (Darío, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD); “they are booming, workers” (Eduardo, Man, 62 years old, Nelson Mandela); “they know many jobs in the city” (Bernardo, Man, 44 years old, LOL FGD); “there is many people looking for resources, they have initiative, they do not stand there in their houses waiting for something. They have better health conditions” (Gustavo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

Graph 14. Ladder of Life, done by men



Graph 15. Ladder of Life built by the Focus Group Discussion of Women in Los Álamos



3.3.2 Characteristics of the households in the worst conditions

“There are three kinds of poor people, some with money, some without it, and some poor in spirit”
Andrés, Man, 50 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD

Even though in some of the communities it was initially considered that “all of us are in the same situation”, the discussion on the wellbeing, produced different reflections about the conditions of the households that, from their perspective, are the poor ones. In general terms, the frequently mentioned characteristics to define the worst conditions in the households keep a close relation with the characteristics of the households in the best conditions, in terms of precariousness: housing conditions and goods, health, education opportunities, family composition, alimentation security and income.

In the urban communities, the frequently mentioned characteristics are related to (i) a Louis health: *“There are some special cases in some households where the members are not in their five sense; some of them have no physical or mental health”* (Mario, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD); (ii) drug addiction: *“Many people lives like that because they have some addiction”* (Fabiola, Woman, 37 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD); (iii) lousy housing conditions: *“There are some people living with friends, those are the people loving in the worst conditions. Their house is made of plastic and when the rain comes, it floods”* (Lorena, Woman, 43 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); (iv) alimentation insecurity: *“Lousy alimentation, there is malnutrition in the kids and in the adults. Some girl died of malnutrition, when she was going to have her baby, she had no strength or blood, and she bled out”* (Carla, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); (v) existence of single parent households: *“there are many single mothers, widows, household head”* (Sergio, Man, 39 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); (vi) impossibility for the kids to continue their studies: *“they do not send their kids to school because they have no money to buy a pencil”* (Pablo, Man, 35 years, González, LOL FGD); and (vii) low income: *“they have no good house, they get wet, the family suffers, they have no income. Most of them live in the informality, not all the people have their income. Those are big households and big necessities too”* (Pedro, Man, 62 years, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD).

The most mentioned aspects in the rural communities are: lousy housing conditions or no house at all, difficulties to offer formal education to their kids, lack of access to some furniture and some goods, lack of job and the existence of single parent households: *“people living alone, with nothing on their own, a ‘bahareque’⁶⁹ house, no education”* (Luis, Man, 45 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD); *“mothers household head, they have no house at all”* (Alfonso, 51 years old, Man, Cerotal, LOL FGD); *“they have no formal education”* (Nely, Woman, 46 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD); *“households, sick kids, they feel bad; one day they work, and the other they collect potatoes in the cultivations to give their kids something to eat”* (Carolina, Woman, 42 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD).

The communities where it was possible to identify the households in worse conditions in the neighbor communities were Los Álamos (FGD women), Revivir (men and women) and

⁶⁹ Construction material made of wood, cane and mud.

Cerotal (FGD men). About the characteristics of these households, they basically mention the lousy health, the precariousness of the housing conditions and the lack of public services: *“they live next to a ditch, dirty water, in the middle of dirt, bad environment, sick kids”* (Susana, Woman, 28 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD); *“there is people poorer than me; their floor is made of mud, the house is made of plastic, the walls are made of carton, they have no public services”* (Rita, Woman, 37 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD). Like in the case of the households with the highest wellbeing in some other communities, the conditions of these households have to do also with the general characteristics of the communities, referred to security, delinquency and environmental problems.

The same way there are households in better conditions, there are some characteristics for households in the worst conditions referred to the relationships inside the family, the behavior the integrants and the irresponsibility: *“No education, kids escape and get bad habits, girls are always in the street, all of them with their “gamineria”⁷⁰”* (Amelia, Woman, 44 years old, González, LOL FGD); *“many husbands expend their money in ron, and their kids without clothing. Even their wives go with them and no public services”* (Rosaura, Woman, 37 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

3.4 FACTORS ASSOCIATED TO MOBILITY

The analysis of the qualitative information collected through the focus groups and the Individual Life Stories and the relation between the quantitative variables in the study with the IMP, allows to identify the main factors associated to the ascendant and descendent mobility, the same as the factors that helped the resistance pf some households to the effects of the conflict and/or displacement.

Talking about the recovery of the wellbeing in the context of the study implies analyzing the factors that have helped to go up in the Ladder of Life. Even though at the beginning it was about the way out of poverty, the low share of households in these conditions conduced to the decision of analyzing the factors of positive mobility, independently if they have moved on in the Community Poverty Line or not.

Through the different chapters of this report, the importance of the economic, social and political factors in the mobility of the households, as well as the value required to develop some individual agency, have been analyzed.

3.4.1 Factors associated to ascendant mobility

The analysis of the factors that have contributed to the participants of the study for them to go up in the Ladder of Life, call us back to the structure of the opportunities and the individual and collective capacity and agency. It is generally observed some weakness and inequity on the structure of opportunities in the community, municipality and national fields, being obvious at the same time that, in the middle of these conditions, those people, households and communities affected by the conflict have to do enormous efforts in the battle for the recovery of their wellbeing.

⁷⁰ Kids and young people always in the streets causing trouble or committing felonies.

Finally, for the recovery of the population affected by violence to be lasting and constant, it is important to achieve the coexistence of the social, economic, political and psychological factors. The range of action of this recovery can be considered partial, particularly in the case of the households being forced to displacement, due to the enormous obstacles they have to face in the reception communities, the difficulties to return to their communities of origin and the weaknesses in the policies of integral repair. The analysis of the different sources of information allows us to identify the five factors that have been important in the recovery of the households affected by the armed conflict and/or the internal forced displacement: the access to work, the acquisition of housing conditions, the capacity of individual agency, the social capital, the political and institutional relations.

It is not easy to determine the relative importance of these factors, given the differences observed based on the different sources of information: (i) Both variables correlated in an important way with the IMP, according to the information coming from the *Household questionnaire* are the “contacts with the local politicians”, and the probability of the “people helping to the someone in the community”, both associated to the social capital; (ii) the main factor of positive mobility, according to the questioned rural households, is the access to sources of work and, according to the urban households, the acquisition of housing conditions; (iii) The most frequent factors most frequently mentioned by the households that have achieved a greater recovery⁷¹ are, in urban communities, moving to a new house, establishing a new business or improving it and receiving help from an NGO; while rural communities mention job, acquisition of a new house, and the realization of improvements to the current housing conditions; (iv) the qualitative sources, on their side, show a great importance of the social capital and the individual agency, as well as the factors identified through the *Household questionnaire*.

It is important to point out that women tend to locate above men in the current step in the Ladder of Life and have more positive movements in the ladder. When it comes to the factors contributing to the ascendance, they give more importance to the access to new housing conditions, while men give importance to jobs and work.

3.4.2 Factors associated to descendent mobility

The recovery is not easy, even less, according to the evidences of the study, the way out to poverty. According to the analysis of different sources of information, the factor hindering the recovery of the population, especially in urban sectors, the lack of sources of work and the precariousness of employment, worsened by the stigma usually suffered by the people in situation of displacement. The limitations for accessing a credit and, in general, the lack of resources for establishing a business or developing economic activities for which they have been prepared, frequently constitute additional problems to move on, added to, in some cases, the inadequate management of the resources by the institutions and the community leaders.

That way, the efforts developed in the coaching and, in general, the assignment of resources aimed to the improvement of the households and the communities, show inferior results to

⁷¹ That means, the households coming up more than one step.

the expected ones, from the perspective of the participants. Maybe that is why, but also because of the inequity present in the access to services and programs, and the lack of continuity of these, the implementation of the attention policies to the displaced population tends to feel weak, being considered by the population as one of the factors hindering recovery.

Factors directly associated to the agency capacity, are also pointed by the participants as obstacles for recovery. Among them it is possible to stand out, in the individual field, the low education levels, especially among young ones; in the communitarian field, the participants in the study remark the weaknesses in the organization and the lack of participation around collective interest affairs, although, as it will be seen in the following paragraphs, the current advances constitute one of the factors helping the positive mobility.

3.4.3 Factors helping the resistance of the households to the effects of the conflict

For the effects of the present analysis we selected the *Household Questionnaires* and the Individual Life Stories of those classified by the community as “chronic rich”⁷². The purpose is to understand the factors that allowed these people to stay in a better wellbeing condition, no matter the armed conflict and the internal forced displacement. The number of people living in better conditions is really low: only 16 households (seven in Cerotal, and nine in El Pilar) of an approximate of eight hundred⁷³. On the other hand, only in four cases (one in Cerotal and three in El Pilar) there is coincidence between their own classification⁷⁴ and the one assigned by the focus group discussion. Nevertheless, their testimonials are important for the study.

Among the common characteristics in most of the households, it is easy to locate some tendencies based on the qualitative information: i) the labor of at least one member of the family in agricultural activities, no matter living in the city; ii) keeping and selling some assets after displacement; iii) an important capacity of individual agency. Additionally, almost half of these households achieved returning to their places of origin after being displaced. That way, one of the factors allowing them to consider if their wellbeing has been affected in a definitive way is the possibility of returning. In most of cases, the return is qualified as a positive event, because, despite the sequels left by the armed conflict, when the public security conditions are given, the households are able to continue their normal activities, their productive activities, keeping their family union and their communitarian networks.

Those who did not return but achieved resisting some of the effects of displacement and were classified in the category “chronic rich”, warn about the relative loss of wellbeing they have suffered and, although their economic situation has not been as precarious as other’s, they remark on the emotional, psychological and material effects experienced after the event of displacement. Some of them think they would be better in their places of origin.

⁷² The households above the Community Poverty Line.

⁷³ 100 per community, included in the list of the households required to develop the classification exercise of Ladder of Life.

⁷⁴ Developed in the Household questionnaire.

One of the aspects helping these households has been the possibility to keep and enjoy the land and some other assets in their places of origin, facilitated thanks to some members that stayed or some others who returned after the ceased fire. This is referred by a woman living in El Pilar: *“When we came to Pasto, we left everything there. We could not bring anything with us. Only my husband stayed because he had to have an eye on our things, the cows. He was there three days, but then he had to come to stay a month ...I brought some animals, to sell in the market. My husband stayed to feed the cows. He came three days later, then left again and then came again with a cow for selling it”* (Julia, 33 years old, Woman El Pilar, ILS).

Some of the households that have resisted the best to the impacts of the internal forced displacement achieved selling their assets, which allowed them to satisfy their main needs in the reception sites: *“The only thing we could keep was the freezers and the house in La Hormiga, but it is abandoned. We had to sell our domestic appliances, but that is how we survived 2003”* (Sandra, Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

Finally, the confidence in themselves and the personal effort are some of the virtues characterizing these people. In their Individual Life Stories it is usually appreciated the overcoming capacity, constituting a support for their households, Besides, these people have behind them a story of struggle and persistency on the wellbeing of their households, and that way, although in most of cases had no support but their family and friends, they feel they could recover from the losses left by the conflict. Despite the negative consequences created but the mentioned facts, most of these people are confident about their capacity. When consulting Gabriela, (Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, ILS) about her personal confidence, she says *“it has risen because I think I can move on through the coaching programs, before displacement I used to be an enterprising woman and do so much stuff, now even more”*.

4. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

The current chapter has various chapters; first of anything, analyzing the effects of the armed conflict and forced displacement in the social capital of the households and the affected communities, and in second term, research on how family networks, friendship, communitarian organization and institutional and political relationships affect the recovery of the population. Added to that, it is important to stand the main perceptions of the participants of the study on government policies around the victims of the armed conflict and, finally there are elements related to the concept of inequality.

4.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND MOBILITY

According to Bourdieu (2000) it is possible to distinguish three kinds of capital: the economic capital, constituted by the assets a person can accumulate; the cultural capital, coming from the formal and non formal socialization processes; and the social capital, understood as the relationships network a person can develop constituting the support base, and in some cases, the launching platform inside a society. From a general perspective, social capital is characterized in two dimensions: (i) horizontal associations, composed by the organizations and the bonds with the family, neighbors, friends and coworkers; and (ii) vertical associations, characterized by the unequal distribution of power among its members, allowing people to commerce with resources, ideas and information with formal institutions beyond the community (Polanía).

The social capital, composed by trust relationships, cooperation and reciprocity, constitutes an essential element for the analysis on the wellbeing of the households participating in the study, being necessary to take in to account the influence of the armed conflict and the internal forced displacement on the communitarian and family dynamics of those suffering it: Referring to the effects of internal forced displacement, a recent study states: *“the rupture of the social structure implying the destruction of the basic networks of sustainability, participation, solidarity and reciprocity, provokes the damage and in many cases, the collapse of the sustainability systems for people, households and the communities forced to migrate”* (CODHES and Episcopal Conference, 2006: 144).

The consequences of the armed conflict are reflected not only in the damage to the sources of income, but also in the undermining of the governance and the coordination, communication and support mechanisms aimed to the affected social groups. The people in the rural communities give testimony of the harming effects the armed conflict occasioned in the neighbor and friendship relationships of their communities. In their concept, the distrust has become a feeling difficult to overcome: *“You trust less, you see they say anything, get people in trouble, because the guys [guerrilla] or the Army are coming, you cannot say anything, you are afraid, you have something on your head, because people say they are coming, and people say you said something and they are coming”* (Rita, Woman, 29 years old, Cerotal, ILS).

Due to the armed conflict, the communities are usually stigmatized by the rest of the society, a matter that becomes an obstacle for the development of the communitarian life because it includes segregation of the population and the reduction of the institutional intervention. According to a participant of the study in a rural zone, this problem does not stop with the overcoming of the conflict. Regaining trust and reestablishing the image after suffering armed violence may take years: *“With the conflict, they stigmatized Santa Barbara: they used to say we were guerrilla; that marked us a lot. The official agents do not want to come here, they are afraid. They used to call this ‘corregimiento’ ‘red zone’ (...) Due to the stigmatization there was less social investment and fewer coaching programs”* (Estela, Woman, 28 years, Cerotal, CT).

In Macaján, the other rural community, the interviewed explain that after being affected by the armed conflict, the life of the community and the households was not the same: *“The conflict marked us, mistreated us. For example, we had never seen a bomb before. I used to feel very sad when the afternoon was falling, and we all felt that”* (Gloria, Woman, 51 years, Macaján, ILS).

About the family life, the aspect affecting the most their dynamics is fear, the fear produced by armed violence. When asking about the most affected members of the family, in one of the rural communities a participant answered: *“All of us, who were not going to be afraid? We were not used to see armed people. And then, the Army, even tougher, they used to kick out some people”* (Diego, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, ILS).

The people affected by the internal forced displacement refer to the social situation experienced in their original communities during the armed conflict. According to one of the participants, the most affected aspect was trust in the people inside their original community: *“Maybe what happened may never be erased, after that there was distrust, the guerrilla used to buy people, used to give them stuff to become these people in moles, we can see still some distrust in people, we do not communicate”* (Lilia, Woman, 35 years, El Pilar, ILS).

After displacement, the most abrupt changes have been related to the powerlessness faced by the family in front of the necessities, insecurity and the difficulties for establishing new trust relationships. According to some people, the economic pressure coming from solving the necessities of the households without counting with the resources constitutes a threat to the family union: *“It was really hard because we almost split. Because of necessity, sometimes not having something to give your kids for eating and they telling you they were hungry... we were not used to that”* (José, Man, 37 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

On the other hand, the ignorance on the urban environment and the social dynamics occasions traumas that not all households are capable of assimilating. In some cases, households disintegrate when getting to the reception sites, because some of its members have to migrate looking for a job: *“Not knowing where are you going, not knowing how to ask for help, not being able to take a bus, not knowing which neighborhood is this (...) With my husband, I have to understand he has to leave...the same with my son, because they have no job, and even they are far away, they will keep on helping us”* (Martha, Woman, 45 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

About the relationships outside the family, the participants mention the hard strike represented by leaving their old friends after displacement. Most of people come from communities that disintegrated after displacement. Therefore, they suffer the loss of their previous identity referents and make explicit their feeling of insecurity: *“It was really hard to leave my land, my friends, because of the conflict between the armed groups. Some friends go somewhere, and the others go to the other way”* (Rubén, Man, 36 years old, González, ILS); *“It was really hard to leave my friends, a total and unexpected change. One or another is in my same condition. No body in the town has been able to help, and I got to far away. I lost trust and I want to stay in the past”* (Jahir, Man, 47 years, Los Álamos, ILS).

In most of the cases, people loose contacts with the ones they left in their places of origin, because their friends and neighbors had to displace also or, simply, because there are no possibilities of communication or security conditions for establishing it: *“I have not communicated to the ten months ago, they send my husband greetings. It was difficult to leave my friends, because it is hard to make some over here”* (Juan, Man, 60 years old, Villa Katy, ILS). In similar terms, an inhabitant of Los Álamos says: *“I had friend there where I lived, we were like brothers, and I never saw them again. I miss them a lot, because I know no one here, and nobody knows me, I cannot tell anything to anyone, but there I know my people, those are people to trust”* (Oscar, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

According to the investigation of the effects of displacement on the social capital, *“the change and desegregation of the social networks of the people or the family due to the process of displacement becomes a source of stress, added to the situations of geographic and social mobility”* (Palacio and Madarriaga, 2006: 92). The experiences of the inhabitants in the eight communities of the study, show that both affected by the conflict but staying in their places of origin and those ones in situation of displacement, suffer a situation not only affecting them individually, but implying a remake of their project of family life and building new communitarian referents, regaining trust and the commitment in front of the collective action mechanisms.

Now then, the recovery of the wellbeing in the period after armed conflict and/or displacement demands the access to the many kinds of capital. Even though the networks constituted by family and friends are the most immediate channels to access the material and affection goods, the people in situation of displacement require a social communitarian asset and the contact to the institutions and social networks in order to modify the situation of social disadvantage usually left after these events.

Despite the complexity of the process of the social capital formation in the displaced people, it is clear that this constitutes a key method to reach higher levels of wellbeing and hinder the effects of displacement: *“An active participation in the social organizations allows households to access information, overcoming problems of collective action and minimizing their vulnerability to poverty”* (Bustillo, 2001). In the following lines the incidence of the social capital and the wellbeing of the communities in the study will be analyzed, making reference to the different manifestations and making differences to the structure and the functionality of the relationships established with family and friends, those happening inside the communitarian sphere and involving neighbors and mates, and

the ones established with political and institutional agents. It is important to say we do not pretend to make an exhaustive classification, but to remark the importance of the different kinds of social capital on the wellbeing of the households affected by displacement. When it is possible, we remark the differences found in the different contexts using, especially, the IMP.

4.1.1 Family networks and friendship

According to the participants of the study, the possibility of counting with family and friends hinders the impact of the losses occasioned by the armed conflict and/or displacement, facilitates the resolution of the basic needs, provides emotional support and becomes a bridge for the consecution of income and work, reducing the effects caused by the weakness of the institutional attention: *“The whole family was affected because we did not know where we were going, what kind of people we were going to find. Thanks God we had a relative that received us, because if not, we would had to do like other displaced, stay under a bridge or in the street, because the government takes too long for taking action”* (Alicia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS). Working together to overcome the material and affective losses caused by displacement constitutes for some in the opportunity to strengthen the family bounds: *“After displacement we have united because we are all living in the same sector. Now we feel that, after suffering this experience, being together is very important”* (Beatriz, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS).

The importance of the family is reflected in the greater probability of recovery these two-parent households have comparing to the single-parent households. Related to this is the fact that the households with a woman as their head have a lower probability of recovering. As it is observed in the chart 9, the community with the lowest IMP is the one with the lowest share of two-parent households, that is, the responsibility of the sustain of the family is only over the father or the mother. In contrast, the communities with a higher mobility have the greater shares of households conformed by both parents.

Chart 9. Share of two-parent households

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	73.3%
		Nelson Mandela	76.7%
		Revivir	83.3%
		Villa Katy	90.3%
Total IMP mayor a la media			81.0%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	33.3%
		González	72.2%
	Total receptora		54.5%
	Rural	Cerotal	93.3%
		Macaján	91.4%
Total rural		92.3%	
Total IMP menor a la media			73.3%
Total general			77.0%

Source: Household questionnaire

The quantitative and qualitative information evidence the importance of the friends and family networks in the wellbeing of the households in all communities of the study, without

the appreciation of important differences between those with a higher and a lower IMP. Nevertheless, there is a quantitative indicator showing a greater support of friends and family in the communities located above the average mobility (Chart 10). In these communities there is a higher share of people stating they have received gifts and support from friends and family.

Chart 10. Share of the households receiving gifts from friends and relatives

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	30,0%
		Nelson Mandela	16,7%
		Revivir	23,3%
		Villa Katy	25,8%
Total IMP mayor a la media			24,0%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	6,7%
		González	5,6%
	Total receptora		6,1%
	Rural	Cerotal	16,7%
		Macaján	14,3%
Total rural		15,4%	
Total IMP menor a la media			10,7%
Total general			17,1%

Source: Household questionnaire

According to the Individual Life Stories and some other sources, many households achieved surviving thanks to the different members of the family nucleus, that living in some other cities, help their relatives solving their needs: *“Our girl is Bogotá working, she helps us with money and give her little brother everything he needs. The other two kids are in Cartagena and help us, there is some union”* (Ricardo, Man, 43 years old, Villa Katy, ILS). In the same sense, an inhabitant of Revivir said: *“My brother has helped me a lot; he has given me some money to eat. My wife works and helps me at home”* (José, Man, 47 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

As it can be seen, the maintenance of the family networks is based in reciprocity. The testimonial of one of the interviewed, referring to one of his sisters, makes some evidence: *“When I was here, in Ibagué, she helped me. She makes efforts to send me food, clothes, she is an economic support. I helped her when I could, now she is giving it back”* (Pedro, 29 years, Los Álamos, ILS). The interviewed people say that even the most basic needs like clothing are satisfied by the members of the family living outside of it: *“All the family, all of them have been very important, we have been able to understand each other, they know how we are, then they send some stuff for the kids, clothes, maybe used ones, but clothes anyways”* (Mario, Man, 65 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

But on the other side, it is frequent for the participants of the study to refer to the importance of the family networks when it comes to access job opportunities, particularly when relatives are in a better economic situation. The same way, the contact with friends in the reception sites becomes an essential resource for the access to job opportunities. Some other indicators show that friends and relatives constitute the main source of support for obtaining information of the government programs and the prices of the market articles; and, in the second source of acquisition of a credit to solve the emergency situations as diseases of calamities in the family.

It is clear that the support of friends and relatives contributes reducing the losses caused by displacement. Nevertheless, the process of recovery and social and economic reestablishment of the people suffering this phenomenon demands the access to a social capital greater than the one obtained in the family bounds. According to Palacio and Madarriaga (2006), coming to relatives and friends is a response to the pressure exercised by the lack of economic resources and may help the adaptation to hostile contexts. Nevertheless, based on the statements of Granovetter (2003), these authors warn about the risk of creating closed networks when these kinds of bounds are too concentrated, with a few connections or bridges among them, becoming an additional factor to hinder mobility.

4.1.2 Communitarian relationships

The people in situation of displacement face a serious situation of social inequality, particularly expressed in the isolation they have to suffer after being violently taken from their original communities. The arrival to the reception sites is usually produced under serious conditions of poverty, hindering their opportunities and reinforcing the precariousness. The lack of economic resources usually restricts the access to sources of information, the insertion to social spaces with resources and, additionally, affects the capacity of social negotiation. Nevertheless, the construction of the community projects facilitates the rupture of this circle.

The evidence shows that those who achieve establishing a social communitarian capital have greater opportunities for recovering. A good part of the goals obtained by the studied communities is due to the social capital they have been able to accumulate based on their integration. The establishment of the settlements where they started their struggle for the right to housing conditions, the resistance in front of those who tried to evict them and the strategies used to guarantee their subsistence, are actions granting important lessons about the collective empowerment.

To illustrate the importance of the communitarian relationships in the recovery of the households affected by the armed conflict and/or displacement, we will present the following aspects: i) the existence of solidarity and cooperation feelings stimulating a collective action; ii) leadership and communitarian participation and iii) the conformation of communitarian organizations.

4.1.2.1 Solidarity and cooperation

One of the aspects with the most positive consequences in the accumulation of the social capital is the existence of solidarity and cooperation. According to Uphoff (2003), in the case of the social capital, it is convenient to distinguish, at least analytically, two important kinds: the cognitive and structural. The first one has to do with the thoughts and emotions while the second one represents the structural and organizational ways the cognitive social capital uses to express itself; according to this author, both kinds are interconnected. In this sense, the possibility of counting with psychological and emotional assets constitutes an essential condition for the social capital to give some results in the community.

A good part of the collective actions started by the people participating in the study has based on the definition of common interests around the recognition of their identity as displaced people. That way, many of those who have arrived to the reception sites, facing the difficulty of not having somewhere to live and no sufficient income to rent a place, have organized to claim a restitution of their fundamental rights. If well is the necessity the one motivating the mobilization of these households, some time after this combines with the sense of pertinence to the group and some other feelings of solidarity and cooperation, stimulating the collective organization.

The effects of this dimension of the social capital are expressed in the mobility of some of the households in the study. The analysis of the quantitative variables and their relation with the IMP, show the highest coefficient of correlation (0.83) for one of the solidarity indicators. That is why the analysis of the way the way the social capital has developed in these communities may allow to precise the impact of this factor in terms of mobility.

In the Chart 11 we can observe that is in the communities located above the average IMP where a greater number of the interviewed states the people of their neighborhood would be willing to help someone who needed⁷⁵ it. Among the communities with the lowest IMP, the rural show a greater tendency of solidarity than urban ones.

Chart 11. Solidarity: Most of people are willing to help if someone needs it

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Ponderación*
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	1.8
		Nelson Mandela	1.6
		Revivir	2.1
		Villa Katy	2.0
Total IMP mayor a la media			1.9
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	3.2
		González	2.4
	Total receptora		2.7
	Rural	Cerotal	2.1
		Macaján	1.8
	Total rural		1.9
Total IMP menor a la media			2.3
Total general			2.1

* Resulta de multiplicar la proporción de encuestados que respondió cada opción por el número de la opción (1: totalmente de acuerdo, 2: de acuerdo; 3: en desacuerdo; 4: totalmente en desacuerdo)

Source: Household questionnaire

The trajectory of the two communities with the higher IMP (Los Álamos and Revivir) is a good example of the positive incidence of the construction of social networks with a strong sense of quest for collective wellbeing through the cooperation.

For the formation of the community of Los Álamos, it was necessary that a group of approximately a hundred people, gathered by some leaders, started the take over of some terrains, property of the municipality of Ibagué, being forced to face several attempts of eviction by the police. The perseverance in the collective purposes and the establishment of coexistence rules facilitated the achievement of their main objective: access to housing

⁷⁵ The answer options: 1. Totally Agree, 2. Agree, 3. Disagree, 4. Totally Disagree

conditions. For such process it is important to remark, for example, the elaboration of a coexistence manual when the community was established in the settlement.

Some of the inhabitants emphasize in the difficulties of coexistence in the settlement due to the cultural diversity: *“I was not used to live in a community, people talking differently, some neat and clean and others not, some of them mistreating women (...) Yes, we had a coexistence manual, but it was difficult to make it happen...some of us were coming from the country side and had no idea of how to coexist...the monkey learns while being beaten. When the manual came, it was hard. Some rules were followed, some others not. There were some dudes making trouble. They felt better than us”* (Hernán, Man, 40 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase). According to the statements of this participant, the difficult conditions they had to face demanded different learning processes, facilitated thanks to the communitarian work, around the housing conditions: *“Working together. No matter if there were problems, we had to work, we divided the functions. We were all united, it was really beautiful (...) Work helped us a lot and the hope at home”* (Hernán, Man, 40 years, Los Álamos, Minicase).

In the organizational process of these communities is evidenced in how the development of collective actions stimulates the development of individual capabilities, which is in the base to the formation of the social capital. The acquisition of the benefits of the social capital demands an important quota of dedication by the individuals. In the case of Los Álamos, learning how to live in a new environment, giving priority to the communitarian interests, attending the collective rules and trusting others, are remarked as the conditions that favored the empowerment of the community: *“Learn to not distrusting so much; that helped us a lot”* (Josefina, Woman, 55 years old, Los Álamos, CT).

The social capital of the communities conformed by the displaced population is constructed in the middle of adverse situations; nevertheless, the merging of solidarity feelings facilitates its strengthening. In Los Álamos, the struggle for their rights implied not only to organize around the goal, but to solve the needs related to the permanence in the invaded settlement. While the solidarity feeling was present, the actions aiming the consecution and preparation of the alimentation allowed satisfying the collective needs: *“For the food issue, we used to divide in groups of ten, each one with a leader. We used to go to the market places to ask for food, they gave us the leftovers, and they we would cook those (...) The “olla comunitaria” lasted almost two months. It run out because people started stealing, and we decided just helping the needed ones”* (Hernán, Man, 40 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase).

Not only the internal dynamics of the communities affect the process of construction of the social capital: the perception of the external solidarity is fundamental for the collective actions and the social networks of the people in situation of displacement can get strong. Continuing with the example of Los Álamos, the adaptation process also implied, earning the support and respect of the neighbor community, because according to the participants, they were being excluded and discriminated: *“They used to mistreat our kids, not giving them any spaces in the local schools. We had to send some people and start building new classrooms. For the young ones it was more complicated, because of the lousy fame of our*

neighborhood. They used to tell them they were guerrilla, thieves, and drug addicts” (Hernán, Man, 40 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase).

The abilities for coexistence, the values and the rules required to the formation of the social networks do not appear spontaneously, but merge as a result of a learning process and collective negotiation. In such process, the intervention of the institutions and the external agents may play an important role, even more considering the problems faced by the displaced population. According to Hernán (Man, 40 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase), the difficult conditions they had to face demanded them different learning processes for coexistence: *“Some times in an aggressive way, many people were not able to learn for the good ones (...) The necessity has a dog face. We had to learn how to coexist, change a little. We had psychologists, from the ‘Pastoral Social’, the ICBF, and the Solidarity Network, to help us negotiate and reduce our conflicts. People changed a lot, one hundred percent”.*

The adversity the displaced people have to face to reach some communitarian organization, because a source of learning for the life of its members. The constitution of emotional bounds and affective values around collective projects, creates results for the material wellbeing of the people involved. Nevertheless, it is important to learn how to cooperate with the others and trust in the benefits of communitarian organization, no matter if these are not immediate: *“Life is not over despite the situation. If I had to live another situation like this one, it would be easier because I saw it is possible to move on. For many young people over here it has been really good, because they have learned how to be leaders, like my son. And it is something good because it is going to help them” (Consuelo, Woman, 39 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase).*

Related to the importance of the cognitive social capital in the generation of collective actions, another important example is Revivir, other of the communities of the study. They established their main bound around the construction of the neighborhood. The situation shared by a group of people allowed the union around common interests. The necessity of providing alimentation to everyone, building the neighborhood and guarantying the security of the new neighborhood conduced to the conformation of a fundamental social capital for the wellbeing of the recent community. During the construction of the neighborhood, there was the conformation of work groups and the establishment of a “olla comunitaria”. *“There were four groups of 25 people each, we wanted to cook for the group and then they said it was a “olla comunitaria”, it was decided inside the group the most convenient thing would be a single pot” (Ana, Woman, 40 years old, Revivir, CT); “we had to watch at night, we were four people watching the construction material put in a warehouse. We worked for two years” (Teresa, Woman, 62 years old, Revivir, CT).* Participating in the construction of their houses created a proper environment for coexistence: Some people could have better relationships with their neighbors.

As it can be seen in the previous examples, there is abundant qualitative evidence around the importance of the cognitive social capital development in the wellbeing of the households and the communities. Surely the actions developed by these households – demonstrations for their rights, consecution and collective preparation of their food, construction of their neighborhoods- would not have been possible if they were not founded

in affective and emotional bounds, as previously described. According to Uphoff (2003: 127), *“if the cognitive social capital is much, it is possible to expect a structural social capital with efficient rules and values. This structural social capital allows expressing the rules and the values with a greater efficiency and making these even more solid”*.

In contrast with the importance of the solidarity feelings in the communities with the higher IMP, El Pilar, the community with the lowest index of solidarity is also the one with the lowest mobility. Here, the people in situation of displacement is disperse and suffers the marginalization of the rest of the community. Some people in the neighborhood attributes the insecurity to the displaced people and, in front of the distrust they awake, appear as the cause of the worsening of the social capital in the community. One of the leaders assures that solidarity among people in the neighborhood has been undermined, principally because of the arrival of the displaced: *“That is from five years ago, since 2000, the impact of the influence if this community, in young people mostly, they do not work so they become lazy. The arrival of these people caused disorganization, back then El Pilar neighborhood was cool with people, used to do events; these events stopped because of the dead people in the streets in the morning”*(Omar, Man, 41 years, El Pilar, CT).

The stigmatization of the displaced people in this community is evident, especially if they come from cocaine zones, because, according to the participants, he influence young people in the neighborhood: *“Because they are arriving from coke zones, they get here and influence people and these people go to work to those places. That is a big influence”* (Eduardo, Man, 41 years old, El Pilar, CT). Some of these statements seem to be based on the ignorance on the displaced people’s life, as it is observed in the following statement: *“Displaced people are eight to fifteen days in a sector, and then they change because of being afraid of their hunters, but you do not know who is displaced”* (Edgar, Man, 65 years, El Pilar, CT).

