Universiteit Utrecht

"The Capital of the Poor"

The Meaning of Social Capital for Internally Displaced Persons in Bogotá

Master Thesis

Sustainable Development – International Development

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"(…) Social networks of the poor are one of the primary resources they have for managing risk and vulnerability, and outside agents therefore need to find ways to complement these resources, rather than substitute for them."

- Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 242)

Abstract

Internal displacement has been put forward in recent years as a pressing topic to development studies, not least because of the exacerbating conflicts in some Arabian and Sub-Saharan countries. Colombia exhibits the second largest number of internally displaced persons in the world, the vast majority of which have been displaced as a consequence of the low-intensity conflict the country is confronted with since more than six decades. At the same time, social capital – even though not a new concept – gained importance in development theories as a means of the poor and vulnerable to sustain themselves in the face of grave resource scarcity.

This research aims at putting these increasingly relevant topics in relation. It addresses the meaning of social capital for internally displaced persons in Bogotá and provides the explaining factors accounting for the same. Taking a network perspective of social capital, the research focuses on the following components: a) characterization of the IDP' networks, b) the forms and features of social support, c) perceptions on social support implications, and d) the sense of belonging and self-identification of IDP.

For the realization of the research project, 66 questionnaires based on the Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule and 24 semi-structured interviews have been conducted in the main institution processing applications for governmental support in Bogotá. It is argued that social capital is of less importance for IDP in Bogotá, when compared to the beneficial potential of social capital revealed in earlier studies. This is mainly explained with the pronounced impact of inhibiting factors, which evolved as a consequence of the conflict and displacement, and continuously generate psychological barriers to bond and establish relationships. Moreover, discrimination and the lack of organization within IDP networks further inhibit a proper social involvement and an efficient utilization of social capital. This study therefore reveals that possibly positive impacts of social capital for IDP in Bogotá are still not exhausted to their full potential because of such factors. Counteracting those would presumably allow for an increased emergence of social capital and a more efficient utilization of the same.

Keywords: *Internal displacement, internally displaced persons, social capital, network, social support, sense of belonging, self-identification*

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Acronyms

ASSIS	Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule Questionnaire measuring social support developed by Barrera (1980; 1986)
AUC	*Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia; so called "right-wing paramilitaries"
CD	*Centro Democrático* Democratic Center; pol. party founded in 2013 by former president Álvaro Uribe
DANE	*Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística* National Bureau of Statistics of Colombia
ELN	*Ejército de Liberación Nacional* National Liberation Army; so called "left-wing guerillas"
FARC	*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia; so called "left-wing guerillas"
GMH*	*Grupo de Memoria Histórica* Working Group of the National Center for Historical Memory, a governmental institution responsible for research projects and workshops that aim at reconstructing the history of armed conflict in Colombia, particularly emphasizing the experiences of its victims
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced People
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
ns	Not specified
RNI*	*Red Nacional de Información para la Atención y Reparación a las Víctimas* National Information Network for the Attention and Reparation of Victims
UARIV*	*Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas* Unit for the Attention and Reparation of Victims; governmental institution in charge of coordinating, advising and developing the public policy aiming at the attention and reparation of the victims of the internal armed conflict
UBN	Unsatisfied Basic Need(s)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Also: The UN Refugee Agency
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNRIC	United Nations Regional Information Centre
UP	*Unión Patriótica* Pol. party founded by demobilized FARC members (1985-1992)

* GMH, RNI and UARIV belong to the public national and regional institutions which are in charge of formulating and/or implementing plans, programs and projects under the umbrella of the **National System for Comprehensive Attention and Reparation of Victims (SNARIV)**, established with the Law 1448 (Victims' Law).

1 Introduction

"Internal Displacement is the great tragedy of our times."

- Kofi Annan (in: UN OCHA, 2004: 1)

The number of internally displaced persons (IDP) due to armed conflict, human rights violations, generalized violence or disasters has reached an alarming magnitude over the past decades. By the end of 2013, IDP around the world constitute a total of 33.3 million people, 8.2 million of which were newly displaced compared to the previous year. Therewith, the number of IDP arrives – in consistence with the increase in violent conflicts around the world – at its historical peak and keeps on growing at a faster pace every year (IDMC and NRC, 2014). The exacerbating developments in Syria and the Democratic Republic of Congo are responsible for more than half of the new displacements, while Colombia exhibits with its more than six decades enduring internal conflict the second highest amount of IDP in the world. Therewith, 2013 was the first year in which another country (Syria) had more IDP than Colombia (IDMC and NRC, 2014).

Deprived of assets and privileges at their origin and confronted with high rates of poverty and miserable living conditions at the place of refuge, IDP are considered "(…) among the most vulnerable in the human family" (UN OCHA, 2004: 1). Given the constantly increasing number as well as the deteriorating live changes leading to an escalating vulnerability, IDP enter center stage as a pressing humanitarian and developmental issue of concern. Therefore, as Kofi Annan pointed out, "one of the keys to ameliorating the plight of this extremely vulnerable group is making the issues surrounding internal displacement better known and better understood" (World Bank Website, 2014).

Many of the existing studies on internal displacement focus on the structural and institutional variables influencing the lives of IDP, thereby often depriving the same of agency, approaching them "(…) as mere passive victims rather than as decision-making actors" (Serrano, 2010: 1). Brun (2005: 17) in turn points out that "it is crucial to understand IDPs as both victims and actors of change [as] displacement causes marginalisation, but in many cases this in turn inspires new and innovative survival tactics". Hence, IDP and the responses to their new situation brought by displacement will be topic of the research proposed here.

Social capital has been chosen as the focus of this research, as the same has been pointed out frequently as a means for survival of very vulnerable groups – not for nothing it is also called 'the capital of the poor' (Llanos et al., 1997; Llanos and Orozco, 1999; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). The research will consequently not be limited to the description of social capital but will undertake an attempt at explaining it by examining the networks as well as its most essential outcome: social support. In this sense, Castles' (2003: 13) conclusion that "forced migration needs to be analysed as a social process in which human agency and social networks play a major part" will be the leitmotif to the research presented here, thereby answering the following research question:

What is the meaning of social capital for Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Bogotá and what are the explanatory factors accounting for the same?

In the first part of the thesis, some background on Colombia will be provided, starting with an introduction into the historical developments which led to the skyrocketing amount of IDP. Subsequently, a brief overview on Colombia's politics, economics and demographics will be provided, followed by a part dealing with the issue of internal displacement for the specific case of Colombia.

The following two chapters will in turn introduce the underlying theories of social capital and the methodologies applied for the existing research.

Thereafter, research results will be elaborated on, which are arranged in accordance with the sub-questions posed. For answering the overarching research question, four sub-questions have been chosen, dealing with a characterization of the networks and the social support originating from the same, an analysis of the IDP' perceptions on social support implications as well as the expressed sense of belonging and self-identification.

Last but not least, this study will be finalized by a conclusion and a discussion, in which the findings will be critically discussed while providing some implications and recommendations on further research.

2 Country Profile

2.1 Introduction

Colombia, a country shaken by a low-intensity conflict since the late 1940s, is now facing a period of possibly far-reaching changes which may affect the future of the country, and its peace prospects, tremendously: the peace negotiations between the FARC and the government under president Juan Manuel Santos are progressing, while at the same time facing continuously growing power of the opposition under hardliner and opponent of the peace negotiations Álvaro Uribe. The two political camps divide the society into those who regard concessions towards the FARC a necessary sacrifice for peace, and those who come out in opposition to any deal with one of the main perpetrators of their suffering.

In Colombia of the 19th century – as common to many other Latin American countries – "(…) political conflict was the norm rather than the exception (…) [given] the difficult task of constructing a nation after three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 75). A few years after winning its independence from Spain (1810), *Gran Colombia* came into existence in 1819 as a union of Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, unified under the presidency of Latin America's famous liberator Simón Bolívar. The Republic did not last long, and by 1830 both Venezuela and Ecuador seceded from the union, leaving Colombia and Panama (which was until then an integral part of Colombia's territory) as *Nueva Granada*. After a period of internal and political struggles, *Nueva Granada* was declared the *República de Colombia* (Republic of Colombia) in 1886. Panama, however, separated in 1903 under US American influence, which in turn was aiming at establishing control over the projected area for the Panama Canal (Gritzner, 2012; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013).

In the following, the country's characteristics will be introduced in more detail. For the context of the research, the low-intensity conflict the country is experiencing since the late 1940s is of utmost importance as it beyond doubt represents the major trigger for displacement in Colombia, now and then. Therefore, the following section will start with an introduction into the aforementioned conflict, followed by a presentation of Colombia's current political, economic and socio-demographic situation. Subsequently, the focus will be on IDP as a group of concern within Colombia's society and as the main theme of the research presented here.

2.2 Colombia: A History of Armed Conflict

> *"The drivers of the conflict have evolved with time, from the historical rivalry between opposing parties, through the confrontation between the state and left wing revolutionary groups, to the fight for the control over natural resources and the profits of the coca industry."*
>
> - Attanasio et al., 2009: 3

The major cause for displacement in Colombia has been – and continues to be – the internal conflict the country is facing since more than six decades. Therefore, it is important to understand the underlying reasons which framed the conflict's development, the dynamics it adopted and the shape it takes today in order to fully comprehend the IDP' (involuntary) choices and conditions. The conflict will here be presented in three different steps, which embrace its very beginning (*la Violencia*), the emergence of guerrilla and paramilitary groups and lastly the involvement of the state. Lastly, current developments under the administration of Juan Manuel Santos will be described.

2.2.1 *La Violencia*

The conflict's first appearance is known as *la Violencia*, a period of undeclared civil war between 1946 and 1958 which evolved as a political confrontation between the two traditional Colombian parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives (*Liberales* and *Conversadores*) (GMH, 2013; Escobar, 2000; Gritzner, 2012; Ibáñez and Moya, 2009; Ibáñez and Vélez, 2007; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). Already before the final outburst of *la Violencia*, the political environment was mainly characterized by the bitter rivalry between the two parties, at last unleashing the so-called 'War of a Thousand Days' at the brink of the nineteenth century (1899-1903) (Gritzner, 2012). From *la Violencia* onwards, "the political conflict evolved into an open armed confrontation" (GMH, 2013: 112).

Several coexisting events contributed to both a general unrest in the country and the dispute between the political parties. European labor theories and the ideas of the Bolshevik revolution reached Colombia in the late 1920s, which triggered, along with Colombia's poor labor conditions, demand for improvement of worker rights. It found its ultimate manifestation in a strike of banana plantation workers in the city of Ciénaga. The same was brutally suppressed, setting "(…) an unfortunate paradigm for the remainder of the country: disagreements would be settled through violence – massive violence in this case – rather than through negotiated settlement" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 83). In addition, the Great Depression made itself felt in Colombia, in particular by drastically decreasing the demand for agricultural products. The latter as well as the exceptionally low prices for land during the 1930s resulted in land consolidation processes to the benefit of large landowners, involving the expulsion of large parts of the poor rural population from their lands and the aggravation of an already very unequal distribution of lands (Gritzner, 2012; GMH, 2013; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). The return to Conservative rule with the elections of 1946 further added fuel to the unrest, as the people felt to step backwards, with no or little prospects of change (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013).

In many of Latin America's countries, the response to the socioeconomic crises mainly affecting the rural areas was to turn towards populist leaders who "(…) challenged elites to invest in better housing and city sanitation for the poor, to allow workers to unionize, and to offer basic financing for evening classes and other opportunities whereby the poor could improve their position in society" (La Rosa and Mejía, 2013: 83). For Colombia, this part was played by Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, a populist leader of the Liberals originating from the lower-middle-class and being fancied the

favorite candidate for presidency in 1950 (Gritzner, 2012; La Rosa and Mejía, 2013; Picott, 2012). Gaitán was murdered in Bogotá the 9th of April 1948, ending the populist program in Colombia overnight and throwing the same – and in specific Bogotá – into turmoil. Therewith, violence also spread within the cities, leading to massive riots in Bogotá known as *el Bogotazo* (Gritzner, 2012; GMH, 2013; Ibáñez and Moya, 2009; Ibáñez and Vélez, 2007; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). Consequently, Gaitán's assassination is considered the last straw in the evolution of *la Violencia.* This day

> "(…) changed the history of the nation, much as the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 changed US society. The marginalized working class, people who felt that government, laws, and society were stacked against them, were stunned when their hope for a better future – mystically tied to a Gaitán presidency – evaporated with four shots of a revolver" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 84).

The Liberal-Conservative tensions, the frustration of the poor people created by an unequal land distribution, a severe economic decline in particular with regard to the rural areas, the return to Conservative rule in 1946, and finally the assassination of the charismatic and promising political leader Gaitán led to *la Violencia*, a period of low-intensity armed conflict that claimed approximately 300,000 lives (Gritzner, 2012; GMH, 2013; Ibáñez and Moya, 2009; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). Starting as a political confrontation between two parties, "(…) the confrontation was radicalized and intensified up to the point in which armed groups committed massacres, violent disorder, sexual crimes and thefts (…) in order to 'punish' their opponents" (GMH, 2013: 112). At the same time, "(…) *la Violencia* was a phenomenon that clearly demonstrated the weakness of the Colombian state", revealing that its influence was limited to Colombia's main cities (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 85).

2.2.2 *Frente Nacional* and the Emergence of Left-wing Guerilla and Right-wing Paramilitaries

The armed conflict of *la Violencia* came to a halt for two decades due to a power-sharing arrangement between the two parties initiated in the late fifties (*Frente Nacional*), according to which both parties would take turns for presidency every four years, hence solely involving interparty competition for the respective term of office (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). However, "although violence was moderate in the following two decades, the conflict never subsided" (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009: 649). Even though aiming at putting the conflict to an end, the agreement implied the repression of newly emerging, mostly communist groups in the countryside (*autodefensas campesinas*), in line with the at this time in the West prevailing persuasions of the Cold War (GMH, 2013). LaRosa and Mejía (2013: 76) argue that "the unintended consequence of this power-sharing arrangement was that it pushed people who belonged to neither party toward the sociopolitical margins and eventually into armed guerilla forces" – and thus practically helped the leftist uprisings in Colombia to develop further.

The conflict gained momentum again during the mid-1960s with the emergence of precisely these left-wing rebel groups aiming at overthrowing the government (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009). The

Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN; engl: National Liberation Army) and the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC; engl.: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) constitute the biggest and most influential of the so called left-wing insurgents or guerilla in Colombia (Gritzner, 2012; GMH, 2013).

The ELN was founded by University students in 1962, with the goal to replicate Castro's revolution in Colombia, believing that "(…) historical, political and economic inertia in Colombia prevented any type of social mobility for the poor" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 88). The FARC followed into existence officially in 1965, even though on a less "cerebral or theoretical basis"; it is rather regarded "(…) a rural-based agrarian movement that came into being out of frustration with the failed agrarian struggles of the 1930s and 1940s, struggles that elicited little more than repression from the Colombian state" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 88). Hence, the FARC is related to the groups of the *autodefensas campesinas*, which already came into existence during the period of *la Violencia* (GMH, 2013). It is said that the government's attempt to overrun Marquetalia in 1964, at that time an unofficial enclave of communist groups in rural Colombia, was the final straw in the formation of the FARC – hence, "an error that led to the transformation of a group dedicated to self-defense to a guerilla movement" (GMH, 2013: 123). In this manner, the FARC evolved into the largest group among Colombia's left-wing guerillas as well as into one of the world's richest guerrilla armies (UNRIC Website, 2014).

The ELN as well as the FARC, however, share the same motivation: besides opposing the limited options for political engagement outside the two-party system, "(...) both say they represent the rural poor against Colombia's wealthy classes and oppose U.S. influence in Colombia, the privatization of natural resources, multinational corporations, and rightist violence" (UNRIC Website, 2014).

The situation exacerbated with drug trade emerging in Colombia in the early eighties. During these years, Colombia became focal point for the exportation of drugs in South America, and drug barons and cartels gained significant power over land, funds, and labor – not without being frequently involved in bloody conflicts with both the state and the strengthening, for power competing left-wing guerilla groups. Drug barons as well as huge landowners prompted the formation of illegally armed forces in order to restrain the expansion of the guerilla groups and to protect personal economic interests (Gritzner, 2012; Ibáñez and Moya, 2009; Ibáñez and Vélez, 2007; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). This laid the foundation for the establishment of illegal, right-wing paramilitary forces, most of which consolidated under the umbrella organization *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC; engl. United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia). The AUC was founded in 1997 and grew to a number of thirty thousand fighters at the peak of its power. By this time, most parts of Colombia descended into chaos:

> "(…) By the late 1990s, the FARC and ELN where fighting the military, the AUC were fighting the leftist guerillas, the military was supposedly fighting the AUC, the FARC, and the ELN, and the drug barons were fighting the government while simultaneously fighting and collaborating with the

> guerilla forces. It was a confusing time in Colombia, and in the confusion and chaos, as the body count grew, the country seemed to be spiraling out of control" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 91).

All these developments fueled the conflict and boosted its geographical expansion – by 1999, guerillas were active in 30 out of Colombia's 32 departments –, leading to more frequent confrontations among the involved and opposing groups (Hampton, 2013; Ibáñez and Moya, 2009; Ibáñez and Vélez, 2007). The violence towards the civil population by each of the groups intensified significantly in order to "(…) strengthen territorial strongholds, expand territorial control, weaken the support of the opponent, and accumulate valuable assets" (Ibáñez and Vélez, 2007: 661). Ibáñez and Moya (2009: 649) point out that "these aggressions were not a causal by-product of the war, but instead a deliberate strategy of illegal armed groups to spread territorial control and diversify funding sources".

2.2.3 State Involvement

Since 1982, after a period in which most of the preceding governments rather applied repression and military attempts to regain territory, the Betancur administration adopted a rather conciliating tactic including the development of a peace plan. However, the conciliatory politics came to an abrupt end with the urban guerilla group M-19[1] occupying the Colombian Supreme Court in 1985, holding the courts hostage and gearing towards a 'show trial' of the Betancur administration. The state responded violently, and with the subsequent events all except for one M-19 fighters, eleven of the supreme courts, and dozens others – approx. 100 people in total – left their lives (GMH, 2013; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). Forero-Niño (2012: 97) argues that this "(…) siege of the Palace of Justice marked the beginning of one of the most violent chapters in Colombia's conflict" – in which stakeholders once more proved to rather rely on violence than on negotiation.

In the same year, the FARC formed a political party consisting of demobilized fighters and known as *Unión Patriótica* (UP), which made impressive gains in the election of 1986. However, the UP's leadership was eradicated by dubious forces including hired murderers, members of rival leftist organizations, the military, and lobbyists of powerful drug cartels – claiming the lives of 3,500 people by 1992 (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). This violence against the UP led prospects of a negotiated settlement to the conflict evaporate and "(…) the message from Bogotá was that extrajudicial killings of subversives, former or otherwise, would be tacitly ignored" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 90).

In 1998, Andrés Pastrana Arango acceded to presidency in Colombia, during a time in which Colombia and its conflict received more international attention. Pastrana authorized a 'safe zone' (*zona de despeje*) in the size of Switzerland in the southeast of the country, pulling out the military as a part of the peace agreements of 1998. However, the FARC – "never particularly savvy political operators" – made use of the area as a storage for their weapons, liquors and cigarettes, and as a bastille for their kidnapped victims, which stirred discontent within the population (LaRosa and

[1] The M-19 emerged in opposition to the presidential election of 1970, which major parts of the society regarded as flawed and fraudulent.

Mejía, 2013: 92). In February 2002, Pastrana eventually send the military to reclaim the demilitarized zone, which wound up as an operation which rather confirmed the FARC commanders in their power than the Colombian president in his (GMH, 2013; Hampton, 2013; LaRosa and Mejía, 2013).

This smoothed the way for outside candidate and vowed hard-liner against the left Álvaro Uribe Vélez to take over presidency in 2002. His famous campaign pledge *'mano firme, corazón grande'* (a strong hand with a big heart) already illustrates the way he regarded the FARC as well as his own role within the conflict:

> "He presented himself as an indefatigable patriot who would stop at nothing to defeat the FARC and other insurgents. He refused to refer to the FARC and the ELN as 'political' actors, instead adopting the lexicon that became most fashionable after 9/11: he called them, simply, terrorists" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 93).

Not least because of the discharge of the safe zone during the Pastrana administration but also as a measure to combat the narcotic industry, an aid package from the US known as 'Plan Colombia' "(…) was hurriedly debated in a U.S. Congress that never fully understood the complexities of Colombia but came to view it as a Western society spinning out of control" (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013: 92). The package came to 80% in form of military assistance, "(…) leading to a rise in generalized violence in the targeted regions, with further arms proliferation" (Hampton, 2013: 88). With the funds from Plan Colombia, Uribe initiated violent offensives and pushed the fighters from the FARC into the country's corners, causing a significant decrease in violence since the beginning of 2003. This was seemingly correspondent with the claims of large parts of the population, which were "(…) disappointed by the unsuccessful negotiations with the FARC and coming down for more drastic measures" (Picott, 2012: 19).

Since then, guerillas lost control over various territories, many fighters demobilized and the traditional groups of left-wing guerilla and right-wing paramilitaries have disintegrated into smaller factions. The natural death of FARC's leader Pedro Antoni Martín Marín (nom de guerre: Manuel Marulanda; *Tirofijo*) in 2008 further hurt the organization's morale, resulting in hundreds of deserters (LaRosa and Mejía, 2013). Today, the FARC consists of approximately six to eight thousand armed fighters, while the ELN embraces about 1,500 combatants (UNRIC Website, 2014). Even though Uribe hit with his offensive in particular the FARC significantly, "(…) he failed to deal the final blow; on contrary, they [FARC] managed to adapt to the new dynamics of the armed conflict and continue to be active in several regions, with a significant increase in armed activity between 2011 and 2012" (GMH, 2013: 179).

As summarized by IDMC and NRC (2014:39) in their annual report on internal displacement:

> "An average of around 180,000 people a year have been newly displaced in Colombia over the past five years. The government has been in peace talks with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (known by its Spanish acronym FARC) since 2012, but in the absence of a ceasefire civilians in rural areas continue to suffer the ravages of the conflict. The country's paramilitary groups were in theory demobilised between 2003 and 2006, but their successors have largely

> continued where they left off, intimidating and threatening rural peasants, including land claimants, and competing for control of trafficking routes."

Hence, displacement and violence going hand in hand with the conflict did not quit the scene, as illustrated by two participants of this research being expelled not before beginning of this year.

2.2.4 Peace Negotiations under Santos' Administration

Shortly after Jose Manuel Santos inauguration into the presidential office in August 2010, members of the FARC and the government patiently contemplated the possibility of holding peace talks (Gomez-Suarez and Newman, 2013). The same were then initiated during a press conference with both government and FARC members in Hurdal (Norway) the 18th of October 2012, while the subsequent rounds were held in Havana (Cuba) ever since. The agenda of the talks is limited to five points of discussion, namely rural development, political participation, end of the conflict, drug trafficking and victims' rights. The 21st and therewith latest round of talks until now ended the 6th of March and was specifically addressing the fourth topic of the agenda (drug trafficking) – resulting in an increasingly confident Santos (Colombia Peace Website, 2014; Watts and Brodzinsky, 2014).

Talking to the Guardian in mid-March 2014, Santos pointed out that the peace deal will be accomplished by the end of this year: "It is a tipping point. We have started not only conversations with the FARC, but a process whereby we are building the conditions to build peace forever, not just for one or two years, but to change the history of this country" (Watts and Brodzinsky, 2014: para. 3). Above that Santos emphasized that "(…) the overall goal was not to humiliate the FARC but to persuade the guerrillas to swap their guns for votes" – hence, enabling them to pursue their objectives but through legal democratic channels (Watts and Brodzinsky, 2014: para. 24). According to the news service Reuters, there has been a partial accord on this participation in politics on behalf of the FARC (Murphy and Acosta, 2014); however, "any deal with the rebels would be put to the nation in a referendum, and then to congress to devise laws for its implementation" (Murphy and Acosta, 2014: para. 6).

In the congressional elections of the 9th of March 2014, Santos' *Partido Social de la Unidad Nacional* emerged as the strongest party, however increasingly challenged by the new right-wing party *Centro Democrático* (CD) created by former president Uribe in 2013. Even though founded just one year in advance of the mentioned elections, the CD became the second strongest group in the congress and fourth strongest in the House of Representatives. In Bogotá, which was traditionally voting left, the CD even emerged as winner of the elections. Santos' party, by contrast, lost both in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives about 20% of its seats (compared to the elections of 2010) (Bobbe, 2014).

Compared to Santos, himself the initiator and main promoter of the current peace negotiations, Uribe follows his old maxims and "(…) embodies the position of the many critics of the peace process, therewith refusing steadfastly negotiations with the FARC on an equal footing as well as

impunity of the same" (Bobbe, 2014: 5). On contrary, he wants to set conditions for the talks, first and foremost the unconditional cessation of hostilities and the disarming on behalf of the FARC. It is not expected, however, that the strengthened political opposition will bring along major changes with regard to the peace proceedings, as more than two thirds of the recently voted Senators and Representatives are counted among the proponents of Santos' approach. And not least, Santos won the presidential elections in May, even though only by a narrow margin. However, the election's results illustrate more than anything how popular Uribe and his 'strong hand' still are in a population which is not ready yet to forget – or forgive – the conflict and the violence it imposed on them.