This last example provides acquaintance of the difficult conditions of the people in situation of displacement, especially when it comes to rebuild their social networks. The limited social insertion suffered by these people, has to do with the ignorance of the reception community on the situation of vulnerability of the forced displaced people. It is important to insist that rejection and discrimination hinders the possibilities of the formation of the necessary social capital to reconstruct their social identity based on displacement.

As it will be seen in the following paragraphs, in some communities the positive effects of solidarity and cooperation are hindered by the difficulties for developing affective processes in a communitarian organization. The conflicts around leadership, the coexistence problems and the weak confidence among the members of the communities usually limit the possibilities for a social reestablishment in the new communities for internal displaced people. In Revivir and Los Álamos there is some evidence of restrictions. In this last community, although the problems among leaders have been reduced, there were moments of serious turmoil and conflict: *“In Villa del Sol there were two Communitarian Action Boards and all the time were fighting, in war, they used to declare themselves the ‘leaders’. The community was divided and they used to face those ones in the Board”* (Claudia, Woman, 46 years, Los Álamos, CIM FGD).

In Revivir, the difficulties have been worsened because of the tendency to associate some of the members of the community to armed groups: *“Here practically we can talk about two tendencies; those displaced by the guerrilla and those displaced by the paramilitaries. Those coming from the south of Bolívar were displaced by the guerrilla, and they have a great hate for them. We are coming from other areas, Sucre, for example; they say ‘Where are you coming from?’, ‘from Sucre’, ‘Ah!! Those coming from Sucre are guerrilla’. We were displaced by the paramilitaries, they did their job there, and they said we were guerrilla”* (Ariel, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD).

4.1.2.2 Communitarian participation

The communitarian participation has string implications in the accumulation of social capital. Through this method, it is possible to wide the social networks of each family, improve the access to resources, rise the affective value attributed to communitarian organization and establishing bounds with the neighbors and leaders, as well as the people with a different economic and social status. According to the theory, *“the communities with a strong civil society and a high association share have prospered more that those with reduced shares of civil participation”* (Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti, 1993).

Although the social capital stays in the personal abilities for leadership, as well as in values, rules and networks facilitating cooperation, it is necessary to build some institutionalism guarantying strength and permanence in the communitarian space. The institutionalism is expressed in both the formal and non formal sphere; the social capital stays in the development and interdependence of both dimensions. The formal institutions expressed in organizations, procedures and socially accepted rules depend for their validity, in the affective and emotional values (non formal institutionalism), created through the relationships of the social capital. In this sense, the communitarian participation becomes an essential condition to build the institutionalism demanded by the social capital.

It is assumed that the formation of local social networks with a great component of participation may convert the pending social capital in effective social capital. Nevertheless, it is necessary to examine the factors helping and hindering the participation, as well as the way this combines with some other elements to rise the social capital and the wellbeing in the communities.

The analysis of the quantitative information shows a relatively high correlation (around 0.6) between the IMP and the indicators related to communitarian participation. As it is observed in Chart 12, Los Álamos and Nelson Mandela, both with a high IMP, outstand because of their greater shares of assistance to the reunions for taking important communitarian decisions. The organizational tradition of these communities, the goals reached through the collective actions, as well as their rules, values and procedures, seem to be in the base of receptivity to the participation.

In some of the communities located above the average of mobility, the participation seems to be favored by the shared trajectory. The mutual trust they have earned through the period of coexistence make people show a higher interest in the participation in collective activities: *“we are more mature, it is easier now because people now each other and*

participate more” (Sofia, Woman, 32 years old, Villa Katy, CIM FGD); “it is better here because the decisions are taken by all of us, we did not use to do that in Villa del Sol” (Vicente, Man, 18 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD). According to the *Household questionnaire* men are more active than women when it comes to participation in communitarian activities.

Chart 12. Participation: share of the interviewed people assisting to the meetings where important communitarian decisions are being taken.

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	86.2%
		Nelson Mandela	73.3%
		Revivir	63.3%
		Villa Katy	45.2%
Total IMP mayor a la media			66.7%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	20.0%
		González	66.7%
	Total receptora		45.5%
	Rural	Cerotal	43.3%
		Macaján	20.0%
Total rural		30.8%	
Total IMP menor a la media			38.2%
Total general			51.8%

Source: Household questionnaire

The participation takes better levels when it comes to taking big decisions or developing actions with an immediate result, but in the daily life of the communitarian organization there is a general complain around the apathy to participation. The causes of this phenomenon are common to the different contexts of each community. The marginalization suffered by some of these people, the distrust around the effectiveness of participation and, in general, the lack of interest, appears as the most common restrictions.

In the communities where the households in situation of displacement coexist with non displaced people⁷⁶, there are greater difficulties for participation, which has to do partially to the differences among the members and also to the weakness of the coordination and communication mechanisms in these communities. According to a inhabitant of El Pilar, community with the lowest IMP of the sample, the exclusion experienced by some when they go to communitarian activities, hinders the motivation for participating, especially if, in his case, he is coming from the countryside and he has arrived to the city because of displacement: “*Here it is all pretty, we participate, but in big meetings they say ‘he should not talk, he does not know how to’. That is a big inequality*” (Álvaro, Man, 70 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). This opinion is shared by the inhabitants of this neighborhood, also in situation of displacement: “*displaced people know nothing, they have not participated. Maybe because we think that is for the owners*” (Álvaro, Man, 70 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

The distrust in the effectiveness of the communitarian organization seems to be one of the aspects hindering the most the motivation for participation. According to some participants,

⁷⁶ Especially in El Pilar.

the default in some of the agreements achieved reduces the credibility of these kinds of actions: *“the thing is they do not fulfill the agreements. I said I am not coming back to those things, why? The local mayor never keeps his word”* (Julián, Man, 38 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

Some of the participants are very critical of the real possibilities of participation. In a good measure because they feel the general context they are living in, is framed by exclusion. According to one of the participants of Revivir, even the development of the housing project was done with no great communitarian participation, because even though the community was the one building the houses, the people had no voice when it came to the design of the project: *“When we got here the committees started and I was telling them to let us choose where we were going to live the rest of our lives, but they would not let us do so. That was already designed; democracy is mistreated. They did not say ‘how do you like your houses?’; the one with the power is like God, doing whatever he wants with people”* (Gustavo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

In the rural communities, on their side, the lack of interest seems to be the visible cause for the lack of participation: *“People participate, but not all people are on the same thing. Some people are gossiping, but nothing else. They go there to criticize the Board, but they make no good statements”* (Angela, Woman, 23 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD). In Macaján, the participation is determined by the electoral processes: *“Here there are lots of projects in elections time. But later, if I saw you I do not know you, no more after that”* (Consuelo, Woman, 42 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

In the case of young people, their participation is really low, particularly in rural communities. An important exception in urban communities is constituted by the case of González, where young people show their interest in having an important role inside the Board: *“We were in the labors committee, there were many committees; labors, health, human rights, entertainment etc., the labors committee is in charge of the public works inside the neighborhood, such as the construction of sidewalks and the maintenance of the public electrics”* (Carlos, Man, 21 years old, González, Youth FGD). According to the participants, the open doors of the organizations in the neighborhood facilitates the participation of different sectors of the population, among them, young ones: *“they gave women the opportunity to vote; also young people. The board organized committees, there are committees organized by young people”* (Inés, Woman, 19 years old, González, Youth FGD).

In the other communities, where the youth participation faces less favorable conditions, the causes seem to be the lack of identity with the interests of the adults: *“My proposal was to reunify the community; we were apart of the old ones”* (Augusto, Man, 22 years, Revivir, Youth FGD); *“interested people are very few because we do not think in the problems of the neighborhood if these do not affect us, we are not conscious of that”* (Margoth, Woman, 21 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD); *“in our sector, young people do not go. Maybe they do not want to, they do not like it, they think is boring...Some time people ask stuff and we do not know if what we are going to say is OK or not”* (José, Man, 18 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD).

The low participation of the youth in the communities seems to keep close relation with the national tendencies, where a good number of studies evidence the growing apathy of the youth for the participation mechanisms in the traditional politics (Escobar, 2004). It is clear that for displaced youth, their arrival to urban surroundings means a reconfiguration of their identity in several dimensions, including politics. Finding with new ways of cultural expression has strong repercussions on the way the citizenship is constructed and how he public think is configured in new communitarian surroundings, That why, their incorporation in the new participation spaces, depends in a great way, of the adoption process to the new referents of youth identity.

According to Llamas and Mier (2003), who developed an investigation around the reconstruction dynamics of the social identity experienced by the displaced young people belonging to the communities of this study, Revivir, the greatest changes suffered by these are expressed in the transition of the rural culture and the urban one; the transformation of the family bounds in the process of urban reestablishment.

Now then, the reality of the communities shows that, in the logic of the youth participation the dynamics of participation in the adult people is reflected. The tendency to delegate the participation to the reception of immediate benefits is one of the commonly reproduced aspects: *“Some people participate when there is some immediate benefit for them, or when they go with the majority”* (Catalina, Woman, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD); *“in my sector we are very grateful with the president of the Board, and we believed he was going to give us the football field, but things have changed”* (Mario, Woman, 19 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD).

In rural communities is where the participation of the young people is less noticeable when it comes to communitarian matters: *“They are feel apathy between the 17 and the 21 years”* (Estela, Woman, 19 years, Macaján, Youth FGD); *“maybe the young people are participating but sometimes they distract themselves and do not come. They say they have to work or anything else not to work”* (Augusto, Man, 19 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD). In Cerotal, the visible apathy of the young people on participation of the communitarian decisions is related to the little attention they receive from the institutions: *“Sometimes in productive projects. And when the Mayor’s Office or the SENA realize they are sixteen or seventeen years and say ‘you are not going to do something productive’ and they do not believe in us because of being very young, they think we are doing nothing”* (Andrea, Woman, 23 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD).

4.1.2.3 Importance of leadership

According to the qualitative sources, in the communities of the study leadership has placed a main role in the achievement of better conditions of prosperity. According to the observed, the management of the resources, the interlocution with the external authorities, as well as the integration and the mobilization of the community depend, in a good measure of the actions of the leaders.

The levels of trust in the leaders of the interviewed are not constant, and there is no relation between the IMP and the opinions expressed about such trust. Although the reception

community with a higher IMP (Los Álamos) has the highest trust in leaders, the rest of the communities do not present an importance difference in this matter. About rural communities, the trust levels are very different, being better in Cerotal than in Macaján.

The generation of trust and confidence in the processes of communitarian organization and particularly, in the leaders demands time and constitutes a complex process. The importance granted to this value resides in this being a component to define social capital, joint to the attitudes of reciprocity and cooperation. According to Uphoff (2003: 156), *“confidence and trust have a cultural support in the principle of reciprocity, and an emotional one in the affection felt towards others showing their trust towards us”*. That way, trust in the leaders has an especial transcendence because it conditions the support the community may provide to the management they develop and affects the possibility of the results leadership may achieve.

In the Nelson Mandela neighborhood, the actions of the leaders were fundamental for the supplement of the social infrastructure for the community, gaining a special value in the construction of a clinic: *“The clinic was opened thanks to the actions of the leaders of the neighborhood. They made some pressure on the Mayor because the resources had been turned somewhere else already once. That has happened because we have been knocking the doors of public and private institutions. It has always been first in the Mayor’s Office, and now we are looking for him to finish the sewer system and the leaders are pressuring the Mayor now”* (Nubia, Woman, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT). As it can be observed in the previous story, the capacity to mediate in front of external agents, facilitating vertical unions, is a powerful tool to improve the conditions of the communities.

According to the evidence, the trust problems among leaders as well as these with the rest of the community hinder the formation of a social capital in some communities. In El Pilar, the focus group discussion Ladder of Life allowed the identification of the weakness of the social capital expressed in the lack of communitarian organization and the low capability for leadership, as factors hindering the prosperity of the community: *“There are no leaders, the ones pretending being ones have not been worrying for leading, and the ones living here do not worry for dialogue; we are worried for moving on, but we have no one to lead us. We the people from Nariño are not very opened; we are not willing to move on as community”* (Fabio, Man, 56 years old, El Pilar, LOL FGD). This situation expresses the difficulties faced when the communities do not identify the common purposes joining them as such.

This is not exclusive of urban communities. In Macaján, one of the rural communities, some participants manifested that one of the factors reducing prosperity in the community is the lack of leadership, pointing also the necessity of establishing greater bounds with people and external institutions: *“Today we need some leaders helping us, going out there; we have to get some knowledge and advisory”* (Germán, Man, 50 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD). The negative experience with the leaders of the community has taken them to distrust: *“The backwards of Macaján is because of leadership, leaders are politicians and this community should be a lot better, unfortunately the resources have not arrived”* (Pedro, Man, 45 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD).

Despite the importance of leadership in the prosperity of some communities, the incursion in the political world becomes a difficult target, which gives account of the limitation suffered by the population in situation of displacement to access privileged positions in the exercise of political power. In a recent study, something applicable to displaced population is concluded: *“The tragedy of poor ones is the little power they have to change their situation. They have a little financial resources and their social capital is formed by a small group of people with power to help them”* (Robinson, Siles and Schmidt, 2003: 80).

The qualitative evidence shows a little presence of the communitarian leaders that have reached political recognition in some spheres, external to their communities. According to the focus group discussions, in two of the eight communities participating in the study, there are people linked to the political world: an inhabitant of El Pilar is councilman and a resident in Nelson Mandela is a representative of the Communitarian Board, being important to precise that none of them is displaced. The presence of these has no relation to the location of the communities according to their IMP. Neither it is possible to state that, according to the perception of the participants; the role developed by these people has represented any benefits for their communities.

Related to the councilman in El Pilar, the participants in the focus group discussions do not show a unanimous position about their support to their community, although it is observed a strong tendency to recognize they have developed some works and have helped some people in the neighborhood: *“I have never asked for favors, he has helped some people getting a job, he has helped them economically. When there was a flooding he tried to help people”* (Marta, Woman, 40 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). Some other participants consider, on the contrary, their support has been completely none, and their interest has been locally focused: *“He is worried for the municipality, not so mucho for the neighborhood, for things like the public lighting”* (José, Man, 56 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“he used to say he was going to help all these people in the neighborhood, he has not done anything, he said he was going to fight the gangs, but nothing happened”* (Graciela, 27 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD).

In Nelson Mandela there is no consensus around the support given by the politician of the neighborhood. Many participants are clear and emphatic when saying their representative to the Board had some communication with the community only during the political campaign: *“They forget really fast. They get in the neighborhoods, talk to people, they say hello and then forget”* (Alberto, Man, 53 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“that man promised us he was going to build two wells here in our lands, we told them we did not want any promises, but facts. We told him to come here and get this road fixed, but he never came back”* (Jaime, Man, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). Nevertheless, there are some people recognizing the labor developed by the representative, as it is appreciated in the following testimonials: *“There is a representative in the Board, the leaders supported him, he is very kind, he has a great empathy with the community”* (Aura, Woman, 32 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“he has helped fixing the streets, he brings some food to the sector”* (Ana, Woman, 45 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

The rest of communities do not count with politicians, but two of them –Villa Katy and Los Álamos– refer to the support obtained from politicians during the critical moments: *“The*

neighborhood was recognized by the Mayor thanks to the lawyer of the poor ones, and he is a councilman now. He is interested in displaced people, he had their votes and he came up” (Jairo, Man, 34 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); “we do not have any politicians, but there are two who have helped us” (Diego, Man, 21 years old, Villa Katy, Youth FGD).

The experience of the communities related to the leadership evidences that, although under some circumstances –trust, receptiveness to the institutions, and cooperation of the community- this achieves some results, bringing remarkable benefits to the communities, its consolidation is a difficult thing. One of the aspects that could be concluded from this phenomenon is the necessity of developing capabilities for leadership in the communities, as well as the proper conditions for its exercise. The experiences with this focus in projects for overcoming poverty indicate the social and institutional abilities such as leadership, conduction and management, teamwork, internal social control, transparency and accounting are “formable” and “transferable” (Durstun, 1999).

The success of the attention policies to the displaced population is related, in a good measure, to the capability of the communities and their leaders to constitute as participants and watchmen of its execution. The acquisition of the social skills to act collectively, to strength a leadership with results, to exercise demands and responsibilities towards the State and to empower in front of the administration of resources, becomes essential.

4.1.2.4 Conformation of the communitarian organizations

The conformation of the organization expresses the capability of the pending social capital for the process of the formal structures based on the communitarian consensus. The reality of the studied communities lets see us the difficulties these have faced. Although all communities count with certain kind of organizations, many of them are diffuse; their objectives answer to temporary situations and not many times go beyond the instrumental sphere.

The organizations with a higher presence are the political ones; in seven of the eight communities it is possible to verify their existence and, comparatively with the period of initial reference, it is found that in most of them the number has been growing or, at least, one has been created. In a second place of importance we have the organizations aiming things like health and education; these organizations have had an important growth, going from two to five of them. In a third place, we can find the economic institutions: in four of the eight communities we can find these kinds of organizations, back then there were only two. It is also important to remark the pertinence to displaced organizations for four communities. The communities with a higher presence of organizations are Nelson Mandela, Revivir and El Pilar; the first two located in the top of the IMP list.

According to the results of the *Household questionnaire*, the link to the associations is more common even though this proportion grew more within the last years. On the other hand, there are different preferences around the associations: while men are linked to the associations related to the economic activity, women are related to the displaced associations mostly.

Even though the conditions faced by the people in situation of displacement demand the conformation of strong organizational structures, their achievements tend to be incipient. According to a study on citizenship and internal forced displacement in Colombia, being together in a settlement, sharing stories of violence and being forced to subsist in the middle of such conditions, facilitate the organization and articulation of the people around some common goals, even though this articulation is basically around the immediate objectives for subsistence (Naranjo, 2004:153). Nevertheless, some communities show a greater advance in that process.

In Revivir, after a communitarian organization process, in the middle of the leadership conflicts and the coexistence problems, there was the formation of a group that has achieved to capitalize the obtained knowledge, counting also with the quota of some important institutional support. It is about “My efforts” Association, created as an initiative of a small group of people inside the community, who counted with the initial support of the International League of Women for Peace and Liberty –ILWPL-. This association started working with health issues and some other social problems. After three months of training in Human Rights, Women Rights, Fair Commerce, among others, they developed, with a local University, marketing study and that is how they established the supply business in the neighborhood. It is currently in the legalization process and it counts with the support of five people, four of them women. According to Juana (Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, Minicase), *“the idea is that men have some conscience on equality, but with a higher and louder voice from women”*, decision unanimously taken.

This Association, additionally to its economic purpose, pretends to act as a multiplier of the experience with some other groups in the community and provide these with a small seed capital. In this line, two groups have benefited from the resources and support of “My Efforts”. Although such initiatives failed, their intention is to integrate a greater number of people and motivate them towards the establishment of productive projects. Their long-term project is to get a terrain and build a place for the functioning of their business, or, buying the local they are currently renting.

From the perspective of Juana (Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, Minicase), one of its integrants, the main achievements since the conformation of the group can be expressed in: (i) Greater autonomy: *“We have been able to be independent. Despite the difficulties in our households, we have been able to communicate to people”*; (ii) Overcoming of the misunderstandings with the community on the precedence of the resources used to establish the business: *“When they saw our work with young people and women, they started accepting us”*; (iii) Overcoming of the difficulties with their husbands: *“He is trying to calm down and watch that we are doing a nice job for households and the community”*; (iv) Possibility of offering credit products for people in the community that do not count with the resources to get their food during some periods; (v) Generation of opportunities for coaching with the group; (vi) Widening the networks: *“We have met some beautiful people through this process”*.

On the other side, in Nelson Mandela, people from varied sectors of the neighborhood that were developing agricultural activities in different terrains of the municipality of Cartagena or some other close municipalities, integrated the “Ambarema Peasants Association”. Most

of them are established in the same terrain, but there are some associates with some rented farms in the region.

The acquisition of the legal status for these organization, allowed the associates to receive a greater attention by the external institutions, as well as improving the confidence on their organizational capacity: *“The association was formed, the legal requirement was filled, and this brought us progress and we are known. Through the president it has been going to the Agriculture Ministry and the Governor’s Office; we could not do that before because we had no license. Many doors have been opened. The Association has progressed a lot, back then people was afraid of getting into the Association, some people thought they would be chased because of being in the displaced list”* (Carlos, Man, 54 years, Nelson Mandela, CT).

One of the motivations favoring this organizational process has been, precisely, the support and recognition of the external institutions. In their own terms, one of the interviewed leaders refers to the positive effects generated by the social capital through the external relations to the organization: *“There was happiness when the aid started coming in. We have many ideas, the thing is that we cannot get them done, we want to build some ranches and start living there⁷⁷, but we have not been able to materialize the idea. People is motivated with the help, the good treatment, the good relationships of the president with the different institutions, we have been moving on step by step, struggling, but we have been moving on”* (Carlos, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT).

It is important to point out that the conformation of the legally recognized associations allows displaced people to achieve better conditions of equality in front of the law. The example of the “Ambarema Peasants Association” shows that even in the middle of a urban environment, displaced people struggle for keeping their activity as farmers, not only moved by hunger, but with the desire of keeping their identity as peasants.

It is worth to outstand that three of the four communities with the higher IMP have also the highest share for people connected to associations of economic activities, aspect that will be pointed in the section corresponding to employment and income.

The social capital expressed in the organizational processes previously described has a special importance; particularly because of its contribution to the recovery of the losses occasioned by displacement, as it has been said, not only material, but also affective, social and emotional losses. According to the testimonials of the members of these associations, the participation in the development of these ones has for them a deep affective value, bounded to the possibility of establishing new confidence relationships and reciprocity with the rest of the group. Additionally, it represents the possibility of finding new economic and social incentives allowing them to remake their life project.

Maybe one of the greatest advantages supplied by the formation of these kinds of associations is the access of resourceful social networks. As it has been warned, assuming

⁷⁷ One of the main aspirations of the members of the Peasants Association was the legalization of the land they had.

obvious conclusions from the social capital theory, poverty is associated, in a good measure, to the absence of social capital in spheres and networks where a great part of the economic and affective goods can be traded. That way, when these organizations tie bounds with external agents, are modifying a whole structure of opportunities in their favor. In the situation of displaced people, such organizations also become an important strategy for social inclusion and the vindication of their rights.

In the rural communities there are also valuable testimonials about the meaning some organizations have had in their social and productive life. In Cerotal it is important to remark the formation of an organization that contributed to the construction of the local aqueduct: *“The aqueduct benefits 90 households, a pro aqueduct board was formed to solve the necessities of the users of the service. Without water, no human being may live, water cannot be replaced”* (Juan, Man, 57 years old, Cerotal, CT). The same way, the bounds with some other communities allowed the creation of a Cooperative and a Small Business aimed to the improvement of the roads: *“We formed a Cooperative, composed by 24 communitarian boards, and the money collected is used to fix the roads”* (Fernando, Man, 64 years old, Cerotal, CT); *“there is a road, not so much thanks to the government, but thanks to the people and their “mingas”⁷⁸, to the organization, here there is a lot of people able to do stuff”* (Hugo, Man, 51 years old, Cerotal, LOL FGD).

The example of this community affected by the armed conflict allows us to see how the social capital, particularly the social organizations, contribute reducing the precariousness of the life conditions of its members; precariousness that is product or a weak state presence, very characteristic in rural areas.

It is worth to analyze the obstacles suffered by a communitarian organization. In Nelson Mandela, despite the legal recognition granted by the “Ambarema Peasants Assciaton”, the fear perceived by its members due to the possibility of suffering new acts of violence, like the ones provoking their displacement years back, is a constant damage affecting their productive activity. This situation gives account of the uncertainty sensation and the vulnerability these communities suffer in the process of conformation of their social capital, mostly when this has been constituted based on the struggle for land: *“Some friends have taken distance, they do not want to come to the assembly, they gave up, they do not know that is now that we have to be together (...) Those who are not coming to the assembly because they are afraid, they think there could be a massacre, and they come from violent zones, they do not want to suffer the same thing”* (Diego, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT).

There are many aspects hindering the development of communitarian organizations, such as the apathy to participation, the lack of institutional support, the temporary nature of their objectives, the lack of information and the difficulties for overcoming the communitarian conflicts. The short term vision of some organizations hinders the possibilities to constitute a solid and lasting social capital: *“The community has lost the vision of keeping on meeting. Since the people received their houses, they do not care about organization. When they*

⁷⁸ Reunion of friends and neighbors to develop some common work, usually pro bono.

meet is for something productive, like ‘Familias en Acción’⁷⁹, that is how they get together” (Ana, Woman, 40 years old, Revivir, CT). In the same sense, in Cerotal, on the rural communities of the study, the participants referred to the lack of organization in the community and the lack of prosperity. Although they consider there is solidarity and cooperation inside the *vereda*, they insist it appears in especial moments and during short periods. About that, Sebastián (32 years old, Man, Cerotal, LOL FGD) states: *“There has not been organization different to the road and the aqueduct. People cannot organize. With some organization the communities can move on, but without organization nothing can be done. Although through the small business we can organize ourselves, but we need some other organization in some other aspects”*.

Experience of a Displaced People Association in the municipality of Pasto, from the perspective of their directives.

The Association was created in 1999, being initially constituted by 20 people, number that has been increasing until 60 affiliated today, some of them from El Pilar neighborhood. Their objective is to fight for the rights of the displaced, granted by the Law 387: *“The displaced people was not receiving what they had the right to receive, food, the Solidarity Network was not fulfilling its commitments, once we went to Bogotá with the National Board, they opened our eyes and showed us the aids”*. To the moment they have looked for the support of the Solidarity Network, the Health and Education Secretaries, getting some benefits for the payment of the house, alimentation and the access to education and health. Among their projects it is possible to find the coaching activities organized by the SENA. Nevertheless, their main project is the management of the housing economic aids: *“In Bogotá we are managing the thing of the housing project. The government lost the money they were going to give us, because the law says that is for housing, but they have been suing it for rent, and they are asking for some requirements, but the displaced do not fulfill them”*.

Despite the received aid, they are very critics in front of the actions developed by the Solidarity Network, because, to their judgment, it is a punctual help and it is not getting to displaced people *“The Network, despite the help they should provide, after giving the money for the three months rent and the alimentation, they do not give anything else. Some people did not receive a thing”*. According to the president of the Association, the ‘Pastoral Social’ is only institution providing uninterested attention to the displaced: *“The Pastoral is a clear institution, the project we started was housing, now we have the terrains and they are going to fulfill with 100 houses, that is a clear institution, they do not waste the resources, they accomplish their objectives. For example, they rejected some German money, because the managing institution wanted to spend more money in employees that in the displaced population itself”*. The interviewed consider the government has not fulfilled its promises with the displaced population and show themselves very unsatisfied with the management of the demobilization in the country: *“We did not like what the government did with the paramilitaries, what Uribe is doing, he is looking for paying to the paramilitaries, but they will get to the Presidency and do the same thing. We, the displaced, are waiting, and we will be waiting, but we are getting to our limit, we have rights and we need the government to fulfill its promises”*.

From the perspective of the President of the Association, being well informed is the best way of vindicating the rights of the people he represents: *“We have a lawyer in Bogotá and he comes here to make some lectures about the Constitution, the defense of the rights, to these meetings we attend with the other presidents”*. The directive Corp of the Association was recently renewed; with these, they expect to overcome some organizational processes. The Association is connected to the Municipality Board of Displaced Associations, with some other 13 associations in Pasto. They pretend to join forces and struggle for the common good and fight against the people and the institution that, in their opinion, want to take advantage of the situation of the displaced: *“There are some people getting money through the associations, and some corrupt presidents. Now we are asking for study certificates to proof the kids are studying here. I proposed the “Defensoría del Pueblo”⁸⁰ to make a following process in order to avoid these people being in many institutions”*.

⁷⁹ A program of the National Government for delivering aid for nutrition and alimentation for the kids between the 7 and the 18 years belonging to the level 1 of the SISBEN.

⁸⁰ State institution responsible for promoting the effectiveness of human rights in the frame of a democratic, participative, and pluralist social State of Law

In El Pilar, women argue that the access to groups is reduced because of the lack of information: *“Maybe we do not go because there is no good information”* (Francia, Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *I would like to participate, but I have not heard a thing* (Graciela, Woman, 33 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). In González, on their side, the participants point out that the access to groups inside the neighborhood is opened to all people, as long as they make part of any of the groups in the community: ‘destechados’,⁸¹ and the ‘displaced’, each one of them with their correspondent associations. One of the participants describes this situation, in many cases stimulated by the own institutions: *“It is really divided over here. They are divided by the Solidarity Network. There should be a single association. One person gets here with some projects and start dividing, There were two settlements: the “destechados” and the displaced. Everyone on their side”* (César, Man, 50 years old, Gonzalez, LFPD FGD).

The communitarian conflicts are usually one of the main aspects hindering the conformation of these organizations. Even though it is clear those are a necessary reality in any coexistence scenario, not many times these problems are recognized as possible learning processes for the ones involved. The interaction among displaced people having a diverse cultural and social capital, as well as these with the historical poor in the cities makes a lot more complex the process of consolidation of a communitarian organization. Among the circumstances contributing to the process it is possible to count: i) the partial action of the leaders and institutions; ii) violence in urban settlements and in peripheral zones; and iii) the difficulty to achieve consensus in the middle of the differences of these populations.

The conformation of new referents of identity and construction of the social capital is a complex process in the life of displaced people. The collective defense of their rights is not easy, in a good measure because of the problems around the coexistence they have to face when they start constituting their new communities. The challenge is to appropriate of an unknown environment making the acquisition of a social capital a hard and difficult job. One of the leaders, referring to the divisions of her community, stated: *“There has to be some agreement, cordiality, common struggle for the projects development. The divided one is already beaten; there is some division among Villa Katy, Villa Sandra and Las Palmeras, and nothing was done; they had to work together in order to be recognized and having water”* (Eugenio, Man, 65 years, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

The negative consequences of the lack of communitarian organizations are commonly recognized. According to the participants of the focus group Ladder of Life, the lack of communitarian organization suffered by Gonzales has taken this community to lose valuable opportunities to achieve a greater prosperity through the institutional intervention: *“We have to be organized in order to acquire the resources. Many of the agricultural resources get lost because we were not organized and were adjudicated to the reinserted. There was no organization (...) We need some organization, if we do not get some, we cannot do anything. The Red Cross and the Future Women offer us some coaching if we organize a little”* (Ofelia, Woman, 44 years old, González, LOL FGD).

⁸¹ Word commonly used to call people who, for many reasons different to violence, got homeless and lack of any housing conditions.

4.1.3 Political and institutional relationships

Although the formation of the social capital is usually produced from the bottom up, from the same social relationships constructed in the daily life, the possibility to establish social relationships with political and institutional agents allowing the access to social networks rich in resources and facilitating the influence of the processes within a political character, aspect reinforcing the base social capital. Nevertheless, it is common that the institutions are created and maintained by minorities and the poor people lack of contact for them and remain excluded from their management.

Despite the weakness in the political and institutional relationships, not only in the current communities but also the original ones, some participants remark the government, institutional and general support as a factor in their recovery process. The access to this kind of support is usually mediated by the capacity of the communities to start collective actions, by a solid leadership and a good political formation.

The aid supplied by the institutions in the communities of the study has been materialized especially in the assistance programs – principally, emergency attention-, important for the satisfaction of the basic needs but insufficient for the reestablishment of the wellbeing. The social and economic stabilization sphere, the most visible effects of the support received by the institutions are circumscribed to the housing projects executed in three of the six urban communities, reception sites of the displaced population: Revivir de los Campanos, González Chaparro and Los Álamos. In Nelson Mandela there has not been a solution for the housing issue, but there has been an important effort in physical, social and communications infrastructure, while in Villa Katy there are some public services. On the other hand, in El Pilar there was no program different to the emergency attention some households have received. In the two rural communities there is some precariousness when it comes to the institutional presence; in Macaján, despite of being affected by the armed conflict no program was developed, and in Cerotal the return process has been developed without any effective institutional support.

The study allows identifying different weaknesses in the intervention of the political and institutional system, but also the results that have to be remarked. Substantial evidence about the positive influence of the political support is the correlation (0.83) between the IMP and the political contacts to attend the matters of public interest, especially in the local field, being very important to the experience of Los Álamos. In fact, the most positive perception on democracy is found in this community, which prosperity is due to the actions developed by the local government in the frame of the execution of the housing project. As it can be appreciated in Chart 13, is in the communities located above the average mobility where it is possible to find the larger number of people with political contacts.

In Los Álamos, the networks constituted with the local politicians granted an important confidence, not only in the local governance, but also in the capacity of the community and its leaders to channel the resources on their side. According to the participants, democracy acquires concrete contents when the political interlocution is reverted in the improvement of the livelihoods: *“The Mayor is giving us these terrains. It is something democratic*

because he said that if he won, he was going to give us the terrain...things changed with him, he won and he kept his promises. He got three terrains, the cheapest one was this one and he bought it. Initially, there was no light, no sewer system, no water, but with the aid of the Mayor's Office, the commitment was fulfilled" (Hernando, Man, 44 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

Chart 13. Contacts with local politicians. Since you are in the community, have you met with any politician, contacted him or sent him a letter

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	66.7%
		Nelson Mandela	36.7%
		Revivir	46.7%
		Villa Katy	32.3%
Total IMP mayor a la media			45.5%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	10.0%
		González	25.0%
	Total receptora		18.2%
	Rural	Cerotal	23.3%
		Macaján	20.0%
Total rural		21.5%	
Total IMP menor a la media			19.8%
Total general			32.1%

Source: Household questionnaire

A decisive element in the conformation of the social capital in Los Álamos, were the relationships established with the external agents. An interviewed talks about the “*external friendships*” (Luz, Woman, 55 years old, Los Álamos, CT), referring to the local radio stations, some institutional officers and the lawyer that enacted the lawsuit⁸² in favor of the community. About the first ones, it is important to remark the support for the consecution of some resources aimed to the satisfaction of the basic needs and the realization of events and celebrations to contribute to the communitarian integration.

The same way, in some other communities of the study with similar characteristics there have been important strategies in the middle of the reestablishment process. The connections with external people have facilitated the organization in the settlements, as well as the achievement of a higher recognition and insertion inside the city. In Villa Katy, another of the communities located above the average IMP, the contacts with people that have used their power to favor the community have allowed some improvements in the physical infrastructure of the neighborhood: “*We were the first ones in taking the right direction; there was a leader who was a failure. We negotiated the energy with Electrocaribe, now Electrosucre, and they allowed us to have some energy and put some networks for the public lights*” (Augusto, Man, 35 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD); “*there was a change in the leaders, and the one who got the power did so many bad things and they suspended the service. A politician joined us and helped us with the cable and the heater; she gave some money for the transformer*” (Juan Carlos, Man, 27 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

⁸² Specifically an “acción de tutela”, in Spanish. This is an especial kind of lawsuit, aiming to protect the fundamental rights of the plaintiff.

The creation of certain levels of trust towards some people outside the community is remarked in Nelson Mandela as a valuable resource to access different kinds of opportunities, the recognition by the community of the importance of constituting a social capital beyond the community, took them to develop some actions for the improvement of the image of the neighborhood: *“The foundation of Nelson Mandela stroke Cartagena, people there were not very appreciated, no job for the people living there, they supposed we were guerrilla members. When we started to meet in Cartagena, in the Convention Center, with the Mayor’s Office officials, we used to ask them why they would discriminate us, even in the radio we used to say that. We fought for some space in the radio station because we needed jobs, we wanted to move on. That started changing since 2002. We used to receive physical abuse, discrimination and violence”* (Nubia, Woman, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT).

The Importance of a cooperation between community and institutions: The “Revivir de los Campanos” experience.

In Revivir, the most advantageous phase was the support from external entities that joined the community’s effort. The neighborhood construction, where they live, was made thanks to the resources donated by outside entities, as well as the community’s own work, that not only accomplish the houses construction, but it also satisfied other households’ needs; because many of them had to stop their own work in order to build their neighborhood. One of the leaders interviewed recount his experience: *“WFP [World Food Program] gave us food, we worked and we received it. If you worked so many hours, you would receive 30 servings (...) my sons worked. We (women) helped them like if we were men. (Teresa, W, 62 years, Revivir, LT).*

In the same way, after the neighborhood construction, the people made a community dining room: *“The community managed it (The dining room), but WFP came to advise them; however this project ended because lack of coordination between the community and the advisory institutions. (Ana, W, 40 years, Revivir, LT).* They also had a savings and loans committee called “Fondo Rotatorio” (we will call it “the Fund”), which was made thanks to the resources donated by one institute and the community organization; although, this committee failed, it benefited some households of the community and allowed the people learn from this experience. *“The “Fondo Rotatorio” was important. It was created by Fundación Apoyar⁸³ to lend people money for working or running their own business. They had to make a project in order to show how they would spend the money.”* (Teresa, W, 62 years old, Revivir, LT).

In the focus group “Ladder of Life”, of Revivir, one of the participants emphasized the positive benefit obtained from the outside support: the welfare for the community: *“In Colombia, we have problems. Farmers are not in agreement with the government. But at Revivir we count with political and social agreements. Some people have reached agreement about leading social actions”* (Juan, M, 33 years, Revivir, LOL FGD).

One of the positive effects of the consolidation of social networks outside the community was the access to economic opportunities. We have reached access to Cartagena Central Supply. It is something valuable due to the lack of employment availability. *“Since that moment, we started to work in the market. We had stores since 1996, but it was only until the access to the CCS that other traders began to negotiate with us. At the beginning, men began to work as street salesmen; nowadays, some of them already have their own*

⁸³ NGO for promoting the self-management and the communitarian organization, especially with people in situation of displacement.

business. People started to have belonging sense and got money loans more easily.” (Nubia, W, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, LT).

Other communities classified under the average mobility level, showed also a positive impact of the capital sharing made on the basis of vertical relationships. For example, in Gonzalo Chaparro community, a process with the mayor was performed in order to obtain the adjudication of land for the construction of a neighborhood: *“We were five years waiting to be helped by the state; now, we thank God and the entities, because we got the land. I still live in my ‘cambuche’ (very poor home), but we have hope. When we took the land, we had to present a petition to the court; we were advised by ‘Corporación Compromiso’⁸⁴ and the catholic ‘Pastoral Social’, to write the petition against the mayor”* (Edgar, M, 65 years, González, LOL FGD).

Another important aspect was the new placement of an increasing number of NGOs that helped in the mobility of surveyed households. This factor, *ranked number four in importance in urban communities*, reflects very positive effect of the social networks that invest in process for people recovery. It is clear that displaced households cannot fight against the hard conditions found in the cities where they arrived. In the light of this view, the support of public and private organizations constitutes a transcendental factor. Finally, rural households surveyed did not mention this factor, thus an institutional absenteeism in these areas can be observed.

Regarding the specific characteristics about the institutional support in urban areas, we have to emphasize: i) the collective benefits. Although, the benefits are not for everybody in the community, they helped a considerable number of people, ii) the difficulties about adequate coordination among different institutions, did not allow an equal distribution of the resources: over-support of some arms (training) versus neglect of other important activities like business or psychosocial care; and iii) the importance of international entities, which have provided programs and resources.

Finally, we have to emphasize that although the different kinds of social capital had important effects to reach the welfare, the consolidation of a social capital, which is stable and able to regenerate itself, in the middle of the community’s conflict, is really difficult.

Experiences from the most successful communities about consolidation of social capital, specifically: Nelson Mandela, Los Álamos, and Revivir communities, showed the instrumental orientation of the process, which was helped by outside entities. The need for seeking their rights’ restitution as well as the economic and psycho-social recovery are not central objectives yet, however eventually those objectives can orientate the social organization and institutional activities to help displaced people.

However, as it can be seen in the next section, despite the importance of institutional support in the recovery of the population affected by the armed conflict and/or displacement; people criticize the attention received. Although, it is not always possible to distinct if the support comes from the state or private entities, people comment about the

⁸⁴ NGO working with displaced population, especially in the formation of leaders.

intermittent interventions. Thus, in spite of the institutional activities, the people who did not receive direct benefit complain about the aid.

4.2 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT GOVERNMENT POLICY

Participants perceptions about government and political processes are usually related to mistrust, conception originated in experiences based of corruption and, recently, the inability to implement policies for the displaced people. Although, in general, the participants surveyed did not have enough information about their rights, they usually denounced the ineffectiveness of the policies and programs made for them. The most common complaint is in regard to the mismanagement of the resources, because they are used to benefit the entities more than the displaced people. The process design and execution does not include the people as they would, and there is also weakness about business generation: *“Because, we are displaced people, they think we are no one; they are professionals, who had never worked as farmers, and they are unkind to us. I said to one of them in her office: ‘you are professional thanks to the displaced people, you never had had dust under your nails, and you are also professional thanks to us”* (Mario, M, 78 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

In general, according to the results of the Households survey, there are low levels of satisfaction with the functioning of the local and national democracy. If we count the answers of the questions about democracy⁸⁵, the most common answer of women and men was “dissatisfied”. It is important to notice, also, that the satisfaction level about democracy is higher for women than men. Thus, there are more women who think that national and municipal political leaders work in order to the general benefit and not for their own profit. In the same way, there are more women who believe that the mayor pays attention to the suggestions of the community in order to make appropriate decisions.

Other part of the feeling of mistrust about the political system is the perception of corruption, especially among men. The participants of the focus group frequently made references to the representative elections as dishonest events. They stated that buying votes is a common practice, because the candidates take advantage of the vulnerable people: *“The results of the elections are honest, the vote is dishonest, and the person who is going to vote is dishonest too, because their consciences were bought; here there is manipulation, a lot of movement of “remesas” during the election day. The last voting day, the candidates give a 5 dollars “remesa”, for example.”* (Oscar, M, 42 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“for me, elections are unfair. There are people who come and say: ‘If you vote for me, I will give you food. If you give me a paper (Election Certificate), I give you food”* (Rosaura, W, 39 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

Also, corruption affects negatively the community welfare. In the view of some survey participants, the construction of infrastructure is an opportunity for the government to get public resources for themselves: *“The politicians are corrupt; if for example, there is a project of 125.000 dollars, they spend in the project 50000 dollars only, it happened in the*

⁸⁵ The different answers are: “very satisfied”, “satisfied”, “dissatisfied”, “very dissatisfied”, “no satisfied, but not dissatisfied”.

aqueduct construction, and they kept the rest of the money, which was given by the government to construct the project” (Francisco, M, 24 years, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); “In Macaján, there is corruption. When the last administration told that the town was paved, Pedro Santos (a community leader) brought a magazine where the city was paved, the main road of the area was photographed and in Bogotá, they said that it was the principal street of the town” (Andrea, W, 43 years, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

Other people believe that intermediary between the central government and the people affects the possibility to get the well-deserved resources for the fact they are displaced: *“Every aid for displaced people passes for the governor of the department, the mayor, the network, the controller, and the resources are lost in their way. Nobody answers where the money is (...) even now when there are laws to fight them” (Alba, W, 38 years, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).*

In general, people think that corruption is not only common with public entities, because NGOs have benefited from the projects for displaced population. Also, they believe that whoever has power is then corrupt: *“Yes, there are a lot... chiefs are usually corrupt, for example, secretaries and councilors” (Oswald, M, 42 year, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).*

One of the most common complaints about democracy is that there is not coordination between central government and local authorities. According to Dago (M, 47 years, Macaján, LFPD FGD), the local representatives are not willing to execute the central government programs: *“The Government wants to help, giving subsidies to locate displaced people (in Maria Mountains) and make peace laboratories, it is a plan of the central government but the town is mismanaged. Other participant emphasizes the difference between the real situation of the community and the perception of the central government about it: “The streets are neglected, but in the sent reports, is stated that streets are paved, and there is a health-care centre with all the medicines; and there is a healthy-care centre, but empty, no one is in there. The PNR and Ecopetrol give subsidies but there is mismanagement” (Raúl, M, 38 years, Macaján, LFPD FGD).*

Young people have a similar view of politics, but they are more critical of the public function. For them, corruption is related with political inequality in the country: *“I believe that there is not political equality. Maybe they do not have a good management. Sometimes the governors benefit themselves and not poor people. They created poverty, violence, crime and other things; because they have a lot and others do have nothing. So the inequality between poor and rich people built more inequality” (Ángela, Woman, 23 years, Cerotal, Youth FGD).*

That opinion explains why young people have a deep mistrust of the political system and governors: *“I can not trust in the state. People can trust in his governors if they know how the government spends the taxes. But people who do not trust, they are going to pay taxes like something unfair or simply they try to avoid paying them” (Augusto, M, 20 years, El Pilar, Youth FGD). Their view is that corruption worsens poverty and inequality. A young man said about Cartagena: “There are such poor areas so sad and terrible. We have a house, but there are not houses. It happens in the North Colombian Coast because there is*

corruption and bureaucracy. If the government steals, I steal too, if the mayor steal, I steal as well” (Alberto, M, 22 years, Revivir, Youth FGD).

The concept of democracy

The democracy concept is really difficult to explore in the focus group, we noted that men participated more than women, especially adults. Leaders were more involved than other participants. In general, the time -line of democracy showed important changes inside the community, frequently referred as the conformational process, the infrastructure construction and finally the institutional-projects-development. In urban communities, they did not mention local government changes; this is of course related with the fact that displaced people do not have enough contact with the city town government of the places where they arrive and they do not have information enough about local political processes.⁸⁶

Democracy concept is related with politics and the government’s management: *“Everything is about politics; our own change and the world change, because presidents are able to change the world”* (Mireya, W, 30 years, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD); *“for me, democracy is politics: to vote and to choose our representatives”* (Javier, M, 24 years, Cerotal, LFPD FGD). Specifically, this concept is related with the following issues:

i) Free and conscious election of representatives: *“Like when we elect a president, people elect him through voting. Democracy is how to express yourself without shyness, to tell what you feel without fear of being discriminated, and also respecting what other people have to say as well”* (Margoth, W, 40 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“to elect a candidate with conscious, freedom, that they do not have to pay us”*(Julián, M, 18 years Macaján, Youth FGD). However, this is only a utopian ideal, because in reality, democracy is not executed: *“Here in our country, we say that this is democracy, although they get votes buying them. They say ‘I will give any money if you vote’”* (Duván, M, 21 years Villa Katy, Youth FGD). At the same time, people talk about the big need to ensure that an honest management of the resources be done to get that democracy works properly: *“Colombia is a rich country, but there is mismanagement. Our government does not have the power it should have, we talk about democracy, but I do not think we have it. Is possible to have democracy when people are starving and thirsty? I learnt that democracy is when people can participate and have everything they need.”* (Pedro, M, 62 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). It is a requirement that the elected candidates comply with the government plan, which were proposed: *“The mayor has never been in our neighborhood since he was elected by us”* (Marta, W, 44 years, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

ii) Participation and freedom of speech: *“freedom to say anything, to convene, to participate in politics; any person is free to do what he wants (...) everyone discuss to solve problems, everybody give their own opinion to resolve issues. The democracy’s goal is to consolidate participation. (Mario, Man, 42 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). However, critical opinions about these issues exist: “democracy is people participation, but here people do not participate and while that keep occurring, we will be hungry and poor. Here people vote for the candidate, who gave them money or food. Here the rich minority buys people”. (Euclid’s, M, 56 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); “Although Colombia is a democratic country, it does not seem to be. If you talk about left political ideas, you are guerrilla and if you are guerrilla, the state and the paramilitaries prosecute you. We should listen and keep quiet. The authorities manage the resources for displaced people; they intimidate us to avoid our complains.”* (Álvaro, Man, 22 years Revivir, Youth FGD).

iii) Carrying out the duties and rights of citizens: *“Democracy is...to know more about rights and duties. I understand it. Rights like health-care, education, housing; duties like taking care of our children, giving them education; only there are democracy”* (Patricia, W, 26 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD). The correct functioning of democracy implies covering needs, in their view, the unity of people and carrying out their own citizens’ duties: *“The unity of the people, of everybody, to originate democracy is a requirement, to get the population unity* (Esteban, M, 44 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

⁸⁶ The information about Timeline of democracy is in different sections of the document.

The results of the household survey confirm the negative tendencies about democracy and government concept. People of some communities have a bad perception about local government: they feel that “the town is controlled by a minority for their own benefit”; they “do not trust the mayor or the local authorities”; they also think that “the local administration does not pay attention to their needs and requirements when the authority makes an important decision”. Although there are differences between each community, the general perception is negative about the local government.

In addition, people surveyed think that the required elements required for the correct functioning of democracy are the governors functioning execution and people participation. Related with the first issue: (i) to create an environment of participation and expression freedom: “*Real participation of the people without any restriction, respect of the differences between different populations*” (Gustavo, M, 46 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD); (ii) Honesty and proper/fair management of resources: “*Colombia is a rich country, but there is awful administration. Our government does not have the power that should have; because we talk about democracy, but I do not think we have it. Is it possible to have democracy when people are starving and thirsty? I learnt that democracy is when people can participate and have everything they may need.*” (Pedro, M, 62 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); “*that the government distributes well the money for the nation, that nobody steals it, is going to be important in order to reach democracy*” (Francisco, M, 24 years, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); and (iii) also complying with political plans: “*Facts, no words, the government has to comply its promise*” (Andrés, M, 19 years, Cerotal, Youth FGD).

In general, communities feel isolated from the government support, so they think that they depend on their own effort and the NGOs aid. Someone told that their precarious position is an effect of the mismanagement: “We should not pay attention to the politicians. If they were good, the things would be better”, said Bernardo (M, 44 years, González, LFPD FGD). The poor situation causes that many people express despair in regard to the government support: “*I can not expect any kind of help, because the only thing I know is that I am poor and nobody helps a poor person.*” (Pablo, Man, 60 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

In other communities, especially at Cerotal, the complaint is about the absent of the government presence. Some participants think that this is the reason for their lack of development and prosperity: “*Hopefully the entities will come and support us. Here, in this land there is richness: livestock, lands to sow potatoes..., but unfortunately there are not possibilities to raise your children. We want that the government look at the hard working people. From here you could export products, but the government does not help. We only have one road and the local government does not help. We do not have anybody, to help us in order to protect our rights*”. (Hernando, Man, 50 years, Cerotal, LOL FGD).

When you ask people about the government regulations in reference to consolidation of the social capital and the communities prosperity, all the communities’ participants emphasize the restrictive rules from the public administration. Their point of view is that the economic projects are hindered by the authority. Sometimes, people talk about the resources received but they think that policies have a negative impact. “*Maybe they give you a credit in order*

to develop agricultural projects, but we fail because the public policies” (Daniela, M, 47 years, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

Credit access in the surveyed communities

The people surveyed emphasized about the difficulty to get a legal loan. People, who had a business or wanted to start a production project, complained about it: *“We want to have a little enterprise but we can not obtain credit, we have been trying to get one for seven months”* (Estela, W, 35 years, El Pilar, CIM FGD). The most common limits to get a credit are: i) a lot of requirements and steps in the entities; ii) Lack of enough money and iii) There is not financial backing because there are not people who can be “co-signers” for the debt: *“Now. It is more complicated to obtain a credit, it takes more time, there are more requirements, and they need a lot of documents, it takes our time and capital, they ask for certificates, and I do not know if they are going to lend you money or not; and if they do not lend you, you lose your time”* (Carlos, M, 24 years, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); *“It is very difficult to obtain a credit because you need “co-signers”. Also, it is difficult because they only lend money to people who work or have property”* (Alicia, W, 32 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

According to the Household survey, the main provider of resources for the households, who obtained a credit, were particular lenders (People get credits called “gota a gota”⁸⁷ o “pagadiario”⁸⁸, they are extremely expensive) especially at Los Álamos, Nelson Mandela and Revivir. The next sources of money are their friends, cooperatives, but few banks or NGOs.

Somebody told that if the credit has low interest rates, it could help to change their lifestyle. However, the easiest one to get is the informal loan, which affects negatively their economic situation: *“If there was an entity, that borrows us for our work, we would have a different life. If I had money, my business would be different. If I get a “pay every day” loan, I have to be a slave in order to pay it”*. (Nelson, Man, 56 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). The “pay every day” credit is criticized, but it is the only possibility to get the money in order to be a street salesman or get into other business. People get in the indebtedness to be able to work because there is not enough capital: *“They have not understood the question: people work with borrowed money. There is a kind of loan, “pay everyday”. They lend you 50 dollars, and you should pay 2.5 dollars everyday during 24 days. If you get 5 dollars in one day, you have to pay the half part; we can not refuse to pay two days in a row because you will be in trouble... 80% of people work with this credit”* (Josué, Man, 77 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

In this context, it is hard to believe that the consolidation of social capital is supported by State programs. Also, the participants talk about negligence to support activities and organizations, and to create the necessary conditions to get stronger community work of the displaced people. This is confirmed with the population complaints about the lack of opportunities, especially from the local government.

In conclusion, the analysis of the surveyed communities showed that the development of social capital and its contribution to the people welfare do not depend on the State, or organizations and leaders, in an isolated way. It is the ability to cooperate the only possibility to handle it.

⁸⁷ Informal credit with high interests, usually 20%.

⁸⁸ High interest credit, which has to be paid daily.

4.3 INEQUALITY

*“We can say that inequality is freedom denial”
Juan, M, 43 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD*

Social inequality is a characteristic related with the increased poverty level. This increase causes that the people be marginalized from participation and not benefited from community actions. In consequence, it is possible to state that inequality undermines the welfare, which could provide organization to the population. In other words, social segregation limits access to individual and collective rights, having consequences to the community. However, the process to overcome those conditions is hard because it involves regulation clearance and social practices changes in the communities.

It is clear that the social classes are a characteristic of the development of contemporary societies, but the economic and social exclusion and segregation is not a good effect. The reflections, which were made by the participants, show evidence of the consequences of inequity social structure. Their opinion is an analysis of social inequality in their own communities and also about the national situation, whit people exclusion, and victimization.

4.3.1 The concept of inequality

*“We are all human beings and our mothers gave birth to us, but a child who was born in the south of Bolivar has fewer opportunities than a child who was born in Bogotá, the opportunities are not equal, and the State is responsible”
Javier, M, 43 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD*

Young and adult people think that the inequality is between the access to social and capital benefits. An inhabitant, of the El Pilar neighborhood, says about inequality: *“For example, Mister Benjamin has studied and I have not. There is inequality. In Catatumbo (a Pasto town) there is not drinking water, but here there is; police helped a person, but did not help me; that person can afford to eat “liga”⁸⁹, but I do not.”* (Oscar, Man, 59 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

The opinion of a young man in Cerotal is that there is inequality as a structural condition in the country, because the government does not pay attention to the general benefit when it makes decisions. He complains about the lack of participation of the vulnerable people: *“The inequality in the country, those other nations do not want to govern us, poor people and farmers do not have opportunity to participate...The government made FTA, the affected people was not asked about that agreement... Everything will be new and Colombian things are not going to be useful, the farmers will have only meat, potatoes and milk. It will affect us and there is inequality”.* (Fabio, Man, 30 years, Cerotal, LFPD FGD).

The unequal access to education is another very important part about this concept. According to the participants of the El Pilar, inequality is shown by the lack of opportunity to go to school, because people do not have money or contacts: *“About the school, a boy wants to go to school, but his parents do not have contacts so he does not go to school. I do*

⁸⁹ Common word to say meat.

not know why it is, the reason is racism or money. It is inequality, not having a “palanca”⁹⁰. I do not see a solution to this problem, because there is always power and “palancas”” (Benjamín, Man, 59 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); “The one who that has the economic power, is the one going to study even without have talent... but the poor person with talent and intelligence, does not have opportunity, because he does not have enough money” (Alberto, M, 70 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

Those stories about the situation are according to the national surveys. The inequality about the access to school is always against the poorest people. Although, the advances of the educational reforms of the nineties, the level of education in the poor population are low and the illiteracy is a real circumstance. The recent report (López, 2005) showed that the illiteracy rate is 18% in the level 1 population of revenue, and the rate is less than 2% in the part of population level 5 of revenue. The lowest percentage is the rural areas (17.9% of rural people are illiterate and the national percentage is 7.8%). The schooling years are 4 in people level 1 of revenue and in population level 5 in revenue is between 5 and 11 years.

It is common that women and men associate inequality with the legal recognition difficulties in the displaced people. In their opinion, people who are not recognized like displaced population are victims of unequal treatment because they are vulnerable and poor too, but the entities try them differently. About this issue, a participant says: “*Social inequality...there are people who are not displaced and they do not have certificate of displacement, but they are poor are vulnerable too*” (Mario, M, 48 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

At Gonzalo Chaparro, the participants wanted to expose their concept of inequality, so they emphasized the discrimination of their neighbors in the area. They told that to build the neighborhood near a social and economic higher level area had bad consequences: “*Here we are discriminated. The “chinos”⁹¹ study only in the afternoon. “Los miran por encima de hombro”⁹². Here there is more inequality because there are rich people near... They say that their farms are devalued*”. (Fredy, Man, 50 years old, González, LFPD FGD).

In the opinion of the participants, the concept of inequality is the lack of opportunities for the people, who although have the same rights but are treated differently, the State does not try everyone as equal. Some people tell that the inequality is a consequence of the social and political structure: “*There are not opportunities; poor people need someone to advice them. The State should provide equality to every person in order to give them education. Apparently, everyone has equal conditions, but lack of education opportunity is one of the most important problems*”. (Alejandro, M, 43 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

In conclusion, the economic dimension is one of the points about inequality in the communities: “*Although with unequal conditions, I have dignity, everyone has to survive not to get a lot of money, but to raise the children; we work to buy them a pencil, the cheapest one*” (Adriana, W, 53 years, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD). Young people say that

⁹⁰ Contacts, influences.

⁹¹ Some way to say kids, children.

⁹² Meaning discrimination

economic inequality generates conflict between people in different situations: “A person who has more economic opportunities is a despot with people who do not have money” (Cristóbal, M, 23 years, El Pilar, Youth FGD).

4.3.2 Unequal situation changes

To know the scale of social inequality in the communities and how the inequality has changed in the course of the time, we use the Household survey and analyze the following issues: (i) How teachers and managers treat –equally or not- treat the children and if they treated differently the kids ten years ago; (ii) If there are divisions in the communities because there are religious, social or economic differences and if the situation has changed since they arrived at the town; (iii) if there are any restrictions in order to participate in any community activities; (iv) and if they believe that there is discrimination.

About the first issue, the children treatment, the majority of the household (near the 60%) believe that it is an equal treatment. However, there are big differences about the opinion in rural areas and towns: In the first, the 90% of surveyed people think that the treatment is the same, but in the towns only 55% believe this idea. In the last communities, the differences are huge too, because in four communities (Villa Katy, El Pilar, Los Álamos and Revivir) more than 50% of people believed that teachers and managers treat equally the children, but in other two communities (González and Nelson Mandela), they perceived an unequal behavior.

About the changes within the course of the last 10 years about the way teachers treat children at school, the majority of households (61%) believed that the directors behavior have improved. All the communities have the same perception, but the households, in González and Los Álamos, think that the improvement is more for the households in Revivir.

Also, the surveyed households told that in every community, there is division between the inhabitants because religious, social or economic issues, but that division is not very important⁹³, and it has increase in the last ten years.

In conclusion, near the 25% of the surveyed people told that they have been discriminated when they tried to buy something, go to a place or use a service. In the communities of El Pilar and Villa Katy there is the highest percentage of discrimination (more than 30%). The next ones in perceiving that were the communities at Los Álamos, Macaján, Cerotal, Nelson Mandela. The ones with the lowest percentage (between 10% and 14%) were, González and Revivir.

According to people’s report, in the communities the unequal conditions are the same or have been worsened, although there are differences between focus group and communities. The major factors for the inequality increased are: violence, unemployment, personal laziness, and the discrimination of displaced people. At the El Pilar, neighborhood, a

⁹³ If you have counted the answers, the indicator of the question was between “very little division” and “little division”.

woman says about this issue: *“Now, there is more inequality. Because now there is more violence, but there is not work”* (Francia, W, 39 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). In Revivir neighborhood, a participant told that displaced people is treated in a different way by the authorities, especially about health care access and education: *“I believe that there are equal conditions in all aspects, but there are differences about education. Education in Cartagena is the worst, but education for displaced people is worse than that, health care is awful too. Out of the community, there are a lot of inequalities”*. (Gustavo, M, 46 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

4.3.3 Factors that increase inequality

The lack of opportunities to get a job, the familiar and communal conflicts, the leaders' unequal attitude, the weakness of unity in the community and the fact that institutions have focal points of attention are the main reasons causing an increase in the inequality according to the surveyed people.

Some participants say that inequality is produced by *“the lack of employment, because there is not a place where to work”* (Adriana, W, 25 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

The inequality is perceived when people see the conditions of the majority; they do not have enough money to survive, and the conditions of privileged people. In addition, there are an equal distribution of the resources and education opportunities. A person at Nelson Mandela says: *“Rich people work eight hours everyday and they earn more money than people who work 12 hours and do not make enough money, we make 5 dollars per day. Rich people earn thousands of dollars per day. This is unfair”*. (Lucia, W, 23 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

In the same way, an unequal distribution of the resources is a cause and manifestation of the inequality: *“Our salary is a misery. You do not have enough money to eat and live. But a representative earns 9000 dollars and he only drinks coffee, cold water and play with young ladies. You can not get power if you work”*. (Gonzalo, M, 55 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

Men and women emphasize about the difficult access to local and public schools for poor people: *“Before, when I arrived at SENA and it was hard to get a form and now you can get it on internet. At Cartagena University, each form costs 42.5 dollars and it is public, then what happens... there are 300 students, but only 47 will get it... and the rest, you can not get a person to complain. This thing should not be done. It is terrible for the people”*. (Gonzalo, M, 55 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

In the same way, a participant in Macaján told that it is very hard to cope with the poverty in the inequality context: *“In a developed country, it is easy to cope with the poverty, in this country it is not possible because Colombia is controlled by 5000 people, the landowners have everything, the do not want to share the resources with poor people, that is the reason of the violence, the violence will not end. In a developed country, there is help; but here rich people waste food while other people do not eat”*. (Fernando, M, 49 years, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

The unequal actions of the leaders are a part of the unequal context and are described by the participants: men and women. The main part from the resources is gotten by the leaders', so they are criticized by the communities. The most common complaint is that the leaders do not dispense resources equally : *"I think that the president get an aid, but he does not distribute it equally... the president give more to his friends, the people who vote for him; here there are people who have two houses and they received aid"*. (Rosaura, W, 39 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD). In the same way, a participant at Gonzalez community says: *"In a time we went for aids, we expected all the day and they gave us a pair of old shoes. The local government people (JAL) stole the aids. The help was for us, but they did not give it"*. (Laureano, M, 48 years, González, LFPD FGD).

Young people, who have the same perception, believe that politicians steal the resources for the communities, the governors betray our confidence. And it is hard to exercise control over the administration, so the situation worsens: *"There is a lot for projects for our neighborhood, but politicians steal that money (...) the majority of the people support the politicians, who offers more things. There are people who participate because they like to do it, but there are people who participates because the want money"* (Carlos, M, 21 years old, González, Youth FGD).

The entities activities are in focal points of the population, and it is other reason for the inequality, and it generates communal conflicts too: *"They brought food, but this help is only for few households"*, says Beatriz (W, 44 years, González, LFPD FGD), when she talks about the institutions' projects in her neighborhood.

The social differences, especially religion, are a reason to unequal treatment. At Nelson Mandela, you can distinguish this clearly: *"religions have an important role in the community. Especially the evangelical Christians, they said that they were elected by God, they isolated Christians. I think that there is inequality."* (Rodrigo, M, 60 years, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

In Cerotal, the forced displacement is one of the factors of inequality, in the opinion of young and adult people. According to some participants, the displacement causes that the community disorganize itself and increase the inequality: *"The inequality has increased because the displacement"* (Inés, W, 37 years, Cerotal, LFPD FGD). According to young people, the displacement increased the economic differences between the communities because they lost cultivation and they did not have the same production: *"Sometimes, people are afraid, they do not want to come back and recover their products"* (Carmenza, W, 23 years, Cerotal, Youth FGD).

4.3.4 Factors that decrease the inequality

In the majority of the communities, they think that the communal unity, access to education, economic opportunities and the consolidation of the tolerance and solidarity are factors important to decrease inequality.

It is very common that people talk about that the access to a higher education level is a requirement to reach the welfare and to end the social inequality: *"A professional person*

has a lot of opportunities” Rosa, W, 39 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“The possibility to study is a way to end the inequality”* (Eduardo, M, 59 years, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

The decrease of inequality requires resources and economic conditions to facilitate the consolidation of social welfare. According to the participants, access to an employment or an own- business is very important: *“To have a job is central for the family; if I earned 300 dollars, my son would study at Ambientalista school (a prestigious school in the city), to have an employment that access is a real need”* (Hernán, M, 38 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

At Macaján, the condition is the access to land: *“If there would exist an agricultural reform, it would be different, because without a reform, farmers can not have land”* (Pedro, M, 74 years, Macaján, LFPD FGD). In the cities, people emphasize the opportunity to obtain a house in order to decrease the inequality: *“I feel equal, because I do not receive anything, but my life is organized; since we have a house, the problem is solved”* (Mary, W, 39 years, González, LFPD FGD).

In the opinion of the participants, inequality is going to end if there is communal unity. At Gonzalez, a participant told that the apathy has to end in order to consolidate equity and unity: *“I wish they were more unified, they talked and participated in the activities; but they do not come because they are lazy; how can we solve the problems if people are not interested? There is not unity. If there is not dialogue, there will be not unity”*. (Teresa, W, 44 years, González, LFPD FGD).

According to the participants of Revivir, the inequality situation only changes when leaders change, and people can demand their rights and be heard by institutions, which distribute resources: *“Here there are people to work for the community, but they do not let them to work. We wanted to elect new representatives in the local government, but he won and the new president is his friend too”*. (Lilia, W, 33 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

According to the people’s report, population sees the relation between social equality and mobilization. However, they know the hard conditions to get that possibility. Displaced people are discriminated in the town, where they arrive, so it is more difficult to have equally access to opportunities. In addition, they believe that the communal agreements and participation conditions will consolidate the ability to have mobilization in order to end the inequality and have welfare: *“If there were more people in the meetings, the government would be motivated and there will be more projects for our benefit. Every person pays attention to the administration”*. (Mauricio, M, 57 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); *“If we get together, we will be stronger, but if we do not do it, we will fail”* (Fernando, M, 41 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); *“If every body participates and we reach agreements, we will success; only if there is unity”* (Ligia, W, 26 years, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

5. ECONOMIC FACTORS AND MOBILITY

The access to some housing conditions and to a job are two factors affecting the most the recovery experienced by the households in situation of displacement in urban communities. While the house creates bound feelings, independence, security, support to access credits, and, wellbeing by itself, the employment represents the principal –or the only- source of income creating knowledge and providing feelings of power, freedom, self-confidence and emotional wellbeing. On the other side, as it was described in Chapter 3, the physical and social infrastructure is decisive for the prosperity of the communities, and, in that measure, for the wellbeing of the households.