The opinions in Colombia's society diverge significantly. On the one hand, after 60 years of conflict it is regarded a necessity to put peace above other principles, such as prosecution and sentencing of combatants. On the other hand, critics accuse the Santos administration of making too many concessions to the FARC groups, which have been weakened significantly anyways in the past years and which do not deserve to achieve legitimization given the numerous crimes they committed. These opinions have also been declared when asking the participants of the existing research for agreement with the political participation of the FARC:

> *"We Colombians are tired of so much violence that we have seen this to be the best option; in moments like this, it is better than continuing the conflict, it is better to rely on political participation. Yes, I would completely agree. We know that the violence is not going to end completely, but I am quite sure that it would go down."*
> (Male, 43, Cesar)

> *"For achieving peace in Colombia, we have to start from each individual; we have to make concessions and to use the political level."*
> (Male, 46, Cesar)

> *"No, I do not like these guys coming to power; these people are very bad (…). They are doing meetings for peace there and here they are killing more and more people. What peace is that? (…) They do not lose as we lost, because if they knocked down a tower or damaged a pipeline, first thing they did is making us pay for it. I disagree with those people; honestly, I do not want them to come to power, none of them."*
> (Male, 40, Nariño)

> *"No, no, no. That would mean to continue as it was before. Negotiating with the devil, that is putting the farmer at their mercy, they do what they want with us."*
> (Female, 42, Meta)

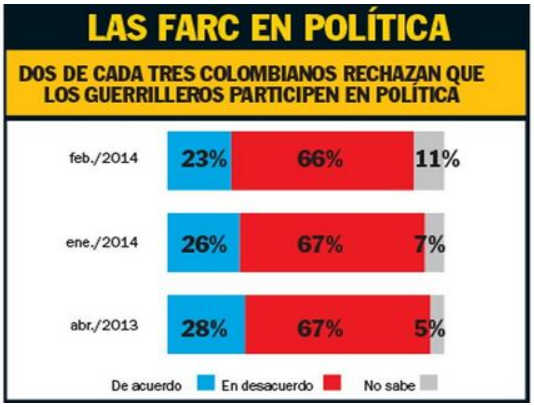


Illustration 2.2: Percentages of the polled Colombian population agreeing (blue), disagreeing (red) and being indifferent (grey) with regard to a political participation of the FARC (Source: Colombia Peace Website, 2014)

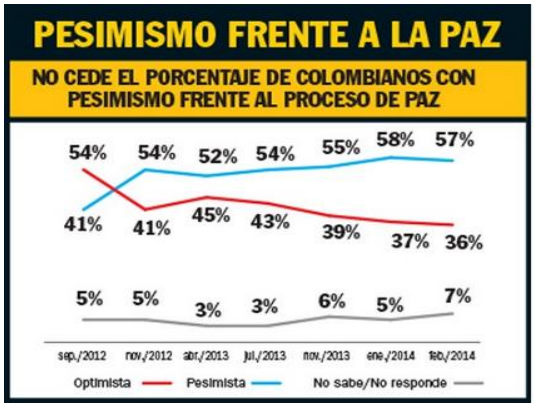


Illustration 2.1: Percentages of the polled Colombian population being optimistic (red), pessimistic (blue) or indifferent (grey) with regard to the prospects of the peace process (Source: Colombian Peace Website, 2014)

In this context, two out of three Colombians seem to refuse that the guerillas participate in politics (66% in February, 2014). The majority of the polled population also appears pessimistic regarding the process of establishing peace (57% in February, 2014) (Colombia Peace Website, 2014). It remains to be seen if these numbers change in the course of the continuing peace talks.

2.3 Colombia: Geography, Politics, Economics and Socio-Demographics

2.3.1 Geographic Location

Colombia is located at the Northwestern coast of South America, and is adjoined to both the Caribbean Sea as well as the North Pacific Ocean. Colombia's border countries include Brazil, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela, while the country's capital – and with 8,955,776 inhabitants its biggest city – Bogotá is located in the heart of Colombia, in the Andean highlands at an altitude of 2,625 meters (CIA, 2014; World Bank Website, 2014).

2.3.2 Political System

Colombia's form of government is a democratic constitutional republic, which embraces 32 different departments. However, unlike the US, Colombia is "(…) a unitary state in which the central government, rather than the individual subunits, holds most of the power" (Gritzner, 2012: 60). Colombia's latest constitution became effective the 5th of July 1991 recording a government which is separated into Executive, Legislative and Judiciary, with the Executive as the most dominant force. The president is elected every four years, and holds office for a maximum of two consecutive terms, while the Legislative embraces both a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Supreme Court of Justice is the highest court, while there are three other independent high courts dealing with administrative law, constitutional issues and civilian judiciary (Gritzner, 2012).

2.3.3 Economic Performance

Colombia is characterized the third largest economy of the sub-continent measured according to its GDP (after Brazil and Argentina). Looking upon the GDP per capita for 2013, however, Colombia is merely placed sixth in South America and 110th worldwide (CIA, 2014). The unemployment rate is with 9.7% in 2013 still one of Latin America's highest, while Gritzner (2012) points additionally to the high under-employment which is not reflected in these numbers. Therewith, Colombia is classified by the World Bank an upper middle income country (World Bank Website, 2014).

Coffee is the most important – legal – agricultural commodity (by 2005, it was believed that Colombia still produces 80% of the world's cocaine). Colombia's coffee sector is the second biggest in the world (after Brazil), providing approximately 12% of the supply worldwide and employing 20% of the country's agricultural labor force (Gritzner, 2012). Other important products include cut flowers, bananas and rice. In total, the primary sector contributed 6.6% to the nation's GDP and incorporated 17% of its labor force in 2011 (CIA, 2014).

The country's industries and manufacturing sector is poorly developed, hence Colombia is mainly exporting raw materials (in particular energy and mining exports) which in turn makes the economy vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices, while it depends on imports of many necessities. This is not last consequence of the long-lasting conflict, which created an environment not suitable for investments. Industries include amongst others textile production, food processing, oil, clothing and footwear manufacturing (Gritzner, 2012). The secondary sector was responsible for around 37.8% of 2013's GDP, while occupying 21% of the labor force in 2011 (CIA, 2014).

If anything, these figures illustrate that the vast majority of the Colombian labor force was in 2011 engaged in the tertiary, or service, sector (62%). Additionally, this sector of the economy provides the lion's share to the GDP (55.6%). People occupied in security and cleaning services claim the highest number of workers within the service sector (852,708 persons), followed by the services related to "other businesses" (169,839 persons) and to human health (140,933 persons) (DANE, 2013).

2.3.4 Social Demographics

Colombia's total population amounted to 47,519,665 people by March 2014 (DANE Website, 2014), with an estimated growth rate of 1.07% for the very same year (CIA, 2014). This makes it the third biggest country in terms of population in Latin America, after Brazil and Mexico, while the growth rate lies below the global and the less-developed countries' average (1.2 and 1.7, respectively) (Gritzner, 2012). Colombia's population is culturally very diverse, which arose by the interaction of native inhabitants (e.g., the indigenous groups of Muisca, Quimbaya, and Tairona), Spanish colonists, Africans, and immigrants from the Middle East and Europe. According to the CIA World Factbook (2014), the ethnic groups represented in Colombia therewith include mestizo (58%), white (20%), mulatto (14%), black (4%), mixed-black indigenous (3%) and indigenous people

(1%). Spanish colonialism also brought Catholicism to Colombia and its remotest areas, resulting in about 95% of the population claiming the same their faith (Gritzner, 2012).

The huge majority of the people (75%) was residing in urban areas[2] in 2010, which are mainly aggregated in the Andean highlands (CIA, 2014; Gritzner, 2012). Therewith, Colombia is not an exceptional case in Latin America, which is in general considered highly urbanized, many times resulting in "(…) huge, sprawling cities that are unable to provide their residents with a decent income or standard of living" (Gritzner, 2012: 50). The agglomerates of more than one million inhabitants host 38% of the total Colombian population, while one fourth of the urban population was living in Bogotá in 2012 (World Bank Website, 2014). Therewith, Bogotá is by far the biggest urban center: it has more than twice as many inhabitants than Colombia's second largest city Medellin (CIA, 2014).

As measured by income, the total population's share of people living in poverty amounted to about one third in 2013. This number was lower for the urban areas, with the country's rural spheres exhibiting a high share of 42.8%. Thereby, poverty declined in Colombia in comparison to the previous year by 2.1%, while the highest improvement was achieved in the rural areas (urban areas: -1.5%; rural areas: -4%). Also the number of people living in extreme poverty decreased, even though slightly less. Hence, in 2013, 9.1% of Colombia's population lived in conditions of extreme poverty (-1.3% in comparison to 2012), while the same added up to 6% (-0.6%) for urban and 19.1% (-3.7%) for rural areas (DANE, 2014).

Income inequality, on the other hand, is distinctly higher for the urban than for the other regions, as the Gini-Coefficient demonstrates: the same was 0.517 for the urban and 0.446 for the rural spheres (DANE, 2014). Therewith, income inequality in Colombia is among the worst in the world (ranked 9 in 2010) (CIA, 2014; Chaskel and Bustamante, 2012). Gritzner (2012) estimates that 75% of Colombia's population belongs to the lower socioeconomic class (measured by income, power, and education, amongst others) and 20% to the middle class, while the elite upper class embraces approximately 5%. The Colombians belonging to the low socio-economic strata mostly "(...) live in rural areas, small communities, or in urban slums. They are unemployed or underemployed and poor. As a result, they are often undernourished, suffer from poor health, are poorly educated, and have few opportunities to advance themselves socially or economically" (Gritzner, 2012: 55).

Table 2.1: Population living in poverty, population living in extreme poverty and the Gini-Coefficient for the national, the rural and the urban areas of Colombia 2013 (Source: DANE, 2014)

	Poverty		Extreme poverty		Gini-Coefficient	
	2013 (%)	Variation	2013 (%)	Variation	2013	Variation
National	30.6	-2.1	9.1	-1.3	0.539	0.000
Urban	26.9	-1.5	6.0	-0.6	0.517	0.003
Rural	42.8	-4.0	19.1	-3.7	0.446	-0.019

[2] as defined by the country

In order to describe the population's status in terms of unsatisfied basic need (UBN), DANE (2005) identified five different variables, the absence of each of which pointing out a lack of basic needs (table 2.2). In 2005, 27.7% of the population suffered from at least one UBN, which represents an 8.1% decrease in comparison with the former census in 1993. The table below demonstrates that critical overcrowding and economic dependency almost equally contributed to the failure of basic needs in 2005.

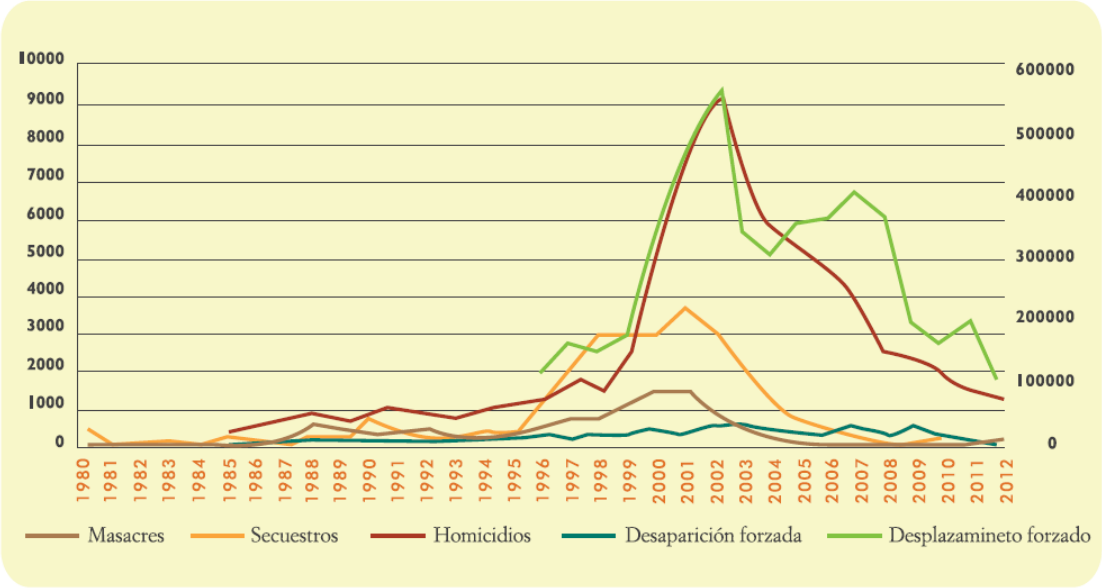
Table 2.2: Persons affected by Unsatisfied Basic Needs as defined by DANE (2005) in percentages of the whole population

	1985 (%)	1993 (%)	2005 (%)
UBN ≥1	54.4	35.8	27.7
UBN ≥2	22.8	14.9	10.6
Inadequate housing	13.8	11.6	10.4
Inadequate public services	21.8	10.5	7.4
Critical overcrowding	19.4	15.4	11.1
Absence in school	11.5	8.0	3.6
High economic dependency	15.9	12.8	11.2

With regard to literacy and education, there are remarkable differences between the rural areas and the cities. The national illiteracy rate of 8.9% (for persons of five years or more) is composed by an urban 6.2% and a rural 17.9% (DANE, 2010). Around two thirds of the population between three and 24 years (66.7%) in the urban areas are attending a formal education, while just marginally more than half (52.6%) is doing so in the rural areas (resulting in a national 63.2%). This leaves 10.2% of Colombians with no form of education, 4.7% with an education limited to preschool, and a huge share of 37.2% with only primary education (DANE, 2010).

36.9% of the total, 39.7% of the urban and 27% of the rural population were born in a different place than their place of current residence. The reasons for changing the place of living are diverse: risk of natural disasters (2.1%), health reasons (2.6%), threats to live (4.2%), necessity of education (4.4%), difficulties to find work (15.7%), other reasons (24.1%) and family motives (46.8%) are the most frequently mentioned ones (DANE, 2010). However, these reasons are limited to the changes of place of living in the last five years. Hence, even though threats to live are included by a considerable number, it can be supposed to be higher for earlier studies.

2.4 Colombia: A Country of IDP



Graph 2.1: Consequences of the conflict according to the number of victims 1980-2012; From left to right: massacres (brown), kidnappings (yellow), homicides (red), forced disappearances (blue), forced displacement (green) (Source: GMH, 2013)

As shown in the graph above, forced displacement belongs to the most severe consequences of the conflict in terms of persons affected, making the IDP a considerable group of concern in the Colombian society. By the end of 2013, the prevailing conflict resulted in at least 5.7 million IDP, while about seven million hectares of land became illegally seized (Forero-Niño, 2012; IDMC and NRC, 2014). In the following, it will be dealt in more detail with the persons victimized by displacement (IDP), starting with a short definition of IDP after which the same will be regarded for the Colombian case.

2.4.1 IDP: A Definition

Forced displacement, in general, can be caused by several reasons. Thereby, it can be perceived from the victim's perspective "(…) as preventative action or as a response to specific risks, which always implies a break in a way of life and of the social fabric, at both individual and collective levels of organization" (Escobar, 2000: 108).

IDP are put into three different categories according to the cause of displacement. The first category embraces those who

> ***"Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border."***
>
> (OCHA, 2004: 1)

have been pushed to leave their homelands due to economic forces, such as long-term unemployment due to a lack of working opportunities in the respective area. Secondly, there is the group of IDP who needed to flee as a result from natural disasters, such as floods or earthquakes destroying the basis of living at the place of origin. Last but not least, those forced to abandon their homelands due to violence, such as armed confrontations or massacres, comprise the third category of IDP (Escobar, 2000). On top of the economic welfare losses – estimated by Ibáñez and Vélez (2007) to be on average 37% of the net present value of aggregated rural consumption –, persons belonging to the last category many times experience severe psychological damages.

However, Vincent (2001: 9) also points out that "(…) a person may be displaced yet not necessarily be vulnerable. In fact, it showed that some people even managed to improve aspects of their life during displacement – such as finding access to education which they were not able to do before". The IDP rank, nevertheless, among the poorest and most vulnerable groups of Colombia's society, as the following section will illustrate.

2.4.2 IDP in Colombia

"The experience of most people shows that displacement is not an incident that starts or ends with the forced expulsion; it is on contrary a long process that begins with exposure to various forms of violence, such as threats, intimidation, armed conflicts, and massacres. The expulsion is normally preceded by periods of tension, distress, suffering and intense fear, all of which in some cases trigger the final decision to flee. (…) It is usually followed by a long and difficult process in which the people involved try to stabilize their lives again. However, the situation is for the majority characterized by financial straits, overcrowding, stigmatization, rejection and abuse. Additional to the pain brought along by displacement and the abandonment of possessions, places, sacred sites and other valued things, the people face an a forced settlement in unfamiliar and many times hostile environments under precarious economic conditions. (…) The displacement is therefore a complex event which changes the existence and the livelihood of every member of the family tremendously."

- GMH, 2013: 296

Illustrated by the map below (illustration 2.3), the phenomenon of displacement in Colombia is by no means limited to a certain area of the country, as "(…) 90% of Colombia's municipalities have seen the expulsion of members of their population" (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009: 649). Estimations of the GMH (2013) are with 97% even higher. However, there are certain areas which experienced more displacement events than others, for example almost the whole department of Caquetá (see *Municipios Críticos* in yellow) is effected severely. Nine of Colombia´s municipalities thereby registered more than 50,000 IDP (GMH, 2013).

Illustration 2.3: Map of Colombia with a) municipalities with more than 10.000 IDP (yellow), and b) municipalities with less than 10.000 IDP (grey) (Source: GMH, 2013)

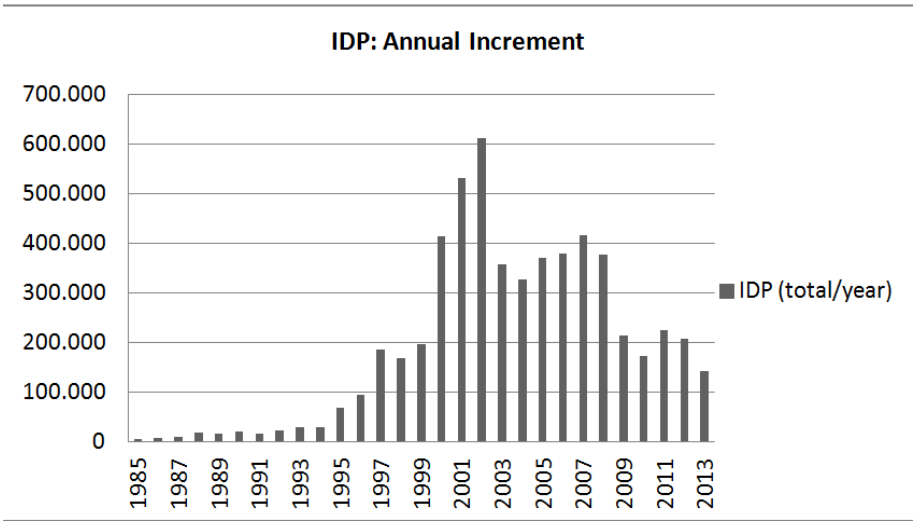
The illegally armed groups "rely on violent aggressions against the civil population such as death threats, massacres, selective homicides, kidnapping, and forced recruitment, among other violent methods used to force the population to migrate" (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009: 649). Especially when individualized threats were involved, the persons concerned mostly did not have any time to prepare their leaving – as confirmed by the interviewees involved in the research:

"They came and told me an ultimatum to leave in front of my children, pointing their weapons at me. They told me I need to go, my children were crying and I preferred to leave instantly. I left everything behind, and we had a lot there."
(Male, 50, Meta)

"They came to threaten my husband with violence, that's why we came here. We just left with the clothes we were wearing, and a few things we managed to grab."
(Female, 47, Norte de Santander)

"When you are in such a situation you do not think, you are paralyzed from shock. You leave without knowing what to do, the only thing you have in mind is to leave running in order to be the farthermost from these people."
(Female, 46, Cundinamarca)

IDP in Colombia usually "(…) flee discreetly, in small groups and families, or as individuals" (Hampton, 2013: 88). The huge amount of individual migration (80.7%) compared to only 19.3% of mass migration, make Columbia's displacement patterns distinct from others in the world and are mainly the result of the high number of individualized threats (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009).



Graph 2.2: Annual increment of IDP 1985-2013 (own elaboration; Source of data: RNI Website, 2014)

The graph above (graph 2.2) shows the annual increment of IDP in Colombia, based on the data of the *Red Nacional de Información* (RNI Website, 2014). It can be observed that there was a steady increase in IDP until 2002, in which the highest number of IDP in Colombia's history was recorded: 611,084 persons. Since that date – the year in which Uribe started to forcefully combat the illegal armed groups – displacement events were reduced, even though the numbers fluctuate extremely from year to year. Even though decreased significantly compared to the peak in 2002, the graph also illustrates that even today displacement is still common, with a considerable number of around 142,181 IDP for the year of 2013.

Hampton (2013: 88) points out that, “as in many war-effected countries, flight in Colombia is generally from rural areas – where state presence is weak and where armed insurgents are active – to urban and semi-urban areas, triggering an accelerated urbanization process” (Hampton, 2013: 88). Hence, 93% of the displaced population in Colombia has been displaced to urban areas, while Bogotá represents the largest urban refuge in the country (Albuja and Ceballos, 2010).

Especially in the cities IDP tend to live in extreme poverty, while being regarded by parts of the population as ‘undesirable’ residents, consequently facing violence and discrimination once more: “Paradoxically, in their search for safety, humanitarian aid and work, displaced populations in the cities are often even more exposed to crime and violence” (Hampton, 2013: 88). This renewed distress does not uncommonly lead to ruptures, crises and conflicts within the families of IDP, as pointed out by GMH (2013).

As the estimation of the IDMC and the NRC (2013) reveals, 94% of the displaced population in Colombia live below the poverty line, while 77% are officially classified as living in extreme poverty. By way of comparison: The same numbers are for the non-IDP population with 29.1% and 8.7% decisively lower (Albuja and Ceballos, 2010). This is mainly due to the limited alternatives to generate income, which is partly a consequence of discrimination against IDP. Hence, IDP can only enter the labor markets slowly, while the ones employed usually face poor labor conditions without formal labor contracts (88%) (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009).

The lion’s share of the displaced population is rather young, with 27.8% of the men and 26.3% of the women being children below 11 years or adolescents below 21 years (Duplat, 2005). Ibáñez and Moya (2009: 650) furthermore point out that

> “household characteristics are akin to those of vulnerable families: household size is large (5.1 members in contrast to 3.9 for the Colombian population), the proportion of women is greater than for the Colombian population as a whole, mainly as a consequence of violent deaths (54.0% vs. 41.8%), and the percentage of single households is large: 39.2%”.

2.4.3 Drawing Closer: Bogotá, the IDP’ Main Refuge

On the other side of the story, there are the cities which receive IDP, such as Bogotá. The latter is after Antioquia the department with the most IDP received in 2012, measured according to the declaration as victims of the conflict on site. Hence, Bogotá reported about 371,000 IDP between 1985 and 2012, while it experienced only very low expulsion of its own population. It is also pointed out, however, that the immigration put in relation with the original inhabitants of Bogotá is rather small due to its already high population (UARIV, 2013).

The income of IDP in Bogotá is on average 27% lower than the income of the poor resident population (Albuja and Ceballos, 2010). Most interestingly – despite the fact that the displacement goes hand in hand with welfare losses leading in most of the cases to a life in poverty –, about 70% of the IDP in Bogotá prefer to stay in the city, 16% aspire to resettle in the region of Bogotá or in

other parts of the country not being the place of origin, while only 5% are actually planning to return to their homelands (Duplat, 2005).

2.4.4 IDP as a Group of Political and Legal Concern

Recognition on behalf of the political and public sphere towards the IDP as a group of concern did not develop simultaneously with the first occurrences of displacement, but was established with the time passing. During *la Violencia*, IDP were referred to as forced migrants (*migrantes forzosos*) within the conceptual framework of "urban marginality" (Escobar, 2000). And also in the following years, as pointed out by Escobar (2000: 109), IDP remained rather invisible:

> "During the 1970s, 'poverty', as a conceptual umbrella, blurred the differentiating elements among the victims of violence. Moreover, the relatively low numbers of the displaced also tended to make them invisible. Thus, the state's overall development policies amalgamated the poor from multiple origins, without taking into account the selective effects of the violence".

In the 1990s, with the introduction of the term of 'the internally displaced' (official term: *personas en situación de desplazamiento*), specific policies addressing the needs of this part of the population were designed (Escobar, 2000). These attempts, however, did not achieve a lot of success until the mid-2000s. In 2005, *Ley 975* – also known as the Law of Peace and Justice – came into existence, with which "(…) victims first had to come forward and report the crime, and then go through a legal proceeding to establish the legal culpability of that particular crime's perpetrator" in order to receive reparation, making the establishment of the perpetrators' culpability a necessary prerequisite for obtaining assistance (Summers, 2012: 224). The law's implementation, however, was facing a number of problems. Amongst others, most victims were not able of formally report the crimes committed against them because of logistical barriers and the fear of retaliation by the various illegal groups. By 2008, only 235,000 individuals had reported crimes to claim reparations, while only 24 actually received reparation payments due to the very time-consuming administrative processes. National and international organizations as well as institutions called for reforms, among them Colombia's Constitutional Court. Hence, the so-called Victims' Law (*Ley de las Víctimas*), or Law 1448, came into existence mid-2011. Various authors – although pointing out several weaknesses in the implementation of the Law – consider this legislation the most advanced in the world with regard to internal displacement (Hampton, 2013; IDMC and NRC, 2013).

i. *Colombia's Victims' Law*

In June 2011, the so-called Victims' Law was passed, described by Summers (2012: 220) "(…) the government's first serious attempt to address the conflict and its effects through legal mechanisms". Forero-Niño (2012: 98) furthermore claims the law to be "historic because it is one of the first in South America to indemnify victims of an ongoing conflict". With this law, the victim's rights to reparation, truth, and justice shall be guaranteed, thereby explicitly expressing the right of restitution for those who have been forced to abandon or give up their land:

> "All victims are granted rights to damages, restitution of prior living conditions, a range of social services, and special protections in legal proceedings. Those who have been displaced are entitled to the return of their land or, in certain circumstances, to an equivalent plot of land or monetary compensation" (Summers, 2012: 225-6).

In the following, some promising differences of the Victims' Law in comparison with the former legislation will be presented.