In this chapter we will present the evidence on the importance of these three economic factors –access to house, employment and infrastructure- in the wellbeing of the households or their mobility. For the subject of employment it is also described the role developed by women in the labor market and the differences merging when the female work constitutes the only source of income in the family, or when it complements the income generated by the spouse.

5.1 SOURCES OF INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

“There we had some cows, we had a good life. Poverty is something that darkness your world”
Leonardo, Man, 32 years old, Revivir

The people in situation of displacement face great difficulties when developing a new economic activity or getting a stable and dignifying job in the reception sites. Among the main causes of this difficulty it is possible to find the lack of economic opportunities offered by the reception sites as well as their ignorance on the urban labors and the stigmatization of the displaced population. The lack of economic opportunities in the reception sites is an effect of the ruins of the national economic recession and, associated to these, the low demand that can be attributed to the reduced generation of employment⁹⁴. The weakness of the local economies, added to the impact represented by the growth of the population in situation of displacement, hinders the absorption of the new labor force represented by the arriving households.

Nevertheless, both in urban and rural communities most of the heads of family develop some economic activity (Chart 14). Nelson Mandela outstands for having the greatest proportion of heads of family with some occupation (principally in agricultural labors). On the other side, the community with the lowest proportion of heads of family involved in economic activities is González. The results of these two communities provide some help for explaining the fact that the occupation level is higher in the communities with an IMP above the average. Nevertheless, the correlation of these two variables (occupation and IMP) is low (0.38).

⁹⁴ Despite the growth the country has had during the last few years, that growth is has not been traduced in the generation of employment for the population.

Chart 14. Share of households developing economic activities

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	86,7%
		Nelson Mandela	96,7%
		Revivir	80,0%
		Villa Katy	80,6%
Total IMP mayor a la media			86,0%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	83,3%
		González	66,7%
	Total receptora		74,2%
	Rural	Cerotal	90,0%
		Macaján	74,3%
Total rural		81,5%	
Total IMP menor a la media			77,9%
Total general			81,7%

Source: Household questionnaire

The weakness of the economies in the urban communities is widely recognized by the interviewed leaders. In five of the six communities, the economy is qualified as weak or very weak, but in El Pilar (the community with the lowest IMP) it is considered “nor solid, nor weak”. This weakness is reflected, among other aspects, in the reduced amount of business inside the communities and the little employment generated in these businesses; besides, not many productive projects have achieved some consolidation.

The lack of sources of work affects both the communities with the highest and the lowest IMP. In fact, judging the information of the Chart 15, the households living in the first communities have had greater difficulties to get a job in the proper municipalities. Besides, it is illustrative that in the rural communities the difficulties to access a job are inferior comparing to the ones established in urban communities.

Chart 15. Share of the households where any member wanted to get a job in the last year and could not make it

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	93.3%
		Nelson Mandela	90.0%
		Revivir	93.3%
		Villa Katy	83.9%
Total IMP mayor a la media			90.1%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	86.7%
		González	77.8%
	Total receptora		81.8%
	Rural	Cerotal	46.7%
		Macaján	80.0%
Total rural		64.6%	
Total IMP menor a la media			73.3%
Total general			81.3%

Source: Household questionnaire

Besides the low generation of employment in the reception sites, there are some specific circumstances hindering the access to sources of work, being one of the most important the ignorance of the labors in the urban sector; *“We, the displaced, only know some stuff about agriculture, we have to learn in the city, become urban workers, we are not very productive in the city. The loan policies are not for poor people. We have to organize, train and then present some projects. It is really difficult to help someone who does not know what he*

wants to do and has been here for ten years” (Gabriel, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); “here I cannot do what I know, working with my machete, that is why I am in lousy conditions” (Pablo, Man, 71 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

Some of the participants refer to how they have been affected by the lack of experience in the labors they have to develop right after their displacement: “We went to the market and we saw people buying and selling fish, so we did that. Then is when I tell you I had no orientation. There were some days when we could do \$10.000, \$6.000, or \$5.000. An informal sales man never know how much is he going to earn, but then it was worse because I had no experience” (Arturo, Man, 52 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); “here we started with a restaurant next to the market and we did not know a thing, we sucked, we got late with the rent and we started selling stuff, my life was getting worse, the restaurant lasted six months” (Isabel, Woman, 54 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

Another factor usually affecting the access to sources of work, according to the participants of the study, is the stigmas around the people in situation of displacement by the residents of the reception municipalities: “We have a black mark on our forehead for being displaced. Is the name the one that matters, not the person” (Susana, Woman, 29 years old, González, LFPD FGD); “once I heard a man saying ‘these displaced are here to take the jobs from the cartageneans’” (Marco, Man, 35 years, Revivir, LFPD FGD); “for someone displaced it is more difficult to get a job; if you are displaced, you are a rat, you steal your food” (Patricia, Woman, 29 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

The previous circumstances, added to the ignorance of the context and the existence of weaker social networks, comparing to the ones in the original community, hinder the access to a stable and dignifying job, and makes it even harder to for someone to recover from the experiences of the internal forced displacement: “I am always in a situation, we work everyday buy nothing changes. For example, my roommate has to wake up at four in the morning to keep her job...everyday. That is cruel...sometimes under the mud, water, exposing your life; that is not good” (Hernán, Man, 60 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); “the 90% is just the same. We, the displaced, have not had any economic opportunities; we have only improved our roof. The economic situation is hitting us more every time” (Edgar, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

While the population in situation of displacement arriving to the urban communities have enormous difficulties to get a job in the urban context, those who stay in the communities affected by violence or returning to these face their own problems in the development of their economic activities. These problems are associated to the conflict and its marks. In the following frame we can evidence some effects of the conflict in the sources of income and work in one of the communities of the study- Cerotal-.

There are multiple evidences about the importance of employment in the recovery of the households in situation of displacement, particularly if it is a dignifying and stable job. Among them, it is the fact that the consecution of a better job occupies the second position in the factors of ascendant mobility in the Ladder of Life and the Household questionnaire for the added of the urban communities and the first one among those ones with the higher IMP.

Effects of the conflict in the employment and the sources of income in Cerotal

As it was mentioned in some other parts of the study, the main source of income in Cerotal is agriculture, particularly the potato cultivation. Some of the inhabitants own some little parcels and some other work as workers in the farms nearby. Because of the conflict, the economy was seriously affected:

During the presence of the guerrilla in the area: **1)** A reduction in the transport between the vereda and Pasto, with the obvious difficulties of the product commercialization. **2)** Lack of institutional presence, and therefore, the reduction in the coaching possibilities, technical assistance and productive projects in general. **3)** The extortion of the armed groups to the households in better conditions. **4)** Intimidation. “We used to seed with ho rushes previous to 2000, but years after we were under the command of the guerrilla and we had to be doing whatever they said. I did not leave because I was scared but because I needed more work and the economic situation was too hard” (Hugo, Man, 37 years old, Cerotal, ILS).

During displacement: **1)** Limitations for the development of productive activities in their farms, because of the fear to new conflicts and the cost of transportation between Pasto and the vereda. Consequently, the death of animals and the damage to their cultivations: “The steps, the struggle between the army and the guerrilla. We lost the entire hectare” (Jorge, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, ILS); “while we were there, there was no one to take care of the cultivations and the potato was damaged, that was a crisis” (Esneda, Woman, 58 years old, Cerotal, ILS). **2)** Ignorance on the labors of the reception site, therefore, the difficulties for getting a job, incremented by the existence of the negative stereotypes on displaced people.

After returning to the area: **1)** Reduction of the productive activity in the vereda, affecting the income and the sources of work: “The other thing is there is not as much as work as today” (Gonzalo, Man, Cerotal, Mincase). **2)** Loss of value in the land, because of being considered as red zone. **3)** A lighter motivation in the community about the work fearing a new armed encounter: “fear is still there, we all live with that fear being forced to leave it all again, that is why there is no work” (Luisa, Woman, 42 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); “the main thing is that it destroyed the morale, people was very stressed, they have no rush on moving on, people lose the morale, as I said” (Pedro, Man, 59 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD). **4)** Family disintegration as a consequence of displacement and the quest for new income opportunities, especially for young people. **5)** Lack of institutional presence.

The same way, in the characterization of the households in the best conditions, developed by the participants of the Ladder of Life FGD, the mention of greater income and better job was frequently done: “Many people working outside, they have their bed, their TV, their refrigerator, because they work everyday (...) when you have a stable job, you can be in the level 4 or 5. You are better, you are comfortable” (José, Man, 39 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); “those in better conditions work with the Mayor’s Office and have some economic stability” (Maria, Woman, 46 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD). Consequently, accessing a stable work was identified as one of the factors helping moving from one step to another: “Getting a stable job, working everyday, because I work four or five days and that is it; having a contract” (Esteban, Man, 32 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); “go to work and not expecting any miracles, only water falls from the sky” (Hernando, Man, 62 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD); “if the rich had some conscience, maybe they would not give us for charity but they would get us a job” (Eduardo, Man, 56 years old, El Pilar, LOL FGD). On the contrary, the lack of work and the occasional employments are related to the households in the worst conditions: “We do not have the privilege of working

everyday” (Hernando, Man, 62 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD); “*we all are in worst situations*” (Clara, Woman, 47 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

If it is true that the possibility provided by a job of accessing some income and, consequently, goods, services and assets, is highly valued by the participants, the importance of employment in the recovery is not only circumscribed to this possibility. It also includes emotional wellbeing, essentially related to the self-confidence; learning opportunities; improvement of the interpersonal relationships; and, in a special way, the possibility of experiencing feelings of power and freedom represented by a job.

Many of the testimonials gathered in the Individual Life Stories reflect the importance employment has had as a generator of resources for the recovery of the households in situation of displacement: “*The first year I would go to work. In that time people would pay the dozen to a thousand pesos, and I would spend my whole day doing two dozens. But anyway, I would get home happy because I had money to buy the milk and the bread*” (Cristina, Woman, 45 years old, El Pilar, ILS); “*my life has been improving because, even though I do not make a lot of money, I can feed my kids*” (Beatriz, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS); “*with the money I got from the sand, I was able to build the outside doors, and a house made of palm with three guests rooms. That was pure work*” (Eugenio, Man, 44 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

In some other interviews it is possible to evidence the independence and the satisfaction allowed by having a job: “*‘My Efforts’ Association has helped me realizing I do not depend from my husband, I do not have to ask him for anything. In the social stuff they helped me a lot too, because I was afraid to talk and now I can do it. I have learned managing a business; I know how to defend myself, it has helped me believing things will be better*” (Juana, Woman, 31 years old, Revivir, Minicase); “*improving because I wanted some independence anyways, for me; that was better. The same thing I tell my kids, I do not want to see them “colgando del pescuezo de alguien”⁹⁵. If they get a boyfriend, I do not want to see them attached to them. I do not want to see them suffering, or a man hitting them or making them suffer*” (Marina, Woman, 48 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); “*now there is some work as a gardener, I work with a blade, I did not have more money, but the work is better because I do it in the day, but I like my work, cutting the grass, I like it*” (Carlos, Man, 47 years old, González, ILS).

Related to the learning opportunities generated in the local field, it is important to remark (i) the learning of specific labors: “*I learned how to handle and manage a business, I had always been an employee; I can administrate the capital, losses, costs...it did helped me, because some doors opened*” (Ariel, Man, 37 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); (ii) the development of communication abilities and interaction: “*the important thing was to learn about being opened and relating to others easily...That experience helped me because I do not fear anything anymore, I can do any work they give me, and that is how I am going to tell my kids*” (Alicia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS); and (iii) the strengthening of the self-esteem: “*The most valuable experience I had in the supermarket was to love myself, having an excellent personal appearance, I learned not to be dirty, I learn to value myself, I*

⁹⁵ It means “depending of someone”.

learned the costumer has to be attended properly. That helped my a lot. I learned that I had to have the habit of cleaning myself right after getting up” (Julio, Man, 29 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

The establishment of contacts and the improvement of the relationships turns being important not only from the perspective of the economic opportunities but also in social and affective terms: *“For me that is my sense of living, that job is very especial. People get to know me and they welcome me. I feel good”* (Edgar, Man, 71 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“that helped me relating to some people. I was scared of talking to people back then, before, I would not have been able to talk to you guys”* (Patricia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS). Really close to the past statements, some of the interviewed remark the recognition opportunity, circumstance that constitutes an important opportunity to reach leadership and self-esteem: *“That experience was good because at least we were able to integrate to other people, get to know working people, we wanted to move on. Back then, they used to see us like if we were weird animals”* (Marcela, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS).

Finally, employment represents for the participants of the study the possibility for the young people being busy and achieving getting away from drugs and delinquency: *“We need profitable sources of income, so these young men can have a job, that avoids them being in the corners like lazy ones, playing and hungry”* (Aura, Woman, 32 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

The access to a job in the reception sites has been possible, in most of cases, through the contacts some households have –generally, relatives or friends that provide them some information, recommending them to their chiefs of orienting them in the development of informal labors: *“I worked as a housekeeper, with domestic labors. I used to get these jobs through my relatives that would also develop them”* (Juliana, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS); *“when I got to Ibagué, I had no a clue. I worked with the Colombia Plan, opening streets. Then I worked in the market place selling vegetables; I had to do many things, it was hard, I lasted more than a year over there. I got that work thanks to my friend, he was also displaced; we used to be neighbors there in Caquetá”* (Diego, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“the friend who told me about the land I told them I was sad, that I did not want to be here much longer and he asked me if I would like to work in a terrain in the countryside and I answered I really liked that, so he took me to the parcels”* (Fabio, Man, 71 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

The previous formation or experience in non agricultural labors and the learning of new ones in the reception sites has contributed to this access: *“Here I started developing various labors, I have worked as construction assistant, first putting concrete, like three months, they would tell me how to handle the pale; that was hard. A leader of the community helped me”* (Guillermo, Man, 42 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“I only suffered as soon as I got to Cartagena, I did not get a job. In Cartagena I started fixing some houses, I used to work for days or weeks, I was an assistant (bricklaying), that was four years ago. My friends working here taught me, my neighbors too”* (Gabriel, Man, 62 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

The obstacles hindering the acquisition of a job in the reception communities forced the displaced to work on their own, usually in informal labors such as commerce and services. Women dedicate mainly to domestic labors, preparation and sale of different kinds of food, and with less frequency, to the informal sales, the elaboration of handcrafts and confection. Men on their side, occupy themselves in informal sales, inside and outside the neighborhood, the resale of agricultural products in the market places and construction services, driving vehicles, washing cars, shoemaking, gardening, night watching, among others. These are informal jobs but, besides unstable, many of them are developed in the streets, with no conditions and lousy income: *“We have to take the blade on your shoulders, and go around the neighborhoods offering our work. Sometimes the night falls and I have no money, but a hunger!”* (Pablo, Man, 44 years old, González, LFPD FGD); *“Now I am earning my life washing clothes and reselling toothpaste, soap and corn. Washing clothes I earn more or less \$1.500 or \$2.000, according to the dirtiness, with that work I can only make soup. I currently earn, if I do good, \$5.000 o \$6.000”* (Ligia, Woman, 54 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

The **informal sales** are one of the most common activities, and also one of the less dignifying. Besides the difficulty represented by going to the streets to sell products, they frequently face the pursuit of the authorities, because of the use of the public space: *“We realize the police do not let us working, and they do not see the pedestrians are the thieves, but that is how the police acts. They do not chase the real thieves, but the salesmen”* (Jaime, Man, 44 years old, González, LFPD FGD). Additionally, some people have to pay for the “right” of selling their products in the market: *“In the market my husband pays a ticket of \$500 daily pesos for being able to sell”* (Lucia, Woman, 31 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

The labor is learned through the observation of the other salesmen: *“Watching the others, I asked how to advice the products, the fish to sell them, and I learned, then I would go everywhere selling it”* (Miguel, Man, 42 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS). The following frame includes some testimonials illustrating the dynamics of this activity:

Informal sales as an alternative to survive

“In Cartagena I dedicated to the sale of agriculture products in the streets, I used to buy them in the market: manioc, banana, I was two years with that. In Valledupar I used to sell water, toilet paper, brushes, all in the hand, I used to carry a briefcase. The one walking the streets will never be starving” (Simón, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, ILS).

Here I have been forced to work in informal sales, selling cakes or fish. I had to go to the market, buying fish, and then selling it. Then I had to work because my partner was not working. I learned how to sell with my mom, when I was a kid she used to give us things for selling. With the sale of fish I used to make like 10 or 15 thousand pesos a day. I used to feel good because I always earned the daily food, I felt bad when the services came in bills, water and light, those are expensive” (Ana, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS).

“In the beginning I did lots of jobs, I bought a ‘carretilla’⁹⁶, I used to sell “bollos”⁹⁷, “cocadas”⁹⁸, eggs, everything...I worked in that because I was not able to find a job in anything else. There were good days and bad ones, a good day used to give me 10 to 15 thousand pesos, I was seven months like that” (Jairo, Man, 32 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

⁹⁶ Usually pushed by human force, the transportation for many products, especially fruits and vegetables.

⁹⁷ Steamed corn cakes.

⁹⁸ Coconut candy, very popular and typical in the Colombian North Coast.

Because of the lack of sources of work in the urban communities and what it represents for the people in situation of displacement when they are forced, literally, to “*go out and look for something in the streets*” (José, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT), there have been individual and collective initiatives of self-generation of employment, that have been fundamental for the recovery of some households. Among these initiatives it is possible to find the development of agricultural labors, the establishment of some households and the association skills around these and other economic activities. The fact that, as it will be described in the following paragraphs, these initiatives are frequent in the reception sites with the higher IMP (Los Álamos, Nelson Mandela, Revivir and Villa Katy) allows to explain the coincidence in the appreciation of men and women participating in the FGD of these communities, when they say it is easier to make their living now than they moment they got there.

In all urban communities of the study, especially in the ones with the higher IMP⁹⁹, there are households in situation of displacement dedicated to the development of agricultural labors. The possibility of developing these kind of labors constitute an opportunity for them to perform in activities they already know (because these were developed in their original communities), as well as the satisfaction, dignifying life conditions and, in some cases, the possibility of producing for selling and for the self-consumption. For them the access to the agricultural labors represents a possibility of reaffirming their identity as peasants; it means applying the knowledge and abilities they value the most, feeling they can be connected to their previous life, and dedicate to a dignifying activity, Although the access to the parcels is extremely difficult in the reception sites, some people use individual or collective strategies for struggling for the land, counting for that with a little institutional support.

The case of the participants of Nelson Mandela is, nevertheless, exceptional and does not represent the situation of the neighborhood¹⁰⁰: “*We are better than them [the inhabitants of the other neighborhood]*” (Germán, Man, 66 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD). The privilege these people have when working in the activities they are prepared for explains, in a great measure, the high mobility levels these households have. Different to the great deal of households in situation of displacement, they have not been forced to face an abrupt change represented by having to develop unknown activities. Belonging to the Peasants Association and being able to work in the countryside has allowed them to have a secure source of income, at least during a certain part of the year: “*In Nelson Mandela they tell me everyday ‘Dude, help me to get a land somewhere, I have nowhere to get the food for my kids’. In the harvest time we have nowhere else to store the stuff, we sell, and we keep the money so we can buy in December and I make lots of plans with that*” (Jorge, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD).

Approximately half of the households connected to the Association have the cultivation lands as their main source of income, while the others combine this work with some other

⁹⁹ In the case of Revivir, although there was no person dedicated to agricultural labors among the ones answering the Household questionnaire, there are in the neighborhood, according to some other sources of information.

¹⁰⁰ There the instruments were applied only on the members of the Ambarema Peasants Association: that is why there is a frequent mention to agricultural activities.

kind of activities, informal activities. From the perspective of the president of the Association, the situation of these households is better than in other households in situation of displacement located in Nelson Mandela neighborhood, not only because of the income generated from the harvest, but also because of the possibility of producing self-consumption food.

The sale of water in Villa Katy as an alternative to generate income

Since 1999, when Villa Katy was installed as a settlement near to Sincelejo, it has not been able to have the proper water supply, despite the availability of the service many times: in several occasions there has been a provisional connection, but the damage in the pipes or the disagreements among the inhabitants when paying, the suspension has always come to the situation. A major part of the population gets the water for drinking and cooking in the lake nearby, where they wash their clothing, throw their garbage and pour their dirty waters: “There is a big problem in the neighborhood because of the contamination: the water we drink is dirty; people have been sick because of that” (Maria, Woman, 32 years old, CT). The lack of the service and the distance from the capital has encouraged the generation of alternative economic opportunities for a reduced group of inhabitants, dedicated three years ago to the sale of clean water taken from the wells in the villages nearby, paying a cost for the extraction and charging their neighbors: “One gallon is five hundred pesos, for cooking, drinking and bathing the little kids; in a day they spend a thousand pesos. The water in the lake is for washing dishes or taking a bath” (Ana Isabel, 30 years old, LFPD FGD); “we buy and start ‘arriar’¹⁰¹ the water in Villa Angela for one hundred pesos and sell it to five hundred” (Pedro, Man, 27 years old, LFPD FGD); “they take an hour bringing the water over here, there was water before, but they suspended the service and these people started working” (Fernando, Man, 65 years old, LFPD FGD). Transportation is usually done in the ‘carretillas’ of different capacities, among six and ten ‘tambucos’¹⁰² – gallon recipients- pulled by people or mules. Although the age of the worker and the service years vary (some people develop more activities), a salesman usually works between six to ten hours a day, bringing fifty to eighty ‘tambucos’ a day: “I wake up early, before the sunrise, and bring eight ‘tambucos’ (...) I have to ‘fiar’¹⁰³ for having some clients, some people pay three days after, some people fifteen, some people once a week. I spend from 2.500 to 5000 pesos a day (...) but sometimes there are bad days” (Juan, Man, 35 years old, LFPD FGD).

The commercialization of water is considered by the inhabitants of the settlement as one of the economic activities with the higher income and stability, with the “mototaxismo” and the stores. The costs are relatively low comparing to the sale price. In fact, the salesman buys the ‘tambuco’ in 100 pesos and sells it in 500 – during the dry season the price is increased, even duplicated-. Considering the basic costs, the usual profits are 50 or 60 percent. The major part of the product is usually sold with credit, with a payment period between three and fifteen days; that is why the person developing this activity must have an initial capital: “I bring the water (...) there are winter days when I do not make that much money, but during summer I do really good. Now there are many salesmen, but it is still a good job, I make five trips a day” (Martín, 65 years old, ILS and LFPD FGD).

The importance of the agricultural work in the mobility of the households in situation of displacement is evidenced in the greatest relative weight the sale of the harvests have as a source of income for the households that recovered – comparing to those who did not- and in the greater presence of heads of family counting with agriculture as their main source of income. Besides, as it is observed in Chart 16, in the communities with a higher IMP is this

¹⁰¹ A verb in Spanish meaning to conduce the animals.

¹⁰² 25 liters recipient to carry water.

¹⁰³ Selling something with the modality of a credit, but with no interests.

last index is greater than in the households with the lowest index (even if we exclude Nelson Mandela).

The development of agricultural labor in the reception sites has been possible, according to the cases, thanks to the creation of associations (like in Nelson Mandela), which have facilitated the access to terrains, raw materials, technical assistance and commercialization channels. Sporadically, but also important, has been the connection by daily wage to the activities in the communities of Los Álamos or the rental of lands for cultivation in Villa Katy.

The establishment of businesses also marks an important difference in the recovery possibilities. These businesses are located, generally, inside the same communities and dedicate, among other aspects, the production of shoes, handcrafts, cleaning implements, clothing confection and catering. To these kinds of establishments there is reference in Villa Katy, Nelson Mandela and Revivir, three of the four communities presenting a higher IMP. But also there are some other small and informal businesses, as those in Los Álamos, including “graneros”¹⁰⁴, catering and informal sales.

Chart 16. Heads of households having agriculture as their main occupation (on the total amount of productive heads)

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	15.4%
		Nelson Mandela	55.2%
		Revivir	0.0%
		Villa Katy	16.0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			23.1%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	8.0%
		González	4.0%
	Total receptora		6.0%
	Rural	Cerotal	85.2%
		Macaján	57.7%
Total rural		71.7%	
Total IMP menor a la media			39.8%
Total general			31.4%

Source: Household questionnaire

As it is observed in Chart 17, the existence of the most frequent businesses inside the households living in the reception communities with the higher IMP, which explains the high correlation between this index and the proportion of households owning a business (0.76). The greater presence of business in these communities can be associated to the greater facilities the households perceive comparing to the moment they arrived to the reception sites. That is why there is a high correlation between the IMP and the changes perceived in the facilities to access a business (0.76).

¹⁰⁴ A store usually selling products like cereal or vegetables, for the elaboration of some kinds of food.

Chart 17. Share of households owning a business

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	40.0%
		Nelson Mandela	23.3%
		Revivir	23.3%
		Villa Katy	29.0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			28.9%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	10.0%
		González	13.9%
	Total receptora		12.1%
	Rural	Cerotal	0.0%
		Macaján	5.7%
Total rural		3.1%	
Total IMP menor a la media			7.6%
Total general			17.9%

Source: Household questionnaire

Besides, the establishment of a business occupies the seventh place¹⁰⁵ among the important factors helping positive mobility in the urban households answering the *Household questionnaire* and is one of the positive qualified events in the tendency lines presented in the Individual Life Stories.

Some FGD also identified the property of a business as one of the characteristics of the households in the highest steps: *“They live good, they have something to live with, they sell in their store, they sell everything”* (Blanca, Woman, 42 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD); *“those in better conditions are the ones owning a store, the rest of us are just the same”* (Carmenza, Woman, 47 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

Equally, the possibility of having a business on their own is one of the main aspirations of the participants, young and adult ones: *“Within then years I would like to have a business, because that way I would be able to help a little more in my family”* (Ricardo, Man, 24 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD). Others, on their side, want to wide their current business: *“I work in the elaboration of the ‘butifarra’¹⁰⁶, now I make more money; I work and give some work for others to go out and sell. The problem is that I do not have the proper space, I work in a little kitchen, I need a bigger place”* (Jacinto, Man, 30 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

The aspiration of establishing and widening their business is related to autonomy and the economic protection generated by this source of income: *“During this time I was in these labors I learned that you should never live from others, but from yourself, from the things you get. If I always had have something to sustain myself, I would had never suffered...having a way of getting your own business, not depending from anyone; having their own business and managing, now one can fire you”* (Josué, Man, 29 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

¹⁰⁵ Among the 33 factors of ascendent mobility

¹⁰⁶ Stuffed made with meat and different sauces.

The establishment of the businesses has become easier, in some cases, because of the support of their relatives and friend with resources, or well, with a joint effort: *“In 99 we started working for a business; that job was his brother’s but he had nothing, he asked if we wanted to talk, he was going to give us the business”* (Liliana, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS); *“I borrough some money from my sister for starting, initially \$50.000, then \$100.000, \$200.000”* (Magdalena, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS). In some other cases, it has been easier because of the savings or contacts some households have in the city: *“They have their ‘plante’. Some displaced come here with their plane or they have connections with some people here”* (Rubén, Man, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). That same way, the institutional aid, represented by the coaching, the seed asset or credit, has made things easier for some households when establishing their businesses: *“The NGO Commitment supported us with a loan for having a bakery and my brother is a baker, so we associated and started this project”* (Consuelo, Woman, 33 years old, González, ILS).

Maybe because of the differences in the information of the participants, but also because of differences among the communities, there is no unanimity about the facility or difficulty for developing the documentation demanded for the establishment of a business: *“It is easy, they do not ask you for many things”* (Augusto, Man, 53 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“here you start your business step by step and that same way you start getting the permissions. You have to take the license of the DIAN and some papers in the ‘Cámara de Comercio’¹⁰⁷* (Pedro, Man, 62 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“in the first place, you have to go to the ‘Cámara de Comercio’, to the fire department, to the banks, to the soil usage, they demand you some stuff, you have to be affiliated to Sayco & Acinpro¹⁰⁸. So people understand all that money has to be paid to the government”* (Oscar, Man, 59 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). For some people, the difficulty level for the consecution of these papers has to do with the economic availability or the attitude of the government officials: *“Since you got the money, there are no problems with that”* (Fernando, Man, 42 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“that is like everything else, it depends on the person in the office, there are some nice people, there are others nit nice at all”* (Francisco, Man, 77 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

Some of the participants refer to the existence of the different requirements according to the size of the business, while some others assure that only “big” businesses have to fulfill the government requirements: *“This is too little; I only need somewhere to sell and my products. Those who need permission are the ones with businesses of more than seventy million pesos”* (Alicia, Woman, 36 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“for small businesses there are no requirements”* (Alba, Woman, 32 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). Finally, there are some people stating that the requirements apply to all kinds of businesses, but they point out that the inefficiency of the authorities enforcing the law encourages the illegality of many small businesses. It is precisely the inefficacy in the application of these rules what allows some businesses working without the proper license: *“None of the businesses here has got a license”* (Luz, Woman, 33 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

¹⁰⁷ The institution in charge of subscribing and regulating the legally constituted companies.

¹⁰⁸ Organization dedicated to the recollection of the funds generated by the copyrights of the music in Colombia.

It is important to remark the case of Villa Katy, where they say that, because of being living inside an illegal settlement, they do not need any authorization; *“people do not need any permission, they do not pay taxes; that are the cool stuff here”* (Francisco, Man, 30 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD).

When being consulted about the tranquility for opening a business, there are different positions: excepting the FGD of men in Nelson Mandela, in the reception sites with the higher IMP, the same as in the rural ones, the participants say they feel quite, while the rest of the communities express some turmoil, fundamentally associated to the fear of losing their assets: *“We do not feel that safe in a credit, because this is a dangerous adventure, if we cannot pay, they will take our lands”* (Julio, Man, 59 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); *“I feel no tranquility, because if I loose, I have nothing else”* (Francisco, Man, 24 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); *“there is no security, we are not selling, things stay here for months”* (Carmen, Woman, 42 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD).

The turmoil around the establishment of the businesses is argued, generally, based on the negative experiences presented in the communities and the changes produced in the different businesses within the last years: *“I am the owner of the little grocery store over there. Back then it was really good, I used to sell a lot, there was more movement, but now I have nothing. I do not sell even 50 thousand pesos a month”* (Inés, Woman, 34 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); *“there has been much competition. Back then, there was a store for each twenty houses. Now, another one gets the business, now there are ten, and then the other, now five”* (José, Man, 56 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

Finally, the participation of the economic associations has also improved the possibilities of recovery for some households. That is evidenced in the presence of these kinds of associations in the recovered households –comparing to those who did not- as well as the communities with the higher IMP (Chart 18). In fact, two of the strongest economic associations were integrated by communities with a high IMP: My Efforts Association and the Ambarema Peasants Association

Chart 18. Membership of an association related to the main economic activity

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	0.0%
		Nelson Mandela	66.7%
		Revivir	23.3%
		Villa Katy	19.4%
Total IMP mayor a la media			27.3%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	3.3%
		González	8.3%
	Total receptora		6.1%
	Rural	Cerotal	20.0%
		Macaján	11.4%
Total rural		15.4%	
Total IMP menor a la media			10.7%
Total general			18.7%

Source: Household questionnaire

Among the benefits and achievements remarked by the participants of these kinds of association are, besides the income acquirement and the provision of alimentation security,

the access to programs, services and resources, and the recognition by others, the sense of belonging and identity, a greater autonomy, learning and the confidence in the possibility of moving on. An integrant in the Peasants Association in Nelson Mandela said: *“It represents many things because we are in the same group and we understand each other, is like when you are a doctor working with other doctors, the engineer with the other engineer; when we talk we understand each other because we have the same language. In economic terms we feel good, it is really satisfying to see these plants growing up, because we have more things and we do not have to buy them anymore. In the economic sense we have the same relationships, because money cannot change you, you are not more than the other”* (José, Man, 33 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

On their side, the integrants of ‘My Efforts’ Association in Revivir remark the solidarity, learning, autonomy and the development of labor specific competences: *“The group of ‘My Efforts’ has been very important, because we contacted us from the beginning thinking collectively, not individually. It has helped me in the emotional part, because these people cheer you up when they see you are down. They feel interest when you are in trouble (...) I have learned how to elaborate a projects, I learned how to make a balance, an inventory”* (Carmenza, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS); *“I have learned mentioning the names of the products, taking the accountability, working with people, being independent...It has helped me a lot being an independent person, and knowing I have something to do with my life”* (Emilia, Woman, 42 years old, Revivir, ILS).

It is important to make an advisement: these kinds of associative forms have a temporary nature, connected to the opportunities offered by the government and non government actions for the adjudication of resources, or as well, the possibility of reducing the production costs. In general, there are four motivations for those who have chosen to organize around the agricultural production: (i) the access to resources: *“Aso-alimentos is managing some loans for us with the mediation of a private entity, the ‘Fundación Restrepo Barco’¹⁰⁹. The loan is for the alimentation security, also for some animals to raise, hens, pigs and agriculture, This is starting, they are looking for lands, parcels”* (Juliana, Woman, 51 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); (ii) the reduction of the production costs: *“for working the land and seeding, we have to join: there are some tractors working and hectare for 200 thousand pesos, it is easy to make a group of little owners and hire a tractor”* (Emilia, Woman, 51 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); (iii) commercialization: *“I got into this because they say we have to work in groups. They say that if we do not work in groups no one is going to buy anything, because we have to be associated in order to sell the product. That is why we have to get in. That is what the associations say”* (Diego, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, ILS); and (iv) the consecution of the lands: *“there are many people living from the parcel and they have some income when the harvest comes, I work all time because when I am having the harvest is much the help I need, the one who does not has been looking for photo if there is no harvest”*.