(1) Definition of Victim

With the Victims' Law, 'victim' is defined more broadly than previously, while detaching the legal status of being a victim from determining perpetrator responsibility (as it was the case for the Law of Peace and Justice) – therewith significantly simplifying the process of identifying victims as such. Every person who experienced human rights violations since 1985 as a consequence of the conflict is thus considered a victim, and consequently entitled to the application of the Law (Forero-Niño, 2012; Summers, 2012). This also includes permanent partners, spouses, and first-degree family members of the murdered and disappeared. The ones suffering from violations before 1985, on the other hand, have the right to truth and justice, but cannot seek reparation and restitution (Summers, 2012).

The victims need to present a written declaration of the events which occurred and caused the victimization in order to achieve legal status as a victim. The latter is reviewed by a commission founded for that purpose, which in a subsequent step either grants or rejects the victimhood status. After being legally recognized as a victim, the respective person will be enlisted in the register of victims (*Registro Único de Víctimas*) and is entitled to all the social services coming with the legislation, including a priority access to government funded educational and technical training programs as well as preferential rights to housing subsidies (Forero-Niño, 2012; Summers, 2012). In the ambit of what Forero-Niño (2012: 101) calls 'rehabilitation', the victims are furthermore entitled to services such as "psychiatric and counseling services for individuals, families, and communities" without any costs, also including the support from social workers and psychologists.

(2) Right to Land Restitution

Even though the Victims' Law is targeting an ever broader range of victims,

> "(…) it is particularly recognized for advancing the rights and protections of displaced victims in particular. In general, the law provides an extensive right of restitution to owners, possessors, and other users of land who were dispossessed or were forced to abandon their land since 1991, either directly or indirectly because of the conflict" (Summers, 2012: 227).

Thereby, the restitution includes both a material and judicial restitution of land, enabling the victims to recover the physical possession of their land as well as providing them with a legal title for the same (which many of them did not have yet before the displacement) (Summers, 2012). The government aims at returning approximately six million hectares of stolen property to their rightful owners (Chaskel and Bustamante, 2012).

However, it is acknowledged that in some cases a restitution of the same land may not be possible or desired. This is the case when "(…) the original land is located in an area of high natural disaster risk; when the land has been the object of multiple dispossessions and has already been returned to another victim; when restitution would result in a risk to the life or personal integrity of the victim; or when the land has been fully or partially destroyed such that it is impossible to reconstruct conditions similar to the original ones" (Summers, 2012: 228). In these situations, the victim is authorized to receive an equivalent plot of land with similar characteristics than his/her initial one, or to a monetary compensation when neither the exact nor equivalent land restitution is possible (Forero-Niño, 2012; Summers, 2012).

With regard to the place of living, the law provides the IDP with two options, which can be freely chosen by the respondent in accordance with where they can best recuperate their livelihoods:

> "The public policy aims at an integral reparation to the victims of forced displacement, including as one of its key strategies the implementation of the process *to return to the place of origin* and/or *relocate to another area within the country*; this measure seeks to facilitate the overcoming of vulnerability and ensuring social and economic stability for every household" (UNARIV Website, 2014; emphasis added).

(3) Creation of Legal Presumption and Shifting the Burden of Proof

The legal presumptions and the burden of proof regarding land ownership became with the 2011 Victims' Law distinctly in favor of victims. This means that "(…) the present owner, occupier, or possessor of land has the initial burden to prove that she has acquired the land lawfully", only when this was successfully undertaken the victim needs to present evidence proving his/her case (Summers, 2012: 229). In the same tenor, "if a victim requests restitution for a violation of his or her human rights, the state must comply unless it can prove the alleged violation did not occur" (Chaskel and Bustamante, 2012: 71).

(4) Institutional Structure

With the Victims' Law, three new institutions to administer and oversee the judicial and material land restitution processes came into existence, such as the Unit for Victim Support and Reparations (*Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas*; UARIV) which coordinates the services for the victims at the local level and among the various governmental agencies that are involved – amongst them the centers DIGNIFICAR, where the research took place (see 2.4.5).

Even though the Law seems very advanced in comparison with the previous legislation, it also faces some challenges. Summer (2012: 233) in specific highlights that "(…) the most difficult obstacle the Law is likely to confront is guaranteeing the security of the returned victims and the prevention of re-victimization", given the continuous reality of illegally armed groups controlling vast areas. Above that, it is argued that – even though the provision of such a robust institutional structure is commendable – the Law's administrative body is excessively complex, while missing clear lines of authority and responsibility (Summers, 2012). Other obstacles include the lack of

financial resources and delays, as well as violent resistance towards the land restitution process, triggering amongst others death threats towards people claiming their land (IDMC and NRC, 2013).

2.4.5 The Focal Point of Attention for IDP and Site of the Research: The Centers DIGNIFICAR

One of the institutions created with the Victims' Law is the Center for the Integral Attention for the Victims (*Centro de Atención Integral para las Víctimas*), known as the centers DIGNIFICAR. These centers are the contact point for the victims for receiving an orientation and advice, as well as for declaring victim status and requesting different kinds of support. There are six of such centers in Bogotá, the research was conducted in one of them.

In the centers different types of contact points and independent institutions are located, each working on different aspects, such as health or legal advice. Amongst them is the High Council for Victims Rights, Peace and Reconciliation (*Alta Consejería para los Derechos de las Víctimas la Paz y la Reconciliación*), which is responsible for the design of public politics for the capital district of Bogotá.

2.5 Conclusion

Starting with *la Violencia,* Colombia has to deal with a **low-intensity armed conflict** now since 60 years. FARC, ELN, AUC as well as the military and the Colombian state are the conflict's main actors, the consequences of which are in many cases borne by the civil population. At least **5.7 million persons were forced violently to leave their homes**, mainly fleeing to urban centers, with Bogotá being one of the most frequently chosen refuge. Almost all of the IDP ended up **living in poverty** (94%). The **Victims' Law of 2011** is now targeting at reparation, truth, and justice of the conflict's victims, while specifically addressing IDP (e.g. land restitution).

Pursuing forceful repression rather than negotiations runs like a golden thread throughout the modern history of Colombia. In 2012, however, **peace negotiations** were initiated between the government of president Santos and the biggest of the illegally armed groups, the FARC. They seem to be promising and might even come to an end this year. However, the share of the population **refusing political participation** of, or even any concession towards, the FARC form the majority – an essential factor when keeping in mind that "(…) the lack of political guarantees for the opposition to participate in Colombian politics has been one of the main arguments for guerrilla groups to legitimate their existence throughout history" (Gomez-Suarez and Newman, 2013: 822). The government and the society are thereby challenged likewise:

> "The challenges for the Santos administration are not less than the challenges facing Colombian society. Throughout their history the people of Colombia have seen how the transitions from war to peace are bloody and usually end up reigniting conflict. Tragically each transition to peace becomes, instead, a transition from one cycle of violence to another, in which war degenerates even more (Gomez-Suarez and Newman, 2013: 834)."

Who can blame a population which experienced so many years of violence for not being able to forget or forgive yet one of the main perpetrators of their suffering? This is where the main challenge lies, when peace is to be achieved through negotiations rather than repression.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In order to be able to assess the meaning of social capital for IDP in Bogotá, it is of utmost importance to understand both the underlying components of social capital in general as well as with regard to IDP. This chapter aims at providing for the same.

For that purpose, the reader will first be introduced to the definition of social capital applied here. In the following, the concept of social capital will be unraveled into two of its main components: social networks and social support, for each of which the necessary variables for a characterization will be provided. It follows a section with findings on these characteristics for the case of IDP, before the implications of social capital on the IDP' lives will be illustrated on the basis of former studies. As a last part, sense of belonging as a component of identity will be introduced.

The concepts elaborated on in this chapter represent the theoretical framework, on the basis of which the over-arching research question and sub-questions will be answered. The theoretical framework hence provides the basis for the operationalization of variables as well the design of the methods applied.

3.2 Social Capital: A Network Perspective

Providing one of the assets in livelihood theory, social capital – even though indeed not a new concept – gained momentum in the field of development studies during the last two decades. In the same tenor, Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 243) conclude in their evaluation of social capital and its implications that "although it is too soon to announce the arrival of a new development paradigm, it is not unreasonable to claim that a consensus is emerging about the importance of social relations in development". In the following paragraphs, a brief explanation on how social capital is defined here will be provided. At this point, it shall be noted that the definitions given are not intended to be exhaustive, but to serve the purpose of the research.

> *"Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together."*
>
> - World Bank (Website, 2014)

> *"Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage."*
>
> - Portes (1998: 7)

The abovementioned quotes both intend to describe social capital, even though on two different levels. While the World Bank (Website, 2014) refers to social capital as a factor influencing a whole society, the words of Portes (1998) suggest a more micro-based level of defining the same, hence pointing to its meaning and implications for individuals. Kawachi et al. (2004: 683) state on behalf of Portes' work, that "the greatest theoretical value of social capital lies at the individual level, and not as a structural property of aggregates such as communities or states". This difference between considering social capital a resource available to, and chosen by, individuals ("network view" of social capital) or, to the contrary, a resource at the community level mostly manifested in collective action and participation ("communitarian view" of social capital), is a major item discussed in the theoretical and empirical debate surrounding the topic (Kawachi et al., 2004; Yip, et al., 2007).

In line with Portes, social capital is hereafter regarded at the individual level, namely rather as an asset for survival to IDP than a means to societal development. It is argued that IDP – as a vulnerable group in society – make use of social capital in order strengthen their basis of existence. Participation and collective action is therefore of secondary importance, which might gain momentum once the basis is secured. This has already proven to be the case for former studies on social capital in developing countries, revealing that the effects of social capital on the target groups are "(…) more consistently linked to its 'network' rather than the social cohesion (or 'communitarian') aspects" (Yip et al., 2007: 48).

By applying the network view of social capital, it becomes clear that social networks and relations are playing an essential role for defining the same. Or, to put it in the words of Lin (1999: 35): "(…) social capital, as a concept, is rooted in social networks and social relations". Kawachi et al. (2004: 683) make this point even more explicit: "By equating social capital with social networks and support, we would be simply re-labelling terminology or pouring old wine into new bottles". One of the many variables which can be defined an output of social capital, its networks and relations is given by social support. It is defined as "(…) a concept that attempts to capture helping transactions that occur between people who share the same households, schools, neighborhoods, workplaces, organizations, and other community settings" (Barrera, 2000: 215).

To sum up, for the research presented here social capital is – in line with the network perspective of social capital – defined as the social networks and relations maintained by individuals as an asset to master life. Social capital, in turn, "may provide individuals with access to resources such as social support, which may in turn promote individual health and overall well-being" (Yip et al., 2007: 37). This leaves us – to begin with – with the social network and the social support as main concepts in order to describe the meaning of social capital for IDP in Bogotá.

3.3 Conceptualizing Social Networks and Social Support

In order to make the concepts of social networks and social support more tangible, variables aiming at a characterization of both will be presented in the following, starting with social networks.

3.3.1 Social Network Characteristics

Walker et al. (1993) estimated the average social network for a North American to be consistent of approximately 1,500 informal ties. From this considerable set of connections, only a small fraction is considered active, defined by "frequent sociable contact, supportiveness, or feelings of connectedness" (Walker et al., 1993: 73). Social support studies normally focus on these active – or supportive – relations, which are estimated to embrace around 20 persons for the average North American (Walker et al., 1993). A way to examine such 'partial networks' is "(…) to generate 'ego-centered' networks of social relations of many kinds. (…) This is also true of social capital research, in which measures typically either map networks of significant others around an individual or family, or are concerned with particular types of exchanges" (Stone, 2001: 16). This active support network of a displaced person measured as the relations around the same shall thus be focus to this research.

For the sake of convenience, the term of network will refer hereafter to the active support network, thereby including persons the IDP *would* or *did* recently turn to for certain support. It should be kept in mind, however, that the support network is embedded in a larger network also embracing inactive ties, i.e. members the respondent knows but *would* and *did not* interact with in specific. Therefore, it should be refrained from drawing conclusions on the functioning of the network as an entity.

Various authors elaborated on different social network characteristics, from which the most important ones have been extracted and combined to a theoretical framework relevant to the research. Thereby, characteristics picturing the relations which form the personal support network have been chosen (ego-centered information), to the detriment of features characterizing and mapping the network as a whole. There are plenty of different characteristics of social networks, hence this list does not aim to be exhaustive but to represent the features identified as essential to the research proposed here.

(1) Size

Regarding the size, "networks can be anything from limited to extensive", which in turn affects the total stock of social capital available to the network's members (Stone, 2001: 16). Consequently, it could be assumed that an individual with extensive ties has more opportunities to utilize social capital.

Given the focus on the active support network, the size of the network refers here to the number of people an individual relates to actively. Two different forms of network size are, however, of importance: the *perceived* and the *actual* network size. The perceived network size includes the confidants the individual expects to be at disposition in case he/she needs some kind of support, while the actual one is constituted by the persons who actually did provide support in the past months (Barrera, 1986).

(2) Composition

When observing an individual's relations, it is interesting to evaluate the composition of his/her network, i.e. how many of the network members are family, friends, confidants, neighbors, work colleges etc. (Stokes, 1983). Essential here is the question about the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the network members (Bowling, 1997; Stokes, 1983; Stone, 2001). In a homogeneous network, the members are very similar, i.e. in terms of origin, sex or age, while a heterogeneous network is characterized by individuals of diverse types.

Regarding the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the network, two camps of analysts became established (Walker et al., 1993). The so-called similarity analysts advocate that similar individuals tend to form strong friendships, consequently implicating that network members should exhibit similar characteristics. Dissimilarity analysts, on the contrary, argue that people rather exchange support with others from varying backgrounds (Walker et al., 1993: 79).

(3) Spatial Dimension

The spatial dimension of the relations and networks refers here to the physical location of contacts (Bowling, 1997; Stone, 2001). To describe the spatial dimension of a network, "(…) the relations within the household, at the neighbourhood or local community scale, to global and virtual relations which operate at vast distance" are observed (Stone, 2001: 16). More recently, it has been revealed that the majority of active ties normally extend the limitations of a neighborhood, pushing forward the concept of 'translocality' of networks and relations (Walker et al., 1993).

(4) Frequency of Interaction

Frequency of interaction is considered by a broad audience an important network characteristic, which can range from frequent to rare contact, or even a single interaction. Hence, confidants normally have different frequencies in which they interact. Thereby, two former findings are of interest. For one thing, it is said that the proximity is positively correlated with frequency of contact, and for another thing, more frequent contact is considered to develop stronger and more supportive relationships (Walker et al., 1993). However, findings on both issues are mixed.

(5) Norms of Reciprocity

Reciprocity as a network characteristic is described as "the extent to which resources and support are both given and received in a relationship" (Heaney & Israel, 2008: 190). Walker et al. (1993: 83) defined three types in which a person receiving support may reciprocate:

i. Specific exchange, or repayment in kind to the help-giver;
ii. Generalized reciprocity, in which the person receiving aid repays the original helper with some other form of aid; or
iii. Network balancing, in which the recipient of aid, in turn, helps another network member.

3.3.2 Forms and Features of Social Support

With regard to the relation between the network characteristics outlined above and the social support originating from the same,

> "(…) researchers originally conceptualized social support as a broad, unidimensional characteristic of relationships, without regard to the nature of these interpersonal ties, and they attempted to show that the mere existence of these ties helped the individual to cope with everyday problems" (Walker et al., 1993: 74).

However, it became evident that different types of relationship provide different kinds of support, and that the support's features depend on the characteristics of the respective relationship. By way of example, a considerable network size is linked with higher quantity of support available, while different types of people (network composition) are associated with diverging forms of support (Seeman and Berkman, 1988; Stone, 2001; Walker et al., 1993).

The illustration given below (illustration 3.1) shows Tardy's (1985) summary of the elements of social support, each of them having been subject to several studies on the topic of social support.

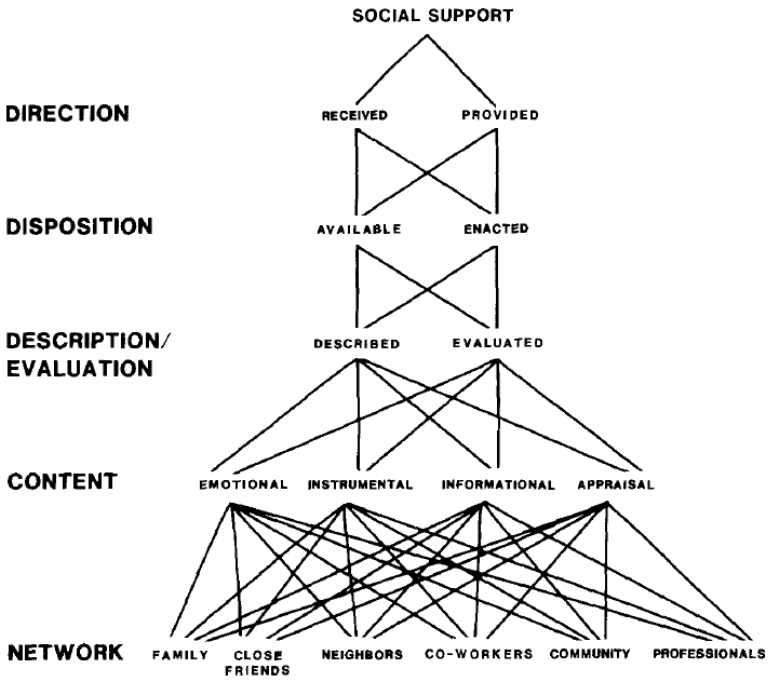


Illustration 3.1: Tardy's summary of the primary elements of social support (Source: Tardy, 1985)

(1) The Network: Origin of Social Support

Support is regarded to be originating from the social network, here defined according to its composition (i.e. family, close friends, neighbors, co-workers, community and/or professionals).

Another term commonly applied in literature describing the different social connections an individual has is *social embeddedness* (Barrera, 1986; Lin, 1999; Stone, 2001).

(2) Social Support Content

The next level of describing social support is according to its content – or its type (Tardy, 1985). Emotional support entails the supply of love, trust and empathy, whereas instrumental support "(…) involves the provision of tangible aid and services that directly assist a person in need" (Heaney and Israel, 2008: 190). Giving advice, suggestions and information is consolidated in the term of informational support, while appraisal support refers to "(…) the provision of information that is useful for self-evaluation purposes – in other words, constructive feedback and affirmation"[3] (Heaney and Israel, 2008: 190) (examples for the different forms are listed in Box 3.1).

Box: Forms of Support and Examples

(1) Emotional Support
- *Listening to personal problems*
- *Providing affection*

(2) Instrumental Support
- *Loan of money & food*
- *Taking care of the children*

(3) Informational Support
- *Information regarding work opportunities*
- *Suggestions & advice on all kind of issues*

(4) Appraisal Support
- *Providing feedback*
- *Appraisal of Achievements*

Box 3.1: Examples of the four different forms of social support

(3) Description and Evaluation

Subsequently, description and evaluation include both the mere description of the social support provided and received as well as an evaluation of the individuals' satisfaction with the social support. Another variable of importance which can be argued to be related to support satisfaction, but which is not explicitly mentioned in Tardy's (1985) illustration of social support components, is the need or adequacy of the support received and provided (Barrera, 1986). Hence, for a description and evaluation of the support, it is of interest to know whether the person was actually in need of this specific form of support, or whether other ones would have been more appreciated.

(4) Disposition: Perceived and Enacted Support

The availability of support (or: perceived support) as well as the utilization (or: actual support) come within the ambit of disposition. Hence, there is a difference between the support people think they could rely on and the one they actually received in the past, as pointed out amongst others by Barrera (1986). Perceived support is hence defined as "(…) a prominent concept that characterizes social support as the cognitive appraisal of being reliably connected to others",

[3] The first phase of the research, however, has shown that appraisal support was not really relevant for the case of IDP, and even frequently leading to misunderstandings. As a consequence, it was taken out of the questionnaire, and consequently the research (see Methodologies, chapter 4.4). Given that reason, the concept of appraisal support will be neglected hereafter.

which can be measured by capturing the individuals' confidence that adequate support would be available if needed (Barrera, 1986: 416-417). Contrary to perceived support, actual support is comprised by the actions individuals actually receive or provide in terms of support. This is evaluated by Barrera (1986) "(…) a research question that some have identified as important for understanding coping and adjustment processes". The variables of disposition will be treated here similar to the perceived and actual network size mentioned in the chapter on the characterization of social networks (see 3.3.1).

Last but not least, Tardy (1985) makes differentiates between provided and received support. For the research presented here, the main focus will be on received support. However, provided support will be indirectly included with the variable of reciprocity.

Based on these characteristics of social support, the latter can efficiently be described and evaluated. Table 3.1 provides a summary of the presented concepts of social networks and social support.

Table 3.1: Summary of concepts applied in the existing research

CONCEPTS	CHARACTERISTICS	DEFINITIONS	
Social Network	Size	i. *Limited – extensive* ii. *Perceived and actual network (or: Disposition)*	Number of people regarded as available to provide support & number of people having provided some form of support in the past months
	Composition	i. *Homogeneous – heterogeneous*	Members: Family, friends, etc.; Extent to which members are or feel similar
	Spatial Dimension	i. *Local – global*	Extent to which network members live in close proximity to focal person
	Frequency of Contact	i. *Frequent – rarely – once*	Extent to which the relational contact is frequently, occasional or even limited to one time
	Reciprocity	i. *Reciprocal – unilateral*	Extent to which resources and support are both given and received in a relationship
Social Support	Content	i. *Emotional*	Expressions of empathy, love, trust, and caring
		ii. *Instrumental*	Tangible aid and services
		iii. *Informational*	Advice, suggestions, and information
	Description/Evaluation	i. *Described*	Mere description of social support
		ii. *Evaluated (Support satisfaction)*	Individual's satisfaction with social support

3.3.3 Social Capital Field-Tested for the Case of IDP

Even though most of the research regarding social capital was conducted on Western civilizations and rather consolidated classes of society, some research was undertaken with regard to vulnerable groups. Amongst these is the research of McMichael and Manderson (2004: 89), who investigated the case of Somali women in Melbourne and the meaning of social capital for the same. Their study revealed that "for new immigrants, social capital can offer a resource of information, support networks, introductions, friendships, and possible material goods that

facilitate their settlement", thereby emphasizing the peculiar importance of social capital for newly arriving migrants as well as the facilitated access to information, goods, and services. Other forms of support revealed and pointed out in literature with regard to vulnerable groups include "(...) informal sources of credit, insurance, child support, English language training, and job referrals" (World Bank Website, 2014), as well as the facilitation of collective learning (Lee et al., 2005).

Even though the findings on social capital and networks outlined above also apply to IDP as a vulnerable group, there are some studies specifically focusing on social capital of the internally displaced. In her study on displaced women in Bogotá, Duplat (2005) describes the networks and relations as an adequate coping strategy as well as the strengthening of the same an aspired goal of most of the victims. Perecman (2005: 13) summarizes Duplat's findings as the following:

> "In the face of obstacles like a shortage of formal opportunities, discriminatory practices, and inadequate public policies, displaced women in Colombia use social networks that include other displaced people, e.g. family members, the historically poor, the religious community, and friends, as an effective and efficient coping strategy. Through these networks they find a place to live, a first job, and help building a home."

Even though there is a consensus between most of the authors about the family being the focal point of support, some studies on IDP also emphasize the union of unfamiliar individuals with diverse backgrounds to one support network, with at least one common ground: all its members have been forced to leave their place of origin (Duplat, 2005; Meertens, 2002). Thereby, Perecman (2005: 12) emphasizes that the networks "(…) arise *autonomously* in response to the social and economic conditions of the displaced people". Besides the common feature of being displaced, factors such as village identity, ethnicity, class, gender or religion can be defined other axes of solidarity between IDP (Kuhn, 2003; Perecman, 2005).

Brun (2005) not only stresses the positive effects of newly evolving networks, but also the continuous importance of relations and networks built prior to the displacement. She emphasized "the ability of IDP to rely on existing structures, such as members of their family, village, community or other social networks, [which] proves that cultural continuity and resilience are key ingredients of displacement situations" (Brun, 2005: 17). It is reasoned that displacement does not necessarily result in a total disruption of community and the social networks established earlier at the place of origin, but that it is a common strategy for many displaced "(…) to develop 'translocal' connections, which they rely upon both during and after displacement" (Brun, 2005: 18).

But there is also a more pessimistic perspective with regard to the relations and networks of IDP. This includes the opinion that violence and displacement "(…) erode social reciprocity, trust, and social cohesion", leading to preconditions which not exactly promote the formation of social capital, relationships or networks (McMichael and Manderson, 2004: 89).

So, is it the displacement which binds together people from diverse backgrounds to support each other, or does the displacement on contrary undermine the building of relationships of trust and networks of support?

3.4 Implications of Social Capital

The findings on the effects of social capital on vulnerable groups, however, are somewhat contradicting: While some authors point out the mere positive consequences of social capital, others also emphasize negative implications of the same.

As amongst others pointed out by McMichael and Manderson (2004), the provision of needed and desired support can lead to an improvement of living conditions. While the first studies on the implications of social capital almost exclusively dealt with the consequences on health, it emerged a consensus that social capital influences the overall well-being (Helliwell and Putnam, 2004; Lin, 1986; Yip et al., 2007). By way of example, Lin (1986) emphasized the direct positive effect on well-being, both contemporaneously and over time, while Yip (2007: 46) similarly revealed for her target group of the rural Chinese population that the "(…) dimensions of social capital are positively associated with general health, psychological health, and overall well-being". Helliwell and Putnam (2004: 1437), who measured social capital by the strength of family, neighborhood, community and religious ties, made similar findings and concluded:

> "People who have close friends and confidants, friendly neighbours and supportive coworkers are less likely to experience sadness, loneliness, low self-esteem and problems with eating and sleeping. Indeed, a common finding from research on the correlates of life satisfaction is that subjective well-being is best predicted by the breadth and depth of one's social connections."

Quite the opposite, other authors also emphasize rather negative implications of social capital. In this regard, it should be acknowledged that networks "(…) exclude as they include, marginalizing some while supporting and bringing benefits to others" (McMichael and Manderson, 2004: 90; see also: Portes, 1998). Additionally, some networks are constructed to the disadvantage of those "(…) with little status, ability to articulate, or to contribute to a compromise solution" (Cleaver, 2005: 904).

As Cleaver (2005: 904) points out, networks and reciprocal relations also imply "heavy investments of time and effort to secure very limited benefits", which furthers inhibit the introduction of the poorest of the poor into the networks as well as might aggravate the poverty of the networks' members. In the same tenor, Coyne and DeLongis (1986: 456) point out that "(…) support may prove to be more demanding and draining than nurturant", thus leading in the course of getting socially involved to demands people cannot meet. Not being able to return a favor or provide support, as stated by Walker et al. (1993: 83), could lead to a disequilibrium, "(…) possibly leading to resentment on the part of the helpgivers or destruction of the relationships". The examples given in this paragraph hence illustrate that many negative aspects can be found with regard to the reciprocity of support giving. Conflict and negativity in relationships are other factors which may interfere with the positive effects of social support (Hagerty et al., 1996).

McMichael and Manderson (2004) pointed out for the case of Somali women in Australia that social networks *among* Somalis in Melbourne cause problems for the integration and settling processes, as they are inhibiting the women to create social capital to settle in Australia. In a similar sense, Choldin (1973: 175) revealed that "migrants without kinship affiliation and support find jobs more quickly and maintain higher morale than do migrants who join kinfolk or others". Hence, integration processes might be slowed down.

To conclude, many authors point out the positive effects of social capital in general and social networks in specific on the lives of the poor and vulnerable, while defining reduction of risk and uncertainty as the primary function of the same (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Social capital can thus be described as a "potential contributor to poverty reduction and sustainable development", hence figuring into conducing livelihood stabilization of the people involved (World Bank Website, 2014). On the other hand, it is pointed out that networks also implicate some exclusion, thus fostering marginalization. Additionally, social relations could bring along certain obligations, which an individual cannot meet – possibly leading to a disruption of relationships – or those he is trying to fulfill, even though this could at the same time imply the deterioration of his/her own socio-economic situation. Hence, social capital brings along the potential to reduce and to increase vulnerability, to stabilize and destabilize livelihoods at the same time.

3.5 Sense of Belonging and Self-Identification

Already Maslow (1943) emphasized belonging as a basic human need, while at the same time putting it on a level with friendship and family – hence, social relations. Thereby, he points out the human aspiration to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance on behalf of social groups. With regard to this, it was stated that social relations and sense of belonging "(…) should be theoretically and empirically key correlates, but not so strongly related as to suggest that they are the same construct" (Hagerty et al., 1996: 237). For this study, sense of belonging is regarded as territorial belonging, which is in turn mainly based on variables related to one's social life. Following earlier studies and as summarized by Hagerty et al. (1996: 236), sense of belonging is described by two defining attributes:

(1) Valuated involvement: the experience of being valued, needed, or important with respect to other people, groups, or environments;
(2) Fit: the experience of fitting in or being congruent with other people, groups, or environments through shared or complementary characteristics.

Earlier studies on sense of belonging identified the same "(…) an important element for mental health and social well-being" (Hagerty et al., 1996: 235). In this sense, Hagerty et al. (1996) revealed that a lower sense of belonging is associated with poorer psychological functioning, hence possibly triggering anxiety, depression, loneliness and suicidality. The same authors found that sense of belonging "(…) was positively related to the positive social support items and negatively related to the negative items" (Hagerty et al., 1996: 241) – hence, positive experiences with social support lead to a strong sense of belonging, while negative ones imply a decline in the same.

Studies on groups which experienced horrifying life events – such as Israeli soldiers and Holocaust survivors – described the impacts of these events on the sense of belonging. The above mentioned suffered from "lack of belonging, including feelings of being cut off and uprooted, abandoned, rejected, and psychologically severed" as well as tormented of the feeling of not belonging anywhere (Hagerty and Patusky, 1995: 9). The relation between sense of belonging (as a component of social identity) and well-being, social relations, support, and the occurrence of life changes, makes it a concept valuable to integrate into the research presented here – and as the following paragraphs will show, displacement is one of the life events which effects the sense of belonging and self-identification of the persons concerned tremendously.

3.5.1 The IDP' Sense of Belonging

> *"Displacement causes multiple human rights violations. Thereby, the implications are not only demographic, economic or political, (…) but people are also affected with regard to their dignity, identity and, therefore, their emotional well-being."*
>
> \- Bello (2004: 1)

Expelled from one's home, the IDP often arrive at their place of refuge indigently, facing a completely new situation. As the majority of the IDP originates from rural areas, they lived the lives of farmers, while many times being used to a distinct distribution of roles with regard to type of work, sexuality, or religion. Pulled out of their traditional social fabric of life, the IDP are confronted with a tremendous change in living: they are moving from a traditional to a modern, from a rural to an urban setting (Bello, 2004). Therewith, "the picture of themselves which they have historically built and which allowed them to differentiate or distinguish themselves from others, while at the same time enabling the recognition by others, loses its structure and consequently needs to be reconstructed in the light of the new realities and social positions that they are required to take" (Bello, 2004: 2). Thereby, for such a self-identification the everyday life is as important as the larger cultural environments (Howard, 2000).

McMichael and Manderson (2004) pointed out that social capital provides people with the opportunity to develop a sense of belonging – hence, supporting a reconstruction of self-identification –, while Chavis and Wandersmann (1990: 59) emphasize that a sense of community in turn prompt people to interact with the residents in their neighborhood more frequently. There is not a lot of literature on the interrelation of social networks and support with sense of belonging, even though impacts on the well-being of both concepts have been emphasized.

So, do the networks constructed help the IDP to feel home again, and/or does the emerging sense of belonging favor in turn the construction and anchoring of networks at the place of refuge?

3.5.2 Labels, Discrimination and Integration

Terms such as labeling, discrimination and integration are frequently mentioned in one breath with social belonging and self-identification in existing studies on both minority groups and IDP in specific.

Brun (2003: 380) pointed out in the context of integration that "the struggle for citizenship in situations of internal displacement is about finding or reestablishing one's place in the society". This struggle is not necessarily related to a particular territory, but rather to "(…) finding a safe home base, as well as a position – a place for oneself – as a participant in the society" (Brun, 2003: 380) – which is in line with Maslow's definition of belonging. While further elaborating on integration, she defines integration as "(…) the condition where the displaced and their hosts are able to coexist and share resources in an area without more conflicts than are usual both with and within the host community" (Brun, 2003: 380). Moreover, Cantor (2011: 21) points out that "some IDPs return to their homes as a result of a failure to integrate in the cities and lack confidence in the ability or willingness of the state to protect them". In a similar tenor, Sørensen (2003: 11) classifies the assumption that IDP always aim at returning home – which underlies many interventions and programs – "a badly understood notion in itself".

With regard to labeling, it is argued that calling the ones forced to flee their homes and to seek refuge within the country as 'IDP' carries certain risks, which could further influence their lives. Brun (2003: 20) points out that "labelling has the effect of separating individuals from their context, their former lives and the causes of their displacement. Hence, labels tend to de-politicise, de-historicise and universalise identities". Duplat (2005) adds that these labels inhibit the society to perceive IDP as the persons they are, with multiple skills and various backgrounds, and instead cause uniformization and generalization of the same.

Do IDP identify themselves as IDP? With regard to this question, Sørensen (2001: 7) concluded that "(…) forced displacement is never the only axis of identity and that in most cases it is far from being the most important one. Religion, ethnicity, gender, age, occupation or other aspects of identity are more important than being an IDP" (see also: Birkeland, 2001).

The label of being an IDP and therewith a marginal – even though considerable – group in Bogotá's society could lead for the people concerned to a so-called 'threatening environment'. The latter is defined "(…) as settings where people come to suspect that they could be devalued, stigmatized, or discriminated against because of a particular social identity", which in turn could impede feelings of belonging and acceptance (Inzlicht and Good, 2005: 132). In a similar tenor, Howard (2000: 374) points out that for those belonging to minority groups it is difficult to develop and establish an identity, "(…) owing to negative societal stereotypes and discrimination". It becomes clear that being a marginal group can both trigger discrimination as well as an intensified sensation of being different and discriminated, thereby influencing the respective person's sense of belonging.

3.6 Conclusion

Given the different concepts elaborated on above, an understanding of social capital, social networks, social support and sense of belonging is provided.

For the purpose of the research, social capital will be regarded from a **network perspective**, hence it is considered rather an asset of individuals than an item facilitating community action. Therewith, **social relations** and **networks** as well as the **support** originating from the same have been identified as important components of social capital.

For characterizing social networks, variables such as **size**, **composition**, **spatial dimension**, **reciprocity** and **frequency of contact** have been chosen. They aim at describing the support network from an ego-perspective, instead of mapping the network as a whole. Support content, description/evaluation and disposition, on the other hand, have been identified as relevant items to describe and assess social support.

Even though there are only a few of studies available on the implications of social capital on the lives of the vulnerable, it has been emphasized that implications can be both of positive and negative nature. In this sense, social relations, networks and support mechanisms could possibly **contribute to a stabilization of life**, while at the same time **increase vulnerability** through draining relations and obligations a person cannot fulfill given his/her condition.

Last but not least, sense of belonging has been pictured as a concept embracing both the **valuated involvement** on behalf of other people as well as the **feeling to fit in**: it is "(…) the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment" (Hagerty et al., 1992: 173). Additionally, it is assumed that there is a correlation between the social networks and support with the sense of belonging, and that IDP see themselves confronted with a process of new self-identification when arriving at their place of refuge. Other concepts important with regard to the IDP' sense of belonging and self-identification embrace **labels**, **discrimination** as well as **integration processes**.

4 Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The methodologies applied for a research can decide tremendously on the success of the very same. Thereby, they should be adequate to the specific context and feasible both in terms of time and resources required. There are three common research methods, which differ a lot due to their goals, underlying research questions, techniques applied as well as the fields they are used in: quantitative, qualitative and participatory methods, which all have their advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, a combination of different types of research methods seems very advantageous instead of a strict separation. Qualitative and quantitative data can hence be corroborated by each other and the weaknesses of one method can be rescinded by the other's strength.

The research presented here follows a mixed methods approach, using both an instrument for quantitative data (questionnaire) as well as qualitative data collection (semi-structured interview). However, the instruments do overlap, thus the questionnaire also includes some qualitative approaches and vice versa. In the following, the research objective and the research questions will be introduced, followed by the description of the single methods applied. As a subsequent step, the limitations of the research will be presented.

4.2 Research Objective and Research Questions

Brun (2005: 15) points out for the issue of internal displacement that "(…) an understanding of its social consequences and the way the internally displaced live and cope with it is instrumental to protecting and assisting them". As universally valid, the construction of a profound knowledge basis necessarily precedes the ability to act efficiently. Such an understanding on the issues around displacement is needed for the global, national as well as local level; nonetheless, the local conditions are many times neglected in favor of a national or global perspective (Brun, 2005; Willems, 2003). This research will aim at providing intensified knowledge on the local level.

Moreover, it should be emphasized that there is a consensus emerging that "fostering networks and social capital are examples of interventions in the process of development that can have long-term beneficial results" (Lee et al., 2005: 280). In the same context, Yip et al. (2007: 48) emphasized in their study on the rural Chinese population "(…) that policies aimed at producing and enhancing an environment that strengthens existing social networks and facilitates the exchange of social support, at both the individual and village levels, hold promise in improving the health and well-being".

The research presented here is hence designed to contribute to the scientific knowledge on IDP (scientific research objective), while opening doors to the design and implementation of local policy interventions and decision-making targeting the improvement of the living conditions of the IDP in Bogotá (developmental research objective).

This leads us to the following scientific as well as developmental research objective:

Scientific research objective	*Contribution to the pool of scientific knowledge about IDP, their social networks and relations as response to stress and vulnerability brought by displacement.*
Developmental research objective	*Provision of evidence-based information on the specific case of IDP in Bogotá, enabling the design of local policy interventions and decision-making adapted to the local circumstances.*

In order to achieve these objectives, the overarching research question aims at assessing the meaning of social capital for IDP in Bogotá. Therefore, four different sub-questions have been developed, dealing with (1) a network characterization, (2) a description of the social support received, (3) perceptions of social support implications and (4) the sense of belonging and self-identification on the part of the participating IDP. In this manner, the sub-questions add up to an answer to the underlying main research question. Accordingly, the research question and sub-questions are:

Overarching research question	*What is the meaning of social capital for Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Bogotá and what are the explanatory factors accounting for the same?*
Sub-questions	(1) *What are the characteristics of networks built and maintained by the IDP?* (2) *What are the features of and the form in which social support occurs?* (3) *How do IDP perceive the implications of social relations and the support received?* (4) *How can the IDP' sense of belonging and self-identification be described, and which factors could possibly explain these?*

4.3 Conceptual Model

The conceptual model provided below (illustration 4.1) illustrates the components of the research which are based on the theoretical framework elaborated above (see chapter 3). The research consists of two different levels. While the first level covers the first three sub-questions and is focusing on social capital as such, the second one includes the sense of belonging and self-identification of the IDP and thus goes beyond the description and evaluation of social capital. Answering the sub-questions inherent to each level will both give a picture about what social capital *means* to IDP in Bogotá as well as provide the factors which possibly *explain this meaning*. Apart from the variables mentioned in the conceptual model, other factors such as time of displacement, gender, or origin have been gathered during the research.

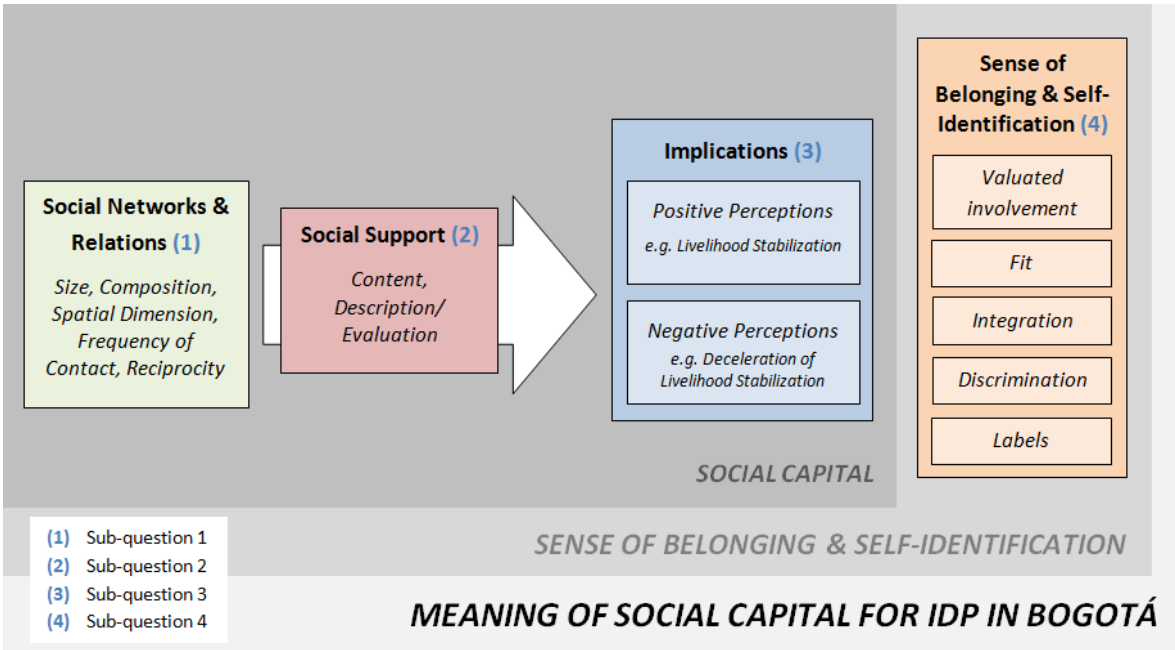


Illustration 4.1: Conceptual model based on theoretical framework (own elaboration)

Table 4.1: Operationalization of the variables according to the respective sub-question and main method used

SUB-QUESTION	MAIN METHOD	VARIABLES (OPERATIONALIZATION)
(1) *What are the characteristics of networks built and maintained by the IDP?*	Questionnaire	*Network Characteristics* - Composition - Size (or: Disposition) - Spatial Dimension - Frequency of Contact - Reciprocity
(2) *What are the features of and the form in which social support occurs?*	Questionnaire; Interviews	*Social Support Features* - Content - Description/ Evaluation
(3) *How do IDP perceive the implications of social relations and the support received?*	Interviews	*Positive and negative perceptions of the implications associated with social support by the interviewees*
(4) *How can the IDP' sense of belonging and self-identification be described, and which factors could possibly explain these?*	Interviews	- Valuated Involvement - Fit - Labels - Discrimination - Integration

The operationalization of the different variables was made accordingly (table 4.1). The characterization of the social networks and relations (sub-question 1) is undertaken according to the characteristics outlined earlier. They include the network's size (perceived and actual network size), composition, spatial dimension, frequency of contact and reciprocity. Social support is subsequently assessed with regard to the support content, its description and evaluation. For the implications, the individual's perceptions on positive and negative implications will be regarded. And last but not least, sense of belonging will be integrated into the research in accordance with its two defining attributes, namely valuated involvement and fit, as well as questions revealing self-identification and opinions on discrimination and integration.

4.4 Methodologies

4.4.1 Literature Review

As a preparatory step as well as during the research, an in-depth literature review of published articles, data and documents was conducted. A profound literature review has proven to be an essential and useful preparatory step for starting the research in order to gain first insights into the research area, the topic of displacement in Colombia as well as the theoretical background of social capital – the importance of such a preparatory literature review is also highlighted by many authors in Desai and Potter's edition on how to realize development research (Desai and Potter, 2006). Based on this knowledge basis, the instruments for the further research process (i.e. questionnaires and semi-structured interviews) have been designed.

4.4.2 Mixed Method Approach: Quantitative Questionnaires and Semi-Structured Interviews

Both questionnaires and interviews have been conducted in one of the DIGNIFICAR-centers in Bogotá. When IDP arrive at the center in order to apply for any kind of governmental support, they have to register at the entrance door to receive their turn of attendance. This focal point was used to shortly introduce the research and to ask for persons willing to participate. The persons who agreed on the conduction of the questionnaire were subsequently brought to a private office cube in the center assigned for the conduction of the research, which aimed at ensuring the privacy of the participants.

The interview was realized after the questionnaire with respondents willing to further participate and seeming of interest for the research. It was aimed at involving participants with differentiating displacement years and network sizes, while including male and female respondents to the same extent. It was decided to conduct the interview after the questionnaire as IDP were usually coming once to the center to apply for a certain support in a given time period and that they are restricted in time due to family or work responsibilities; hence, a second meeting was difficult to arrange. However, not all interviewees accomplished a questionnaire before the interview, mainly due to emotional distress on behalf of the respondents inhibiting the comparably structured procedure of the questionnaire.

Before the questionnaire was conducted, the research was explained to the respondents in detail, it was made clear that they can always abstain from answering and that all the information will be treated anonymously.

(1) The Questionnaire: An Adapted Version of the Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule[4]

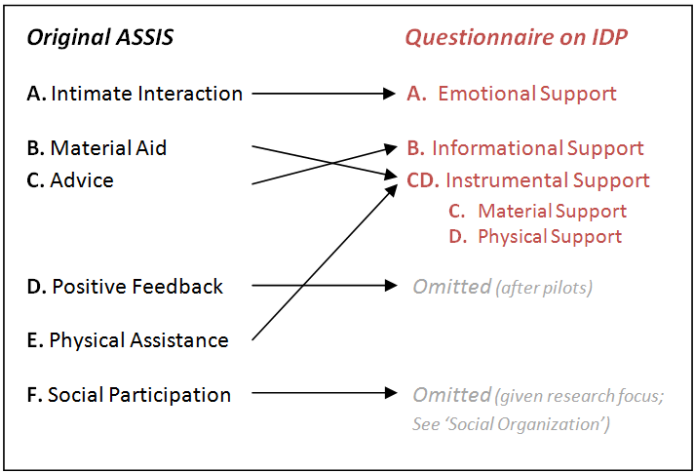
The conduction of questionnaires aimed at both the collection of qualitative and quantitative data. By doing so, the data gathered provides a useful data base about the characteristics of the interviewee, his/her network and relations (sub-question 1) as well as the support received and provided (sub-question 2). It was pilot-tested for one day in the center DIGNIFICAR, after which shortcomings where remedied.

Given an extended literature review on different measurements of social support networks and social support, it was decided to build a questionnaire along the Arizona Social Support Interview Schedule (ASSIS)[5], which was developed by Barrera in the early 1980s. Barrera (1980: 8) follows a definition of social support, which resembles the one chosen here, characterized by "(…) the image of individuals being fortified, strengthened, or even protected from adverse conditions through the provisions of social relationships". Additionally, his questionnaire focuses on the "(…) individuals who specifically provide forms of social support rather than more general social functions or who are simply important in some unspecified way", and therewith reflects the aim of the research (Barrera, 1980: 9).

The questionnaire is divided into three parts which aim at the collection of different kinds of information. In the first part (*componente I*), socio-economic data on the respondent was collected, also including information on the displacement he/she experienced (i.e., year of displacement or place where displacement occurred).

Subsequently, the second part (*componente II*) of the questionnaire deals with the forms and features of social support. In his original version, Barrera (2014; pers. cor.) distinguishes between six forms of assistance (or: support contents). Even though quite similar to the support contents summarized earlier, the sequence and variables were adapted to the research's needs (box 4.1).

[4] For the complete version of the questionnaire applied see Annex 1 (in Spanish).
[5] The reader should not be misled by the name including the word 'interview'; the information gathered is still mainly quantitative.



Box 4.1: Differences between the original ASSIS and the version adapted to the purpose of the research

It shall be noted that Barrera's *Material Aid* and *Physical Assistance* both fall under *Instrumental Support* given the definition of the same provided in 3.3.2. However, they are dealt with independently in the questionnaire as well as in the analysis of the results as *Material* and *Physical Support*. When regarding the sequence of the variables used, *Informational Support* was put after emotional and before the material support, as the pilot revealed that it was easier to understand for the respondents to first go into detail with both support types which rather involve talking, and subsequently continue with the tangible goods and services. Additionally, the pilot showed that *Appraisal Support* (here: *Positive Feedback*) was leading to misunderstandings, while it was usually equated by the respondent with emotional support. Given these insights paired with the still very time-consuming conduction of the questionnaire at that point, *Appraisal Support* was left out for the further course of the research. *Social Participation* is here not regarded a specific form of support, and was therefore omitted from the beginning.

For each of the support contents, the respondent was initially asked to list the people to whom he/she would turn to when in need of the specific support. Subsequently, the respondent was approached to indicate who of the listed people actually provided the respective form of support in the last three months. Contrary to Barrera's version, a question on examples of the different types of support was posed after the two initial questions, aiming at a more in-depth description of the different support types. The fourth and fifth questions then inquire after the support satisfaction and the need of the support received, thereby accounting for an evaluation of the respective social support content.

In order to record the satisfaction with and the need for each of the support contents, the respondents were asked with which statement they would agree the most:

Support Satisfaction	**Support Need**
With the support I received, …	The support I received, I…
1: *I am satisfied very much*	1: *I need it very much*
2: *I am satisfied*	2: *I need it*
3: *I am not really satisfied*	3: *I do not really need it*
4: *I am not satisfied at all*	4: *I do not need it at all*

The statements were assigned numeric values for the quantitative analysis according to a four-point Likert scale. The 'forced choice alternative' with an even scale was chosen, as to prevent the

respondents from taking the 'easy' neutral choice, thereby 'forcing' them to think more intensively about which answer to take (see Likert, 1932).

The questionnaire's finishing part (*componente III*) aims at gathering information with regard to the listed persons, including the relation to respondent, age, sex, origin, place of living, experience of displacement as well as frequency of contact with the respondent. The variables asked for in this part are adapted to the research's purpose and hence represent an extension to Barrera's version. They resulted in important information on the network characteristics. Additionally, the respondents were asked three concluding questions, amongst them which of the different support forms they consider the most important given their current situation.

Given this approach, the questionnaire provided information on the network's characteristics (sub-question 1) as well as the forms and features of social support (sub-question 2). Table 4.2 summarizes the information gathered with the questionnaire and displays some example questions (using the example of material support).

Table 4.2: Variables and pieces of information gained with the questionnaire according to its three different parts

Variables Gained	Sub	Pieces of Information / Example Questions
QUESTIONNAIRE PART I: Information on Respondent		
Socio-economic data on respondent	all	Age, sex, education, place of origin, work
Information on displacement	all	Year of displacement, place where displacement occurred
Future aspirations	4	Place of living
QUESTIONNAIRE PART II: Information on Networks and Support		
Size (perceived)	1	*"If you need to borrow a little bit of money or another good, who are the people you know who would help you out?"*
Size (actual)	1	*"Within the last three months, which of these persons did actually lend you some money or other goods?"*
Support description	2	*"Could you give some examples of what you received in these situations?"*
Support satisfaction	2	*"Within the last three month, how satisfied have you been with the money or the goods people lend you?"*
Support need	2	*"During the past month, how much you think you needed people who could loan or give you things that you needed?"*
QUESTIONNAIRE PART III: Information on Listed Persons		
Composition	1	Relation to respondent, age, sex, origin, experience of displacement
Spatial dimension	1	Origin, current place of living
Frequency of contact	1	Frequency of contact between listed persons and respondent

(2) Semi-Structured Interviews[6]

Interviews are a very common way to gather all kind of information, both of quantitative and qualitative nature. Thereby, the interpersonal character of interviews is "(…) allowing insights into individual's lives which go beyond observations and questionnaires surveys" (Willis, 2006: 152). A semi-structured interview with both open and closed questions can ensure that the interviewee is given more freedom to respond but that the intended information is collected at the same time. Moreover, by using this form of an interview, the respondent may bring up important topics the researcher has not thought about in advance but which still could be very useful (Willis, 2006). For these reasons, semi-structured interviews have been chosen as a method for the research presented here, thereby complementing and deepening the quantitative data collected with the questionnaire.