¹⁰⁹ NGO dedicated to the promotion of the fundamental rights and the development of children, young people and family.

Agricultural economic associations in rural communities

There is a relatively strong organization in Cerotal, created for saving and development of productive projects. On the other side, an approximate number of 50 people are associated to the FEDEPAPA, national organization of potato producers, whose benefits are not equally valued by the participants: “For some people, it is better being in FEDEPAPA, for those who have some land. For some others, it is not” (Enrique, Man, 40 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); “there are some benefits, not many, but some. There are cheaper raw materials, poison for the plagues, or some other stuff. I buy them the raw materials, but I do not sell them potato, because I would have to buy the seed over there, and to sell it very cheap; they buy it for 50 thousand pesos, and it is 90 thousand pesos, they say they would assume the loses if the price comes down, but I do not trust them” (Hernando, Man, 59 years old, Cerotal, ILS).

In Macaján, on the other side, there are several associations in process of conformation, aiming to the alimentation security, as well as a previous experience of manioc production, affected not only by the weather but also by the armed conflict: “We developed a project for a manioc cutter, they lend us the money, but we failed; there was much manioc, but the rain came and finished it” (Luis, Man, 47 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); “then, the political disorder, the presence of the paramilitaries and the guerrilla and the association disorganized, they used to scare and kill people, that made many households leave the organization. In that same year they destroyed Chinulito, people left to Sincelejo” (Rafael, Man, 38 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD). Some households also refer to the reforestation process oriented by the University of Sucre: “We are all from Macaján, we are ten people in that project; we already started working. The coach us sometimes, every fifteen days, they explain us how to work as a team, they teach us about all kinds of trees, we go everywhere. This group has helped me a lot” (Fernando, Man, 68 years old, Macaján, ILS).

The conformation of the economic organizations constitutes for many participants, a process full of difficulties, especially related to the inadequate management of the resources by the communitarian leaders: “I think this community had its chance in the beginning, but the leaders took over that chance for them. For example, the fund, that was for more than 100 households, was used by three or four people, and the rest of us were abandoned” (Mariana, Woman, 36 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD). Some other problems mentioned by the participants were the following: (i) Lack of resources: “Sometimes I do not have money to pay the quota and I have to leave, and the absent people in more than three occasions, have to leave too” (Flor, Woman, 59 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); (ii) Leadership conflicts: “there is a terrible disunion; those who want some organization fight with those who do not want any” (Adriana, Woman, 36 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); (iii) Lack of associative culture: “The difficulty is that the people here, all of us, are selfish, everyone on their side” (Justo, Man, 24 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); (iv) Lack of a long term vision: “We have tried, but people wants the instant, not the future. That is something cultural because people want immediate results. We need coaching in this matter” (Osvaldo, Man, 42 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); (v) Lack of leadership: “The lack of serious leaders, persisting ones, they do two or three lectures and that is it” (José, Man, 56 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); (vi) “Difficulties for accessing credit: “We want to have a little business but we have not been able to get a single credit, and we have been looking for it for seven months” (Julia, Woman, 35 years old, El Pilar, ILS); (vii) Lack of self-confidence: “You know I would need to have some brain for that, to know how to talk and that kind of stuff” (Carmenza, Woman, 52 years old, González, ILS); (viii) Lack of confidence in the others:

“I was interested, but is really hard to choose the right people” (Regina, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS).

Despite these difficulties, and according the evidences of this section and in the chapter of the Social Factors, the associability is revealed as a key factor in the recovery of the wellbeing.

5.2 ECONOMIC ROLES OF WOMEN

“I am not a king, but I live well. We already share the services. She is working now, so I do not have all the weight...”

Gonzalo, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD

The analysis of the economic roles of women in the communities of the study is focused on evaluating the work market. Although the collected information does not allow calculating the basic employment indicators as the unemployment level, it is possible to build an approximate for their involvement grade in the productive activities in their communities. To build this indicator –the participation rate- it is necessary to suppose that all economically active people, that means, connected to the work market, are all those ones who marked an answer in the section of the *Household questionnaire* asking for the “members of the family developing any economic activity”.

The participation rates presented in the following section (Chart 19) correspond to the population in the most productive ages: between the 18 and the 65 years old. The decision of not including underage was based in the consideration that this is a population that *should* be connected to the scholar system (specifically to the middle and high school level)¹¹⁰. In this measure, their economic inactivity (that is elevated in the study) is not worth of a different judgment.

According to the information in Chart 19, while 71 of each 100 men between the 18 and the 65 years old are connected to the work market, this amount is 41/100 in women. The analysis of the female participation by zones shows that their level is much lower in rural communities that in urban ones. This difference is explained because the internal forced displacement forces many women –that in their original communities were completely economically inactive- to get into the work market in the reception sites, no matter if is because of their new role in their family –when the became widows or they have been forced to physically separate from their husbands- or the necessity of complementing the house incomes.

¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine who is attending.

Chart 19. Participation rate by genre (18 to 65 years)

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Hombres	Mujeres
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	80.0%	52.4%
		Nelson Mandela	75.6%	27.7%
		Revivir	62.0%	58.3%
		Villa Katy	70.0%	50.0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			70.9%	46.9%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	62.1%	65.1%
		González	68.0%	33.9%
	Total receptora		65.8%	47.5%
	Rural	Cerotal	62.8%	25.6%
		Macaján	82.5%	20.8%
Total rural		74.0%	23.1%	
Total IMP menor a la media			70.4%	35.8%
Total general			70.6%	41.1%

Source: Household questionnaire

Nevertheless not in all urban communities women develop economic activities in that proportion. About that it is important to outstand El Pilar (the community with the lowest IMP), where near of the two thirds of women in the selected age range were connected to the work market, while in Nelson Mandela (one of the communities with the higher IMP) this connection is less that the third part.

Nevertheless, some of the testimonials collected through the qualitative techniques suggest that in some households there are better conditions and greater possibilities to move on when women –especially married ones- work. In these cases women contributes with some additional income, which improves the economic conditions in the family. That was evidenced when constructing the Ladders of Life, where this mention with the characteristics of the households in the best conditions was frequent and repeated: “Both work and their older sons also bring some money to the family” (Carlos, Man, 35 years old, González, LOL FGD); “women work and that helps, they are communitarian mothers or they work as housekeepers, or they help at home” (Martha, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); “*in some of the households is the woman who gets the money, there are many of these women working*” (Artemo, Man, 54 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

This evidence suggests that the participation of women in the work market may have a positive effect in the mobility of the households, as long as these are two parent households and both parents are working. This would also contribute to explaining why the elevated involvement of women in economic activities inside El Pilar has not had any effect on the mobility of the households. In first place, there is a high proportion of the households in situation of displacement where the woman is the head of the family (more than two thirds of the interviewed), that means, the income they perceive because of their work are not complementary: “*A single woman cannot move out of poverty. Here in Pasto work is lousily paid, here I earn eighty thousand pesos in one month, with that money I am never going to move out of poverty, in this city everything is money, they charge you for going to the bathroom*” (Alicia, Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); “*sometimes you work and they do not pay you, and when they do, they pay you just a little. We do not know where to ask for help*” (Teresa, Woman, 44 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). In second place, the greater facilities of women for employing in domestic services –as housekeepers- makes

two-parent houses taking the weight of the situation: “*Women have to work in order to get the rent...Here, jobs are for women*” (Juan Pablo, 67 years old, El Pilar, LOL FGD). In third place, the domestic services are lousily paid. The previous statement means that most of the households in situation of displacement in El Pilar economically depend of women and their reduced income, which hinders the possibilities of mobility.

The comparison between the occupational positions of men and women in the communities of study suggests there are better work conditions for women. On one side, the proportion of women working with a certain wage –half or full time- is greater than men, and the other side, there are greatest indexes of men working on their side or in occasional jobs than women. This suggests women have a greater work stability compared to men. Besides, according to the testimonials collected in El Pilar, it is easier for women to get a job in the reception communities, fact that has already been analyzed in some other works: “*Women incorporate in the work markets of the reception sites easier than men, because they can take advantage of their experience in the domestic labors, to make of it a source of resources, different to men, who are trained in agricultural labors*” (Ibáñez, Moya and Querubín, 2005: 26)

Nevertheless, some of the testimonials reveal that the occupation of displaced women in domestic labors is more limited every time, and, in most cases, it does not constitute a dignifying source of work, due to the exposition to mistreatment and the lousy remunerations. In effect, in some of the communities it has become difficult to get a job as housekeepers: “*the housekeeping job has been ending*” (Pablo, Man, 62 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). The same way, in the stories of the interviewed women working in domestic services it is common to find the mentions to mistreatment and discrimination by the employers: “*That is sad, working like that, there are dominant ladies. I worked in a house, I did not like it, the lady did not want me to seat on the dinner, with a plate and a glass for myself, like if I was infected with something; I do not like that kind of discrimination*” (Estela, Woman, 38 years old, González, ILS); “*and they do not give you even a glass of water, and all day working, all December. I am used to work, but not with people who leave you with no food*” (Marina, Woman, 48 years old, Los Álamos, ILS). The references to the remunerations (less than the seventh part of the minimum current wage) reveal great abuses by the employers: “*There are people working as housekeepers and they pay them \$2.000 a day [less than one dollar] for them to wash and prepare the clothing and preparing the lunch for five people. I feel really sorry*” (Liz, Woman, 34 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD).

The previous testimonials make it really questionable the idea that women in situation of displacement have more favorable conditions than men. The cost of accessing a job and the certain stability is too high.

Despite the precarious conditions of most of the jobs it is possible to access in the reception sites, women value the possibility of developing in some productive activities because that gives the independence and a greater self-confidence: “*My Efforts Association has helped me knowing I do not depend from my husband, and I do not have to ask him for anything*” (Juana, Woman, 31 years old, Revivir, ILS). As a reflection of their own vulnerability, they also value some of the heavy and lousily paid jobs by the fact that these labors allowed

them to satisfy their basic needs: *“The first year I would go to work. In that time people would pay the dozen to a thousand pesos, and I would spend my whole day doing two dozens. But anyway, I would get home happy because I had money to buy the milk and the bread”* (Cristina, Woman, 45 years old, El Pilar, ILS);

5.3 HOUSING

“Having a house is not wealth, but not having it is the worst misery”
Pedro, Man, 44 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD

Besides being useful for productive, domestic purposes, for transportation, recreation, access to information, culture, among others, the assets constitute a protection mechanism from the economic risks. In case of necessity, households usually go to their assets in a transitory (mortgage) or permanent (sale) way to protect from, for example, the loss of income. Nevertheless, among the households in the communities of the study, forcedly migrating to urban areas, this mechanism was damaged by being forced to abandon or selling their most valuable assets. That is why the loss of certain assets has being so high in these households and that is also why the value so much –an attribute an important role in the improvement of their conditions- the access to a new house.

Among the most serious losses created by the internal forced displacement it is possible to find the loss of assets. The imminent risk of loosing their lives, not only by the armed conflicts but also because of direct treats, force many households to abandon their belongings and properties: *“They told us to leave from one day to the other, because where there are massacres, you have to take care of your life. We had to leave it everything, animals, there was not a single soul over there”* (Juan, Man, 32 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“we left it all, the land, the house, they killed our pigs, we left to protect our lives”* (Liliana, Woman, 35 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

Only a few households get to sell part of their assets, usually with lower prices comparing to their real value: *“With displacement we lost everything. We had 19 animals, and now nothing. And the terrains! Imagine we had 40 hectares for grass and in total those were 48. I received 4 million pesos, to receive a million each year, because they paid me with bills”* (Duvan, Man, 52 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“In Remedios we sold the business for five million pesos, three of them cash money. The terrain was good, it was thirty million pesos”* (Claudia, Woman, 48 years old, González, ILS); *“our house was cheaply sold, at that time the Playón was full of paramilitaries”* (Darío, Man, 47 years old, González, ILS).

Some other households fin their way to translate to safer places and carry with them some of the domestic appliances, work tools or animals: *“I could bring with me some hens and I was able to sell the pigs”* (Eugenio, Man, 44 years old, Villa Katy, ILS); *“I had bought some bulls away from here and I left them with my brother, waiting to go for them whenever I can”* (Fabio, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“when the house was left alone, they stole my hens, I could only rescue my clothing. Some friend helped us and took our refrigerator and our bed”* (Ruth, Woman, 34 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

For those who were owners of lands or houses in their original communities, these were the greatest losses in terms of assets, because of the economic loss and these things represented from the affective, social and cultural point of view: *“I had a little farm, I had plantations. Half block of coffee...I suffer over here. In the countryside we have chickens, pigs, we sell those and have our money”* (Beatriz, Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“that loss meant too much for me, because I had to get used to another life, I was not expecting that for my future. Arriving here with empty hands, there are many differences between the countryside and the city, I did not have to buy almost anything over there”* (José, Man, 32 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“we lost a part of our lives, we lost it all, two houses, one motor, two cows, the animals, the hens, the chairs, some money they owed me”* (Patricia, Woman, 42 years old, Revivir, ILS).

Difficulties for obtaining new assets

The possibilities of acquiring new assets is especially difficult because of the precariousness of the conditions of a major part of the population in situation of displacement, according to the following testimonials:

“If I had a farm, I would be able to eat at least, no matter the hard work, but there is no possible progress. We need resources, job opportunities, businesses (...) You cannot say ‘I am going to get some animals in this land’ because you have no lands at all” (Humberto, Man, 35 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

We have had some ups and downs after displacement, because before we were able to improve our situation, in the moment if you have an electrical appliance you sell it and you recover your money, but here it has been really hard” (Alejandra, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS).

“It has not been easy to recover the stuff, there is no job, there is nowhere to seat, I used to have it all over there. It has been really hard to acquire some economic assets, ups and downs, it was easy in the Paradise, and we could move on...The lack of work makes things hard. If you get sick and you have a job, you can buy anything you need” (Juana, Woman, 31 years old, Revivir, ILS).

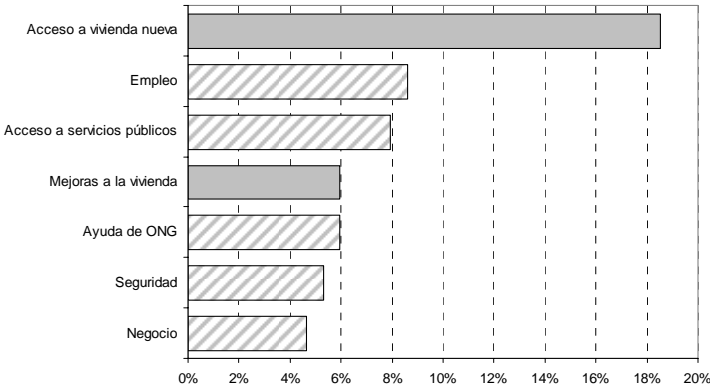
Those who achieve selling a part of their assets after displacement get the temporary satisfaction of some basic needs in the reception sites, or even the acquisition of new assets: *“We had a few animals, the sale of some of those let us survive the first months in Barranquilla”* (Esteban, Woman, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“she brought some money, some pigs, hens, some wood, we had something to buy this house”* (Mary, Woman, 26 years old, Villa Katy, ILS); *“some people here arrived with better resources, because some of the displaced achieved selling their stuff, they bough something here and recovered”* (Augusto, Man, 54 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD).

The difficulty of protecting the assets during displacement and being able to acquire them in the reception sites, as well as the greater wellbeing obtained by those who achieve on selling them, explains the high value given by these households in situation of displacement to the assets. Added to these motives, it is easy to find traditional reasons for such valuation: the possibility of obtaining independence, creating income and/or acquiring other or more assets, enjoying some commodities, favoring the alimentation security and easily accessing to a credit: *“They did gave them to me, they approved \$400.000 of 1.000.000 I asked...Now it is easier because I had my house, back then I did not owned anything”* (Diana, Woman, 36 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

That is why accessing a house is so important for the households in situation of displacement; the greater asset they could possibly have in their new communities. According to the *Household questionnaire*, the access to a new house is the main factor for improving the Ladder of Life among the households arriving to the reception sites. The House improvements, on the other side, occupy the fourth place (Graph 16).

And the thing is that, besides the obvious economic value, a house is a source of different kinds of wellbeing. On one side, accessing a house provides home feelings with the new community, independence sense, economic security and the support to access some other sources of income –principally credits in the formal financial system: *“We have some freedom at last, because we have our house. Although we have to pay for the services, it is really good to have our space. We will take care of it because it is ours”* (Mario, Man, 57 years old, Álamos, LFPD FGD); *“living quietly, safe, with privacy, and the other change is being here, we have moved from the discrimination we were suffering before; now we feel much better, we can say ‘I live in Los Álamos neighborhood’. Now the displacement experience as to be left in the past, now we say ‘I live in a new urbanization’, we say no more the word ‘displaced’ but we already belong here, we pay energy, water, that is a big change”* (Julio, Man, 29 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“that is what we fought for, and it was difficult; the most difficult thing is not avoid falling, but standing up, at least we know no one is throwing us out of here”* (Liz, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS).

Graph 16. Housing and House improvements as positive mobility factors



Source: Household questionnaire

In these settlements there is the contrast of the uncertainty lived by those living as invaders (because of the risk of being evicted), or those living in rented properties (because of the difficulties getting the money to pay the rent): *“We would be much happier living in our own house, we would not be worrying about the rent or about being evicted”* (Carolina, Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“we are OK because we have our food, but not so much because we do not have a house on our own”* (Cesar, Man, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD).

On the other side, a house itself is a source of wellbeing because it offers habitability conditions and some commodity, which contrasts with the current condition in the invasion

settlements established by some households after displacement: *“The best thing it could happen to us was having a house. Although this was ugly, an ugly mountain, is the most wonderful thing it could happen to us”* (Jacobo, Man, 36 years old, González, CT); *“it really changed, we were drowning over there. We only had an space of 24 square meters, with some plastics and heat, diseases...it was a complete change”* (William, Man, 37 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase); *“here we have a roof, I did not have an entrance, we were in a piece of carton and getting wet and wet because we had no money to buy plastics”* (Regina, Woman, 52 years old, González, ILS); *“it was really hard, flooding everywhere, when it rained we could not sleep, at least psychologically we have peace, we can sleep like babies”* (Carmenza, Woman, 30 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD).

The possession of a house is also valued in rural communities: *“Having a house is the greatest thing because it is ours, we feel happy because at last we have a house; back then we have a “rancho”¹¹¹ made of wood where me and my father lived like when I was three years ago, we had no doors, no windows...Now he [her wife] is cool, because we were living over there, at my father’s, so there was no problem, and now we have a house”* (Silvia, Woman, 29 years old, Cerotal, ILS); *“I felt very happy, having a house was my biggest aspiration...it was like winning the lottery. My whole family was happy, we had somewhere to keep our animals (...) that was really good, because we used to live uncomfortable, in my Mom’s house, we were living in a little room, my wife used to cry saying ‘when are you going to give me a house’”* (Julián, Man, 59 years old, Cerotal, ILS).

The value granted to the house is such that its possession is found among the main referents mentioned by the Ladder of Life FGD to characterize the households in the best and the worst conditions. About the households in the best conditions, they mention, among some other characteristics: *“they have a good roof, somewhere to sleep well”* (Jerónimo, Man, 50 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD) or *“well finished houses, three or four floors”* (Jorge, Man, 62 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). On the contrary, those in the worst conditions *“are living in a “rancho”, they are recyclers, they do not have a house”* (Estela, Woman, 28 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD), *“they live in “cambuche”s, when it rains it is like if they were outside”* (Lorena, Woman, 44 years old, González, LOL FGD), *“they do not have somewhere to live and they have to rent a place. The money they make is not enough to pay the rent”* (Vicente, Man, 62 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); *“there was no roof, only houses made of paper and carton; there were mosquitoes, you could not even talk because you would swallow them”* (Luis, Man, 48 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD).

In the Ladder of Life FGD there was also a frequent mention to the acquisition of a house as a positive factor and its loss as a negative one. Stop being renting users and start being owners are positive factors in the quest for wellbeing and, even, as determinants for the reduction of the inequalities: *“The difference was reduced, because we have a house on our own...now we are a little accepted”* (Lorena, Woman, 43 years old, Revivir, LOL FGD). On the other side, among the reasons of a descendent there could be *“suffering a catastrophe, that the house is set on fire, or a flooding”* (Janeth, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, LOL FGD); *“selling the house to pay debts, or mortgaging the house”* (Pedro, Man, 39 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD).

¹¹¹ A poor house made of wood and leaves.

The importance of the house in the mobility or the recovery of the households in situation of displacement is also revealed in the high correlation there is between property of a house and the IMP (0.74). The Chart 20 illustrates the current property of a house among the households in the questionnaires –independently in they have the titles or not. By family groups, it is possible to see that the greater shares of “owners” are found in the reception communities with the higher Mobility Index. These are followed by the rural communities and finally, by the reception sites with the lower indexes, which low level of owners explains the behavior of El Pilar, where most of the households are renting their houses.

Chart 20. Current possession of a house

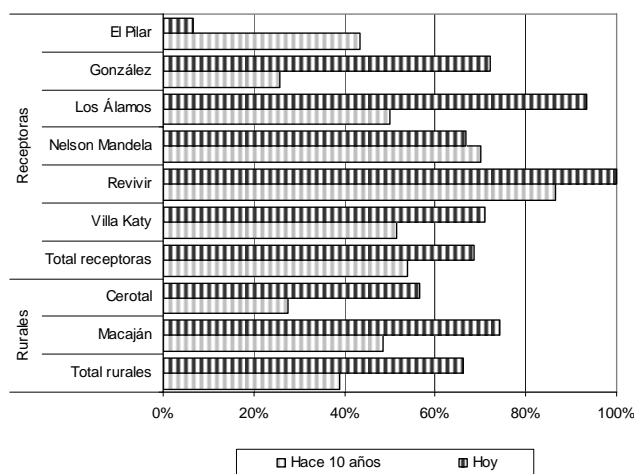
Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	93.3%
		Nelson Mandela	66.7%
		Revivir	100.0%
		Villa Katy	71.0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			82.6%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	6.7%
		González	72.2%
	Total receptora		42.4%
	Rural	Cerotal	56.7%
		Macaján	74.3%
Total rural		66.2%	
Total IMP menor a la media			54.2%
Total general			67.9%

Source: Household questionnaire

When we compare the current possession of a house with the one reported by the questioned households ten years ago (Graph 17) it is observed that the indicator grew more in rural than in urban communities. That means that households that have stayed in their original communities have had a greater chance of accessing the property of a house comparing to those who have displaced to urban communities. Besides, households in rural communities count, in a great measure, with the titles of their houses; that is why the character of owners is more legitimate.

About the legitimacy of the possession of a house, it is important to precise that among the current “owners” of the reception sites, some of them are really like “invaders”. Such is the case of those living on Nelson Mandela and villa Katy, settlements were the households in situation of displacement established several years ago, but where the terrains are property of the Governor’s Office (in the case of Villa Katy), or particulars (in the case of Mandela). With difficult habitability conditions, the households over there have achieved important advances in terms of infrastructure and the improvement of “their” houses. And although life in the settlements is hard, for many of them it means the one and only possibility to access a place to live, at least temporarily, as well as a way to exercise some pressure on the local government in the struggle for some dignifying housing conditions. Nevertheless, the illegality of these terrains places them in vulnerable conditions.

Graph 17. House possession



Source: Household questionnaire

Although most of the displaced population arriving to the urban communities lives like renter –it is the case of those living in El Pilar- a considerable group of people establishes in the terrains located outside the cities, where they start conforming the new invasion settlements¹¹². For the second group the illegal occupation of the terrains usually constitutes the first stage of a long process of struggle for the access to the property of a house in the reception communities.

Importance of the communitarian organization for the consecution of a house, according to a communitarian leader in Los Álamos

Despite recognizing the existence of some coexistence and leadership problems, Patricia (Woman, 40 years old, Los Álamos, CT) when stating the integration of the community around the establishment of the invasion settlement and the live in it as the factor that has contributed the most to their prosperity, having into account the obvious cultural differences of the households: “Union, and from there, solidarity, and tolerance, big time. We are a little Colombia”. According to her, they had to face all kinds of problems: “In June we were like a river. Shoes, pots, everything. Everyone was awake. Our union was necessity...let’s tolerate now that we are here”.

Patricia also remarks respect and solidarity as important factors for achieving the common goals: something we have to remark is respect. We were almost sleeping in the same bed. That is how we learned to love each other, with a single bed. The other thing is coexistence. We learned to know each other needs...the same solidarity...when someone was sick (...) we used taking care of each other, watch for someone to hurt us”.

When consulting here about the factors contributing to their permanence in the settlement, despite the difficult conditions, she insists in the feeling of sharing common problems, but also, and especially, in the existence of collective goals demanding their permanence, with the hope of the legalization: “Their dreams started growing, until becoming a house”.

The households in situation of displacement living in five of the six urban communities of the study - Los Álamos, Nelson Mandela, Revivir, Villa Katy and González– originally

¹¹² According to the Codhes (2004), almost the 45% live renting a place and the 14% is living as invaders. Besides, only the 10% have a house on their own.

established in these kinds of settlements¹¹³. Nevertheless, only three of them –Los Álamos, Revivir and González- achieved the expected results, which after many years, gained the development of the housing projects. For these achievements, union and communitarian organization were key factors, besides the institutional support and the help of the work force of the family itself.

The testimonials suggest that when these people participate in the construction of their own houses – the way it happened in Revivir and Los Álamos- there is a greater sense of belonging as well as the improvement of the communitarian bounds: “Many of us united to work, to build the basic units; here most of us are single mothers. Now that it was self-construction, some people did not know and some of us did, so we united even more and learned how to do it. I communicated more to people. Up there we were disperse, each one in the “cambuche”, now we are together” (Rosa, Woman, 28 years old, Los Álamos, CIM FGD).

In Revivir, the process of self-construction of the neighborhood allowed them to create communitarian bounds and, according to many of the participants of the study, a greater sense of belonging because they did the work to obtain their house. Despite the difficulties implied by not receiving any income in some other place, these households chose to accept the modality to access to their own house, taking advantage of the work of many of its members, particularly women: “We were working for almost two years, people was getting into their houses without finishing them. I moved here in June, 2002, there were already like ten to fifteen households, and in December all people were in their houses (...) we earned this because we had to work for them. It is the most positive change because the places we were living in different conditions. It was a good change” (Margarita, Woman, 40 years old, Revivir, CT). Additionally, they counted with the advisory to learn how to develop the works, which is valued as important learning because it has been used to develop in the field of bricklaying. During the construction process, the solidarity bounds merged through the actions of the ““olla comunitaria””, tending to satisfy, with everyone’s collaboration, thee basic alimentation needs of those working in the construction.

Nevertheless, not all processes are the same and the results are nor always satisfactory. The development of the housing project in Gonzalez followed a different process and the satisfaction of its inhabitants is lower: “We invaded up to La Cumbre. We were there for five years; we got some water, energy, and never paid. The government gave us an aid. The Mayor came to the terrain and said that if we gave them votes, he would give us that terrain...the fixed it and the construction company gave us the houses, and removed the “cambuches” (Flor, Woman, 60 years old, González, LOL FGD). It is evident that some people do not feel satisfied: “The only positive thing is that we are inside some blocks, that is safer than inside the plastics” (Julio, Man, 22 years old, González, LOL FGD); *“there is no water, the houses are not well done, small houses, a little room nine square meters, with seven people sleeping there. I see no positive thing”* (Bernardo, Man, 44 years old, González); *“I see as positive the desire of having a house on our own after living five years*

¹¹³ In Revivir, the population was not located in the same settlement, but according to some of the current inhabitants of the neighborhood, their initial residence was established in some of the invasion settlements in the city of Cartagena.

in the plastics; being manipulated is something else” (Andrés, Man, 35 years old, González, LOL FGD). As it is seen in the testimonies, the Dissatisfaction is basically coming from the quality of the houses and the Negligence of the institutions in the accomplishment of the project.

Despite the Dissatisfaction and the difficulty –mentioned in Chapter 3- these people have (as well as in Los Alamos and Revivir) to assume the payment of the public services, is precisely in this community where the access to a new house had the greatest frequency between the positive mobility factors and the Ladders of Life in the *Household questionnaire*. In fact, the same aspiration of the households in situation of displacement that are not owners to access and improving their current housing conditions assures the importance of this factor for the recovery of the households: “I imagine a better future, ten years from now we can have our house, they way I want it” (Claudia, Woman, 43 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); “*the hopes are that we can be covered by the legalization of the neighborhood, because it is the government terrain*” (Liliana, Woman, 43 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); “*it would be the government helping me with something, I need my house, I need somewhere to live, so my daughter can be with my grandsons, because my sons are already married and they can progress...or maybe saving something for the house..., because paying a rent is really hard*” ” (Mónica, Woman, 58 years old, El Pilar, ILS).

5.4 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

“Now our kids have somewhere to study, they are not walking the streets, and with the clinic, people may receive attention when they get sick at night”
Maria, Woman, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT

The resources and the quality of the infrastructure and the communitarian equipment are an important factor for the prosperity of the communities, The most valued infrastructure aspects by the households living in the reception communities are those improving their habitability conditions (basically housing and public services) and rising their access to education and health. Although some quantitative information do not show an association between the coverage in public services and the IMP, through the qualitative sources it is possible to see the importance the communities grant to this factor. The previous is observed in the “Community Timeline” and in the first section of Ladder of Life, where the subject of communitarian prosperity is discussed.

The construction of the infrastructure works is mentioned in the “Community Profile” among the most important factors for the prosperity of both rural communities and four urban ones (Los Álamos, Nelson Mandela, Revivir and El Pilar). Not mentioning Gonzalez is understandable because the construction of the neighborhood has not finished and, therefore, it does not have all the resources they need, while in Villa Katy is attributed to its classification as invasion. On the other side, the deficient basic infrastructure (roads, housing, schools, and public services) was mentioned among the most important factors

hindering mobility and prosperity of the two communities with the lowest IMP: El Pilar¹¹⁴ and Gonzalez.

The construction of the infrastructure of the public services is considered decisive for the communitarian prosperity by the leaders. In effect, among the most important development projects within the last years, they mentioned, among others, the construction of the aqueduct in Cerotal and the first stage of the sewer system in Macaján, as well as the widening of the last service in El Pilar.

The value attributed by these households in situation of displacement to the housing and the public service infrastructure is increased by the precariousness of the settlements they live in when they get to the municipalities. Generally, these settlements are empty slots outside the cities, where they build their temporary “cambuche”. Referring to the take over of the slot where they stayed for a three months period, some of the inhabitants of Los Álamos state: “*When we arrived, we could not have a “cambuche” but some plastics. We were like that like a month. Then the lawyer came in and helped us with the lawsuit. He asked us to build a little “rancho”; because they were not going to get us out of here (...) the hardest thing was living under the plastics and surrounded by so many people...that many people in such a little space*” (Gabriela, Woman, 39 years old, Los Álamos, Minicase).

Given that the permanence period in the invasion may take years (such as the case of Nelson Mandela and Villa Katy, and it happened with the settlements of Los Álamos and Gonzalez), many of the households try to improve their housing and habitability conditions. In such improvement there is also the hope of the legalization of the terrains.

In the Chart 21 it is presented a proportion of the households counting, at the moment of the application of the *Household questionnaire*, with the three essential public services (energy, aqueduct and sewer system). If we exclude Gonzalez –community where the networks were being installed by the moment of the field work- we observe that urban communities have a better coverage than rural ones, in all cases.

It is also possible to appreciate the differences in the access to public services in the two types of reception sites: the settlements (Nelson Mandela and Villa Katy), occasionally called “subnormal neighborhoods, counting with energy but with low coverage of aqueduct and sewer system, or no coverage at all; and the neighborhoods, usually with full coverage of the essential services, no matter if it is about “old” neighborhoods –built before the arrival of the displaced people, the case of El Pilar- or the neighborhoods resulting from the housing programs of displaced and vulnerable population (Los Álamos, Revivir)¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁴ En El Pilar the mention is associated with problems with the sewer system, because it is insufficient for the current population, besides generating flooding in some of the sectors of the neighborhood.

En El Pilar la mención está asociada con problemas en el servicio de alcantarillado, que resulta insuficiente para la población actual, además de haber generado inundaciones en algunos sectores del barrio.

¹¹⁵ In this case González turns being an exception, because despite being a housing Project for a vulnerable population, it did not count with the full coverage of all public services.

**Chart 21. Share of the households counting with the three basic services
(Energy, aqueduct and sewer system)**

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	100.0%
		Nelson Mandela	16.7%
		Revivir	100.0%
		Villa Katy	0.0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			53.7%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	96.7%
		González	2.8%
	Total receptora		45.5%
	Rural	Cerotal	3.3%
		Macaján	0.0%
Total rural		1.5%	
Total IMP menor a la media			23.7%
Total general			38.1%

Source: Household questionnaire

Although there is no association between the coverage of public services and the IMP, the greater access to these services in Los Álamos and Gonzalez, comparing to the coverage of the settlements where they used to live before, occupied the third position in the important factors for positive mobility in the Ladders of Life of the *Household questionnaire*. Despite this last community did not have the service of aqueduct when the instrument was applied, most of the houses already had connection to the sewer system, fact that, added to the availability of the bathrooms in their houses, contrasts with their experience in the previous settlement: *“The most beautiful thing is our house. We are much better here because we are separated...we have good bathrooms, back there we had four bathrooms for three hundred people, we had to make a line from five in the morning to go to the bathroom”* (Marina, Woman, 45 years old, Gonzalez, ILS).