Questions with regard to all sub-questions have been posed, while the interview's main body is regarding the research questions 3 and 4. As the interview was held subsequent to the questionnaire, it was possible to tailor the interview to specific pieces of information gained during the latter. In order to be able to adapt to particularities of respondents, the interview was hence designed semi-structured and left room for requesting.

The majority of the questions applied are open, enabling the respondent to highlight facts of personal importance. However, some questions entail example-answers or follow-up questions (*prueba*), which were read out to the respondent in case he does not know how to answer the question or in order to test some variables. The interview is designed partially in form of a timeline, starting with the displacement, followed by the arrival in Bogotá and finally ending with questions regarding the current situation and future aspirations. This shall help the respondent to follow the interview logically, and enabled the receipt of information on support over time – a feature which is considered important with regard to social capital within vulnerable groups, amongst others mentioned by Walker et al. (1993). The narrative character of the interview helped especially at the beginning to prompt interviewees to take over the conversation and talk about what comes to their mind. As a last question, interviewees were asked for topics which were not mentioned by the interviewer, but which they in turn consider important.

The variables gained with the interview are listed in table 4.3 according to the sub-question, while providing some example questions.

[6] For the complete version of the interview see Annex 2 (in Spanish).

Table 4.3: Variables gained with the interview according to the respective sub-question and example questions

Variables Gained	Example Questions
NETWORK CHARACTERISTICS & SOCIAL SUPPORT (Sub 1 & 2)	
Reciprocity	*When you compare the support you receive and the support you provide for others, would you say there is an equilibrium or do you have the impression that you give more than you receive, or vice versa?*
Composition	*Some people say that people who made the same experiences – in your case: the displacement – support and help each other. Given your experiences, do you agree with that?* *How do they support each other?* *Do you think there is a difference between building relations with other displaced persons and with people from Bogotá?*
Social Support: Here and There	*What are the differences between the support you receive here and the one you received at your place of origin?*
IMPLICATIONS (Sub 3)	
Positive and negative perceptions	*Regarding the relations you have and the support exchanged, what do you think are the benefits for you?* *Could you also think about negative consequences of the relations you have and the support which is exchanged?*
Social support: Importance now and then	*Right after arriving in Bogotá, have there been some persons supporting you in finding a place to live or to work?* *In your opinion, what are the differences between the social support you received after your arrival here, and the one you are getting now?*
SENSE OF BELONGING AND SELF-IDENTIFICATION (Sub 4)	
Sense of belonging	*Where do you feel to belong to at this moment?* *Where do you want to live in the future?*
Valuated involvement	*Do you feel accepted and valuated by your surroundings here in Bogotá?*
Fit	*Do you have the feeling you fit well in your environment here?*
Labels	*Do you identify yourself as an IDP?* *How do you feel when someone calls you an IDP? Does it bother you?*
Discrimination	*Do you think people treat you differently when they know that you are displaced?* *Did you experience any kind of discrimination?*
Integration	*Do you feel well-integrated in Bogotá?* *What do you think: are most of the IDP integrated in Bogotá's society, or do they have struggles with doing so?*

4.4.3 Sample Size

Table 4.4: Respondents of questionnaire and interview

	Female	Male	Total
Questionnaire	40 (61%)	26 (39%)	**66 (100%)**
Interview	12 (50%)	12 (50%)	**24 (100%)**

In the course of the fieldwork, 66 questionnaires and 24 interviews have been conducted (table 4.4). With regard to the questionnaire, almost two thirds of the total amount was realized with female respondents. This overrepresentation could be the result of the higher share of women in the IDP population outlined by Ibáñez and Moya (2005) (see 2.4.2). For the interview, on the other hand, the genders are well-balanced. More details on the respondents will be presented in the next chapter dealing with the results of the research (see 5).

4.5 Limitations

One of the main limitations of the research presented here was the limited timeframe. Above that, it took several attempts and almost two months to get into contact with the center DIGNIFICAR, while efforts to cooperate with non-governmental organizations working with IDP were not successful during the whole time spent in Bogotá. It can be assumed that the politically tense situation around this year's elections created a considerable obstacle as to giving research access to a sensible topic as internally displaced persons.

Given these struggles, the time for the conduction of the research was even more reduced, making it impossible to include other means of getting into contact with IDP apart from the governmental level. Even though a considerable amount of questionnaires and interviews was conducted enabled by the large crowd coming to the center every day, a much more thorough investigation including more participants – and specifically participants outside the framework of the governmental support system – would have been very beneficial; in specific when the complexity of the intertwining components to the topic of social capital and the sense of belonging are taken into consideration.

And last but not least, as valid for all subjective evaluations, the statements of the respondents on their networks depend highly on their personal perception. As already Walker et al. (1993: 86; emphasis added) commented: "How well do the characteristics of ego's *observed* network reflect the characteristics of ego's '*true*' personal network?". However, it is in the same way essential for answering the research question to know how the respondents *feel* about their networks and the support received.

4.6 Conclusion

To support and enable IDP today and in the future, a profound understanding about their living conditions is of utmost importance. Given the potentially positive effects of social capital for IDP and vulnerable persons in general, a research combining the topic of internal displacement with

social capital can be beneficial in order to broaden the knowledge and therewith the ability to act. Hence, the research aims at

1) *contributing to the pool of scientific knowledge about IDP, their social networks and relations as response to stress and vulnerability brought by displacement, and*
2) *providing evidence-based information on the specific case of IDP in Bogotá, enabling the design of local policy interventions and decision-making adapted to the local circumstances.*

Specific programs focusing on social capital could potentially complement financial support programs, and thus generate a more comprehensive attention towards the IDP.

The overarching research question aims at detecting the meaning of social capital for IDP in Bogotá, therefore including with the sub-questions 1) **social networks**, 2) **social support**, 3) **implications of both**, as well as 4) **the IDP' sense of belonging**. The instruments of the research reflect its needs and are thus characterized by a **mixed-method approach** of collecting both quantitative as well as qualitative information. A **questionnaire** was designed on the basis of **ASSIS**, and complemented by a **semi-structured interview** of a narrative character with both open and closed questions.

THE CAPITAL OF THE POOR: RESEARCH RESULTS

In the following, the results of the existing research will be presented, thereby following the sequence of the sub-questions posed in 4.2. Beforehand, a brief characterization of the respondents will be given, both for the sample of the questionnaire as well as the interview.

5 The Core of the Research: Bogotá's IDP

The IDP involved in the existing research were all displaced as a consequence of the conflict, and mostly live under very poor conditions in Colombia's capital. At their place of origin, they were either alleged to be compliances of opponent groups, tried to resist the commonly applied forced recruitment, or simply lived in a strategically valuable region – all of which made them subject to (personalized) threats by guerilla or paramilitary forces, prompting them to leave in order to secure their own and their family's lives. In most cases, they did not have any time to prepare their leaving, so not uncommonly they fled instantly with not more than the clothes they were wearing – everything else, they needed to leave behind.

According to their stories, displacement led to a tremendous change in their lives. Mostly originating from the countryside and sustaining themselves with self-subsistence, they arrive to an urban setting where they out of a sudden – without being able to draw on any reserves – need to pay what they took for granted in their villages: a place to live, transportation, agricultural products. Even though also not leading a wealthy life in their homelands, they retrospectively evaluate their lives there as extraordinarily happy, calm and untroubled.

In the following, the characteristics of exactly these people will be provided, who eagerly contributed their stories and experiences to make this research possible.

5.1 Questionnaires

The table below (table 5.1) illustrates the sample size of the questionnaire as well as the main characteristics of the respondents. The total sample size accounts for 66 respondents, with an average age of 39 years.

It is notable that a high percentage of the respondents is separated from his/her partner.[7] This can be attributed to two reasons: part of the respondents – mainly women – stated that their husbands were killed in the course of the conflict, while others indicated that a separation was the result of the displacement (see also: Ibáñez and Moya, 2009). Hence, it was frequently mentioned that a separation took place during or shortly after displacement. This applies with the findings of GMH (2013), pointing out that displacement and its consequences tend to provoke tensions and ruptures within families (see 2.4.2). Evidently, women more commonly live in separation than men

[7] *Separated* here also includes widows and widowers, while *single* refers to respondents which have never been married and live without a partner.

(58% against 19%), possibly as a result of the higher extent in which men become target of assassinations by the illegal armed groups.

Table 5.1: Features of female respondents, male respondents and the total sample, in absolute terms and percentages (bracket-terms) of the respective sample size

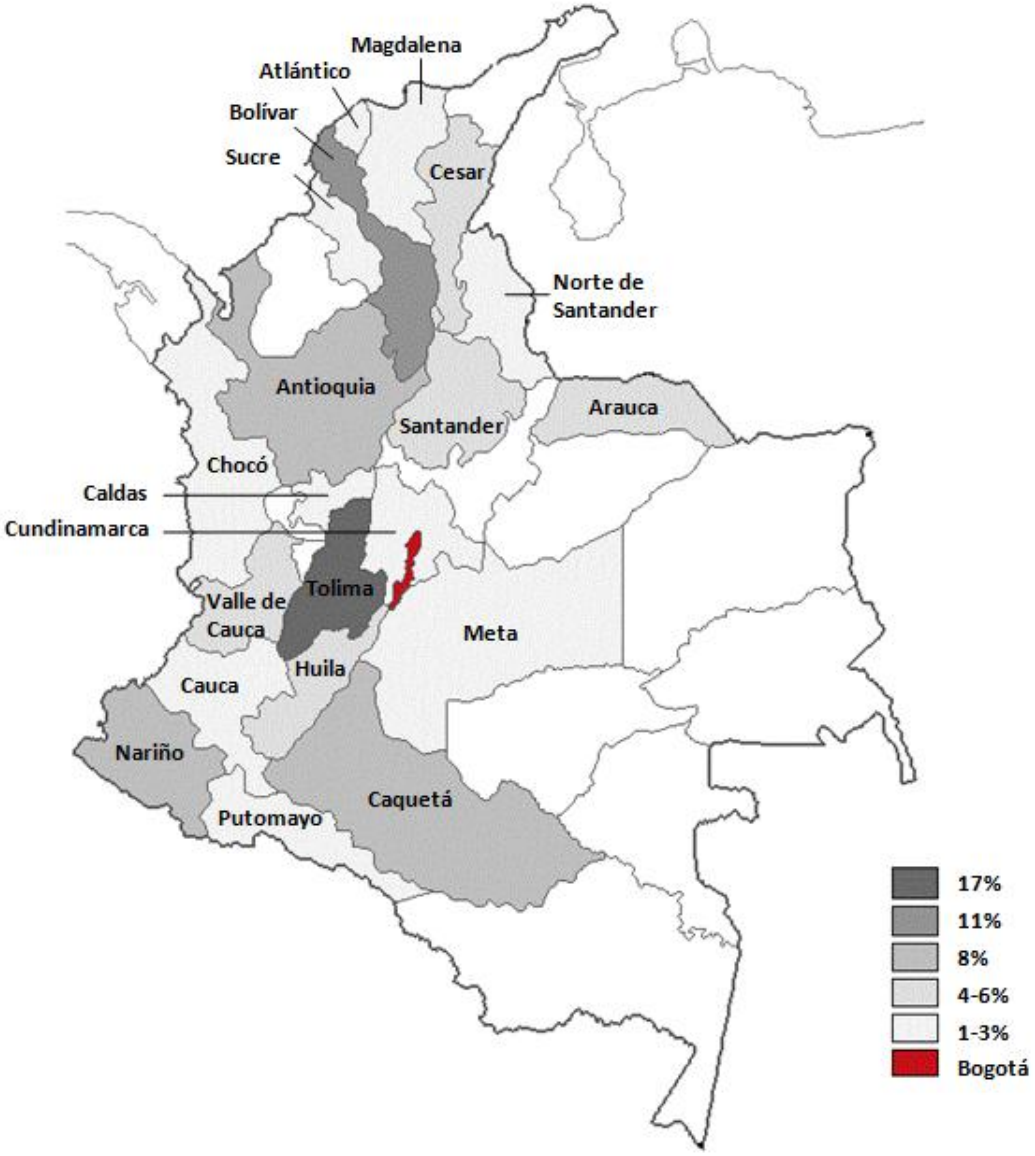
Variable		Women	Men	Total
Age	*Average*	38.6	39.6	**39**
	Max	61	57	**61**
	Min	22	22	**22**
Family Status	*Married*	10 (25%)	15 (58%)	**25 (38%)**
	Separated	23 (58%)	5 (19%)	**28 (42%)**
	New Partner	5 (12%)	2 (8%)	**7 (11%)**
	Single	2 (5%)	4 (15%)	**6 (9%)**
	Children (Ø)	2.6	2.3	**2,5**
Education	*Years (Ø)*	6.6	7.3	**6.8**
Employment	*Unemployed*	20 (50%)	14 (54%)	**34 (52%)**
	Self-employed	6 (15%)	7 (27%)	**13 (20%)**
	Employed	14 (35%)	5 (19%)	**19 (29%)**
Total (in % of total network members)		**40 (61%)**	**26 (39%)**	**66 (100%)**

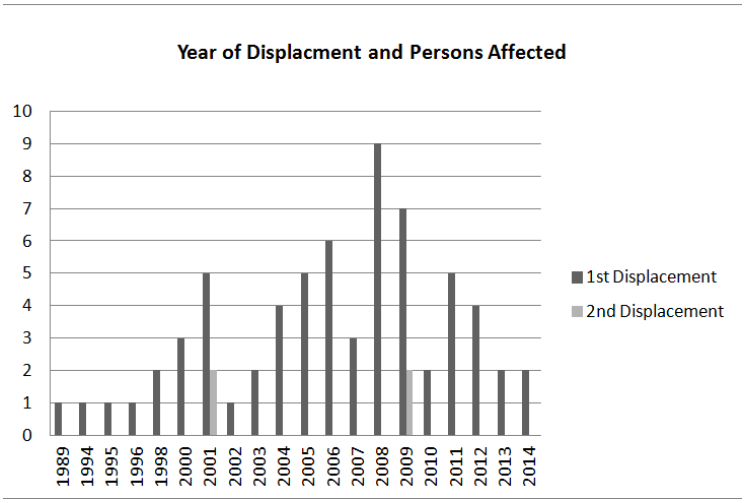
The education level of the surveyed IDP as measured in the average years of schooling lies with 6.8 years under the average for the rural, adolescent population (11-24 years), which exhibited an average of 7.5 schooling years in 2011. On the other hand, it is higher than the average years of schooling of the rural population with more than 24 years (5.2 years) (DANE, 2011). The male respondents completed with an average of 7.3 more years of schooling than their female counterparts (6.6 years).

Striking is the high unemployment rate within the survey sample. Compared to a national unemployment rate for women of 14.4% and for men of 8.2% in 2011, the surveyed exhibit high unemployment rates of 50% and 54%, respectively (DANE, 2011). It should be noted here that these numbers are most probably biased, as the ones without any means to generate income rather apply for governmental support in the centers where the questionnaire was conducted than IDP with a secured income. About one third of the working female population is occupied as housekeepers of families (35%), while other activities include shift work in restaurants (15%) and street trading of sweets, food and lottery (15%). For the men, the majority is working as street vendors (42%) and security guards (25%).

As illustrated by the map below (illustration 5.1), the respondents of the questionnaire originate from 20 of the country's 32 departments, hence emphasizing the geographic magnitude in which displacement occurs in Colombia. The relative majority of the respondents comes from Tolima (17%), Bolívar (11%), Antioquia (8%), Nariño (8%) and Caquetá (8%) – all comprised of municipalities which are classified as critical areas with more than 10.000 IDP (illustration 2.3). Thereby, the huge majority of the respondents was living in rural areas and consequently mainly occupied in agriculture. Only three of the respondents originate from other main urban areas of Colombia, namely Medellín (Bolívar), Calí (Valle de Cauca) and Barranquilla (Atlántico).

Illustration 5.1: Map with the origins of the respondents (the darker the more respondents)





Graph 5.1: Persons displaced according to the respective years

The bare majority of nine respondents was displaced in 2008, followed by seven in 2009. During this time, rearmament of the illegally armed groups took place, adding new fuel to the conflict (GMH, 2013). The earliest displacement of the research took place in 1989, while even two respondents stated to be displaced the beginning of the current year. Four respondents out of the 66 experienced displacement twice.

5.2 Interviews

Table 5.2: Features of female interviewees, male interviewees and the total interviewee sample, in absolute terms and percentages (bracket-terms) of the respective sample size

Variable		Women	Men	Total
Age	*Average*	43.2	36.6	**38.9**
	Max	62	54	**62**
	Min	28	22	**22**
Family Status	*Married*	3 (25%)	3 (25%)	**6 (25%)**
	Separated	8 (67%)	4 (33%)	**12 (50%)**
	New Partner	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	**2 (8%)**
	Single	- -	4 (33%)	**4 (17%)**
	Children (Ø)	3.1	1.4	**2.25**
Education	*Years (Ø)*	6.25	8.5	**7.4**
Employment	*Unemployed*	6 (50%)	5 (42%)	**11 (46%)**
	Self-employed	4 (33%)	4 (33%)	**8 (33%)**
	Employed	2 (17%)	3 (25%)	**5 (21%)**
Total (in % of total network members)		**12 (50%)**	**12 (50%)**	**24 (100%)**

The interviews were realized with a total of 24 IDP, with an average age of 38.9 years. Even though the average age equals the one of the questionnaire respondents, it becomes obvious that it is composed by on average older female, and younger male interviewees.

With regard to the family status, there are two remarkable differences between the interview and the questionnaire: men are less commonly married than the male respondents of the questionnaire, while this is compensated by a higher share of male interviewees being single. This can be explained with the relatively high share of younger men amongst the male interviewees – which is also accounting for the relatively low children on average for the same. The share of interviewees being separated is thereby higher for both genders in the interview.

The average years of education are comparably higher, which is due to a high average of schooling years of the male interviewees. This is in line with common research experiences, according to which more educated persons rather agree on participating in interviews, or exhibit the necessary willingness to talk.

The unemployment rate of men is slightly lower, while distinctly more female interviewees are self-employed than employed in comparison with the women responding the questionnaire.

When regarding the origin of the interviewees, it becomes clear that they origin from 14 different departments in Colombia. Thereby, most of the interviewees originate from Tolima (17%), Antioquia (13%) and Nariño (13%); therewith the composition of the interviewees resembles at least partially the composition of the questionnaire respondents. However, Bolívar and Caquetá – for their part being the origin of a considerable amount of questionnaire respondents – are little less presented in the interview (4% each).

The displacement years of the interviewees range from 1995 until 2014. In accordance with the questionnaire and the rearmament of the illegally armed groups during this time, the year in which most of the interviewees' displacements took place was 2008.

6 Network Characterization

6.1 Introduction

Sub-question 1: *What are the characteristics of networks built and maintained by IDP?*

The first section deals with the characteristics of the respondents' ego-centered networks in accordance with the variables chosen as relevant and elaborated on in the theoretical framework. They include size, composition, spatial dimension, reciprocity and frequency of contact, and will be dealt with accordingly. A major part of the underlying data was collected through questionnaires. In some places, however, the information was completed with qualitative data originating from the interviews.

For the characterization of the social networks, the sources of support listed by the respondents were divided into the four following groups:

1)	*Relations*	Family, partners, friends, housemates, neighbors, superiors, workmates
2)	*Professionals*	Priests, psychologists
3)	*Institutions/Organizations*	UARIV, other institutions, city, church, banks, shops
4)	*Other Social means*	Internet, newspapers, God, unknown persons, teachers

The first two groups contain persons who provide, or provided in the past, some form of social support to the respondent, while the contact with the persons of the second group is on a professional level and mostly occurred in context with the governmental or institutional support system. Both are, however, regarded amongst *network members*. The third and fourth group display less tangible figures, while group 3 only includes governmental and non-governmental institutions. These two groups are rather considered *support sources* than personal network members as such.

As the first sub-question aims at characterizing the network and hence its members, the main focus will be on group 1 and 2 of the mentioned sources of support. However, institutions and other social means will be assessed in section 6.2 in terms of their appearance in the questionnaire.

6.2 Network Size

The size of the network can determine the support availability significantly, as a more extensive network is associated with a rise in opportunities. As outlined earlier (see 3.3.1), both the perceived as well as the actual network size are of interest with regard to the research presented here. As members of the network, all persons listed by the respondents have been counted (group 1 and group 2). However, the relations with priests and psychologists are in most cases one-sided and on a professional basis, and consequently differ distinctly from the ones with members of group 1. That is why the network size was assessed both ex- and including members of group 2. In

the following, the numbers excluding priests and psychologists will be presented, the ones including the latter can be found in table 6.1 (bracket-terms).

The 66 IDP responding to the questionnaire listed 361 different persons they would turn to when in need of any support type. Being asked for the persons who *actually* provided such a support within the last three months, the respondents singled out 259 of them. Therewith, little less than three quarters of the perceived network size was actively providing support of any kind within the last three months (72%).

The average perceived network size of the respondents is therewith 5.5 persons, while the female respondents exhibit a slightly higher average than their male counterparts (5.6 and 5.3 persons, respectively). When the network is reduced to the actual network size (i.e., those persons that actually provided support within the last three months), the respondents listed on average 3.9 persons. As valid for the perceived network size, also the actual network size is slightly higher for women than for men (table 6.1).

The maximum perceived network size revealed in the questionnaires was 18 network members, compared to a maximum actual network size of only eight persons. Some respondents were not able to name a single person they would or they did turn to.

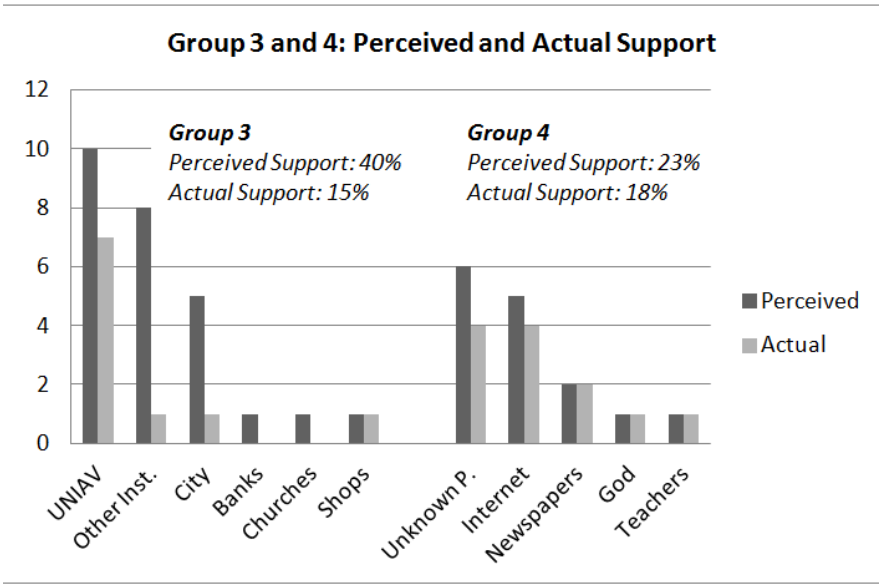
Table 6.1: Perceived network size, actual network size and averages, excluding and including group 2 (bracket terms)

	Perceived Support				Actual Support			
	Network Size	**Network Size (Ø)**	**Max. Network Size**	**Min. Network Size**	**Network Size**	**Network Size (Ø)**	**Max. Network Size**	**Min. Network Size**
Female	224 (229)	5,6 (5,7)	18 (17)	0 (0)	165 (167)	4,1 (4,2)	8 (8)	0 (0)
Male	137 (142)	5,3 (5,5)	13 (12)	1 (1)	94 (97)	3,6 (3,7)	6 (6)	1 (1)
Total	361 (371)	5,5 (5,6)	18 (17)	0 (0)	259 (264)	3,9 (4,0)	8 (8)	0 (0)

When compared to other studies on vulnerable groups, these numbers appear low. By way of example, Willems (2013) revealed an average network size of about 9.7 persons for forced migrants in Tanzania. It should be noted that the context differs significantly for both cases. Cultural, societal, or economic differences as well as the nature of displacement could consequently account for such a variance in the average network size. In the context of the research, however, many interviewees indeed pointed out the difficulty of establishing networks and relations in the city of Bogotá (see 7.3.3).

As indicated, these numbers only include personalized forms of support. The graph below (graph 6.1) displays additional support sources which were mentioned during the research and categorized earlier into group 3 and group 4. Accordingly, 40% of the respondents also named institutions and 23% other social means as sources of support, while only 15% and 18% of the respondents actually drew on these sources within the last three months. Women tend to rely

more on institutions and organizations than men, while both genders draw to the same extent on other social means.



Graph 6.1: Different components of group 3 and group 4 according to their perceived and actual support and the respondents mentioning it

It can be seen that the perceived and actual network sizes differ considerably for the support sources of Group 3. Particularly other institutions, the city, banks and churches were for the majority of the respondents not active as a support source as such during the last three months. This already indicates that there is a broad discontentment with the support made available by the state (see 8.3).

Given the fact that Colombia's society is predominantly catholic, it seems remarkable that only one respondent named 'God' as a source of support. This can be explained with the respondents rather thinking of real persons during the conduction of the questionnaire, as they were asked to give names or initials; in the interview, however, divine support was mentioned quite frequently. As illustrated by an interviewee from Meta:

> *"A lot of time you do not have someone to talk with except for God. He will help you to develop, he is your guide."*
> (Male, 50, Meta)

It becomes clear that both the perceived as well as the actual network size can be considered rather limited, with women having slightly more network members than their male counterparts. When the perceived network size is reduced to the actual network size, about 72% of the listed persons remain. However, the respondents also draw on impersonal sources of support, such as the governmental institutions, internet and newspapers.

In the following, the characteristics of the network will first be regarded for the perceived network size, as all listed persons are doubtlessly part of the respondents' network (even though not active during the last three month). Subsequently, it will be assessed if there is a distinct difference between the characteristics for the perceived and the actual network size. Last but not least, where appropriate, differences between female and male respondents will be singled out.

6.3 Network Composition

As indicated with regard to the network characteristics, networks usually differ in their composition, which in turn could influence the forms and features of social support available to the respective persons. In this context, the so-called similarity analysts advocate that similar individuals tend to form strong friendships, while dissimilarity analysts argue that people rather exchange support with others from varying backgrounds (see 3.3.2). The composition of the network, and hence its homogeneity or heterogeneity, will be analyzed in detail in the following.

The variables chosen in order to assess the composition reflect the interest of the research. They include the type of relation, origin and gender, and aim at drawing a comparison between respondents and listed network members. Additionally, it will be analyzed if displacement works as an axis of solidarity, hence if the respondents' networks are mainly composed of other IDP.

In order to assess the composition of the respondents' networks, the listed persons who come within the ambit of group 1 are further categorized as follows:

a)	*Family*	All family members, including the ones related by marriage (husband, wife, brother- and sister-in-law, parents-in-law);
b)	*Partners and Friends*	New partners in life as well as friends;
c)	*Housemates and Neighbors*	Network members the respondents live with apart from family members as well as the ones who live very close;
d)	*Superiors and Workmates*	Network members the respondent is working for or with.

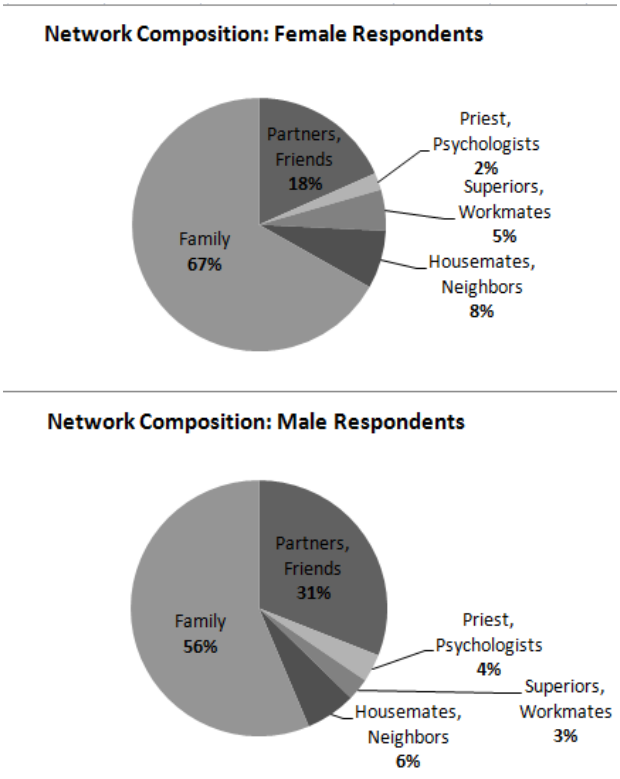
It should be noted that new partners in life are in a group with other friends instead of being numbered among the family. This kind of grouping was chosen as new partners almost exclusively appeared in the respondents' lives after the displacement. The family members, on the other hand, were already related with the respondents before (even though some family ties got reinforced or weakened with displacement).

The last component embraces group 2, hence professional priests and psychologists.

6.3.1 Relation between Respondent and Network Members

Table 6.2: Composition of the perceived and actual network, in absolute numbers and percentages (bracket terms) of the respective network members

	Family	Partners Friends	Housemates Neighbors	Superiors Workmates	Priest Psychologist	Total
Perceived Network (% of total network members)	233 (63%)	86 (23%)	26 (7%)	16 (4%)	10 (2%)	**371 (100%)**
Actual Network (% of total network members)	161 (61%)	64 (21%)	21 (8%)	13 (5%)	5 (2%)	**264 (100%)**



Graph 6.2: Network composition of the female respondents and the male respondents in percentages of the respective network size

It is striking that the majority of the members of the ego-centered networks belong to the family (63%), followed by friends and new life partners with roughly one quarter of the total network members (23%). The smallest group is given by priests and psychologists, which account to 2%. When the network size is reduced to the actual network size, the network's composition does not change significantly (average deviation: 1.2 percentage points) (table 6.2).

Women's networks consist to a considerably higher degree of family members than the ones of male respondents (67% and 56%, respectively) (graph 6.2). Partners and friends, on the other hand, constitute with 31% a higher share in the composition of the networks of the male respondents. Men also draw twice as much as women on priests and psychologists as a source of support. Also when split into female and male respondents, the composition does not change distinctly between perceived and actual network (average deviation: 2 and 1.5 percentage points, respectively).

It becomes obvious that kinship is a strong axis of solidarity, thus family members contribute the highest shares to the respondents' networks. This applies to a higher extent for the networks of the female respondents.

It should be noted here, that group 2 (*professionals*) will be omitted in the following as the respondent could not provide further personal characteristics. They will again be included when

dealing with social support (see chapter 7). With regard to the importance family members obtain, they will always be included in the following observations. However, as they usually exhibit similar backgrounds as the respondents, the observations will for some parts focus exclusively on other network members. Specifically interesting is the sub-group of partners and friends as they can be considered the most 'voluntary' relations (in comparison with work or housing based relations).

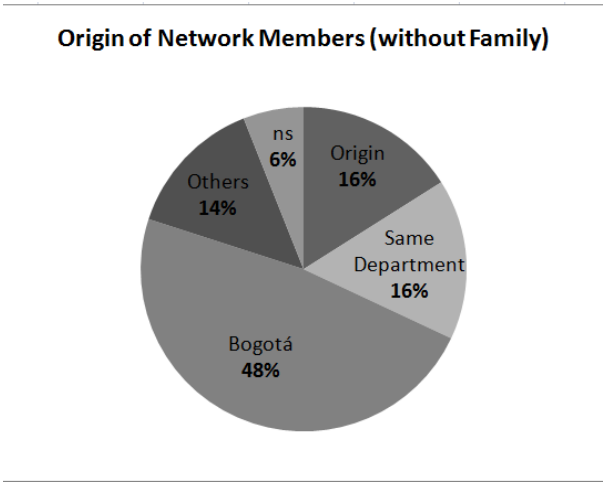
6.3.2 Origin as an Axis of Solidarity

Table 6.3: Composition of the network with regard to origin of respondents and of network members, in absolute terms and percentages (bracket terms) of the respective network members

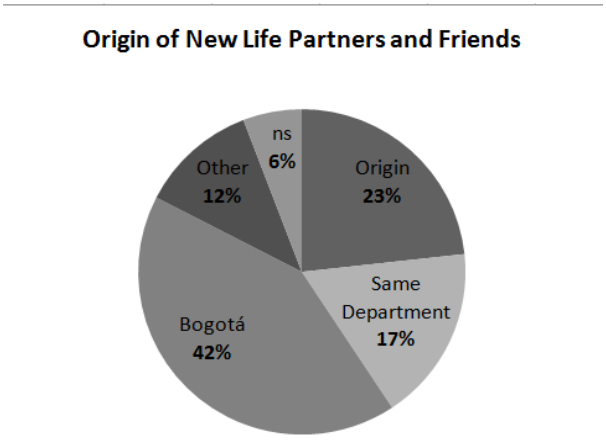
	Origin	Same Department	Bogotá	Others	ns	Total
Perceived Network (% of total network members)	210 (58%)	40 (11%)	75 (21%)	28 (8%)	8 (2%)	**361 (100%)**
Actual Network (% of total network members)	143 (55%)	32 (12%)	58 (22%)	20 (8%)	6 (2%)	**259 (100%)**

Regarding the origin of the listed persons, it becomes clear that more than half of the networks' members originate from the same place as the respondent (58%). When adding network members from other places within the same department, more than two thirds of the network members are born in the same department as the respondent (69%). A comparably low 21% of the network members therewith originate from Bogotá, and an even lower 8% from other parts in Colombia. The actual network composition for the same case shows values alike (average deviation: 1 percentage point), with slightly less members from the origin of the respondent, and more from Bogotá and the same department (table 6.3).

This high number of people from the same origin is caused mainly by the high share of family members within the network. If the family members are omitted from the sample, 16% of all the network members are coming from the respondent's place of origin, another 16% from the same department, 48% from Bogotá, and 14% from other parts in Colombia (the origin of the remaining 6% is not further specified) (graph 6.3). Therewith, the network members originating from Bogotá or elsewhere outweigh the ones from the same region almost twice. When this is regarded



Graph 6.3: Origin of network members in percentages from the total network members, excluding family members



Graph 6.4: Origins of partners and friends

for the actual network, these numbers reach 66% compared to only 27%.

When the origin is regarded solely for friends and new life partners (graph 6.4), it becomes clear that almost the same shares are originating from the same department (40%) and Bogotá (42%). This illustrates two things: part of the respondents is bonding with the original population of Bogotá while on the other hand maintaining and building relations with people from the same region.

Some interviewees pointed out a certain 'regionalism' when referring to the fact that people from the same areas rather tend to bond and support each other:

"You help each other when you are from the same region, village, or family."
(Male, 37, Chocó)

"The only help, the only friend I have here, that is María. She is from my village, from the same place back there."
(Female, 34, Tolima)

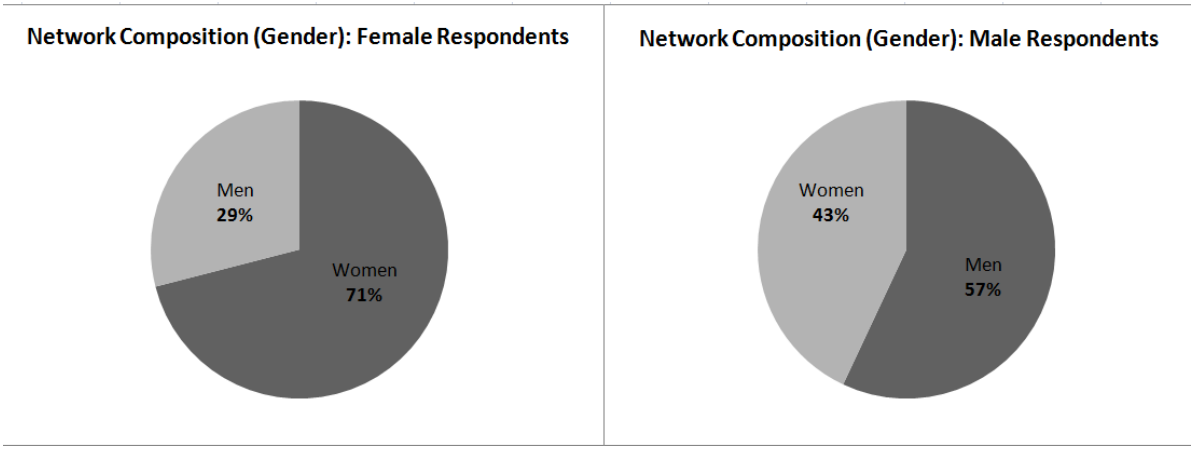
"I have seen that they help each other when they are from the same region, or when they know each other from before. Even though they did not have a very close relationship back then, the displacement unified them here again."
(Male, 50, Meta)

6.3.3 Gender as an Axis of Solidarity

Table 6.4: Composition of the networks with regard to the gender of the network members, in absolute numbers and percentages (bracket terms) of the respective network members

	Female Network Members	Male Network Members	Total
Perceived Network (% of total network members)	219 (61%)	142 (39%)	**361 (100%)**
Actual Network (% of total network members)	166 (64%)	93 (36%)	**259 (100%)**

From all the perceived network members listed by the respondents, 61% are women and 39% are men. When the actual network size is regarded, this gap between female and male network members is further intensified (table 6.4).



Graph 6.5: Network composition of the female and male respondents with regard to the gender of the network members

Regarding these numbers divided into female and male respondents, it becomes apparent that female and male respondents rather bond with persons from the same sex (graph 6.5). The share of women in the network of the female respondents is more than twice as high as the one of men (71% against 29%). This gap is by far less distinct for the male respondents, as the male network members only outweigh the female network members by 14%. Interestingly, when the actual network size is regarded, the female respondents exhibit an even higher share of women in their network (74%), while the share of men is reduced for the networks of the male respondents (53%). Therewith, the male respondents' actual networks almost equally consist of women and men, while the female respondents to an ever higher extend relied on women than on men in the past.

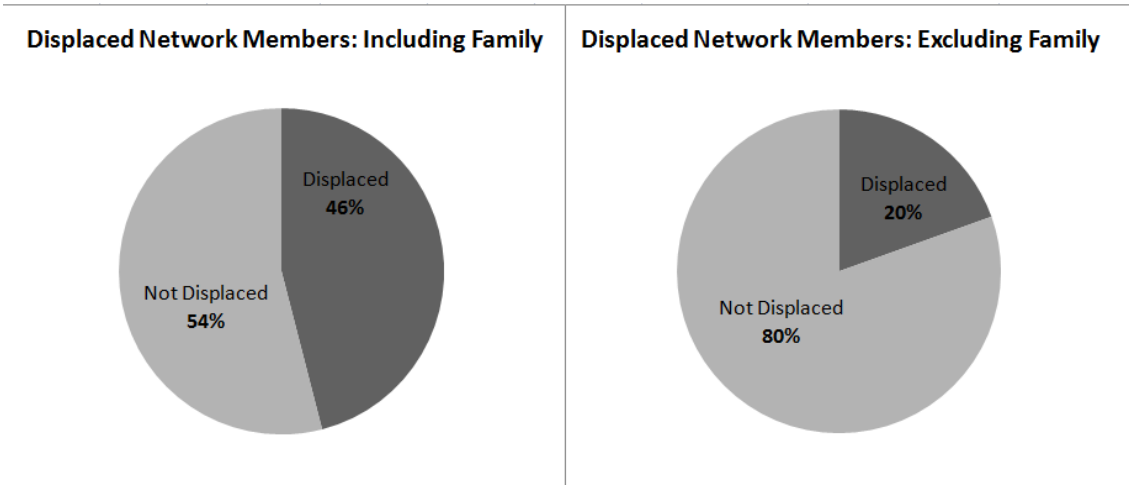
There could be two possible explanations for this very strong tendency of women to rather bond with the same sex (further research needed). Firstly, compared to their male counterparts, women live to a higher percentage separated from their husbands or as singles (63% against 34%; table 5.1). Consequently, they lack husbands and new life partners within their networks. Secondly, as the huge majority of the respondents was threatened to leave their homelands by guerilla or paramilitary forces, they were in these situations almost entirely confronted with male soldiers. This in turn could have triggered distrust in men, and could thus explain both the high tendency to bond with the same sex for female respondents, and the comparably lower tendency to build relations with men for male respondents.

6.3.4 Displacement as an Axis of Solidarity

From all the network members, 166 persons of the perceived and 121 of the actual network have been displaced from their homelands themselves. These numbers thus add up to shares of 46% and 47% of the perceived and actual network members, respectively.

Due to the big share of family members within the networks, it is advisable to go more into detail with regard to the background of these IDP. The graph below illustrates the displaced network

members in comparison with the ones who have not experienced displacement, once including and once excluding family members (graph 6.6). It becomes apparent that when the family members are omitted, the share of other IDP in the network is reduced to 20% of the sample's network members – meaning that only every fifth person of the network members other than family has been displaced. This also applies for friends and partners, 22% of which experienced displacement.



Graph 6.6: Shares of displaced and not-displaced network members including and excluding family members

It was argued earlier (see 3.3.3) that displacement functions as an axis of solidarity and hence triggers the development of friendships and relations between IDP with various backgrounds; the results, however, do not necessarily support this finding when family members are not considered. When asking specifically for the support and the relations build between IDP, the interviews revealed that there is some mutual support, however in a very limited degree (for a detailed argumentation see 7.3.2). IDP can understand and feel empathy for each other easily, they are however in the same vulnerable situation:

> *"Yes, having the same problems helps to build empathy, to create a feeling like brotherhood as if you know each other already a long time."*
> (Male, 46, Cesar)

> *"You talk with other people who are in the same condition, because it is not easy to live in a place where some are displaced and the rest is not. It is always nice because we are all the same."*
> (Female, 61, Cesar)

For the composition of the network, it can be concluded that family members account for the lion share of the network, making kinship a major axis of solidarity. This applies specifically for the female respondents. This high share of family members within the network is the cause for a high 69% of the members originating from the same region as the respondent. When family members are left out, however, the number of the persons originating from Bogotá is almost twice as high as the ones from the same region. For friends and new life partners, respondents maintain and

build relations with people from the same region as well as from Bogotá almost to the same extent.

Furthermore, female respondents notably – and to a larger extent than male respondents – tend to rely on relations with the same sex. The gap between the same and the opposite sex is even intensified for the actual networks of women, and reduced for the men's. This might find its explanation in the traumatic experiences with male guerilla and paramilitary soldiers.

Displacement as an axis of solidarity between the respondent and the network members can only be found to a minor degree, thus on average only every fifth person within the network experienced displacement (excluding family members).

6.4 Spatial Dimension

Table 6.5: Composition of the networks with regard to the current place of living of the network members, in absolute numbers and percentages (bracket terms) of the respective network members

	Immediate Vicinity	Bogotá	Origin	Others	Total
Perceived Network (% of total network members)	200 (55%)	95 (26%)	56 (16%)	10 (3%)	**361 (100%)**
Actual Network (% of total network members)	160 (62%)	66 (25%)	29 (11%)	4 (2%)	**259 (100%)**

Regarding the current place of living of the network members, it becomes obvious that the majority is living in the immediate vicinity of the respondent (table 6.5). Added up with the share of the network members living in other parts of Bogotá, 81% of the total network members are located in Bogotá and therewith in the same city as the respondent. The number of persons living in the same neighborhood is even higher for the actual network, to the detriment of the people residing in the origin or other places within Colombia – therewith illustrating that relations are primarily build and maintained with individuals in the IDP' proximity.

Still, 16% of the network members live in the respondent's place of origin. It shall be noted that from these, more than three quarters are family members (80%). Therewith, the number of network members still living at the place of origin apart from the family is rather low, especially when compared to the contacts located in Bogotá (partners and friends: 87%; superiors and workmates: 94%).

So, even though it was revealed earlier that a huge share of the friends and partners originates from the same place of origin (23%) or the same department (17%), only about one quarter of them is still living there.

The large majority of network members living in Bogotá reflects the same story told in the interviews. Many of them told of a rupture of their relations at the place of origin:

"The relations are and will stay completely cut. Coming here to Bogota is like starting all over again."
(Female, 42, Meta)

"No, all my relations broke. I did not go back there, just went once to Aguachica. All of them did not know me anymore, and even there they branded me as a criminal for some wrong reason."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

Many respondents were scared to maintain relations with people at their place of origin, especially recently after the displacement as they were scared they could be found by the ones wanting them dead or silent. Even though for some this anxiety was weakened with time passing, the relations remained damaged:

"No, there was a total cut. And I cannot go back or maintain contact, as I am threatened to death."
(Male, 50, Meta)

"At the beginning I did not have any contact with the people of my village as I was afraid they would find out where I am. But now, after three years, the things are calmer. Still, the contact with them is very limited."
(Male, ns, Caquetá)

Other reasons for the limited contact with people at the respondents' place of origin are the struggles with communication systems, as well the fact that a lot of the respondents' acquaintances left the villages themselves:

"I lost most of the contact with my mom, my family, my children, my grandparents... not because they died, but because I simply lost contact with people there. I hardly call my mom because it is difficult to communicate as there is no phone and the signal for mobiles is very bad. Also it is difficult for me to call and only being able to give bad news."
(Male, 36, Tolima)

"No, everything has changed, it is not the same as before... and other friends of mine also left, some are in Calí, others in Madrid, others in Mosquera."
(Male, 40, Nariño)

This rupture of relations affects family members just as friends:

"Several months passed since I saw my mom the last time, and years since I met my brothers. Because I am here in Bogotá and they are there, far away in the countryside. (…) In some way, the family disintegrates and everyone is on his own. Before the displacement, life was much better."
(Female, 52, Tolima)

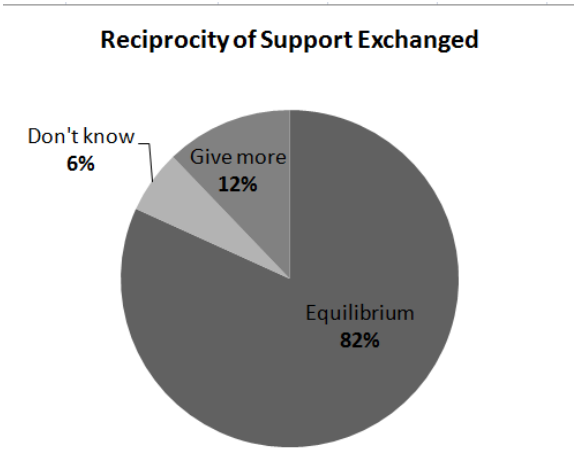
It should be acknowledged here, however, that some of the respondents managed to either keep or reestablish the social relations at their place of origin:

> *"My relations keep on existing. The persons I knew, they are still part of my life, they are very loving persons which really appreciate me. We talk via the phone."*
> (Female, 39, Antioquia)

> *"The relations and the contact broke, but they became reestablished in the course of time. Not all, but with some family members, friends and farmers. (…) My family still lives there, and I can socialize with them. Fifteen days ago I went there together with my son. Everyone came to visit and say 'hello', that felt wonderful. (...) So when I go there, I see all my childhood friends, they did not forget me and I did not forget them."*
> (Male, 50, Meta)

The network members of the surveyed IDP are rather concentrating in Bogotá, and hence within the respondents' proximity. Thereby, displacement is clearly named a reason for the rupture with the relations at the place of origin, which only a few maintained or reestablished.

6.5 Reciprocity



Graph 6.7: Reciprocity of the exchanged support in percentages of respondents choosing the options equilibrium, give more than receive, or receive more than give

Reciprocity gives the degree in which the support is exchanged, received and given. Graph 6.7 indicates that with roughly four fifth the huge majority of the respondents feels that support is exchanged with their network members equally (82%). In line with that, interviewees concluded:

> *"The support is mutual, definitely. When this friend comes into the same situation and I could collaborate with him, I would do so as he did for me."*
> (Male, 45, Antioquia)

> *"We help each other mutually. As the saying goes, 'a giving hand also collects'."*[8]
> (Male, 40, Nariño)

Only 12% have the sensation that they provide more support than they receive, while no respondent mentioned that he/she gets more than giving himself/herself. This might not be surprising given the fact that respondents came to the center DIGNIFICAR applying for governmental support. There might be a bias caused by the respondents not willing to give the impression that they receive more than enough support by other means.

[8] In Spanish: "manos que dan recogen".

During the interviews it was asked in which way support is usually exchanged. The interviewees stated that the type of support exchanged does not necessarily have to be the same, and can thus be characterized by a generalized reciprocity (see 3.3.1):

> *"They ask me a favor, I accomplish this and also ask in return a favor. For example, they give me money to go and to pay a receipt for them, and they give me lunch, money or clothes. Also, when I said I have other cousins who are also displaced, they gave me clothes for them as well."*
> (Male, 40, Nariño)

Money, however, is most commonly returned and not compatible with other goods (specific exchange):

> *"For example if he lends me some money, I'm going to pay back money. That is what you need the most (…) and that is what is the most intertwined: money. He supports me lending me money for rent and I return it when my situation improved. When I was well, he came to ask me for some money for the daughter's university, and I sent him the money. It is a thing of mutual aid."*
> (Male, 50, Meta)

Moreover, within families support exchange also embraces network balancing, hence the exchange is not necessarily between two family members but can also include third and fourth parties (e.g., a brother helps his sister, who in turn supports her nephew).

With regard to reciprocity within the networks, it became clear that the vast majority considers the exchange of support to be well-balanced (82%). Only 12% believe that they are more frequently giving support then receiving it, while the opposite case was not even mentioned once. Thereby, the types of support exchanged usually vary (generalized reciprocity), with the exception of monetary support which is always returned as such. Within families, network balancing is also common.

6.6 Frequency of Contact

Table 6.6: Frequency of contact with the network members, in absolute terms and percentages (bracket terms) of the total number of the respective network members

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Three-Monthly	Six-Monthly	No contact	Total
Perceived Network (% of total network members)	228 (63%)	94 (26%)	23 (6%)	10 (3%)	2 (1%)	4 (1%)	**361 (100%)**
Actual Network (% of total network members)	171 (66%)	69 (27%)	15 (6%)	3 (1%)	1 (<1%)	-	**259 (100%)**

The respondents are in very frequent contact with their network members (table 6.6). With 63% of the perceived network they connect on a daily basis, and with 26% at least once per week. The

network members which are in contact with the respondents monthly until six-monthly, only amount to 10% of the whole network. Interestingly, four persons were mentioned as a potential source of support even though there was no communication with the respondent since more than a year. As expected, none of these four appears in the actual network, while the numbers for the more frequent contact (e.g. daily or weekly) are slightly higher.

Family members are contacted on a daily basis the most (67%), however, the frequency of contact does not differ distinctly between the different groups of relations and is consequently similar to the one of the total sample (table 6.6). Thereby, the communication is quite often limited to the telephone.

To sum up, frequency of contact can be considered rather high. In this sense, with 63% of the network members the respondent is communicating on a daily basis, with 89% at least once per week.

6.7 Conclusion

To conclude, the networks of the surveyed IDP in Bogotá can be characterized as **limited** in size, with **kinship** as a strong axis of solidarity. Given the high share of family members within the network, the networks could be considered very **homogeneous**.

Omitting family members, however, a different picture emerges. Networks are rather **heterogeneous**, as the majority of network members exhibits a background different from the respondents' ones. When the family members are left out, the network members originate in high numbers from Bogotá or other places in Colombia, while only one fifth of the IDP' network consists of other IDP. In terms of gender, female respondents show a high tendency to rather bond with the same sex.