On the other side, although most of the communities of the study have a limited infrastructure on health and education, households in situation of displacement find an offer of these services in the neighborhoods nearby or in other sections of the reception municipality, that is why the absence of these services cannot be assimilated to the lack of access (in fact, the lack of access is more related to the economical limitations that to the lack of offer). For the rural households, on their side, the access to the educational system is not restrictive in all cases: despite that in Cerotal they do not have a middle and high school ; the service is present in a vereda nearby.

As it is observed in Chart 22, only Nelson Mandela counts with an educational infrastructure in all levels (excepting university), which is explained by the size of this community (more than 40.000 people); besides, it counts with three schools. Despite having one of the higher IMP, the fact that the other reception communities with a high mobility there is a limited offer hinders the identification of an association between these two concepts.

Chart 22. Educational infrastructure in the communities¹¹⁶

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Escuela primaria	Secundaria	Técnica	Otra
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	X			
		Nelson Mandela	X	X	X	X
		Revivir				
		Villa Katy				
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	X	X		
		González				
	Rural	Cerotal	X			
		Macaján	X	X		X

Source: Community profile

About rural communities, it is important to outstand Macaján, which good endowment corresponds, paradoxically, to the “legacy” of the armed conflict because after the destruction of Chinulito, the school transferred to Macaján: *“with the institution it was really good, back then for going to school we had to go to Tolúviejo, the ticket was \$2.000 or \$3.000 a day, that was a big sacrifice, many stopped studying because they did not have the resources, and now the school is here and the education started improving”* (Clara, Woman, 19 years old, Macaján, CT).

Los Álamos, on its side, outstands among the neighborhoods with the housing projects, because it is the only one who has a school. This was constructed simultaneously with the neighborhood: *“They tell us ‘you are really lucky because you are the only neighborhood having a school so fast’ ”* (Elsa, Woman, 28 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). On their side, kids in Revivir, Villa Katy and Gonzalez attend to the schools in neighbor sectors.

Nelson Mandela is also the community with the best health infrastructure and the only urban community with its own clinic and health post (Chart 23). About rural households, it can be affirmed they do not have physical health infrastructure: *“Previously we had a nurse, at least. Macaján has almost 4.000 inhabitants and it is sad not to have an endowment in the health post, not a single nurse”* (Pedro, Man, 45 years old, Macaján, LOL FGD).

As it was mentioned for the educational infrastructure, the fact that some of the communities do not count with the proper health infrastructure inside the limits of the neighborhood does not mean they cannot access to these services. The inhabitants of several communities usually move to near zones and neighborhoods looking for the services they need, for example, in El Pilar they go to the health post in the neighborhood nearby when they need it.

¹¹⁶ The “other” category corresponds to a coaching center in the Nelson Mandela and a short middle and high school in Macaján.

Chart 23. Health infrastructure in the communities.

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Médicos	Enfermeras	Puesto de salud	Clínica privada
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos				
		Nelson Mandela	X	X	X	X
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	Revivir				
		Villa Katy	X			
	Rural	El Pilar	X			
		González				
		Cerotal		X		
		Macaján			X	

Source: Community profile

According to the participants of the FGD, the access to the education and health services has been very important for their mobility in the Ladder of Life. Such importance does not depend of the existence of school and health posts inside the neighborhood or the settlement, but to the quality of the services and their effective access. Nevertheless, the existence of the schools and health centers is remarked as an important indicator of the prosperity of the neighborhood. In fact, among the most important development projects the leaders mentioned the construction, adjustment and improvement of the educational centers (in rural communities as well as El Pilar, Nelson Mandela, and Los Álamos) or the health centers (Nelson Mandela). The same way, the participants in Nelson Mandela mention the foundation of the schools and the clinic as positive factors for their wellbeing: *“For me the good things have been the foundation of the school and the clinic. Now our kids have somewhere to study, they are not walking the streets, and with the clinic, people may receive attention when they get sick at night”* (Elena, Woman, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT).

While the households living in the urban communities grant more importance to the housing infrastructure and the public services, as well as the services depending from the education and health infrastructure, rural communities value besides, the transportation infrastructure, because of its incidence in the markets. Among the evidence to proof the importance of this factor it is possible to show the identification the leaders in Cerotal did of the maintenance works of the roads as one of the most important processes developed in the last years: *“To go out from the ‘corregimiento’ to Pasto we used to take more than two hours, now it is forty minutes. Besides there is transportation between six a.m. and six p.m. and the people in their trucks can get the potatoes and their animals for selling them in the market”* (Manager of the Communitarian Action Boards Cooperative, Cerotal, Minicase); *“before we had to leave at one in the morning, now the rurals are coming in the market days at six”* (Jacinta, Woman, 55 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); *“it is easier now, because there was no road before. Back then we had to take our crops in animals...we had to pay for more workers, to take out five horses and hiring two cowboys, make the numbers! Now we can get the car here, to our house”* (Justo, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, ILS).

Finally, among the aspects helping the construction and the adjustment of the communitarian infrastructure it is possible to identify the institutional support, an efficient leadership, the availability of the people for working and the communitarian organization. For example, the access to the energy service in Villa Katy was possible thanks to the communitarian work, with the support of the candidate to the City Hall, during the campaign. In Macaján, on their side, they constructed the aqueduct with the help of the communitarian work. The maintenance of the roads in Cerotal was encouraged by the communitarian leaders and it was developed by the members of the community, according to the previous frame.

6. CAPACITY FOR INDIVIDUAL AGENCY

“All we have has been earned with our effort”
Augusto, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS

The agency, for Sen (2000), represents the capacity of the person for acting and provoking changes towards their own values and objectives, concept that is based on the vision of human beings as active participants of their own development and not as passive receptors of the development programs. From the perspective of this author, different to the human asset, that is usually concentrated in the increase of the production possibilities, the concept of the human capacities is focused on the freedom of the individuals to “live the life, to have reasons for loving it and to rise the real options among the ones they can choose” (Sen, 2000: 350). The same that freedom, power is a concept strongly associated to the agency, in the measure where it expresses the greater or lower potential of people for deciding and acting. Some of the participants make an explicit recognition to the relation of these two principles: *“Power is a weapon we all have, because we all have the power to think, to say, to do; it goes hand by hand with freedom”* (Daniel, Man, 59 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

In the middle of the difficulties faced by the displaced people, and the weaknesses in the application of the attention policies in this population, there is important qualitative evidence on the meaning acquired by the factors related to the capacity for individual agency in the recovery of the households. The quantitative evidence is nit much, but it is also important. In the present chapter we will analyze the relation of power, freedom and happiness with the mobility of the households.

6.1 POWER AND MOBILITY

“We all are human beings, and we all have power”
Ana, Woman, 39 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD

Power is conceived by the participants from a multidimensional perspective, allowing them their precariousness in this matter but also their possibilities to exercise it. The economic dimension of power is, for the participants of the study, only one of its multiple expressions: *“Power is in having and being. Some people see power as only having. Some people see power as something internal, my values, my abilities”* (Ernesto, Man, 20 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD). Based on that, many people affirm to have some power, even in the middle of their difficult economic situation and the impacts of the armed conflict on their lives: *“I feel powerful. For a rich man, his money, for us is humility and the respect we earn through our actions”* (Pablo, Man, 21 years old, Gonzalez, Youth FGD). In the same line, some of the participants make reference to people with good economic conditions and no power, based in the considerations of sickness, lack of authority, personal abilities of affection: *“There are some rich people but they have no power; some things cannot be bought with money, for example love or respect”* (Mónica, Woman, 16 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

That way, despite recognizing the limitations imposed by the economic poverty to the experience of power and the advantages of having economic power, the participants tend to consider all people have some kind of power: (i) Power of word: *“For example, the President of the Board, no matter if he is rich or poor, he will be able to express himself wherever he wants”* (Elvis, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); (ii) Power of health: *“If I am healthy I can have power”* (Lorena, Woman, 39 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); (iii) education *“No matter if you are poor, if you studied you may have a chance. There are some humble people who have become extremely powerful, not so much because of the money but because of the government”* (Francisco, Man, 30 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); (iv) resistance: *“power of suffering...we have to hang on, resist, to work, to move on”* (Alfonso, Man, 55 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); (v) self-determination: *“you can be powerful by being poor, in you actions and your decisions”* (Liz, Woman, 21 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD); (vi) communitarian integration *“the real power comes from poverty, united people”* (Wilson, Man, 22 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD); (vii) love: *“You cannot have it all but if your family does not give you some love, you loose your power, and no matter if we are poor but have the love of our family, we are powerful”* (Julio, Man, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

In general, the participants consider that in their communities there are no people with economic power, but they recognize those in better conditions, enjoying more of this kind of power, usually referring to the owners of the small businesses in the neighborhood or the vereda. Some other people with greater power in their communities are the leaders and, with lower frequency, the most trained people, fathers and head of households, thieves, armed groups, institutions and the communitarian organizations. In four of the eight communities of the study, particularly in those with the worst situation of delinquency (El Pilar, Gonzalez, Los Álamos and Nelson Mandela), young people refer to gang members and thieves as powerful people: *“the gang members have lots of power and they make their own laws”* (Alicia, Woman, 21 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD). With a lower frequency, it is considered that the young people with the greatest power are those ones with the best economic conditions or with the best education, or in some other cases, where there are not powerful young people in the communities.

The people with a little power are, in the other side, those with no economic resources, and in a lower grade, elders, children, people with low levels of participation, sick people, illiterate and those with no desire of moving on. Some of the participants refer to the population in situation of displacement, particularly in El Pilar, where they compare their situation with the other inhabitants in the neighborhood: *“We have been living here for a little time; they do not count with us”* (Carmenza, Woman, 44 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“there is a rejection to the owners of the houses, for being displaced, because we do not have a stable job, and were are we supposed to pay a rent, that is logical”* (Gloria, Woman, 53 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“if you are going to ask for a job they will not give it to you because you are displaced, they say you were displaced for something bad”* (Regina, Woman, 33 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

In the middle of the diversity of perspectives for the interpretation of power, there are some clear tendencies that could be understood as dimensions of this concept: economic power;

self-determination power; authority and domination power; self-confidence power. Education is perceived as a mean to access power.

6.1.1 Economic power

Economic power is seen as a mean to acquire authority over other people and accessing better life conditions: “Powerful is a person who has money, who can do whatever he wants and pays it with money. For example, there in the vereda there was this guy with some money, and an armed group came in and told him to pay five million pesos for his life, and he paid them. With money you cover all factors. That is why they say is “el de ruana”¹¹⁷ the one going to jail, because the rich one has money to avoid jail” (Hernando, Man, 57 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD). That way, poor people and those who lack of employment are considered as those less powerful in their communities. An interesting aspect, in the middle of the recognition of the benefits coming from economic power, the tendency is to point out the risks of extortion and kidnapping. These kind of reflections support the moderate economic aspirations of some participants: “I do not want to have lots of money, only the necessary, but there are some people who have so much money that they feel in the terror and the fear of loosing their million” (Emilia, Woman, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD); “I would not want to have power, just the proper means for making my living. With the mercy of God being able to give my kids what they need, some commodities, having my three meals, some clothes, no much money” (Adriana, Woman, 24 years old, Villa Katy, Youth FGD).

Despite the importance attributed to the work in order to acquire economic power, there are some common allusions to those of despite of working, don not access the same power. There are also common references to illegal activities and the corruption as the main sources to acquire economic power, taking as a reference the history of corruption and narcotraffic in Colombia. Loosing the economic power is usually a consequence of mismanagements in the money or the businesses: “Failing in the stuff, because of lousy businesses or bad habits, the most common in people are the addictions, there are some people who love drinking and that is how someone looses power, self-esteem and friends, all of it” (Luís, Man, 30 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD).

6.1.2 Power as a self-determination capacity

In this dimension power is associated to the possibility of acting, working and deciding towards the personal and collective wellbeing which keeps a close relation to the economic power and, as it will be seen HEAad, the concept of freedom: “Power is being able to do many things, being able to work, to have a farm, to have some animals, birds, pigs, cultivations, manioc, banana” (Beatriz, Woman, 44 years old, González, LFPD FGD); “*being able to have an art, teaching some other people, having the possibility of feeding the poor kids*” (Ruth, Woman, 26 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

The *Household questionnaire* asked about the aspects related to this dimension: the control on the decisions related to the ordinary life and the power to vindicate the rights. It is

¹¹⁷ An expression used in Spanish to call someone poor, the peasant.

important to remark, in the first place, the existing correlation between the IMP and the changes perceived in *the control to take decisions related to the daily life* (0.41). An important number of the interviewed, especially men, think they have control on most of the decisions related to their daily life, outstanding Los Alamos, the community with the higher IMP. About the changes experienced in the last ten years in terms of control on the decisions affecting their lives, the answers show that, in general, the interviewed do not perceive a great variation and the answers do not differ from men to women.

The questions related to the power these people have in their households to vindicate their rights was represented in an imaginary ladder. In the first place, we asked about the step of the ladder where the interviewed consider they are currently according to that power, observing a lightly higher average in the communities with the higher IMP (Chart 24). The difference calling the attention is the rural average compared to the urban one. There is no big difference.

Chart 24. Current step in the Ladder of Power
Average on a maximum of ten steps

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	5,1
		Nelson Mandela	5,1
		Revivir	5,9
		Villa Katy	2,9
Total IMP mayor a la media			4,7
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	3,8
		González	5,3
	Total receptora		4,6
	Rural	Cerotal	4,1
		Macaján	3,2
Total rural		3,6	
Total IMP menor a la media			4,1
Total general			4,4

Source: Household questionnaire

The Questionnaire allows us, besides, to examine the changes experienced in the last years in terms of the power of these people to make their rights count. In some cases, (Los Álamos, González and Villa Katy) the question was adapted for establishing the comparison with the arrival moment of these households the car, while the others took as reference a period of ten years ago.

In the communities where the period of reference for the Ladder was the arrival of the households to the reception sites, there are higher proportions of people thinking they are in a better situation now in terms of rights vindication (55.7%), comparing to a 21.1%, if we take for comparison the communities where the reference was before displacement. The interviewed in Revivir are the ones that, in higher measure, perceive a positive balance about that power comparing with ten years ago. The opinions in Cerotal, on the other side, distribute in equality the absences, descendents and balances in the Ladder of Power, while the interviewed in El Pilar, Nelson Mandela and Macaján are those registering the worst development of this power. There are no differences between men and women.

**Chart 25. Changes in the power of enforcing the rights
- Current situation compared to the reference period -**

Tipo de comunidad	Período de referencia	Comunidad	Mejor	Igual	Peor	
Receptora	Hace 10 años	El Pilar	10,0%	43,3%	46,7%	
		Nelson Mandela	13,3%	46,7%	40,0%	
		Revivir	40,0%	30,0%	30,0%	
	Total hace 10 años		21,1%	40,0%	38,9%	
Rural	Al llegar	González	69,4%	27,8%	2,8%	
		Los Álamos	53,3%	16,7%	30,0%	
		Villa Katy	41,9%	19,4%	38,7%	
	Total al llegar		55,7%	21,6%	22,7%	
	Rural	Rural	Cerotal	31,0%	34,5%	34,5%
			Macaján	8,6%	60,0%	31,4%
Total rural		18,8%	48,4%	32,8%		

Source: Household questionnaire

About the reasons explaining the descents in the Ladder of Power, forced displacement was the most mentioned among the households, followed by the worsening of the economy and the loss of a job. If the factors creating ascents and descents in the Ladder of Power are added by type, the social factors are the most important ones in the positive mobility while economic factors affect the most the negative mobility.

The factor recognized as determinant for the ascent in the Ladder of Power is education, formal or informal one. They also mention, with lower proportions, the aid of the NGO's and the improvement of economy.

6.1.3 Power as the exercise of authority and domination.

The reflections around power produced frequent references to exercise of authority, no matter in a political, social or family context: *“For me power is not money. Is that person with a higher hierarchy in some place, no matter if he has money or not”* (Juan, Man, 28 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD); *“having rights on others, like the parents on their kids”* (Ángela, Woman, 23 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD). From this perspective, in five of the eight communities - Cerotal, El Pilar, Los Álamos, Nelson Mandela and Revivir- it was considered that communitarian leaders are the ones with more power inside the community, while in Macaján, Villa Katy and González the analysis of the most powerful people was focused on the economic aspect. Such tendency can be explained, at least partially, because of the weakness of the leadership and organizational process observed in these three communities.

The acquisition of this kind of power is basically associated to the possibility of obtaining communitarian backup: *“You get the power through the community, they have the votes, they choose”* Teresa, Woman, 62 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“keeping your word with the people, showing you can do things, that way you get power, being loved by the community”* (Pilar, Man, 38 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD). That way, being ethically right constitutes an essential factor for achieving power, thanks to the possibility of building confidence with others: *“Sometimes you get power serving others. Some times*

there are some decisions and they saying 'Let's ask Rafael, he can help us'. It is not an economical power, but a power based on service" (Gabriel, Man, 60 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD). An important factor in the loss of power is the mismanagement of it, as a consequence of the authority excesses, the improper development of leadership and corruption, each one of these conducting to the loss of confidence and, consequently, the loss of power and political support: *"Not being able to do things right, because if power was given by the community, it can be taken away too"* (Isabel, Woman, 24 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

In this context, the participants usually think about the good and bad use of power: *"There are good and bad powers. If you, with your power, help many people, that is a good power. But if you are like the armed groups, that is a bad power"* (Lorena, Woman, 18 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD). Based on that, some people assure it is not good being powerful, due to the relation between power and the abuse of it, vanity and the lack of solidarity: *"When we are powerful we forget about our friends; to exercise power correctly we have to be the same like when we had nothing. Money damages the heart and the reason"* (Juan Pablo, Man, 62 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD). This vision allows us to understand clearly the following statement of a woman in Macaján: *"In our environment it is not good being powerful, it is not something to be proud of"* (Mercedes, Woman, 42 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD). In the same sense, some participants refer to the circumstances contributing to the abuse of power, frequently related to the armed conflict and to the "power of weapons", as it is called by some participants: *'It is like when the guerrilla was here and they said 'there is a meeting', and we had to be there if we did not wanted to be shot, no matter if we were sick, that was good for them and not for us; or they would tell us we had to go to work, and we had to be there"* (Rodolfo, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD).

6.1.4 Power as self-confidence and the desire of moving on

With the overcoming of the most evident treats of the armed conflict, many people find not enough opportunities to reestablish the lost economic power, usually understood as the capacity to satisfy our basic needs. In this context, the most personal dimension of power, associated to the self-confidence and the desire of moving on, are constituted in key elements to move on: *"I am more confident each day, my desire is to improve my situation, is the biggest desire I have. I set a goal for me everyday. When I got here, I thought in how difficult it would be for me to move on...before I used to ride a bicycle, but I had the hope and the goal of having a real motorcycle, and that is how, the idea is setting goals"* (Humberto, Man, 34 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *"the one who wants, the one who can"* (Ana, Woman, 72 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); *"we can also be powerful if we want things to happen. Powerful is when you take conscience of something and you want to do it"* (Ofelia, Woman, 53 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

According to the qualitative sources, this kind of power constitutes one of the most important factors for the positive mobility, according to the statements of the participants: *"The strength and the desire of living, keep on fighting for my stuff around me. "Struggling for my kids, to give them what my parents could not give me"* (Margarita, Woman, 39 years old, Macaján, ILS); *"not giving up, no matter how many problems there are, overcoming them and turn them into solutions"* (Alfonso, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, ILS).

Occupational history of an inhabitant in Nelson Mandela that has achieved a greater recovery

“I feel confident, because I like setting goals for myself; I like moving on, overcoming obstacles”.

Pedro, inhabitant of Nelson Mandela, 32 years old, started his economically active life really soon with his family, the way it is done in the country side: “That was a good time because we were never hungry, there was always food, raising a pig, a hen, and eating it. Here if we do not have any money, we do not eat” When he was seventeen he had the chance of working with bricklaying, experience that is valued by Pedro as positive because he learned how to develop labors different to agriculture, and this has allowed him an additional source of income. This work, the one he got thanks to his brother in law, was developed during three months “I had to learn, the masters in the work taught me, I learned thanks to the others, but I set my own goals”.

After displacement, he initially dedicated to informal sales, because it was the most immediate work possibility. Pedro considers that working as a informal salesman allowed him facing a difficult period of his life, although he thinks his economic recovery would have been easier if he had a formal job: “That was the one giving me the rice, for me there is no bad job, there are desires and dreams, although it would be better to have the opportunity of working in a company”.

Some time after that he worked as a bricklayer in some works in his neighborhood: “I already had some idea about bricklaying, so I got in as an assistant, the engineer saw I knew how to do things and he promoted me to officer. That is how I got some contacts and started meeting people”. He worked in that kind of activities during some period, most of it inside the neighborhood. Since 2001 he connected to the Ambarema Peasants Association: “When I run out of work, I go looking for “maraña”,¹¹⁸ wherever there is, to work with the Association. In the time I have the harvest, I go out and sell, or look for any way to find some rice. The work in the parcel has been there since 2001, they gave me that terrain because people know I like agriculture”.

Working in the farm represents for Pedro the possibility of being connected to the activity he grew up with and it was taken away from him with displacement. “That is a good experience, because I like agriculture and I am doing to jobs I like, in the “maraña”. And I can do it here; because there is no possibility of coming back to the place I had my lands”

Assuming control of the own development depends, in a good measure, of the self-confidence. In the Individual Life Stories, most of the participants state having self-confidence and increasing it thanks to the capacity for overcoming, at least partially, the adversities of the armed conflict and the internal forced displacement: “*I trust in me because I had to live lots of things. I say to myself ‘after what happened, I am planning on doing these and that’*” (Lilia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS); “*yes, it has risen because I have done some things I did not know I was going to develop, for example, arriving to an office and fighting for my rights, or explaining someone my rights as displaced and fighting for them*” (Alejandra, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS). Additionally to displacement, some other participants state they have increased their self-confidence thanks to the participation in coaching processes, the connection with communitarian projects and religious experiences: “*No matter if I fall, I get up again. If I fall five thousand times, I will stand up some other five times*” (William, Man, 37 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

Overcoming poverty is a process that, to the judgment of the participants, implies to ascent “step by step”, which means, at the same time, will and resistance: “*We the displaced have been moving on step by step, we are barely standing up, and if you are rich and fall, you*

¹¹⁸ Expression used to refer to many kinds of labors developed during a short period of time.

will not be able to stand up again” (Graciela, Woman, 45 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); *“here in Cartagena we had a bad first day, but the second year was better and the third one even more, now I am doing god.* (Jairo, Man, 42 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“The poor are powerful in spirit but no economically. They want God helping them. The poor is humble. Life goes by step by step”* (Ernesto, Man, 50 years old, González, LFPD FGD); *‘if you fall ten times, you have to stand up ten times, no matter what happens’* (Gabriela, Woman, 53 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

A negative personal attitude constitutes a factor frequently associated to the descents in the Ladder of Life, while the *“spirit poverty”* is mentioned by some of the groups as a characteristic of the households in the worst conditions. Some of the participants are explicit when saying these kind of behavior hinder any recovery from the impacts of conflict, referring especially to apathy, conformism, dependence, lack of aspirations and irresponsibility: *“If you have a purpose, you fulfill it, but there are lazy people”* (Elena, Woman, 19 years old, Macaján, Youth FGD); *“there is people poor in spirit, thinking the government has to provide it everything, and that is not true”* (Mario, Man, 38 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“here we have many myths limiting us, the rich ones are complete, it is easier for a camel go through the needle eye than the rich one coming to heaven; those kind of things take people being happy when they are poor”* (Gustavo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“sometimes poverty does not mean we are poor but it means we have a short mind, maybe because of the generation; then I think that is poverty [mind poverty] we do not want to progress”* (Cielo, Woman, 42 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

6.1.5 Education and Power

“Studying is the best thing ever, it motivates you and rising you self-esteem”
Diana, Woman, 32 years old, Los Álamos, ILS

Education was identified as the most important factor when it comes to access the different kinds of power, being associated also to the access to greater economic opportunities and the development of the capacities to solve the problems and defend the rights: *“If I was able to study I would be in some other conditions, now I am not able to use a computer, that is why I have lost opportunities for studying”* (Alicia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, ILS); *“to get a good job you need to study, and to study you need to have some economic resources; it is a vicious circle”* (Claudia, Woman, 17 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD); *“reading gives you critical sense”* (Mauricio, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD). The importance attributed to education is extended even to those few years of formal education many of the interviewed had, remarking the development of the competences for solving daily problems and obtaining greater levels of autonomy, due to the reading, writing and the realization of the basic mathematical operations: *“It helped me knowing my name, signing, writing a letter, counting stuff for buying and selling”* (Eugenio, Man, 54 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

In the households of the sample, education –especially informal education- is identified as one of the reasons for ascendant mobility in the Ladder of Life, as long as some of the interviewed attribute to their deficient formal education their blocked status in the Ladder. Nevertheless, there is no correlation between the IMO and the education levels of the head

of households or their kids, which can simply reflect that formal education is insufficient for the difficulties these households have to face when they have been affected by the armed conflict and/or the internal forced displacement.

Most of the interviewed heads of households (43%) have an incomplete primary, the 17% finished their primary studies, 14% developed any grade in middle and high school, the 5% finished middle and high school and the 1% started superior studies. The other 20% has not Subsidized to any formal education center, but a quarter knows how to read and write thanks to the help of relatives and friends, according to the Individual Life Stories. That means that the 15% of the heads of households are illiterate, which is an inferior level to the one present in the study of the Andes University: 24% (Ibáñez and Moya, 2006). Such as it happens in the national context, the greater shares of illiterate heads of households can be found in the Atlantic region. It is important to remark that, in general, women head of households have lower illiteracy levels and a higher education level than men, although there are some exceptions. Some of the interviewed tell the difficulties they had for studying, as the consequence of the costumes of their parents around women education: *“I only studied until third grade because my parents used to say that women did not need study; women need husbands”* (Luisa, Woman, 49 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

According to the results of the questionnaire, in all communities there is a take over of the new generation in the subject of education, although some communities are going faster than others. If we examine the education level reached by the kids with the age for assisting primary (6 to 11) we can observe that most of them (89%) have studied some level of this stage. If we analyze the maximum education level obtained by kids and young people with the age for assisting middle and high school, more than half of them (56%) have some grade of middle and high school. And, if for this last range of age, we add the complete and incomplete middle and high school processes, we have that kids and young people in Revivir are those assisting to the scholar system in a greater measure.

The previous data concur with the national tendencies in the education levels of the rural and urban sectors. In the first one there usually is a lower access to this kind of education, being greater the opportunities of non formal education, but overall informal, outstanding the learning acquired in the work and family fields: *“I learned how to cultivate the land since I was ten because my parents were poor; I suffered a lot and I had to go and cultivate. Everything I learned was very useful, that is why I am able to work now”* (Lorenza, Woman, 58 years old, El Pilar, ILS). Some people remark not only the required learning for working, but also for the life experiences: *“I also learned moral values and ethics; my dad taught me I had to be respectful and kind”* (Juliana, Woman, 20 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

If well it is common that people refer to the difficulty represented by competing with their low education levels in the overflowed urban employment markets, they also express that the knowledge they received in the formal and informal processes have allowed them face in a more effective way the challenges of displacement. Thanks, maybe, to the valuation of these kind of knowledge and its functionality in the rural sector, there is a strong tendency in the participants to consider the lack of an education level does not hinder the possibilities of moving on: *“The countryside does not need reading, it needs tough people, with spirit”*

(Alejandro, Man, 65 years old, Villa Katy, ILS). Nevertheless, the situation of the internal forced displacement and the adaptation to the urban context demands different knowledge to the acquired in the rural area: *“We the displaced need to learn things about the city, becoming urban workers, we are not very productive in the city, I think.”* (Miguel, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“I did not know a thing about construction, I only now stuff about machete”* José Antonio, Man, 48 years old, González, LFPD FGD); *“all farmers, the goal is to achieve working with the countryside again, something related to the farm; bakery, or candies...that is not for us”* Bernardo, Man, 44 years old, González, LFPD FGD); *“when you are displaced, you feel vulnerable everywhere, you get out from the countryside like if you were dumb, you do not know how to talk”* (Jorge, Man, 30 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). In fact, the generation of sources of income seem to be easier for those people previously trained in labors different to the ones related to the rural sector as it is appreciated in some of the Individual Life Stories: *“I learned how to bake more than twenty years ago, that labor was standing by, but not forgotten”* (Gonzalo, Man, 50 years old, Macaján, ILS).

The recognition of the challenges these people have to face, has taken the attention policies make a special focus on the training programs, in the context of the component of social and economic stabilization. The developed coaching processes are diverse in the topics and the modalities. In the stories of the participants, it is possible to identify a wide screen of coaching activities: confection, fruit conservation, bakery, shoemaking, jewelry, handcrafts, and marketing, among others. It calls the attention in some communities, particularly in Revivir and in Los Alamos, the development of numerous courses by a single person: *‘I have lots of those diplomas, I have 28!’* (Maria, Woman, 50 years old, Revivir, ILS); *“in the 98 I did a shoemaking course in the SENA, it was a time when I had no work. Between the 98 and the 99 I had a bakery course, and then a mechanics one. With ANDAS I have been in courses of democracy, human rights, leadership. Being here, building houses, we did many courses on family violence, how to live in a community, and self-esteem. I did a leadership course between 2001 and 2002. After that, there was another course of cooperation with some other 40 people, we were going to create a cooperative, but I already belonged to one in downtown. We have always been courses about FTA, Repair, Justice and Truth Law, the 025 sentence of the Constitutional Court, between 2004 and 2005. This year I have not had that much time, only in the work boards of the ANDAS and the National Displaced Coordination”* (Gustavo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, ILS).

The importance of these opportunities for some households in the income generation has been evident: *“Many have changed because they have received some coaching from the SENA, bakery, marketing, people started working, the learned, and they earned”* (Claudia, Woman, 48 years old, Los Alamos, LFPD FGD); *“since 2004 I started a course in Creations Goreti, and from there we started to sell clothing. I do the uniforms for my nephews. I do not sell that much, I do them when they ask me to, I earn \$5.000 per clothe, the rest I spend it in materials”* (Isabel, Woman, 35 years old, El Pilar, ILS); *“a corporation called ‘God is Love’ gave us some training about doing some catering and frozen food, it helped me a lot, when people have events they hire me for the catering. I had some economic benefits and I feel I am learning”* Inés, Woman, 29 years old, Revivir, ILS). For some other participants, the importance of the coaching is given not in the current generation of resources, but in the potential opportunities for the future for acquiring a real

job: *“I have a course as a community leader; another in confection; another in first aid; cooperation; bakery; soy management; industrial machines in the SENA (...) all these courses helped me because I acquired some experience and I will be able to offer my services because I am prepared to do that”* (Gloria, Woman, 40 years old, Los Álamos, ILS).

Still recognizing the importance these opportunities *had had, the precarious effectiveness in the income generation is an usual topic for discussion: “Here came a social worker, taught us how to make dolls, bags, and she always said ‘we will contact you for selling the stuff’ and they never called”* (Lilia, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“what we need here is credit, because we earn nothing doing this kind of things”* (Estela, Woman, 33 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

As it can be appreciated in the previous testimonials, and in many others gathered through the FGD and the Individual Life Stories, the main questioning to the coaching processes is related to the lack of resources for practicing what they learned, difficulties for accessing a credit and the lack of support for commercialization: *“I did a course in clothe designing, but I am vacant because I have no resources. They borrowed us \$50.000 but that is not enough to cover the costs of the raw materials”* (Esperanza, Woman, 31 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD); *“there is some coaching on cleaning tools, bakery, bricklaying, shoemaking...they told us they were not going to abandon us, but there are no resources for the raw materials, for the market”* (Jorge, Man, 30 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD); *“here we have been trained but they do not give us some credit in order to start our activities, it has happened with several institutions”* (Augusto, Man, 22 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); *“they give us a diploma and that is it. We have been trained for doing lots of things, but I am already tired of that”* (Esteban, Man, 32 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD). Nevertheless, some of the participants, particularly in Revivir, recognize the conflicts and problems inside the communities around the management of the resources given by some of the institutions. For example, referring the Fund established in their neighborhood, they said: *“there was people here who got their credits and they did not pay back”* (Amanda, Woman, 35 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“there was no responsibility, there some people who need the money for working, but they only made credits to their friends”* (Clemencia, Woman, 33 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

On the other side, some of the participants are uncomfortable about the use given by the government to the resources destined for displaced people, as it is clearly seen in this testimonial: *“If you are a peasant and they give you an aid for working the land, you can move on. But the government...you have never been a shoemaker, and they bring you a shoemaking course. They gave us those bakery courses. We wanted that money for the countryside”* (Carlos, Man, 52 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

Despite these difficulties, education is still for many people the factor allowing them to wait for a better future and, as it was stated before, what allows being powerful and reducing inequality.

6.2 FREEDOM AND MOBILITY

“Freedom is standing outside your house”
Aurora, Woman, 38 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD

The armed conflict has some evident consequences in the capacity of individual agency, particularly because of its implications in the experience of liberty. According to the participants, the internal forced displacement allows recovering some of these dimensions – basically the self-determination-, but also implies new losses, especially related to the economic liberty, referred by them to the satisfaction of the basic needs. Still in the middle of these difficulties, the people affected by the armed conflict and/or internal forced displacement experience different dimensions of freedom and consider the concept, without ignoring the economic dimension. It is remarkable the importance granted by the entertainment dimension of life, by ethics, and the behavior and performance of certain genre roles, was fundamental elements for enjoying freedom.