Moreover, the networks can be considered predominantly **local**, with only a small fraction not living in the respondents' proximity. The lion share of the respondents reckons the social support which comes along with the networks as **reciprocal**. Last but not least, the contact with the network members is very pronounced, bringing along a daily and thus very **frequent** communication for most part of the network.

7 Forms and Features of Social Support

7.1 Introduction

Sub-question 2: *What are the features of and the form in which social support occurs?*

In the following the second sub-question – asking for the social support and the forms and features in which it occurs – will be dealt with. The assessment is undertaken in line with Tardy (1985), and likewise includes the support content (types of support), disposition (perceived and actual support), a description (support examples) as well as an evaluation (support satisfaction and support need).

The social support content will play a major role, including emotional, informational and instrumental support. Each of these support types will be described in a first step for the case of the participating IDP. Subsequently, a comparative analysis will be undertaken, while at the same time putting the types of support in relation with gender, displacement, and the social support exchange experienced at the place of origin.

To answer the second sub-question, institutions, organizations (group 3) and other social means (group 4) will also be included in the numbers of the different support occurrences, as they were equally regarded as potential sources of support and/or provided for the same. Contrary to the preceding chapter, the numbers will first refer to the actual network size as the focus for this sub-question shifts from the network as a whole to the actually exchanged support. In case there are interesting differences between the perceived and actual support, it is indicated in the respective part.[9]

As also valid for the characterization of the network, the data originates mainly from the questionnaire but is in many sections completed with qualitative statements gained in the interviews.

7.2 Social Support Contents

Each of the four support types – or contents – will be presented in the following according to its perceived and actual occurrence and the providing support sources. Furthermore, examples to each of the four support contents will be given, and the satisfaction with and the need of the respective support type assessed.

7.2.1 Emotional Support

Emotional support entails the supply of love, trust and empathy, while this can be shown amongst others with personal talks or gestures of affection. For this type of support, 98% of the respondents listed persons they could turn to when in need of this support (perceived support),

[9] The numbers are summarized for both perceived and actual support in table 7.5.

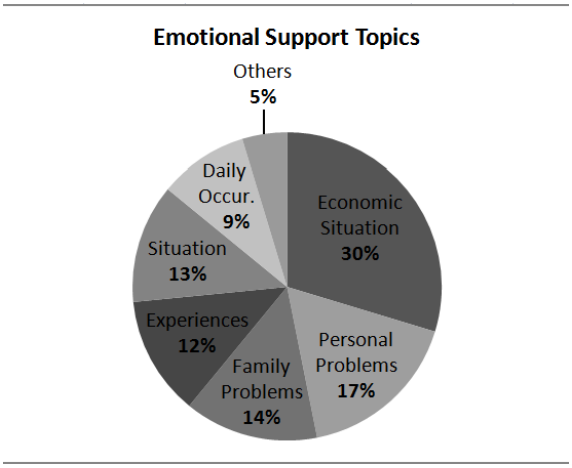
while 97% actually received such in the last three months (actual support). The remaining respondents were not able to list any person they would, or they did, approach.

The table below indicates that the support occurrence amounts to 3.9 listed network members for the perceived, and to 2.3 members for the actual emotional support.

Table 7.1: Perceived and actual emotional support for the total sample

	Respective Network Size	Respective Network Size (Ø)	Max. Network Size	Min. Network Size
Perceived Support	255	3,9	18	0
Actual Support	150	2,3	6	0

The family provides more than two thirds of the emotional support (66%), followed by partners and friends as second most important source of the same (23%). Priests, psychologists and other social means (God, unknown people) make up 3%, while housemates and neighbors play a minor role (2%).



Graph 7.1: Emotional support topics according to their mentioning

When regarding graph 7.1, it becomes clear that most of the respondents needed emotional support with regard to their economic situation, once more emphasizing the marginal living conditions they are facing. Other topics are with regard to their occurrence close to each other, and include personal problems, problems with other family members, their experiences (almost entirely referring to displacement), the overall situation and everyday occurrences.

The satisfaction with as well as the need for emotional support equal each other: both amount to 2.1 points on the scale presented in 4.4.2. Therewith, the respondents' satisfaction corresponds with the need for emotional support.

7.2.2 Informational Support

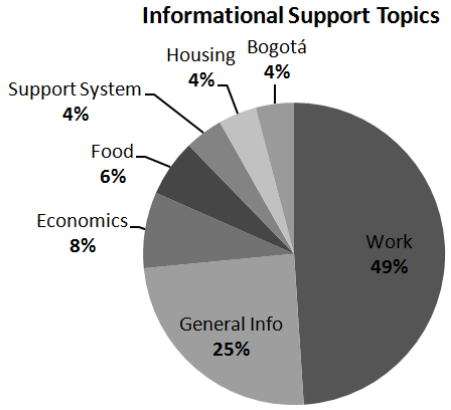
Informational support embraces the provision of information, suggestions and advice. While 94% of the respondent were able to come up with at least one person or institution they would draw upon when in need of such, only 77% de facto experienced the reception of informational support during the preceding three months.

The respondents listed on average 1.9 persons as a potential source of informational support, the actual informational support, on the other hand, was provided by 1.5 network members (table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Perceived and actual informational support for the total sample

	Respective Network Size	Respective Network Size (Ø)	Max. Network Size	Min. Network Size
Perceived Support	127	1,9	7	0
Actual Support	100	1,5	7	0

Even though the family still plays the most important role, the share for the partners and friends is not so much smaller within the actual network of informational support (35% and 29%, respectively). Housemates and neighbors, superiors and workmates, as well as institutions and organizations are turned to in need of information likewise (10%, 9%, 7%). Other social means, such as newspapers and internet, are used by 9% of the respondents.



Graph 7.2: Informational support topics according to their mentioning

The high unemployment rate within the sample becomes visble again when regarding the numbers in graph 7.2: with 49%, the relative majority of the respondents specifiy work-related information the most sought type of information. Thereby, the respondents almost entirely refer to information or suggestions which help them to find work. One quarter of the surveyed IDP indicate that they are seeking all kind of information, while informational support helping to improve the economic situation and the alimentation of the family are named subsequently. Last but not least, learning about the available governmental support systems, about the possibilities of housing and Bogotá as such were mentioned and pursued by 4% of the respondents, respectively.

When it comes to the satisfaction with and the need for informational support, it becomes clear that need still exceeds satisfaction, even though just slightly (2.1 and 1.8, respectively).

7.2.3 Instrumental Support

The last support content presented here embraces the provision of tangible aid and services. There was a distinction made between material support and physical support, which both add up to the category of instrumental support. As indicated by their labels, material support includes the provision of objects (including money), while the physical support appears in form of assistance

with the fulfillment of activities for which the providing party holds available some of his/her own time and effort.

(1) Material Support

For the material support, only 83% of the respondents listed network members or other sources of support they would call upon. This number is further reduced for the actual provision of material support, which only 60% of the respondents declared.

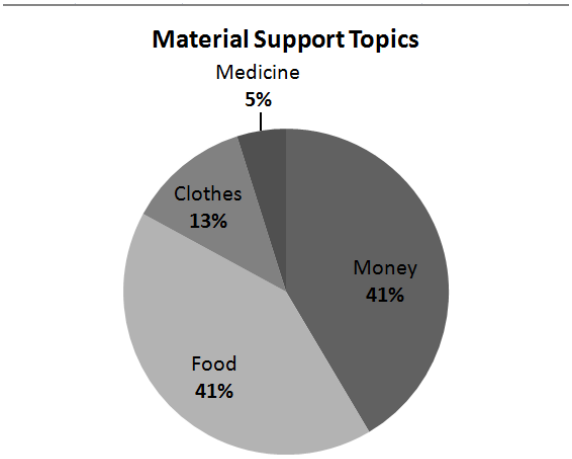
As table 7.3 illustrates, only 1.2 persons de facto supported the respondents on average materially, compared to 1.9 network members listed to possibly turn to.

Table 7.3: Perceived and actual material support for the total sample

	Respective Network Size	Respective Network Size (Ø)	Max. Network Size	Min. Network Size
Perceived Support	124	1,9	9	0
Actual Support	76	1,2	5	0

Again, the family is with an absolute majority listed most frequently amongst the material support network members (51%). Another 28% are new life partners and friends, while 11% are constituted by housemates and neighbors and 5% by superiors and workmates. Only 4% of the material support was effectively provided by organizations and institutuion, compared to a considerable 11% share in the perceived network of material support. Only one respondents received monetary support via financing, thereby relying on a money lender charging about 20% of interest.

There are two things, which are mainly received with the few material support exchanged: money and food. Others include clothes and medicine. This illustrates that the needs the surveyed IDP expressed are clearly limited to the very basic ones.



Graph 7.3: Material support topics according to their mentioning

The support need yet again exceeds the support satisfaction with regard to the material support (1.5 and 1.8, respectively).

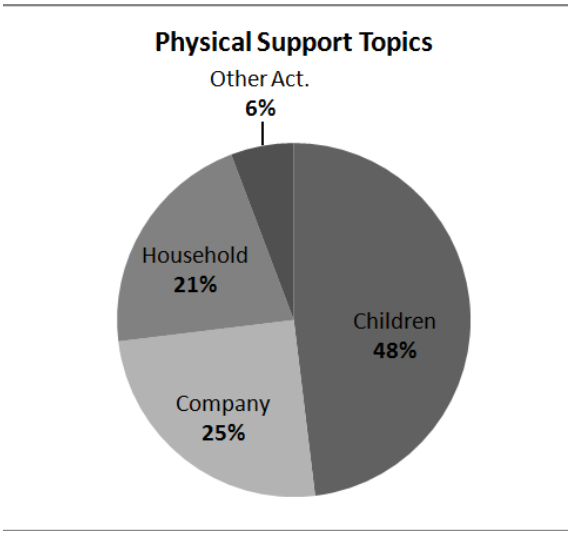
(2) Physical Support

In respect of physical support, 82% of the respondents listed at least one person they would contact when physical assistance is required – assistance, which 79% of the respondents recorded as effectively received during the preceding months.

With only 1.7 sources of physical support on average, the perceived physical support availability is rather small. When reducing it to the sources which have been active recently, this number is diminished in size to 1.4 (table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Perceived and actual physical support for the total sample

	Respective Network Size	Respective Network Size (Ø)	Max. Network Size	Min. Network Size
Perceived Support	113	1,7	9	0
Actual Support	90	1,4	6	0



Graph 7.4: Physical support topics according to their mentioning

As valid for the other support types, the family is the main source of physical support (72%), followed once more by new life partners and friends (18%). Housemates and neighbors contribute 8% to the physical support sources and superiors and workmates 1%; the remaining 1% is composed by other social means.

Interestingly, the most physical support was utilized for taking care of the children (graph 7.4). This is partly due to the high share of single-headed households, which need child care support to be able to work and thus to sustain the family financially. The company of other persons for all kind of appointments and actions is another example mentioned by the respondents, followed in importance by support with the housework.

The satisfaction with the physical support amounts to 1.8, while the need for the same is with 1.9 barely higher.

7.3 Social Support Content and Evaluation: A Comparative Analysis

Table 7.5: Summary for all support types and the perceived (1st value) and actual network size (2nd value)

	Emotional	Informational	Instrumental: Material	Instrumental: Physical
Respective Network Size	255 150	127 100	124 76	113 90
Respective Network Size (Ø)	3,9 2,3	1,9 1,5	1,9 1,2	1,7 1,4
Respondents who mentioned at least 1 person	98% 97%	94% 77%	83% 62%	82% 79%
No. of Different Support Sources	7	9	6	7
Main Support Source	Family: 70% 66%	Family: 31% 35%	Family: 51% 51%	Family: 66% 72%
Most Prominent Example	Economic Situation: 30%	Work-related: 49%	Money: 41%, Food: 41%	Child Care: 48%
Support Satisfaction	2,1	2,1	1,8	1,8
Support Need	2,1	1,8	1,5	1,9

Table 7.5 illustrates the support types and their characteristics for the surveyed IDP in Bogotá. It becomes clear that for the tangible aid and services, which come within the ambit of instrumental support, the listed network members for both the perceived as well as the actual support are the fewest in number. Physical support exhibits the smallest perceived network size, while material support was effectively provided by the minority of network members. The average support occurrence reflects the same picture.

Above that, physical support is attributed with the highest share of respondents who could not even list a single person they would turn to in search of support (18%), while material support was de facto only provided by at least one network member to less than two thirds of the sample. An interviewee summed up:

> *"Money, the people just do not lend."*
> (Female, 27, Valle de Cauca)

> *"No, I never received any money [from the people], only emotional support. But economic support: none."*
> (Female, 33, ns)

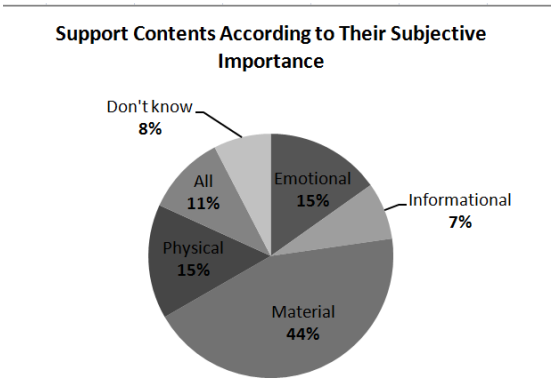
Emotional support, on the other hand, entails the most network members both perceived and actual, as well as the most consistent occurrence: almost all respondents were able to list persons they would or they did draw upon when in need of emotional assistance.

"It is impossible to receive economic support from other people, for that reason the most important support I can get is moral support."
(Female, 42, Huila)

The family is the most important source for all different support types. From the table it can be seen, however, that there are some differences with regard to the degree to which the family is the main provider of support: for emotional and physical support, the share of the family within the respective support networks amounts to more than two thirds, while the same is reduced to one third for informational support. This is consistent with the comparably high number of different support sources for the latter. Additionally, the respondents rather turn to people who are already a long time in Bogotá when in need of information, as these people are more familiar with the city and the opportunities it holds available. Family members, in turn, are usually as new in the city as the respondent him-/herself. It should also be noted here that new life partners and friends are for all support contents the second biggest provider.

With the examples listed by the respondents for the different types of support, it becomes clear that all of them are related with the respondents' economic situation, and thus money and work. Also for the support form of child care it was mentioned frequently that this is pursed in order to enable the respondent to work and to sustain the family.

The satisfaction with emotional and informational support is akin, while the support satisfaction is even slightly higher for both instrumental support types. The need for the different support types is the highest for the material support, while the lowest was attributed to emotional support. This is consistent and contradicting at the same time. Even though material support is provided the least and needed the most, the satisfaction with the support the respondents received is comparably high. This is due to the fact that every ever so small loan of money, food, or clothes is highly appreciated.



Graph 7.5: Support contents according to their subjective importance

As claimed by a female respondent from Putomayo:

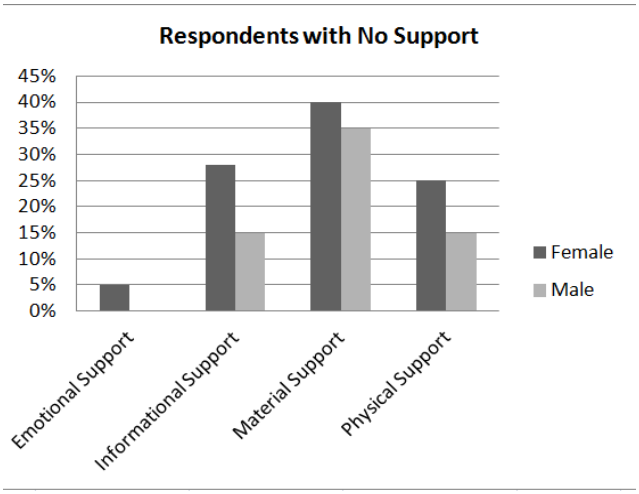
"For my situation, every kind of support is of help, and I am thankful for every little thing."
(Female, 46, Putomayo)

Additional to the observations described above, the respondents were asked which kind of support they consider the most important. Not surprisingly, a similar picture appears: Material support outweighs all other support types by far (graph 7.5); the huge majority of the respondents therewith referred to money. When asking this question, many respondents specified what they would need the money for, and the majority mentioned paying the rent or acquiring an own apartment/house.

7.3.1 Social Support and Gender

There are some remarkable differences between the genders for the four forms of support. It was outlined earlier that women on average have a higher network size then men, both for the perceived as well as the actual network (see 6.2). Interestingly, for three of the four support types female respondents listed on average less network members they would or did approach than their male counterparts. Only the average amount of network members for emotional support exceeds the ones listed by the male respondents. Consistent with these findings, the female respondents stated for informational, material and physical support a higher need than men, while this relation goes into reverse for emotional support (differences are minor, though).

Graph 7.6 displays the percentages of female and male respondents who were not able to record a single person providing the respective types of support (actual support). This is with 40% of the women and 35% of the men the highest for material support. At the same time, it becomes clear that the women amongst the respondents lack members for all four support contents to a higher extend than men do.



Graph 7.6: Respondents with no support according to the four types of social support

Consequently, even though the female respondents have a bigger general network size, men exhibit more recently active support members for three out of four support types. This can be due to the fact that the male respondents indeed listed less network members, but which provided different support types at the same time instead of only a single one. It seems that it is not necessary to have as many network members as possible in order to receive a considerable amount of support, but to connect with those that can provide help in more than one way.

7.3.2 Social Support among IDP

Table 7.6: Shares of IDP in perceived and actual support networks according to the support types excluding family members

	Emotional	Informational	Material	Physical
Perceived Support (% of respective network members)	21 (31%)	13 (22%)	7 (15%)	6 (17%)
Actual Support (% of respective network members)	15 (39%)	11 (23%)	6 (18%)	5 (21%)

The table (table 7.6) above illustrates the amount of IDP within the support networks of the respective support types. As outlined in 6.3.4, a high share of the family is displaced, and in combination with them being the most important provider for all support types, the percentages of IDP providing the respective support types would result in grossly distorted numbers. To provide a better picture on the support types and their providers being displaced, it was thus analyzed how many of the other network members experienced displacement (i.e., Group 1, but without family members).

There is one major point to be made: the support types with the highest share of displaced providers are emotional and informational support, while material support exhibits the smallest percentage of IDP amongst its network members. Material support requires some kind of investment on behalf of the helpgiver, which most of the IDP cannot afford. This reflects perfectly the opinion pronounced in the interviews when asked for the support exchanged with other IDP:

> *"People here inform one another, you collaborate a lot in this. It has always been like that, for finding work for example... If you say that you don't have work, they will give you the address of an office where staff is needed. But not for other things, as you cannot ask a person which is in the same miserable situation as yours for things. They also do not have a lot they could share; and if they don't need it today they might need it tomorrow."*
> (Male, 36, Tolima)

> *"Yes, you collaborate. I don't have a lot of people also being displaced in my neighborhood, but when you arrive here the people at least talk. The people from Bogotá, on the other hand, are very distant."*
> (Female, 32, Nariño)

> *"Yes, you arrive here in Bogotá and you get to know a lot of people in the same situation. At least they give you some information, information on where you need to go, at which time. For me that is a great help."*
> (Male, 24, Chocó)

> *"Yes, of course because we have the same needs. Some IDP know well the institutions and organization which can provide you with some support; they give some kind of orientation for these."*
> (Male, ns, Caquetá)

Therewith, the interviewees almost exclusively stated that this exchange of emotional or informational support is limited to happen within the center DIGNIFICAR or other focal points of attention for the IDP population:

> *"Here in the center you meet each other, you exchange information, you converse; but afterwards you go in this direction and the other one in that. I do not have a lot of contact with other IDP, the one we have here at the center and that is it."*
> (Female, 47, Norte de Santander)

This has mainly two reasons: The interviewees confirmed that they do not organize or meet themselves in a group apart from these occasions, while they often try to keep from the society that they are displaced (for a more detailed argumentation see 9.5):

> *"Yes, but only here [in the Unit]. The other people in Bogotá do not know whether I am displaced or not. But yes, because we all have the same problems. Some have been displaced by the guerilla, others by the paramilitary, still other by general criminality. We have something in common. When I am here I talk with the people about where to find work; they give me ideas and also give them ideas."*
> (Male, 40, Nariño)

In this regard, many interviewees pointed out that there is some mutual help between IDP going beyond the exchange of information and conversations, but only when they originate from the same region:

> *"No, I did not interchange anything [with other IDP], but I saw others doing so, when they are from the same origin. They share food. It did not happen to me, but I saw others doing so."*
> (Male, 24, Chocó)

> *"When I came at the beginning, another IDP offered me a place to stay. He is from the same department as I am."*
> (Male, 37, Tolima)

7.3.3 Social Support Here and There

In order to assess the social support the IDP obtain in Bogotá, it is interesting to see it in comparison with the social support the respondents exchanged at their place of origin prior to displacement. And the difference seems to be drastic.

It was criticized that Bogotá lacks the warm-hearted good will which is characterized here by the interviewees as typical for the rural areas. Bogota instead is described as a highly anonymous and individual society:

> *"In the countryside we have the custom that if one does not have something, the other will provide for it. Here it is not like that... no one here knows anyone, and if you do, you still don't do a favor for others. And if you do a favor in the end, then it always comes with interest. That is why this is not nice here. In the countryside no one would charge a favor, it's a favor. Here you always receive a bill with the favor, and not only when you ask for money."*
> (Male, 36, Tolima)

> *"In my home town, it was very quiet, and the people very sociable; if you do not have to eat a neighbor will not hesitate to tell you to eat with him. This is what I miss the most, this warm-hearted atmosphere. In the city people are very rude, it is not very human. Here I*

have very few friends... in my village life was much easier. (…) In Bogotá it is very difficult and you have to fight every day alone, it is a place for warriors."
(Male, ns, Caquetá)

"When you live in the countryside you know all the people from your village, but when you live in Bogotá you don't even know your neighbor. You greet him, but you cannot ask for anything; in the village, not here, you really socialize. This is hard to compensate... if someone is from the village he is better off staying there."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

"Back there, everyone collaborates with everyone. When you do not have sugar, someone would give or lend it to you. Everyone knows everyone, they give you plantain (plátano) or cassava (yuca) from their farms; here in turn no one does. Here, when you have something to eat, you eat; when you don't, you do not eat. It is very much different here."
(Female, 34, Tolima)

Thereby, respondents distinctly pointed out that it is easier to bond with people from other regions or other IDP in general (even though the support exchanged is limited to emotional and informational support, as outlined in above):

"It is very difficult to build relation with the people from here. It is much easier with people from other places than with the 'rolos'. The rolo is very independent, and very suspicious."[10]
(Female, 32, Nariño)

"It is much easier with other IDP, because the ones who did not experience displacement don't know how it is, and cannot understand the pain we have."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

"I don't think it is easy to bond with people here. Bogotá is the city in Colombia where it is the most difficult to talk with someone, to start a conversation. That is due to the culture here, and due to the rhythm which is brought along by the city."
(Male, 24, Chocó)

Respondents do not only feel this way with regard to the difference between rural and urban areas, but also from city to city. This becomes clear with the following opinion of an interviewee originating from another of Colombia's cities. This is not surprising when taking into account that Bogotá exceeds all other Colombian cities in terms of population – and hence anonymity – by far.

"The difference between my home and here is very large, because this city is very independent (...). All the time I have been living here, I learnt that there is very little bonding between neighbors, between friends. Everyone is very closed, each person is busy with

[10] "Rolo" is commonly used in Colombia to refer to people who originate from Bogotá.

himself, you greet each other and that's it. In Cartagena it is very different because there will always be people visiting each other, everything is much more familiar."
(Male, 28, Bolívar)

It becomes clear that the interviewees can make very distinct differences between the social lives 'here and there'. It should be noted here that these opinions are not isolated cases; on contrary, every single interviewee described such differences between hometown and refuge.

As the interviewees – with only few exceptions – all live in very vulnerable and poor conditions after a period of traumatic experiences, there is a chance that these descriptions are in some way romanticized. However, they depict how the IDP feel and are thus of utmost importance with regard to this research.

7.4 Distrust and Fear: Inhibiting the Exchange of Support

It's not just that the displacement deprived the majority of the respondents of their social contacts at their place of origin, it also inhibits quite some to build new relations. A general distrust against other people, which arose as confirmed by the interviewees out of the experiences of the displacement, impedes social involvement:

"No, with these experiences you start to mistrust everyone."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

"No, I do not have friends, I am very much on my own, antisocial is the correct word for this. I became like that due to the displacement, I do not trust anyone. (…) And you will realize, the majority of the displaced are very reserved. (…) Because we made all these experiences which we do not want to repeat. It is very difficult to regain trust in the people, to trust strangers."
(Female, 42, Meta)

"I cannot ask a person to help me, as I cannot be sure which action he would take, bad ones or good ones. Lots of people can exploit your situation, and we live in a country in which people cause you evil in different ways, taking your money, taking your wife, taking advantage of your children. So, in reality, you live very intimidated, socially intimidated."
(Male, 50, Meta)

Thereby, it is not only a general distrust which prevents people from bonding, but also the fear of the consequences when opening oneself too much. Still, the fear of renewed attacks by guerilla and/or paramilitaries remains, thus inhibiting the IDP to entrust oneself to other persons:

"You simply know that there are a lot of infiltrated people (spies), and I am very scared of the guerillas. They already killed my cousin; it is better to keep the distance with the people."
(Male, 40, Nariño)

"Obviously, only a few people know about the things which happened to me. I did not disappear from the scene completely, but now I try to keep a low profile; I am not telling from where I am and why I am here, and for sure not what exactly happened to me. The less people know, the quicker the things will cool down."
(Male, 30, Sucre)

It becomes evident that a distrust and the psychological consequences of the displacement influence the ability to build relations to a large extent.

7.5 Conclusion

It can be concluded that the forms of support the respondents commented on differ considerably. **Emotional support** is the most frequent, both in its perceived and in its actual manifestation. **Material support**, on the other hand, exhibits the smallest network size as well as the highest share of respondents who could not name a single active support source. Potentially due to its scarcity, material support is also the support considered most essential by the respondents.