6.2.1 Freedom and the armed conflict

The armed conflict constitutes the most important factor affecting freedom: *“Freedom is being in the farm working, now practically there is no freedom, because the peasants have been taken from their lands and thrown into the city”* (Leonardo, Man, 55 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“when we were forced to displace, I felt really bad because I had to left it all. It was so hard for me, does like if they have cut me my wings, not know what to do”* (Fabio, Man, 35 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD). The relation between the conflict and freedom is boarded by the participants from the different perspectives, taking as a reference two moments in their life: (i) the conflict in their places of origin, previous to displacement; and (ii) the experience in the reception sites, where internal forced displacement represents, in many senses, the loss of freedom and in others, the recovery of it. The life treats, in many senses, the loss of freedom, inherent to the conflict, are usually accompanied by a strong feeling of loss of the daily freedom, as it is appreciated in some testimonials.

The armed conflict and the loss of freedom

“We could not go out because the groups used to prohibit it, nor talking out loud in the houses because we had no idea who was listening; they would go warning in the other houses; we could not have our TV on too late, because they would knock the door an tell us to turn it off (...) Even the trees in the houses had to be counted because they did not want them. Not even the young people had some liberty, they were more controlled. They used to administrate justice when there were problems among the neighbors; that was good. They would not let young people fight each other; young people had to get into bed at six in the afternoon (...) that was a torture, when the law came in here. They formed a committee and made me get in there; do you know what it feels like being pressured by these people? I could not sleep; I used to cry every night. That December, there was no happiness, the committee was to decorate the streets, but we were forced to do so, it had to be pretty, but we were afraid, only fear, no happiness” (Carmenza, Woman, 42 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

“While I felt free I used to feel good, take my road, go to my village, but after that it was very cruel, they took my freedom. I was sentenced to death; I was going to be killed. When Pastrana became President, August 7, I came here. They told me ‘you gather all people in all the veredas and if you do not, we will make you to’ [crying]. I could not eat, there was no way. My chiefs told me to be careful. In that meeting they killed seventeen people. (José, Man, 48 years old, González, LFPD FGD).

In coherence with the previous statements, displacement means both the loss of freedom and the possibility to get it back, a tension that is evidenced in the following testimonials of displaced women: *“If you had more things, you have lived better, but watching at the combats between the army and the guerrilla, you are better here. It is your problem if you want to go back. It is all hard. Sometimes I do not get used to it, sometimes I think I would like to go back”; I think it is hard to live here. The economic factor, we pay for everything over here, every step I take. You have freedom here, but you are going to suffer economically. You have no friends, no one to help you, no job. There where you have been living you have a farm, and when you need something you go and ask your neighbor for it, and return it whenever you can. But here you are oppressed”* (Carolina, Woman, 35 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); *“we are in the middle of the guerrilla, the paramilitaries and the army. But I am needing what I used to have over there: food, nets for fishing, bananas, coconut, manioc, mango...all kinds of fruits, but here sometimes we have no money for buying food”* (Clara, Woman, 60 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

Keeping alive and the capacity for self-determination are fundamental motivations, inherent to displacement: *“At least I have all the freedom I need, and I do not have to be thinking about they coming to kill me”* (Rosaura, Woman, 39 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); *“there where we used to live we could not go wherever we wanted, we could not do what we wanted to do, that is why I had to displace, and now I can go wherever I want, no body asking me what time am I going to be home. Now I get my bag, and leave”* (Margarita, Woman, 60 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

Nevertheless, the analysis of the results allows identifying at least three freedom dimensions of hard characterized by the hard recovery: (i) economic freedom: *“There is no peace with hunger. Only promises and promises and no fulfillment. If there is no job, there is no peace. If there is nothing to cook in the pot, there is no peace”* Oscar, Man, 57 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); (ii) freedom of speech: *“Here that kind of freedom is not very strong, you cannot say ‘I think this’ because you start being accused. Here there are all kinds of tendencies, people do not have any peace”* (Jairo, Man, 43 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); (iii) freedom for returning to their places of origin: *“we are always afraid of coming back to our places of origin, there is no freedom”* (Gustavo, Man, 50 years old, González Chaparro, LFPD FGD). On the other side, the insecurity conditions proper of the reception communities hinder the possibilities for enjoying freedom: *“In a country with no security, there is no freedom, I think”* (Juan, Man, 77 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“the problems are the gangs, hindering our freedom, we cannot walk at any our”* (Alberto, Man, 70 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

The experience for the people currently living in their places of origin –Cerotal and Macaján- has been different. For the first ones, there are still some fears associated to the armed conflict: *“we are all affected because those who have some lands cannot have some peace”* (Consuelo, Woman, 50 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD). The inhabitants of Macaján, on the contrary, usually refer to the freedom the currently experience, once they overcame the combats between the armed factions: *“This is a lot better, there were many groups over here, freedom was limited, and we were scared. These groups have been retrieving, and we have a little more freedom now, this village has practically become a*

single family, all people come here to enjoy” (Pedro, Man, 49 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

6.2.2 Concept and the current experience of freedom

Freedom constitutes a central element for reflection around the possibilities for moving out of poverty and, in the concrete case of this study, to the opportunities of reestablishment of those who have been victims of the conflict and/or internal forced displacement. According to Sen (2000), the conception of freedom includes both processes making possible freedom of actions and decision and the real opportunities of these individuals, given their personal and social circumstances. This author considers freedom not only as a primary objective for development, but also as an important mean.

The meaning of freedom for the participants of the study is constructed around various elements, although closely related to each other, being the most frequent the self-determination, or freedom of choice; freedom of speech; physical freedom; economic freedom; interior freedom. Less frequent are: the work freedom, religious, association, education, entertainment freedom as well as spiritual, political and cultural freedom. In general, it is possible to identify two strong tendencies for the construction of the concept: freedom conceived from the economic dimension and the freedom that is possible to enjoy from poverty.

The experience of freedom in the communities was analyzed based on the perceptions around the factors helping and hindering it; the more and less free people of the community; and the possibilities offered by the country or the community to enjoy some concrete kinds of freedom: press and speech; freedom for talking about the situations in the community, for constituting an association without the necessity of being authorized by the government and freedom of expressing religious believes.

The analysis of the results allows identifying three elements helping freedom: the availability of the economic resources, mentioned especially by adults, the ethical behavior and entertainment. In some FGD appears as a relevant element the youth and associated to this, the civil state; while young people frequently refer to education and economic independence. The aspects hindering freedom are, fundamentally, the armed conflict, frequently mentioned in Cerotal and Macaján, and basically by the adults; insecurity in the reception sites; lack of economic resources stated by adults too.

The perceptions around the free people in the communities tend to divide within many possibilities, being superior, nevertheless, the consideration that those with more freedoms are those with more money and work. Men are also remarked because of their freedom; kids, because they can ignore any kind of problem; and those acting out of the law, as it is the case of El Pilar, where some people stated that the gang members were the most free people in the neighborhood: *“They can go out at night”* (Claudia, Woman, 19 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD); *“they take their own decisions”* (Andrea, Woman, 21 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD). When comparing the communities and the statements of men and women, young people and adult ones, there are some important tendencies (i) the consideration that people with higher economic resources have more freedom, stated

especially by adult men; (ii) the tendency for considering men as people with more freedom, which obviously is a female opinion.

The less free people are, for most of the participants, women referring to some especial cases, especially mothers. They also consider the poorest people as individuals with a little freedom, as well as kids and elders, given their dependence relations to some other members in the family. The comparison between men and women, young and adult, allows identifying that: (i) the problem with women is that they do not believe in their freedom themselves; (ii) kids are assumed as less free, especially by young people; (iii) the elders and poor people are less free, according to the adults.

Now then, for analyzing the answers to the *Household questionnaire*, related to freedom, it is possible to find that the possibility of openly expressing the religious believes is generalized and has been incremented with time. The other kinds of freedom, it means, freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom for talking about the problems of the community, freedom of association, among others. When we analyze the relation between these kinds of freedom and the IMP it is possible to find that the higher level of correlation (0.46) has to do with the “*freedom of association without asking the governments permission*” (Chart 26). Besides this number, it is important to remark that, in most cases, the interviewed in El Pilar make part of those with the less freedom.

Chart 26. Interviewed considering they have freedom of association without the permission of the government

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	%
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	56,7%
		Nelson Mandela	46,7%
		Revivir	73,3%
		Villa Katy	45,2%
Total IMP mayor a la media			55,4%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	40,0%
		González	55,6%
	Total receptora		48,5%
	Rural	Cerotal	50,0%
		Macaján	48,6%
Total rural		49,2%	
Total IMP menor a la media			48,9%
Total general			52,0%

Source: Household questionnaire

The genre analysis of the interviewed shows that women have more positive perceptions than men when it comes to freedom of speech, the possibility of association without the government permission and the freedom of press. Men, on their side, have a more positive perception of freedom of talking about the problems in the community. About the expression of religious believes, there are no important differences. The most remarkable of the differences between men and women is that, systematically, the opinions of women on the changes of the different kinds of freedom suggest that the current situation is better, while men consider there has been no change or, even worse, sometimes there is less freedom.

To finish the analysis, it is important to outstanding the importance of strong questioning by some of the participants around the limitations to freedom imposed by the lack of support of the government: *“Freedom is being ruined by those ruling this country. They do not let the people think with their heads, but with their stomach because they are hungry. The other thing is weapons; there is no power of words but power of weapons”* (Pedro, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

6.2.3 Economic freedom

“All poor is free, we are all humans”
Gloria, Woman, 14 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD

The reflections developed by the participants around the relation between freedom and mobility are configured according to: (i) the conception of poverty, in the sense that if this reduces or not the economic dimension: *“Money is not everything. My brother says: ‘we are not poor, we just do not have resources’ and ‘a rich man is not a poor one with money’”* (Cesar, Man, 21 years old, González Chaparro, Youth FGD); (ii) the ‘grade’ of economic poverty, taking into account if it hinders or not the satisfaction of the basic needs: *“Depends on the poverty, there are some people who do not have anything to eat, so they have no economic freedom, But there are others who can be poor but having more freedom depending on the job they have”* (Danilo, Man, 30 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); and (iii) the concept of freedom, implying each time more the recognition or not of the different dimensions: *“poverty is not going to hinder me the possibility to move myself (...) of course I cannot go to downtown because I have no money for transportation” ...* (Darío, Man, 60 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

Economic freedom is assumed, essentially, as the possibility of working and satisfying the basic needs, aspect referred by the adults: *“if you are OK economically talking, you may feel free”* (Gonzalo, Man, 35 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD); *“if there is no job, there is no freedom”* (Jerónimo, Man, 34 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD). Taking into account this conception, it is comprehensible the tendency of the participants to refer to the loss of freedom implied by displacement: *“without any food or money, I do not live very well, I live sad, poor, what freedom am I supposed to have, it is all dark. I had a little farm in Urabá and they killed my woman and I got here”* (Ramiro, Man, 67 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“Freedom is really being able to do what you want, what you desire. We used to say this was a free country, but we have no resources. There could be freedom if we all had education, freedom for entertaining in culture”* (Gustavo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD).

Nevertheless, when exploring the relation between freedom and economic mobility, there is possible to identify some other tendencies making this concept even more complex. In the first place, it is considered that poverty does not exclude the possibility of experiencing freedom, statement that is argued based on the recognition of some other kinds of freedom not related to poverty: *“poverty does not affect someone’s freedom. A poor person may express himself”* (Consuelo, Woman, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD); *“for having some self-confidence you do not need much money”* (Gladys, Woman, 16 years old, González Chaparro, Youth FGD); *“being poor you can enjoy freedom, there is happiness in little things”* (Oscar, Man, 24 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD); *“freedom was done*

for all people, no matter the economic condition” (Diego, Man, 21 years old, Villa Katy, Youth FGD).

In the second place, it is considered that economic solvency helps people to experience freedom, but does not guarantee it, and in some cases, it may hinder it. Such reflection is based on the considerations around the conditions of insecurity and vulnerability created by economic solvency: *“those who have money do not have peace; they go to their farms two or three minutes. Because we are poor, we can be everywhere we want to, what can they get from me?”* (Ángela, Woman, 19 years old, Macaján, Youth FGD); *“the poor one may go to bed whenever he wants, it is nicer, the rich one has more occupations”* (Carmenza, Woman, 40 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD); *“the rich people always want to get more and more. The poor people work, have what they need, and that is why their freedom. But for rich people that is not enough”* (Ana, Woman, 45 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

6.2.4 Freedom not circumscribed to the economic capacity

In the construction of the concept and the other reflections developed by the participants of the study around freedom, it is possible to identify some essential kinds of freedom, not circumscribed to the economic capacity and; in that measure it is possible to enjoy them even for those with no resources at all. These are self-determination, freedom of speech, physical and interior freedom, seriously affected by the armed conflict but somewhat recovered.

The self-determination, essentially referred to the possibility of deciding, is usually undermined according to the participants, by the existence of economic dependence, family commitments and, particularly, the experience of the armed conflict: *“The word ‘freedom’ is not being humiliating some other people, or being missing all the Colombian experience, out of displacement, for not living in humiliation but in the way everyone should live”* (Emma, Woman, 60 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD). Freedom of speech represents, on the other side, one of the central elements of the concept in all participant groups, especially with men and young people. Such freedom is referred to the possibility of expressing thoughts and feelings without being judged or punished, fear related, again, to the armed conflict: *“if you are afraid of expressing yourself it is because there is a treat, then is where war comes up. Many people want to do stuff for Colombia, and that is why they kill them”* (Guillermo, Man, 22 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

Physical freedom is usually referred, from the perspective of the participants, both to the translation to the city and the possibility of walking peacefully, possibility associated to the local and national conditions of security: *“It is pretty being able to move wherever I want and nobody stopping me”* (Omar, Man, 41 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD). Finally, interior freedom is usually referred to the objection of conscience, with doing things right: *“Having some love in your heart, peace in your heart”* (Fredy, Man, 56 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD); *“not owing nothing to the government, having a clean résumé”* (Joaquín, Man, 41 years old, Los Álamos). In this analysis line, some groups make recognition to the limits imposed to their freedom by the others, locating a context of respect for the other, motivated by both ethical and legal reasons: *“For me, freedom is*

doing whatever you want without getting into other people's lives" (David, Man, 43 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD). Based on that, they argue the importance of an ethical behavior in the experience of freedom, emphasizing honesty, confidence and respect for the others: *"Spiritual freedom is taking along with the others, apologizing, that is being free"* (Laura, Woman, 24 years old, Villa Katy, Youth FGD); *"being good with your neighbors, respecting the kid, the elder, then you feel good, freedom is relating to people"* (Julio, Man, 70 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD).

6.2.5 Genre and freedom

As it was said before men are mentioned as some of the more free people, while women are identified as the less free inside the communities, if well there is an important difference, especially for men, when they argue they have the same freedom. Finally, some groups, all of men, think women are freer.

The statements around the greater freedom of men comparing to women is supported in different arguments, closely related among each other: (i) greater economic independence: *"they feel free because they have their job, and they are doing something"* (Teresa, Woman, 62 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); (ii) greater sexual freedom: *"men are free because they do not have a single woman, they have two or three, but a woman cannot have two husbands"* (Rosaura, Woman, 39 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD); (iii) greater possibilities of having fun: *"they go out more, they go to party, they go to football, and we stay at home taking care of our kids"* (Martha, Woman, 35 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); (iv) lower responsibilities inside the family: *"We dedicate ourselves to our households, we attend the little kids, we do the laundry, we prepare the food, and they do nothing"* (Rosalba, Woman, 38 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD); (v) a greater freedom of action: *"they do not ask for permission, but we have to tell them where are we going; they go and do their stuff and we have no idea about their location"* (Flor, Woman, 72 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD); (vi) the access to some kinds of jobs: *"they do not give the job to the woman no matter if she thinks she can do it"* (Miguel, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD). Such advantages are related, according to the participants, to the socialization process in the family field; the processes of sexual inclusion and exclusion; economic dependence of women and the permissivity of some of them.

On their side, the lower freedom of women is usually associated to their higher family responsibilities: *"I have no freedom, I feel in jail. If I had no kids, I could study"* (Laura, Woman, 21 years old, Villa Katy, Youth FGD); *"someone single is someone free, but I am married so I have to stay here, at home. Single women do not, they come and go, they go to parties, but I am married so I cannot do that"* (Catalina, Woman, 30 years old, Cerotal, LFPD FGD). Nevertheless, there are some people who consider women have greater freedom, based on the job opportunities and the greater institutional help, if well; some people argue women have a greater freedom precisely thanks to the fact that they do not have to work. The first aspect is based, especially, in the possibility of offering domestic services: *"For women there are more sources of work than for men, because they can do stuff"* (Ricardo, Man, 56 years old, Nelson Mandela, LFPD FGD).

Those perceiving equality between men and women when it comes to freedom support in the considerations related to the possibility of developing the same labors, the self-determination, the exercise of the rights and the participation possibilities. Some other people refer to the equality mentioning the daily dimensions of freedom, such as *“the freedom for loving, or sleeping”* (Álvaro, Man, 59 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD); or the a situation demanding the equal participation of both around a common cause, such as in Villa Katy, where they invaded the terrains and established their settlement: *“It was very different, we used to take machetes and watch at night, five people”* (Luisa, Woman, 32 years old, Villa Katy, LFPD FGD). Some groups were very explicit when saying the differences between the urban and rural sector, indicating that there is a higher equity for participating in urban environments: *“Here in rural areas men control women, the freedom of women is less than men, that because of the kids, the house chores, but in big cities freedom is just the same for both of them”* (Astrid, Woman, 42 years old, Macaján, LFPD FGD).

Finally, there are some other aspects related to the age, the civil status and the number of kids, playing an important role in the experience of freedom: *“Having a large family is having a short freedom”* (Francisco, Man, 70 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD). Considering the commitments acquired with marriage, some people are emphatic when saying that their youth is their period of higher freedom. Nevertheless, some people think marriage allows people to be free: *“Freedom is really beautiful, because I have been free since I married, my parents are not ruling me anymore, and I have my own stuff. Back then, my parents and my brothers used to tell me what to do”* (Edgar, Man, 28 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD).

6.2.6 Health and freedom

“Freedom is not being in jail or paralyzed, sick or lying on a bed”
Luz Mary, Woman, 39 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD

Health constitutes an element strongly associated to freedom: *“the sick one is not free”* (Patricia, Woman, 35 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD). In a similar perspective, enjoying good health represents for some people the possibility of experiencing power, while the disease constitutes a hindering factor, even for those in good economic conditions: *“Mr. Miguel has not as much power as we do because he is sick”* (José, Man, 41 years old, Los Álamos, LFPD FGD).

Most of households (48%) qualify their health as regular, the third part thinks it is OK (Chart 27). By communities, the questioned people feel healthier in Los Álamos, Villa Katy and Revivir, three of the communities with the higher IMP. About the changes experienced in their health condition comparing to ten years ago, no community thinks the situation is better, but there are some important differences between men and women. The interviewed in Nelson Mandela are those who consider it has deteriorated (70%)¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ This situation is curious because Nelson Mandela is the community with the best health infrastructure in the whole study.

Chart 27. Perception on health issues of the interviewed

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Excelente	Buena	Regular	Mala	Muy mala
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	16,7%	30,0%	50,0%	3,3%	0,0%
		Nelson Mandela	0,0%	33,3%	46,7%	10,0%	10,0%
		Revivir	16,7%	33,3%	40,0%	10,0%	0,0%
		Villa Katy	12,9%	41,9%	38,7%	3,2%	3,2%
Total IMP mayor a la media			11,6%	34,7%	43,8%	6,6%	3,3%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	0,0%	26,7%	50,0%	13,3%	10,0%
		González	2,8%	50,0%	33,3%	8,3%	5,6%
	Total receptora		1,5%	39,4%	40,9%	10,6%	7,6%
	Rural	Cerotal	0,0%	13,3%	66,7%	20,0%	0,0%
		Macaján	0,0%	28,6%	57,1%	14,3%	0,0%
Total rural		0,0%	21,5%	61,5%	16,9%	0,0%	
Total IMP menor a la media			0,8%	30,5%	51,1%	13,7%	3,8%
Total general			6,0%	32,5%	47,6%	10,3%	3,6%

Source: Household questionnaire

The importance of health in the mobility is reflected in the high correlation obtained between the current health of the interviewed and the IMP (0.62). The access to the health services and the health itself are some important referents when describing the households in the best and worst conditions. The households in the worst conditions are usually characterized as those whose members are very sick, do not count with medical services and live in ill conditions: *“there are many people living in terrible conditions and when it rains they flood, then is when we see kids getting sick and also them”* (Erminia, Woman, 30 años Villa Katy, LOL FGD).

For some of the interviewed, having a great health is one of the most important aspects for going up in the Ladder of Life, while the health problems (also including accidents and expensive medical services) were mentioned as factors hindering mobility. The testimonials collected in the Ladder of Life allows to appreciate the perceptions of the participants around the impacts of the health problems in the mobility of the households: *“When I got sick I lost all my ‘plante’, I spent it”* (Margarita, Woman, 41 years old, Villa Katy, LOL FGD); *“suddenly you are OK but your kid gets sick, and for curing him you take all your savings and that is how you loose it all”* (Liliana, Woman, 28 years old, Los Álamos, LOL FGD). Health is important for analyzing the Individual Life Stories. The diseases are common causes for the descents in the wellbeing, given the consequences in the loss of a job, the change in the economic activity, the reduction of the sources of income and the spending of the savings: *“In the first two years we were recovering because they gave us a “rancho” for living there. We were OK, my wife was working. We had some savings, but since she got sick, things got wrong”* (Carlos, Man, 47 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS).

6.3 HAPPINESS AND MOBILITY

“Although it is hard over here, we have to pay attention, take risks, work”
Estela, Woman, 57 years old, El Pilar, LFPD FGD

The *Household questionnaire* asked about the current and the previous location of the households in a Ladder representing their happiness, and the reasons explaining the movements in that ladder. For the first aspect it was found that the inhabitants of Los Álamos, community with the higher IMP, perceive themselves as the happier ones (Chart

28); and in El Pilar, the community with the lower IMP, finds the lower base. The other communities, both above and below the average mobility show a similar behavior. The genre analysis shows that the location of men in the current step of the ladder is always above women's.

**Chart 28. Current step in the Ladder of Happiness
Average on a maximum of 10 steps**

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Promedio
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	7.1
		Nelson Mandela	4.8
		Revivir	5.4
		Villa Katy	5.2
Total IMP mayor a la media			5.6
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	3.7
		González	5.7
	Total receptora		4.8
	Rural	Cerotal	4.6
		Macaján	4.6
Total rural		4.6	
Total IMP menor a la media			4.7
Total general			5.1

Source: Household questionnaire

The households that have achieved a greater recovery outstand because of their strength when overcoming adversity, existing and important association between the IMP and the perception of happiness (0.57).

The movements in the Ladder of Happiness are different if the reference period is ten years ago (as it was questioned in the rural communities and in El Pilar, Nelson Mandela and Revivir) or the arrival moment to the reception communities (for Los Álamos, González and Villa Katy). In the first case, most of the interviewed state they are less happy now, excepting Macaján, where there are lots of answers referring stability. In the other hand, in the second case, most of the questioned state being happier now. This suggests that most of the interviewed have managed to recover their happiness since their arrival to the reception sites, but they are less happy if they compare their current situation with their places of origin. There are no important differences by genre.

**Chart 29. Changes in the perception of happiness
- Current situation compared to the reference period -**

Tipo de comunidad	Período de referencia	Comunidad	Mejor	Igual	Peor
Receptora	Hace 10 años	El Pilar	10,0%	13,3%	76,7%
		Nelson Mandela	3,3%	23,3%	73,3%
		Revivir	6,7%	26,7%	66,7%
		Total hace 10 años		6,7%	21,1%
Rural	Al llegar	González	63,9%	19,4%	16,7%
		Los Álamos	46,7%	23,3%	30,0%
		Villa Katy	64,5%	19,4%	16,1%
	Total al llegar		58,8%	20,6%	20,6%
	Rural	Rural	Cerotal	20,0%	20,0%
Macaján			37,1%	40,0%	22,9%
Total rural			29,2%	30,8%	40,0%

Source: Household questionnaire

The questioned experiencing an ascendant movement in the Ladder of Happiness within the last 10 years or from the arrival moment to their reception sites mentioned the improvements in their house or moving to a new one as the main factor for this ascent. In second place they mentioned marriage and their kids, followed by getting a better job, and with the same frequency, the access to health services, education etc., greater security and better social relationships. By genre, the improvements and the access to housing occupied the first place in men and women; but the second place in women was obtained by the marriage and the kids, while men mentioned, in similar proportions, a better job, a new business or a greater security. About the factors explaining the descent in the ladder, it is possible to find forced displacement, unemployment, reduction of the income and health problems.

In contrast with the happiness issue, the *Household questionnaire* also asked about the feelings of worry, anguish and sadness experienced the week previous to the application of the instrument. It is important to remark a lower sense of these feelings in the communities achieving a greater recovery, happiness and wellbeing.

The result suggests that households where people are less affected by the worries and the sadness are those with the best perspectives of recovery, although this result could be interpreted in the other sense: those households achieving a greater recovery experience less these kinds of feelings. In El Pilar, the community with the lowest IMP is where the greater proportion of people claim having experienced, in a greater or lower measure, one of the feelings included in the *Household questionnaire* (Chart 30). In all cases, the share of the interviewed claiming the experience of some of these feelings is greater in the communities with the lower IMP. The most common sensation in the interviewed was the one of not having a future, lack of hope, followed by the incomprehension feeling; anguish and fear; worry and the impossibility to focus; loneliness; low energy; low interest for the daily activities; and with less frequency, the sensation that life is not worth it.

Chart 30. Feelings experienced by the interviewed during the last week¹²⁰

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Sin futuro	Incomprensión	Angustia	Intranquilidad
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Alamos	40,0%	26,7%	36,7%	23,3%
		Nelson Mandela	40,0%	10,0%	6,7%	10,0%
		Revivir	36,7%	24,1%	16,7%	13,3%
		Villa Katy	38,7%	38,7%	16,1%	29,0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			38,8%	25,0%	19,0%	19,0%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	63,3%	46,7%	53,3%	53,3%
		González	33,3%	19,4%	33,3%	19,4%
	Total receptora		47,0%	31,8%	42,4%	34,8%
	Rural	Cerotal	20,0%	30,0%	10,0%	20,0%
		Macaján	51,4%	22,9%	28,6%	31,4%
Total rural		36,9%	26,2%	20,0%	26,2%	
Total IMP menor a la media			42,0%	29,0%	31,3%	30,5%
Total general			40,5%	27,1%	25,4%	25,0%

¹²⁰ The shares included in the Chart correspond to those who answered “much” or “too much”.

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	No tener con quien contar	Decaimiento	Desinterés	Vida no vale la pena
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	30,0%	30,0%	16,7%	16,7%
		Nelson Mandela	10,0%	20,0%	10,0%	3,3%
		Revivir	13,3%	3,3%	3,3%	0,0%
		Villa Katy	16,1%	6,5%	19,4%	9,7%
Total IMP mayor a la media			17,4%	14,9%	12,4%	7,4%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	50,0%	50,0%	26,7%	16,7%
		González	22,2%	13,9%	13,9%	8,3%
	Total receptora		34,8%	30,3%	19,7%	12,1%
	Rural	Cerotal	20,0%	6,7%	3,3%	0,0%
		Macaján	31,4%	20,0%	31,4%	17,1%
Total rural		26,2%	13,8%	18,5%	9,2%	
Total IMP menor a la media			30,5%	22,1%	19,1%	10,7%
Total general			24,2%	18,7%	15,9%	9,1%

Source: Household questionnaire

These feelings are usually more common among women than men, coherent situation with the fact that men feel happier than women. Nevertheless, in rural communities women have experienced more positive movements than men in the Ladder of Happiness, while in urban communities it is exactly the opposite.

7. ASPIRATIONS

“The poor can also move on, we are all under the same sun”
Gustavo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, LFPD FGD

Some of the information sources of the study allowed approximating to the aspirations of the households, although many of these have been already stated, explicitly or implicitly, in the testimonials or in the previous analysis. The aspirations here analyzed are based on the expressions of the participants around (i) the factors contributing to their mobility, referred in the Individual Life Stories; (ii) their needs of recovery, stated in the Conflict and Institutional Mapping, and (iii) the expectations around the family economy and the education of their kids, identified through the *Household questionnaire*. There is also some mention to the Youth Aspirations.

7.1 ASPIRATIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLDS

According to the information obtained through the Individual Life Stories, the most common aspirations of people is obtaining a source of work and improving their productive activity. The desire of self-developing and the access to credit through the institutional support is usually associated with this aspiration. About that, two of the inhabitants of Los Alamos say: *“I have always dreamed of having and independent business, I would like to have a copy machine”* (Verónica, Woman, 32 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“I would like to have a small business for helping my family, a confection business, I need a credit to develop my project”* (Rubi, Woman, 34 years old, Los Álamos, ILS). On the other hand, those living in rural areas and obtaining their sustain from rural activities wish to increase their production means and to wide their commercialization channels: *“Someone else giving me a loan so I can seed ‘millo’¹²¹, but I have no land for working it”* (Mario, Man, 45 years old, Nelson Mandela, ILS); *“the institutions should give us some productive projects in order to have more cultivations and more markets, safe commerce”* (Octavio, Man, 41 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD).

Some other aspirations expressed by the interviewed are associated to the access or the improvement of the housing conditions; the participation in educative processes and the acquirement of a higher education level by their kids; the possibility of being healthy and the family union. In general, the interviewed consider that having a house on their own would allow their households some proper conditions to move on: *“I would make an effort, get a little space, and get the aid of some institution to build my place. That is what I want, because as long as I have a house on my own, I can secure everything else”* (César, Man, 52 years old, Cerotal, ILS). Some other people, particularly in the reception sites, expect the legal recognition of the terrains where they have constructed their houses or obtaining some aid to finish this construction: *“My hands are tied, I want to have my house, I am waiting for the legal authorization”* (Luisa, Woman, 35 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

¹²¹ A kind of corn.

The good health makes part of the aspirations of an important number of the participants, this is because they think it constitutes an indispensable condition for the wellbeing and allows having the needed disposition for work: *“The main thing: health and the wellbeing of the family”* (Marina, Woman, 55 years old, Cerotal, ILS); *“having some luck, having some life. Because if you get sick, how are you going to work?...if you have no health, you cannot work”* (Daniel, Man, 38 years old, Cerotal, ILS); *“from there, what else do we need?...God giving us some health for moving on, to keep on fighting, I do not want to get sick”* (Julieta, Woman, El Pilar, ILS).

Keeping the family union represents, for many of the interviewed, a priority. According to them, particularly women, the family support is a basic ingredient for the achievement of any goal: *“The most important thing is the family union and the desire of keep on living, moving on, will, without that, there is nothing”* (Adriana, Woman, 29 years old, Villa Katy, ILS). Viviana (Woman, 34 years old, El Pilar, ILS), on her side, mentions the ideal of wellbeing for many, represented by counting with a job, family union and health: *“Having a stable job, having a close family and my kid studying and healthy”*.

Some other interviewed argue, on their side, that education is a fundamental resource for fulfilling these kinds of aspirations: *“Yes, I am thinking about studying...if I get more coaching, I am going to have more chances”* (Hugo, Man, 29 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“it would be helpful, some coaching, and my kids studying for them to help me sometimes”* (Gabriela, Woman, 49 years old, Los Álamos, ILS); *“I am expecting to make my kid progress in life, he wants to be an industrial engineer, and my goal is his goal”* (Sara, 35 years old, Woman, Revivir, ILS). Some women are emphatic when mentioning that the opportunity of studying depends of the achievement of greater income, or the support in the care of their kids: *“I would like to have a dignifying job, where I could have sometime for studying”* (Paola, Woman, 42 years old, Revivir, ILS).

According to the *Household questionnaire*, most of parents are expecting their kids to finish their education in a university, or somewhere else. The only community with a different behavior is Cerotal, because parents over there have a less ambitious expectation about the education of their kids: only a little more that fifty percent are expecting their boys to go to college or some other education after middle and high school, a quarter would be happy with them finishing middle and high school and the rest with inferior levels. Among those who have girls, only the third part is expecting them to continue with superior levels, and the rest have no greater expectation than the bachelor degree, in fact, one of the parents consider his girl is not going to acquires any education level. The low expectative of the parents in Cerotal about the education of their kids might be associated to the deficiency in the educational offer of this vereda. Besides Cerotal, there are other three communities in the study (Villa Katy, González Chaparro and Macaján) where the educational levels expected from boys are greater that those expected from girls. In the other communities, there are no important differences.

Some other aspirations identified through the study have to do with the improvement of the communitarian organization and the improvement of the public security: *“Maybe a stronger communitarian organization, because the government is not supporting the*

peasants, we have to do it all” (Ricardo, Man, 41 years old, Cerotal, CIM FGD); “participating in a coaching process about leadership, tolerance and based on that, consolidate the organization process” (Rodrigo, Man, 46 years old, Revivir, CIM FGD); “if there was some police over here, there would be less criminals, more respect...a police post, the DAS, no body knows them because they are dressed like everyone else” (Libia, Woman, 75 years old, El Pilar, CIM FGD).

Finally, in urban communities the return is seen as a recovery possibility, although there is re recognition of the lack of guarantees for personal and economic security: “In the Network they tell you that if you want to come back to your house, your original house, you have to fill some forms, but then nothing happens” (Aurelio, Man, 45 years old, Nelson Mandela, CIM FGD); “many people got here because they saw the opportunity of having a slot for buying, selling or invading. Most of people do not want to go back to their lands because there is no guarantee that we are going to keep our lives” (Nidia, Woman, 44 years old, Nelson Mandela, CT); “after some time we wanted to come back, but there was no security for the life of our children” (Milena, Woman, 35 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

Despite the multiple difficulties identified by the participants of the study around their recovery, according to the *Household questionnaire*, most of the interviewed have a positive expectation about the economic situation in ten years (Chart 31). Cerotal is the only community showing a greater negativism in the economic expectation within ten years from now. It is important to remark that women are much more optimistic than men on the economic future of their households (almost three quarters of the interviewed women expect a recovery, which is a share overcoming men’s opinion in 14 points).

Chart 31. Expectations about the economic situation within ten years

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Mejor	Igual	Peor
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	75,9%	6,9%	17,2%
		Nelson Mandela	65,5%	10,3%	24,1%
		Revivir	76,9%	7,7%	15,4%
		Villa Katy	83,9%	9,7%	6,5%
Total IMP mayor a la media			75,6%	8,7%	15,7%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	69,0%	10,3%	20,7%
		González	75,0%	11,1%	13,9%
	Total receptora		72,3%	10,8%	17,0%
	Rural	Cerotal	24,1%	34,5%	41,4%
Macaján		77,1%	17,1%	5,7%	
Total rural			52,7%	25,1%	22,2%
Total IMP menor a la media			62,5%	17,9%	19,6%
Total general			68,8%	13,5%	17,7%

Source: Household questionnaire

About how is the next generation going to live comparing to the current conditions, the answers also suggest some optimism in most of the communities:

Chart 32. Expectations about how is the next generation going to live comparing to the current conditions

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Mejor	Igual	Peor
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	89,7%	3,4%	6,9%
		Nelson Mandela	73,1%	3,8%	23,1%
		Revivir	75,9%	6,9%	17,2%
		Villa Katy	82,8%	10,3%	6,9%
Total IMP mayor a la media			80,4%	6,2%	13,5%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	67,9%	10,7%	21,4%
		González	86,1%	5,6%	8,3%
	Total receptora		77,8%	7,9%	14,3%
	Rural	Cerotal	29,6%	44,4%	25,9%
		Macaján	80,0%	17,1%	2,9%
Total rural		56,8%	29,7%	13,5%	
Total IMP menor a la media			67,4%	18,7%	13,9%
Total general			73,6%	12,7%	13,7%

Source: Household questionnaire

Those that, in a greater measure, bring forward that future generations will live better, are the inhabitants of Los Álamos, followed by González Chaparro, Villa Katy, Macaján, Revivir, Nelson Mandela and El Pilar. Consistently with the pessimistic expectations about their economic future, the interviewed in Cerotal do not bring forward the better conditions of the next generation; they consider there will be no change.

7.2 YOUTH ASPIRATIONS

The goals expressed by the young people in the FGD Youth Aspirations confirm the tendency revealed by the *Household questionnaire*. According to this source, most of young people hope having a business, more than being employees:

Chart 33. Youth expectations when they are 30 years old

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Estar empleado	Tener un negocio	Alguno de los dos	Ninguno
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	22,2%	55,6%	22,2%	0,0%
		Nelson Mandela	28,6%	50,0%	21,4%	0,0%
		Revivir	23,8%	38,1%	38,1%	0,0%
		Villa Katy	33,3%	33,3%	33,3%	0,0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			27,0%	44,2%	28,8%	0,0%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	25,0%	66,7%	8,3%	0,0%
		González	0,0%	78,9%	15,8%	5,3%
	Total receptora		11,4%	73,4%	12,4%	2,9%
	Rural	Cerotal	41,7%	50,0%	8,3%	0,0%
		Macaján	11,8%	88,2%	0,0%	0,0%
Total rural		25,6%	70,6%	3,8%	0,0%	
Total IMP menor a la media			18,4%	72,0%	8,2%	1,4%
Total general			22,6%	58,6%	18,1%	0,8%

Source: Household questionnaire

On the other side, an important share of the young people has the expectation of being professionals (Chart 34). In Revivir there is the greater proportion of young people with this aspiration, while in El Pilar it is possible to find the lowest one. In fact, there is a high correlation (0.87) between the IMP and the proportion of young people having the

expectation of being professionals. The share of the young people hoping dedicating to agricultural labors is really low and can only be found in Cerotal.

Chart 34. Desired occupation when they are 30 years old

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Empleado alta calificación	Empleado baja calificación	Profesional	Negocio propio	Trabajador agrícola	Otro
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Alamos	0,0%	11,1%	44,4%	44,4%	0,0%	0,0%
		Nelson Mandela	7,1%	0,0%	42,9%	42,9%	0,0%	7,1%
		Revivir	19,0%	0,0%	57,1%	23,8%	0,0%	0,0%
		Villa Katy	28,6%	14,3%	28,6%	14,3%	0,0%	14,3%
Total IMP mayor a la media			13,7%	3,9%	47,1%	31,4%	0,0%	3,9%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	16,7%	8,3%	16,7%	33,3%	0,0%	25,0%
		González	0,0%	5,3%	26,3%	63,2%	0,0%	5,3%
	Total receptora		6,5%	6,5%	22,6%	51,6%	0,0%	12,9%
	Rural	Cerotal	8,3%	8,3%	25,0%	16,7%	33,3%	8,3%
		Macaján	18,8%	6,3%	31,3%	31,3%	0,0%	12,5%
Total rural		14,3%	7,1%	28,6%	25,0%	14,3%	10,7%	
Total IMP menor a la media			10,2%	6,8%	25,4%	39,0%	6,8%	11,9%
Total general			11,8%	5,5%	35,5%	35,5%	3,6%	8,2%

Source: Household questionnaire

According to the qualitative information, the youth aspirations are closely related to the possibility of improving their education levels and acquiring better work opportunities. In general, young people associate their work and study aspirations with the possibility to contribute to the wellbeing of their households and elevating their life quality: *“I expect having a good job because I want and I need to help my family, live in better conditions and change mi livelihoods”* (Manuel, Man, 20 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

About their aspirations when they are 30 years old, most of them expect finding themselves above the fifth step of the Ladder of Life¹²². Young people in Los Alamos characterize form being the most optimistic; near four fifths think they will be in the steps eight to ten, the higher in the Ladder. They are followed by González Chaparro, Macaján, Villa Katy, Revivir, El Pilar, Nelson Mandela and, finally, the young people of Cerotal. They think they will be between the steps three or four.

As it will be analyzed, young ones find many problems to fulfill their aspirations, but a few opportunities.

7.2.1 Factors hindering the youth aspirations

According to the *Household questionnaire* and the FGD, the most important obstacles faced by young people to fulfill their aspirations are economic related (Chart 35). Men and women mention they are unsatisfied about the environment that does not supply the necessary opportunities for them to become the people they want to be. In the opinion of the major part, poverty is an obstacle they must overcome in order to access some educational opportunities: *“poverty is not letting me study what I want to study”* (Wilmar, Man, 22 years old, Macaján, Youth FGD). To these, some other factors are associated: *“the*

¹²² In a Ladder from one to ten

first problem is transportation: in Villa Katy we have no many resources and we have to pay the bus tickets to study in a school outside the neighborhood. Second, the road, when it rains really hard, it is really difficult to get out of here. The road is lonely, it gets dangerous and there are no lights. Third, the university; there is a single public university” (Sebastián, Man, 21 years old, Villa Katy, ILS).

Chart 35. Obstacles for the fulfillment of the occupational expectations of the youth

Posición según IMP	Tipo de comunidad	Comunidad	Falta de educación	Problemas económicos	Problemas de salud	Alto desempleo	Mala suerte	Otro
IMP mayor a la media	Receptora	Los Álamos	18,8%	37,5%	6,3%	12,5%	6,3%	18,8%
		Nelson Mandela	0,0%	52,0%	24,0%	12,0%	8,0%	4,0%
		Revivir	26,8%	22,0%	7,3%	31,7%	2,4%	9,8%
		Villa Katy	14,3%	21,4%	21,4%	21,4%	21,4%	0,0%
Total IMP mayor a la media			16,7%	32,3%	13,5%	21,9%	7,3%	8,3%
IMP menor a la media	Receptora	El Pilar	4,2%	37,5%	16,7%	12,5%	20,8%	8,3%
		González	18,4%	36,8%	13,2%	13,2%	13,2%	5,3%
	Total receptora		12,9%	37,1%	14,5%	12,9%	16,1%	6,5%
	Rural	Cerotal	12,5%	33,3%	25,0%	16,7%	8,3%	4,2%
		Macaján	12,1%	39,4%	9,1%	6,1%	24,2%	9,1%
Total rural		12,3%	36,8%	15,8%	10,5%	17,5%	7,0%	
Total IMP menor a la media			12,6%	37,0%	15,1%	11,8%	16,8%	6,7%
Total general			14,4%	34,9%	14,4%	16,3%	12,6%	7,4%

Source: Household questionnaire

The internal forced displacement has become another obstacle in the realization of their aspirations. According to them, political violence is worsening poverty: “*War not only destroys but also creates poverty and when we get displaced, we have to start new*” (Edwin, Man, 22 years old, Revivir, ILS). In the same line, some other young people remark the greater difficulties people in situation of displacement have to access some job opportunities: “*Also displacement, because you know no one and it is more difficult to get a job*” (Esteban, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD).

Their low educational levels and the lack of work experience are perceived as obstacles to access a job, factor that is essential when it is about achieving the educational aspirations: “*Unemployment because is due to this factor that we cannot get resources for paying our education*” (Marino, Man, 20 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD). To the precarious educational level they add the precariousness of the work conditions they are currently facing and, in general, the lack of institutional support: “*The companies are hiring less than four months for not paying what they have to pay*” (Diego, Man, 24 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD); “*those kids with a higher stage have a greater opportunity*” (Juan, Man, 19 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD); “*there are some aids for improving the grades, credits, but these aids are for the mediate and long term, more expensive, and they become more problems than solutions*” (Alberto, Man, 22 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD).

An important limitation for women is the experience of maternity outside the marriage, circumstance that is frequently taking them to abandon their studies, by not counting with the support they needed for taking care of their kids: “*I was studying and I got pregnant, I could not finish, I only need to finish eleventh. My mom cannot help me to take care of my kids, I even cried when I could not go back to school, they told me to do something to level with my classmates, but I had no one to leave my kids with*” (Juliana, Woman, 21 years old, Villa Katy, Youth FGD).

In a similar reflection to the one allowing young people identify the greatest obstacles for the fulfillment of their aspirations, they were consulted about the main problems in the national, communitarian, family and personal contexts. Although such problems were not directly associated to their aspirations, these allow understanding the perception of the youth on their possibilities to move on.

Problems of the country

In all communities young people mention poverty, unemployment and violence as the main problems faced by Colombia. According to them, these factors are strongly related to each other: *“Violence creates displacement and this one creates inequality and poverty. For power, territory”* (Gabriela, Woman, 23 years old, Cerotal, Youth FGD); *“the war, violence, corruption...there is no way this ends, violence creates poverty”* (Andrea, Woman, 23 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD); *“what is holding the war is poverty”* (Alejandro, Man, 26 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

Young people, men and women, frequently mention unemployment as a general problem in Colombia, also affecting the Colombia youth: *“the common and difficult thing we are suffering is unemployment, it is terrible for us because we have no opportunities”* (Irene, Woman, 19 years old, González, Youth FGD). According to them, inequality is another important problem: *“Here we finish middle and high school but we cannot keep on studying, there is no way to do so”*, Man, 20 years old, Macaján, Youth FGD); *“social inequality, because the elites have it all, and leave even worse”* (Francisco, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD).

Problems of the community

The most common communitarian problems identified by young people are the deficient infrastructure, the lack of economic opportunities, the coexistence conflicts and insecurity. Related to the infrastructure, they especially remark the lack of spaces for sports and recreation: *“How good it would be them fixing the school, the infrastructure, the streets, and a football field, it would be good for sports, for recreation”* (Francisco, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD); *“we have no sport spaces, we have to play on the streets the neighbors get mad and destroy our balls with their knives”* (Oswaldo, Man, 22 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD).

The unemployment is one of the main limitations identified by young people in their communities: *“When we are talking about problems in Colombia, we are talking about Macaján. Unemployment; 50% of Macaján population is unemployed”* (Elena, Woman, 19 years old, Macaján, Youth FGD). From their perspective, it is not enough with providing some coaching opportunities if these are not related to a real job opportunity, *“there are no possibilities for a contact with some company”* (Mauricio, Man, 26 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

In some communities, particularly in Revivir and Nelson Mandela, there are frequent stories about the interaction difficulties in the neighborhood: *“There is no respect in our society, they do not know how to coexist, everything is violence, they do not know how to*

relate to each other, most people have conflicts among them, no agreements, only fighting” (Miguel, Man, 15 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD); *“the only problems are the neighbors, they wake up and start fighting, using bad words”* (César, Man, 28 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD).

The insecurity was a frequently mentioned problematic in El Pilar, Gonzalez Chaparro and Los Alamos. According to them, this seriously limits the physical mobility of the people inside their neighborhoods: *“Much insecurity, too much insecurity, you can only go out outside the neighborhood. And it is not people from here, but from somewhere else. People do not talk, do not go out...the only thing the police says is that they can capture them with flagrancy and more than the minimal dose”* (Felipe, Man, 25 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD); *“here there are some problems with some other guys who take the nasty road, they are delinquents and no body can stop them”* (Carolina, Woman, 19 years old, González, Youth FGD).

Personal and family problems

Among the problematic of the households mentioned by the young people it is important to remark the lack of incomes, family violence and lack of communication. Some people recognize the effects of the cultural changes faced by those households after displacement because, it seems, *“they life over here is very different”* (Faber, Man, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD). In the opinion of one of the young people, displacement occasions the loss of social networks, what makes it even more difficult to access sources of work in the reception places: *“I am from Manangué, used to live really differently, the food was not a problem, and here it is very different; sometimes you eat, sometimes you do not, work is really hard, they do not know you, they give you no job”* (Jesús, Man, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

Young people frequently refer to the economic instability caused by the constant unemployment faced by their parents. To their judgment, one of the most serious consequences of the economic difficulties is the damage on the family relationships: *“The economic problems, there are many parents moving from work to work, there is no work stability. They work one week and the other they are unemployed. If they get no job, the coexistence in the family starts getting difficult”* (Federico, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD).

The family violence is a common phenomenon in a good part of the communities. According to some young ones, this is associated to the economic difficulties experienced in the households and the traumas produced by the internal forced displacement: *“The first one, the family violence, in most cases men and women, each one, on their side. It is easy to see the consequences on kids. That is because of displacement”* (Augusto, Man, 20 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD). The communication problems are also frequent in the stories of the young people. To their judgment, kids are the most affected by these kinds of issues: *“Lack of dialogue, some people have serious problems, no confidence to talk to their mom”* (Ofelia, Woman, 19 years old, Macaján, Youth FGD).

When consulting the young people about their personal issues, they repeat on the lack of resources and the little educational opportunities: *“Nor my mom or my dad have any job, if they had, I already had finished studying. The poor one is poor, nothing else to say”* (Alberto, Man, 21 years old, Nelson Mandela, Youth FGD). In all communities their testimonials gave account of their difficult experiences. Although they recognize education is a fundamental condition for accessing higher levels of wellbeing, they feel the lack of the proper means to access it, at least at the level required for the proper work insertion. The necessity of complementing the income in the family constitutes, for many of them, an additional obstacle: *“The lack of work and I have not been able to study, if I am studying there is no food at home, then I feel bad and I prefer quitting school and start working to get some food”* (Julio, Man, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

7.2.2 Factors favoring the aspirations of the youth

In the middle of the different problems hindering the possibilities for reaching the youth aspirations, there are also some factors contributing to the achievement of these goals: education, individual agency capacity, and the family support. The confluence of these factors is remarked by a good part of the young people, men and women, who emphasize in the early responsibilities they have been forced to assume, and which has allowed them, at the same time, to take conscience on the effort required for achieving their goals.

Most of them recognize the importance of their households in the consecution of their goals. Given that many young ones constitute the economic support of their households, it is frequent to evidence strong feelings of responsibility and commitment towards them: *“My family, principally my grandma, I have to move on because she needs me”* (Rosa, Woman, 21 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD); *“I want to have an economic stability for my family, the motivation, the support of my family”* (Carlos, Man, 22 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD). Those young girls who happened to be single mothers, beyond perceiving their kids as a limitation, they consider them an important source of motivation: *“Studying with the help of my parents and being able to help them and reach them with my goals, because I wan to do many things so I can help my kids and give them what I could not have”* (Alexandra, Woman, 14 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

Despite the difficulties faced to access to the educational opportunities, young people feel education constitutes an important factor for reaching their wellbeing: *“We all know that study and the intellectual preparation constitute a powerful tool for facing the future and the situations this future will bring”* (Humberto, Man, 22 years old, El Pilar, Youth FGD). They also refer to the capacity of individual agency: *“Knowledge, motivation for some things, reading, getting to know some new stuff, perseverance. When I set myself a new goal, I pursuit it until I accomplish it”* (Francisco, Man, 17 years old, Los Álamos, Youth FGD). In this sense, the personal effort is, to the judgment of the young people, an important factor for the achievement of their aspirations: *“Capabilities, responsibilities, desires of moving on and perseverance”* (Pablo, Man, 26 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD); *“the values and the desire of moving on”* (Arley, Man, 19 years old, Revivir, Youth FGD).

8. CONCLUSIONS

The **internal forced displacement** implies social, economic, psychological, political and cultural ruptures, traducing all of them together a store of poverty and rootlessness difficult to overcome, and becoming, in the context of the study, the main cause for the slope in the wellbeing of the households living today in the urban communities. Despite constituting a great measure for protecting their lives, displacement only reduces the risks present in the conflict zones and demands some challenges, usually overcoming the capacities of the population, due to the hostility usually receiving them in the reception sites. In the rural communities there are also strong economic, political and social impacts of the conflict, and it takes years for people in those communities to recover from these situations. In these communities, the internal forced displacement is the second cause of the slope of the wellbeing, while the first one is the worsening of the economy, occasioned in a good measure by forced displacement.

The low share of rural and urban households moving out of poverty and the high share staying in it is an important evidence of the difficult conditions faced by the affected communities because of the armed conflict for recovering their wellbeing. In the middle of the rootlessness, the population in situation of displacement experiences multiple difficulties for the reestablishment, frequently related to the lack of sources of work and the precariousness of the employment. The lack of the economic resources for establishing a business or developing productive activities for the ones they have been trained and coached, frequently constitutes an additional obstacle for recovery, and added to that, in some cases, the inadequate management of the resources by some of the institutions and the own leaders of the communities. That way, the efforts aiming to improve the conditions of the households in situation of displacement and the communities show inferior results to the expected from the perspective of the participants. Some other factors associated to the capacity of agency and the social capital are also mentioned by the participants as obstacles for recovering the wellbeing.

The forced migration to the cities does not return to the population the security they lost by the armed conflict. The establishment in the marginal zones of the cities, where some other forms of violence start merging, is usually escorted by social problems, which can be even as serious the problems in their places of origin. The same way, although displacement allows recovering some kinds of freedom, it hinders some other, which results being fundamental for these people living like they want to. In the middle of this situation and the feeling of the lack of protection by the State, the population deploys some strategies for surviving and recovering, processes that go beyond the economic dimension. This is reflected in the valuation around the wellbeing of the households and the prosperity of the communities, strongly supported in referents with a social character.

Still sharing similar poverty and inequality conditions, the population recognizes the differences in the process of recovery of the households, process where many social, economic, political and psychological factors have coexisted. In general, it seems those

factors related to the capacity of agency and the social capital are more important than the structure of the opportunities offered by the reception site. The analysis of the different sources of information allows identifying five factors that have been key and important for the recovery of the households affected by the armed conflict and/ or the internal forced displacement: the access to employment, the acquisition of a house, the capacity for individual agency, the social capital and the politician and institutional relationships, without being so easy to determine the relative importance of each factor.

There are considerable economic losses generated by the internal forced displacement, occasioned in a good measure by the lack of possibilities to protect the assets or to recover them after displacement, being also evident the lack of opportunities to access some other kinds of assets. Maybe because of this difficulty, but also for what it represents for wellbeing, is that the access to a house constitutes for the participants a key factor for recovery. The adaptation to the new community, the sense of independence, the economic security and the support to access some other kinds of sources of income –especially credits in the formal financial system- constitute strong motivations associated to the consecution of a house. That way, a house offers habitability and comfort conditions that contrast in a very important way with the existent conditions in the “cambuches” and the settlements they are usually established after displacement.

Accessing to the sources of work constitute for the population of the main factors associated to the reestablishment, not only because of the implications in the generation of income, but especially because of the emotional character offered by this opportunity, especially associated to the self-confidence and the feelings of independence, power and freedom a job represents. Due to the lack of sources of work, some households have established their little businesses and developed the conformation of the economic associations, important alternatives for the social and economic stabilization, according to the observation of the communities with the higher Mobility Index. The possibility of developing agricultural labors in the reception communities has been decisive for some of the households.

The possibility of counting with friends and relatives in the reception site reduces the impact of the losses occasioned by displacement, facilitates the resolution of the basic needs, provides some emotional support and becomes in a bridge to the consecution of income and employment, which, in some measure, replaces the weaknesses in the institutional attention. Nevertheless, the process of recovery demands networks beyond the closest bonds. The communities where a higher reestablishment of the wellbeing is observed evidence higher levels of participation and solidarity. The processes of communitarian organization show the different weaknesses, but definitively constitute a fundamental support for the recovery of the wellbeing on its multiple dimensions, as long as it facilitates the interlocution with the government and non government instances, as well as the collective construction of alternatives to face the impacts of the armed conflict and the forced displacement.

To make evident the profound problematic generated by the armed conflict and seek the affected population full redress are not main objectives for institutional action yet; no processes of social organization in the studied communities have taken place. Attention

tends to focus on specific and significant needs, relevant in the recuperation process but clearly insufficient given the magnitude of the damages caused by armed conflict.

The perception of democracy, the operation of the government, and in general, of political processes, is often characterized by distrust, feeling encouraged by corruption, and more recently, the flaws in the aid policy for the displaced population. Although, in general, the population lacks of information about its rights, complains about the around the inefficiency of the policies and programs are recurrent. The tendency of that the existing resources benefit more the institutions than the population; the fact that many programs are designed and executed to benefit those with more income; and the weaknesses of the strategies for income growth are frequently criticized.

In spite of the low levels of satisfaction over the functioning of democracy in the county and the municipality, governmental and institutional support is an important factor in the recovery process of the households that participated in the research. In fact, one of the factors more highly correlated with the Index of Mobility of the Poor men is the contact with local politicians. The access to institutional support usually depends on the capacity to undertake collective actions, a solid leadership and a good political formation, although there is evidence that approach between the community and the politicians is facilitated by the latter wit electoral aims.

The armed conflict has important consequences in the capacity of individual action, and in this context, in empowerment and freedom. In spite the difficulties, the people affected by the armed conflict still experience at some extent, limited by their economic position, power and freedom and have a transcending concept of both. Surpassed the most evident threats of the conflict, many people seem not to find sufficient opportunities to restore freedom and the lost economic power, circumscribed frequently to the satisfaction of basic necessities. Immerse in these difficulties, the most personal dimension of power and freedom, associated with self-confidence and desire to come out HEAad, and is constituted in a key factor of recovery. The results of the study confirm an important relation between the Index of Mobility of the Poor and the capacity to take daily life decisions, association freedom, health, perception of happiness and the less frequent experience of anguish or hopelessness.

To lack the education level demanded in the urban context in one of the main obstacles for displaced population to achieve employment, self-confidence, autonomy, capacity to demand their rights and to contribute to communitarian well being. . The nonexistence of a significant relation between the level of education level of the population and the Index of Mobility of the Poor ones shows, simply, the insufficiency of the education to face the challenges that the population victim of the armed conflict present. The opportunities of education for employment generated by the aid policies for displaced people have been important in the recovery of some households, however failures are more often and evident than the successes in the generation of economic opportunities.

The population look forward for employment opportunities or the improvement of its present productive activity; in order to create their own businesses, access to credit or institutional aid is necessary. On the other hand, those who live in countryside or derive

their sustenance from agricultural activities look forward to have access to production means and the expansion of commercialization channels. Other elements strongly related to their necessities have to do with the attainment of house, education, health, the conservation of the family nucleus, and the public security and the communitarian organization. Young people hope to establish their own business, perhaps because of prosperity and independence associated with this economic activity; and with the obtaining of a greater level of education level that allows them to accede to a good job. The fulfillment of their expectative depends strongly of educative opportunities, perseverance and family support, while the limiting factors are, essentially, of economic nature. Men and women state their dissatisfaction facing a surrounding that do not offer them the opportunities necessary to become the people who dream to be and see in the poverty an obstacle difficult to surpass.

9. SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Colombia counts with a wide legislation aiming to the prevention and attention of the internal forced displacement. CODHES and the Episcopal Conference (2006) remark several facts around the government and institutional response to the internal forced displacement in Colombia with the last ten years: the adoption of a legal frame, national and international, for the protection and the attention of households, communities and the sectors in risk of being displaced; the creation of the creation of internal forced displacement as a crime against humanity and a war crime; the conformation of the SNAIPD¹²³; and the inclusion of the problematic in the agenda of institutions like the “Defensoría del Pueblo”, The Attorney General, the National Comptroller’s Office, the Congress, among others. As advances of the social response, this points out the slow consolidation of the organizations of the displaced population and the progressive importance the internal forced displacement has gained in the agenda of the international community, in the indigenous organizations, black people, women and movements and peace initiatives and the academic state.

Despite the advances and the relatively integral character of this policy, there are serious weaknesses in the execution. In 2004, the Constitutional Court determined as “unconstitutional” the situation of the internal displaced people and ordered the government to develop the proper actions. Besides declaring “unconstitutional state of things”, the Court established a basic chart of rights for the displaced population and repeated the prohibition to any regressive nature of the public policies developing social rights (CODHES and Episcopal Conference, 2006). After two years of the enactment of the mentioned sentence, no results have been obtained. According to the CODHES and the Episcopal Conference (2006), more that the existence of rules, the process requires political will and the effective budget assignation.

In coherence with the current legislation and the corrective actions ordered by the Court, the findings of this study evidence the necessity, referenced by many analysts and investigators, of providing some continuity to the efforts of the national and international organisms in the implementation of the policy for the Integral Assistance to the Population Displaced by Violence. This implies, in a very special way, (i) developing an integrate boarding of the execution of the policy; (ii) advancing in the fulfillment of the rights of truth, justice and reparation; (iii) promoting the interinstitutional coordination; (iv) exercising a greater control on the execution of the resources; (v) keeping, when it is required, the differential focus on the attention to the displaced population and; (v) strengthening the preventing measures.

The great difficulties faced by the affected communities, as well as the conditions facilitating the mobility of the households participating in the study, evidence again the necessity of advancing more with the Humanitarian emergency assistance. In coherence

¹²³ National System of Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population

with the stated in the component of Social and Economic Stabilization and Consolidation of the Displaced Population Integral Assistance Policy, it is required to strengthen the measures aiming to generate the conditions of economic and social sustain, framed in the voluntary return or the resettlement in some other areas. This implies, among other aspects, the access to land, productive projects, social organization, employment plans, health and education.

The same way, the findings related to the main mobility factors in the participant households, allows identifying key elements for strengthening the implementation of the policies in the local field:

Generation of sources of work according the characteristics and capacities of the population. It seems to be frequent to see the failures in the strategies tending to generate individual or collective employment, being necessary the integration of social and economic components to the strategies of education for work. This last one is clearly insufficient when it is not working with the access to the seed capital, or credit, information, commercialization channels, advisory and monitoring. According to the experience in the field, it is considered important to regulate the offer of the coaching, looking forward guaranteeing the proper use of the resources, the fulfillment of the commitments and the quality of the actions and processes. It would be equally valuable developing some evaluations on the impact of the coaching programs, allowing a greater comprehension of the experience.

The strengthening of the communitarian organization and the widening of the spaces for leadership and participation. It is important to improve the knowledge on the spaces of communitarian participation and the promotion of such spaces in the formation of the social planning, public policies and the legal frame related to the communitarian organizations. The same way, it is important that the articulation of the people in situation of displacement with the local and regional societies is founded in their participation in decisive spaces in the local order.

The strengthening of the strategies of psycho-social support, both in the individual and collective fields. The agency capacity has been revealed in the study as one of the main factors helping mobility, but it is required some actions tending to favor the elaboration of the displacement experience, reducing the emotional impact and powering the internal resources in the quest for economic and social reestablishment.

The design of the mechanisms favoring the articulation between the government institutions and the local NGO's, and between these and the communitarian organizations. In some communities of the study it is possible to identify the actions which its isolated character results extremely expensive from the social and economic point of view. A minimum articulation between the institutions and the organizations would allow a respectful intervention, a better management of the resources and a greater development in the capacities of this community. In this sense, it is considered important to improve the conformation and consolidation of the Local Committees for the Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population, as well as the local spaces for participation of such population,

making it possible for them to interact with the different agents in charge of the execution of the attention policy.

Widening the opportunities to access the information on displacement and the attention programs. According to the experience in the field, because of their ignorance, many people did not register in the system when they got displaced, but a lot of time after that, facing great difficulties for being recognized as such and receiving the proper attention. Besides the lack of information of their rights, many people do not know the relevant aspects of their insertion in the city, which limits their possibilities for reaching vindication. This marks a great difference between their situation and the one of those achieving the identification of the institutions, procedures and rules contributing to the progress and the achievement of better conditions.

Evaluation and improvement of the housing programs developed in the frame of the Integral Assistance to the Displaced Population Policy. The study makes evident the importance of housing as a factor of positive mobility, but also, the necessity of a greater institutional articulation, the development of more integral projects, the better use of the available resources for assuring a quality house, the design of the effective mechanisms for the assignation and the monitoring of the households beneficiated with these projects.

Education for the population on the characteristics and the consequences of the armed conflict and the internal forced displacement. It is vital designing informative and educative actions aiming the general population, considering that a high share of the municipalities is receiving displaced people, coexisting with them and may play a decisive role in their social and economic reestablishment. Especially, it is required some strategies encouraging the recognition of the rights of the people in situation of displacement by the reception society, allowing the proper insertion in the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics. The training of institutional officials is also essential.

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11. GLOSARY

Acción de tutela: It is a judicial mechanism created by the Political Constitution, which can be used by any person to protect his or her fundamental constitutional rights.

Arriar: A verb in Spanish meaning to conduce the animals.

Bollos: Steamed corn cakes.

Cachaco: Expression used by the people living in the coast to call those ones living in the mountains, in the interior, especially in Bogotá.

Cambuche: Little and precarious house, usually made of plastic, carton or wood and located in subnormal neighborhoods.

Chinos: some way to say kids.

Cocada: Coconut candy, very popular and typical in the Colombian North Coast.

Colgarse del pescuezo: it means “depending of someone”.

Defensoría del Pueblo: State institution responsible for promoting the effectiveness of human rights in the frame of a democratic, participative, and pluralist social State of Law.

Destechados: Word commonly used to call people who, for many reasons different to violence, got homeless and lack of any housing conditions.

El de ruana: An expression used in Spanish to call someone poor, the peasant.

Fiar: Selling something with the modality of a credit, but with no interests.

Fulano: John Doe

Furrusca: fight, conflict.

Gaminería: kids and young people always in the streets causing trouble or committing felonies.

Gente del Monte: Common expression to call the guerrilla or the paramilitaries.

Gota a gota: Informal credit with high interests, usually 20%.

Granero: a store usually selling products like cereal or vegetables, for the elaboration of some kinds of food.

Grupos armados de limpieza: armed groups committing selective assassinations, usually to establish a territorial control.

Laboratorios de Paz: Initiative supported by the European Union aimed to recover, through the respect of human rights and the generation of agricultural and livestock projects, critical zones such as Montes de María, in Sucre, where conflict has reached huge levels.

Liga: Expression for referring to meat.

Maraña: Expression used to refer to many kinds of labors developed during a short period of time.

Minga: Reunion of friends and neighbors to develop some common work, usually pro bono.

Mirar por encima del hombro: meaning discrimination.

Monte: It is an expression used to refer to the rural sectors where the armed groups establish their bases. It is also used to refer to a mountains terrain, or well, in the general sense, to the rural area.

Mototaxismo: Modality of public transportation, developed in motorbike. Although it is very popular in many cities, it is illegal.

Olla Comunitaria: Collective activity for preparing the food for communitarian benefit.

Pagadiario: High interest credit, which has to be paid daily.

Palanca [having]: Influences, contacts.

Papayazo: Common expression to refer an opportunity.

Paracos: paramilitaries.

Pasar como Pedro por su casa: popular expression used to refer a person that can move around somewhere it no problem.

Plan Colombia: Plan for peace, strengthening and prosperity of the Colombia State. A program of the Colombian Presidency implemented since 1999 in cooperation with the government of the United States for solving the conflict and fighting narcotraffic.

Rancho: A poor house made of wood and leaves.

Rebusque: informal work particularly referred to informal sales.

Reinsertado: a former member of an illegal armed group that already came back to the civil life.

Remesa: A word commonly used for naming the food supply.

Sapo: It is like mole. A person who is spying on someone else in order to denunciate him.

Tienda: a little sale business.

Vacuna: Some kind of tax imposed by the armed groups to the peasants and businessmen.