The family is not surprisingly the most important provider for the different support types, even though with comparably higher shares for emotional as well as physical support. **Informational support** thereby features the highest number of diverging sources of support, and is rather sought with those people who know the ropes in Bogotá.

Examples given by the respondents in the context of the respective support type mostly include factors improving the economic situation, such as talks about the economic situation, information helping to pursue work, loans, or child support in order to be able to work. With the exception of emotional support, the support need is in general higher than the satisfaction with the same.

Regarding the differences between the **genders**, it became apparent that men have bigger average support networks for three out of the four support contents. Solely for the emotional support, the female respondent's listed network members exceeding the male's ones. Therewith it becomes clear that the on average bigger network size of the female respondents not necessarily leads to more support for the same, as male apparently rely on less members but effectively receive more support.

IDP mostly support each other with emotional conversations and exchange of information. This is mainly due to the fact that the respondents feel empathy and connectedness for those who experienced the same fate, but at the same time have a general understanding that they are all in the same situation – hence, not in the position to provide each other with support going beyond emotional or informational support. Such support was only mentioned by a few and in relation with the parties being from the same origin.

The social support the respondents receive in **Bogotá** seems to be very low in comparison with the one they had at their disposal in their **place of origin**, while a general **distrust** and the fear for

actions of retaliation on the part of the illegally armed groups further reduces the prospects of establishing a support network on site.

8 Perceptions of Social Support Implications

8.1 Introduction

Sub-question 3: *How do IDP perceive the implications of social relations and the support received?*

For assesing the meaning of social capital, it is important to assess the implications – the benefits and disadvantages – the surveyed IDP possibly perceive regarding their relations and the support received. The following section will outline exactly these perceived positive and negative implications. As the support received during the first days or weeks after the arrival in Bogotá seems of utmost importance and thus highly beneficial, it is assessed in the ambit of this chapter. To complete the picture, a comparison between the support at that time and the one the respondents receive currently will be drawn.

8.2 Positive Implications

Asked for the benefits they perceive with regard to their network and the support provided through the same, some interviewees named *information regarding work opportunities* as the factor contributing the most to an economic stabilization of their life:

> *"The most beneficial thing about the relations you have is that they can help you to find work. This in turn enables you for other things. So from this perspective, the relations help me to stabilize my life, yes*."
> (Male, 45, Antioquia)

> *"If it wouldn't be for my relations, I would not be working where I am working at the moment, because they helped me a lot. Thus, they helped me a lot to gain a foothold once more."*
> (Male, 40, Nariño)

Remarkably, some interviewees even stated that they used 'networking' in the sense that they were purposefully trying to build relations with professionals:

> *"For me those friendships have helped me a lot economically. These relationships are more with professional people who helped me to get into business."*
> (Male, ns, Caquetá)

> *"Well now that I'm here in Bogota, my relationships have been very professional. My mom always told me 'you have to be with the best and look for the best', and that's what I tried to do. (…) So my friendships have been with professionals, my friends are designers and administrators of companies."*
> (Male, 45, Antioquia)

Given the high unemployment rate in the sample, however, it is little surprising that only a few interviewees mentioned *finding work* a major benefit they gain from their relations. Others see

the main benefit rather on the emotional than on any other level. In this context, two interviewees stated that the support and the relations provided them with a welcome change in the light of the daily harshness of their lives:

> *"Yes, my relations help me at least to think of other things, to distract me."*
> (Female, 32, Nariño)

> *"Yes, when you have a group of friends to talk with, that is nice; you distract each other from the problems you have."*
> (Female, 33, ns)

> *"Well, we support each other morally, we socialize, get each other out of the daily monotony."*
> (Female, 61, Cesar)

In this sense, most interviewees pointed out that their relations rather support them in stabilizing their lives emotionally, while not affecting them a lot with regard to other, first and foremost economic, aspects.

> *"The benefit you get by your relations is to be able to share moments of talking, of happiness, of joy. This helps you to emotionally stabilize your life."*
> (Male, 46, Cesar)

> *"Having a mutual contact is very beneficial with regard to listening and supporting each other emotionally. Even though this does not really help me to stabilize my life…"*
> (Male, 28, Bolívar)

> *"I would say that [the benefits I gain are] from words of encouragement and a personal support, not really from economic support (…). We need at times someone who is with us; it is not always nice to be lonely. They give me patience, go out with me, accompany me."*
> (Male, 30, Sucre)

Thereby, the term friendship gains importance:

> *"Friendship is a benefit. But to stabilize your life… giving you a piece of land to get out there and work, that would stabilize my life, but friends cannot provide that either. But they give moral company and take care of you when your bills and payments reach up to your throat."*
> (Female, 61, Cesar)

> *"I do not think in benefits, I think the friendship values more than the money. Friends helped me and continue to help me, for me the most important thing to cherish and to care for is friendship."*
> (Male, 36, Tolima)

"I think more than any economic support it is the opportunity to keep on being socially involved; You never know what is going to happen in life, and to have them in my life is the biggest benefit I can think of."
(Male, 24, Chocó)

It can be concluded from the interviews that even though some respondents pointed out that their relations and support is supporting them in stabilizing their lives – mainly through helping them to find work –, the most frequently mentioned positive implications are rather friendships and therewith an emotional stabilization of life. No interviewee mentioned the provision of instrumental support at this point, further highlighting that this form of support is not distinctly at the respondents' disposal.

8.3 Negative Implications

At the very beginning, it shall be noted here that only very few respondents mentioned to have experienced disadvantages from their social relations and support as such. The main negative aspects they could think of were almost exclusively related to the governmental support system – which will be highlighted in more detail in the subsequent section (see 8.4).

Even though just mentioned occasionally, some of the negative implications pointed out earlier turned up in the interviews again (see 3.4). In this context, a young man from Chocó pointed out that relations could be damaged when support cannot be returned (in time), while another female interviewee stated that you are always obliged to give something in exchange when receiving support:

"When someone gives me a loan, and I do not manage to pay it back in time and they also need that money, this can deteriorate the relation. This, for me, is a disadvantage."
(Male, 24, Chocó)

"Today, no one gives anyone something without expecting something in exchange."
(Female, 33, ns)

Mentioned by a female interviewee, the feeling of being rejected can be counted amongst negative implications as well as amongst the reasons for not relying on favors at all:

"When you ask for some help, there are always persons which will not give anything. So, what they do is rejecting you, and this makes you feel really bad. For that, I do not like to ask for favors and rather prefer to get ahead on my own."
(Female, 51, Atlántico)

Even though mentioning it with regard to the governmental support, another female interviewee observed that too much support can also inhibit IDP to arrange opportunities to sustain themselves:

> *"I am almost not coming here, just applying for one help a year, because I use to work and keep myself busy with that. But there are people coming here day by day, keeping on requesting help all year long, not working, without a place to stay. Of course there are also extreme cases, but some IDP are just lazy."*
> (Female, 52, Tolima)

Other opinions displayed that some of the people might only aim at taking advantage of the respective person, or are up to mischief. This can be seen in strong correlation with Cleaver's (2005) indication that some networks are constructed to the disadvantage of the vulnerable (see 3.4):

> *"Some make use of your bad situation, as if you would sell yourself for some support. Once, a guy from Barranquilla offered me that he would help me out when I would go out with him and do other things."*
> (Female, 37, Arauca)

> *"It happened to me as well that some people I know, you rely on them, but they on purpose send you in a wrong direction, they are not collaborating as it should be."*
> (Male, 36, Tolima)

Others, in turn, pointed out that certain relationship building is only including some while marginalizing others. In this context, the concept of racism is again of relevance:

> *"Racism could be a disadvantage, because I've seen people only taking into account other people with the same culture, or 'I am from Cartagena, you're from Bogotá, Tunja,' …"*
> (Male, 36, Bolívar)

Apparently, negative aspects of social relations and support – such as the obligation to return a favor, emotional stress for being rejected or the risk of being exploited for the vulnerable situation the IDP are in – were mentioned, even though just occasionally and by single individuals. If anything, the majority of the respondents and interviewees saw a main constraint in *not receiving support*, or *not having sufficient contacts*, which could provide such.

8.4 Governmental Support: Widespread Dissatisfaction

Even though the purely governmental support was not envisaged to be evaluated in detail for the existing research, it was mentioned in such frequent manner in the interviews and questionnaire, thus making it a central issue to include at this point.

Almost every respondent of the questionnaire stated that the financial help of the government is terribly delayed, thereby naming the complex procedure one of the reasons for this delay. As outlined by some interviews:

"We are in a bad situation now as the government is not complying with the payments (…). They say it would take at the maximum six months to get one, but it turned out that a lot of us need to wait a lot longer, even longer than one year."
(Female, 51, Atlántico)

"You want to know how long it takes to get one payment? Six to eight months, at least. First, you need to return here every 90 days to request it. After you requested it, you need to wait another one and a half month for your turn. After you turn, you need to wait six months which the government takes to approve your payment. It is a horrible protocol, and when you ask me personally, the proclaimed support for IDP is a downright lie, the prospect of peace is a lie (…). And you, you do not have anything to eat for lunch, you have a single meal per day, and you wait for the day they will finally become aware of that, the day they will notice you. They only tell me to wait, that is everything I can do, wait."
(Female, 33, ns)

Even though only mentioned occasionally, some interviewees mentioned that they are not well-enough informed:

"No one informed us about this governmental support, it is now that I know about it and I still come here to inform myself about the different things. This incident happened ten years ago, and I am still in the process of informing myself."
(Male, 28, Bolívar)

Also the subsidized access to services which comes within the ambit of 2011's new Victims Law is subject to criticism by the interviewees:

"I am trying for a while now to join the University without paying the fees, because this is what is provided by Law to IDP. But until now, I was not able to, I was always told to wait. I do not have work, and thus I cannot continue my studies as I do not have anything to pay the fees with, even though the Law says that I do not need to pay. So, honestly, these programs do exist according to the government, but in reality only very few IDP manage to get access."
(Male, 24, Chocó)

And last but not least, many interviewees stated that their biggest need with regard to the government is an own place to live. The Law aims at giving back to the IDP their original piece of land, or a substitute, which seems especially difficult when the respective IDP wants to stay in Bogotá instead of returning to their place of origin or the countryside (see 2.4.4):

"I would like that the state helps me with giving me a house, so that I do not need to worry about the rent anymore, so that I can invest the little I earn with hard work into my children's education and to sustain their living, my wife's and my living."
(Male, 54, Nariño)

"Imagine, I was displaced twelve years ago, and until now I am returning here to ask for a place to live. Because for the rest, I am fine, displacement did not limit me physically. If the government would finally understand that even though we were pushed to leave from there, we still want to progress here."
(Male, 50, Meta)

It can be summarized that the interviewees almost entirely mentioned the administrative complexity, the delays in the provision of and the access to supports the main disadvantages of the governmental system. Above that, many are in need of proper housing, and aspire that the government would show more understanding for the part of the IDP population which plan to stay in Bogotá.

8.5 Support Back Then and Now

Even though the support was mentioned to be mainly beneficial on an emotional level, another interesting fact revealed in the interviews was the substantial importance of the support and the new emerging relations in the very first weeks in Bogotá. Interviewees described their first experiences in the capital as follows:

"We arrived at the bus terminal, and there I talked to a man who recommended me a friend to contact for a place to live."
(Male, 36, Tolima)

"I came practically alone, without my family, but then I have been lucky. People saw me, they do not even know how I got into this miserable situation, but they helped me, thank God. They asked for me around. I cannot say that anyone really gave me anything, but at least they gave me the idea to go here and there, which was a lot for me at that time as I did not know where to pursue what."
(Male, 36, Tolima)

These quotes illustrate that the interviewees received some informational support right after arriving in Bogotá. Being new and unfamiliar with the city, this support was evaluated by the respective persons as highly essential. However, some interviewees even mentioned immediate support going beyond the mere provision of information:

"We reached the neighborhood of Usaquén walking, without clothes or anything. They had a joinery, I remember that he was called Pedro, and his wife Etel. I told them what we just experienced and they gave us the opportunity to live for a few days in the wood joinery, leaving in the morning and coming back at night. We were sleeping there locked between machines and sawdust, and we stayed for nine days. Sometimes, I did not eat anything during the day but I felt safe and calm because in the crowd it was difficult for them [the guerilla] to find me and my family. Well, this support seems like nothing, but for us in that situation it was a lot."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

"The first months were horrible; the experiences caused me so much sadness, and I arrived with my arms crossed, without anything. There was a woman who helped me out by renting a room very cheap. I did not need to pay in advance, she was just helping me. From there I could start looking for work."
(Male, ns, Caquetá)

"In 2008, I came here without knowing anyone; I slept in the streets for four days, after that I became friend with a shoe polisher. He lent me a box with equipment to polish shoes, and with this I was able to start working and earning some money."
(Male, 40, Nariño)

"The second night we slept in front of a market building (...). People working at the market, they helped me. I talked to a lady, which helped me a lot. She was selling food at the market, and I told her that I would wash all the pots if she would just give me a little bit of soup for my children who have not eaten anything, and she always did."
(Female, 42, Meta)

It becomes clear that the support at the very beginning was very essential for some to gain foothold again; the informational, material and physical support outlined with the words of the interviewees above all made a big contribution, even though they can just be described as marginal support. This is in line with McMichael and Manderson (2004) as well as Duplat (2005), who amongst others pointed towards the importance of social support and its positive implications for newly arriving migrants.

When this is compared with the support the respondents reported to receive these days, the interviewees declared that they do not get so much of this support anymore. As pointed out by the following interviewee, the support changed over time from the provision of very basic goods – such as a roof over your head – to support which is rather aiming at economic stabilization, even though this is mainly acquired again in form of informational support:

"The friends I have now are helping me a little bit more [than the support I received when I just arrived]. Now they help me to find better work, which is also better paid. So, during the first month people helped me with very basic things, which I needed in my emergency situation. Now, the help I receive helps me more to recover economically."
(Male, ns, Caquetá)

That puts another complexion on the matter. It is not necessarily considered bad to receive more informational support than material or physical one, when this type of support can help you to recuperate your work and therewith financial life.

8.6 Conclusion

It became clear that the implications of social relations and support are mainly assessed **positively**, some interviewees, however, could think about negative consequences of building relations and

exchanging support. The main benefit is a **stabilization on the emotional level**, even though few the respondents additionally reported an **economic stabilization** due to the improved prospects to find work through their relations. The negative implications include feelings of being obliged to return a favor, emotional stress for being rejected as well as the risk of being exploited.

When talking about benefits and disadvantages of social support, many interviewees began to talk about the **disadvantages** they see with regard to the **governmental support**. These entail delays, a too complicated administration as well as a limited access to the proclaimed services, such as education. In this context, interviewees also mentioned that they would need most urgently support on behalf of the government with their place of living.

Interesting in the context of the implications is the social support received during the first weeks of refuge. Even though complaining about not receiving a lot of support nowadays, most of the respondents did end up with a **substantial support during their first days** in Bogotá. This support might be limited to the very basics, but it still helped many interviewees to get a first foothold in their emergency situation it can thus be regarded as highly essential.

9 Sense of Belonging and Self-Identification

9.1 Introduction

Sub-question 4: *How can the IDP' sense of belonging and self-identification be described, and which factors could possibly explain these?*

The last chapter of this research study deals with the IDP' sense of belonging and self-identification. Therefore, several variables were included in the interview, which could possibly explain differences in the sense of belonging. These include the subjective opinions and experiences with discrimination, a self-identification as IDP, as well as progress of integration. As a last step, future aspiration with regard to the aspired place to live will be pointed out, before the sense of belonging of the respondents will be discussed using some of the variables outlined in this study.

A question inquiring for both the sense of belonging as well as the places the respondents aspire to live in the future where included in the questionnaire, without expecting any further explanation. The percentages given in these sections thus refer to the total questionnaire sample, while the qualitative explanations originate from the interviews.

9.2 Valuated Involvement and Fit

As outlined in 3.5, for the sense of belonging it is of importance whether the IDP exhibit a feeling of being valued and accepted by their environment, as well as a sensation to fit in.

The interviewees show mixed feelings, but the majority of the interviewees stated that they do feel valuated and accepted by their surroundings. Here, it is worth noting that being asked about being valued by others, people tend to think about their close contacts, not the infrequent contacts with strangers on the street. Thus, it does make sense that some IDP feel discriminated while at the same time valued and accepted by their environments.

There is also, however, a considerable share that is neither feeling valued nor accepted, thereby specifically referring to people from Bogotá (similarly as in the case of regionalism as a form of discrimination):

> *"No, from the people of Bogotá no. The people who are from other places and live here in Bogotá, from them yes, I do feel valued."*
> (Female, 32, Nariño)

> *"Me as a person in general, or as a displaced? Well, me as person, no [I do not feel valued], because you are rejected a lot here."*
> (Male, 24, Chocó)

Some of the respondents do not feel to fit very well into Bogotá's society, mainly due to the differences they see between them and the *rolos,* outlined in 7.3.3. Some of the interviewees

identified this differentiation between 'us and them' the underlying problem for not feeling to fit into the society:

> *"You feel different when you judge yourself differently. But me, I do not judge myself differently, so I will not feel different. When I greet somebody, saying: 'Hi, I'm Carlos, displaced', then I am triggering that everybody is going to treat me as displaced. Instead I say: 'Hi, nice to meet you, I'm Carlos, I'm a driver, a worker'. I will not comment on my condition as displaced, but my good features, my values, my skills, so that they deal with me based on this knowledge and give me the value that I deserve. That is the difference. I am displaced but do not divulge that for everyone to know."*
> (Male, 50, Meta)

This however, also shows that a strategy to better fit into society is to neglect one's history of being an IDP. Thus, living as an IDP doubtlessly influences the feeling to fit in (for a more detailed discussion see 9.3 and 9.4):

> *"I feel that I fit well for me as a person, for my competencies. But when they are aware that I am displaced, then no, I do not feel that I fit."*
> (Male, 24, Chocó)

9.3 Integration

Close to the question about the IDP' feeling of being accepted and valued by their surrounding and their sensation to fit in is the question whether they feel well integrated or not. Being asked for the integration of IDP in general, it was pointed out that the respondents consider the majority of IDP in Bogotá as not very well integrated. The main cause for this can be found – in their opinion – again in the differences between the rural areas and the city, and in particular in a lack of education on behalf of the IDP:

> *"The majority of the displaced are not well integrated, because in the countryside they receive less education. They will always be regarded as inferior, because unfortunately, the one with little education always faces a bad reputation. Most people think of food, rent, enable their children to study, a blouse, a pair of trousers. Here people think about perfumes, painted hair, fine boots. This will always be a contradiction."*
> (Female, 42, Meta)

> *"I feel excluded because I am not well-educated; I just studied until the fifth grade and with that you cannot find a good work… Here, for taking a broom in your hands you need a high school degree."*
> (Female, 37, Arauca)

Thereby, respondents coming from other big cities consider it an advantage that they grew up in a similar environment:

"I recuperated easily, quickly, due to my agility and my knowledge. For other persons it is more difficult, much harder, but for me it was not so hard because I already knew the city. I studied and unfolded myself in the city and was able to make some contacts here. Others have more problems due to their background, because they were pushed to leave the rural and resettle in the urban area, in this stunning city. Mostly knowledge and education could help a person who comes from the countryside… but they are mostly illiterate without any knowledge, without guidance. They do not know how to make a petition, to declare displacement, to claim their rights that are established by law. They need support, lack guidance ..."
(Male, 46, Cesar)

The opinion on the degree in which the struggles and disputes with the immediate environment in Bogotá exceed the ones the respondents are used to at their place of origin – which was pointed out an indicator of integration (see 3.5.2) – is very divided. However, even though not necessarily concerning the respondents themselves, they almost entirely acknowledge that there are more disputes in Bogotá in general compared with their places of origin. A term dropped in this context is regionalism:

"No, thank God, I did not have any disputes, because here in Bogotá they never lack disputes but at me they never paid attention."
(Male, 36, Tolima)

"Conflicts, yes, also amongst the neighbors. Mainly due to regionalism. In Cartagena, I almost never saw this kind of conflicts, the people would help each other out, here in turn they do not."
(Male, 28, Bolívar)

9.4 Discrimination

Discrimination is an important factor describing the IDP' feeling towards Bogotá. If people feel discriminated, they can hardly feel welcome. Chapter 7.3.3 already points to a certain feeling of discomfort with parts of Bogotá's society on behalf of the IDP. It should be added here that some interviewees – even though not all of them – specifically stated that discrimination against IDP is not uncommon.

As a reason for such discrimination fear was mentioned by the interviewees: fear that contact with IDP would cause problems with illegally armed groups, fear that IDP as a very poor group of society only try to take advantage of you, either by stealing or by begging. Thus, IDP feel that the non-IDP population projects an inferior image on them:

"People here do not socialize with you, which makes you feel even more different from them. They are going to stigmatize you because you are displaced. They feel pity, or fear. (...) Fear that they [guerilla or paramilitaries] will come to kill me, and kill them with me."
(Male, 46, Cesar)

"Here you arrive and they eye you suspiciously, wondering if you're going to rob him or worse. There is a preconception that marginalizes us, giving us this social status... displacement branded us as criminals."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

"There are a lot of people in Bogotá and other places which are afraid of displaced persons. They reject us because they believe that we would just ask them for things or rob them, which is not true."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

"It happened to me that I got to know someone in the bus, we were talking nicely, until I told him that I am displaced… he stopped and left immediately. For them we are beggars, thieves, and to be blamed for our own displacement (…). I think that within our society the name of displacement brings along the idea to be inferior."
(Male, 30, Sucre)

Another point mentioned by two interviewees is that they feel discriminated by the fact that some people accuse them of just coming to the capital in order to take advantage of the benefits it entails, therewith taking away job or housing opportunities. Consequently, these interviewees felt that there is a lack of understanding for the IDP' situation, and especially for the fact that coming to the city was for many of them the only chance to survive:

"Yes, sometimes they treat you differently. And why? Because in their opinion you only get here in order to make use of the opportunities in Bogotá. Housing opportunities, opportunities to have a better quality of life, the opportunities provided by the municipality, the department or the city. Obviously there are some who see this very selfishly and not very human."
(Male, 50, Meta)

"There are some who reject you when they know that you are displaced, but there are also some who understand what you have been through and that you are not here for fun."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

Additionally when talking about the possibilities to find and keep work, the interviewees confirmed that they feel disadvantaged due to having the status of being displaced. When they found work, in turn, interviewees faced poor working conditions – for some even involving violence:

"If you work and they get to know you were displaced, you might get kicked out. There are companies that do not want to get involved in the conflict. They [the guerilla] could extort the company or other persons, because the guerrillas have more knowledge than any other entity, they know where you live, what time you come and go, etc.. I do not know how those people do this, but they get informed faster than your own family. It happened to a friend of mine, they tracked him down to Mosquera and killed him."
(Male, 40, Nariño)

> *"I was not even allowed to make breaks… I tell you, I want to work, and I am interested in working; but not when they treat you like that. She [the former boss] was very rude, very hateful, she even raised the hand against me and slammed the door in my face."*
> (Female, 39, Antioquia)

Besides the companies' fear that they might get involved with the conflict and the illegally armed groups, other reasons for not employing IDP mentioned by the interviewees included the prejudice that IDP tend to be lazy, to quit work, or to steal from the company.

Racism and regionalism were other catchwords frequently dropped in the interviews. Hence, especially black and indigenous persons reported that they are rejected for their ethnicity. As stated in tears by a young, single mother:

> *"I have been in Cali and Palmira, in Buga and in Quito, but here in Bogotá there is more racism than anywhere else. It is the capital with very diverse people from all over the country where I experienced the worst racism. But that's life and there is nothing you can do about it. What bothers me the most is my girl because she feels really bad about it, I am already old, but I suffer because my children suffer."*
> (Female, 32, Nariño)

Regionalism in turn, as another form of discrimination, refers to the people from Bogotá discriminating other people from other regions, and also to people with the same origins apart from Bogotá excluding others:

> *"I do not like this regionalism here in Bogotá, which you can find a lot. We are all capable, and we are all from the same country, we are all Colombians."*
> (Male, 28, Bolívar)

The interviews revealed that the respondents do feel discriminated by parts of the society, be it companies or individual members of the society. Thereby, the fear to come somehow into the firing line of the conflict's stakeholders poses as much a problem as certain stereotypes the IDP are attributed with.

This highlights more than anything that the label of "the displaced" tends to brings certain limitations and stigmatizations leading to the establishment of a 'threatening environment' and discrimination – nevertheless, the majority of IDP does identify themselves with the label of "the displaced" and does not bother being named such, as the preceding paragraphs will illustrate.

9.5 Self-Identification: IDP or not IDP?

It was pointed out in 3.5.2 that labeling can have negative consequences, such as the emergence of stereotypes as outlined above. Therefore, it is of interest to analyze the opinions of the respondents themselves on the label of being "IDP". Surprisingly, most of the IDP stated that they do identify themselves as such, while they do not bother when other people call them the same.

"It does not bother me if someone calls me 'displaced'. I do not think that this should cause embarrassment, what happened happened (…). Well, it also depends on how you take it; I am displaced but I am a man looking ahead and I'm not going to stop with that, I always had merit and projects on my own, I always tried to tackle my problems and to cope with my situation."
(Male, 28, Bolívar)

"It does not bother me, and if someone is trying to offend me with calling me a 'displaced', he will not be successful in doing so. Because even though I am displaced I do not feel inferior to other persons; the truth is that my self-esteem is fine."
(Male, ns, Caquetá)

"I do not feel this stigma of being an IDP, because every day I put myself to work. I do not feel so different from the other people."
(Male, 46, Cesar)

Some interviewees associated this self-identification as IDP in relation with the support they aim to receive:

"Yes, I do identify myself as IDP, because I need a lot of support. I am alone here, I do not have a lot of family… I am in need of a lot of support as the IDP who I am."
(Male, 54, Nariño)

However, in order to avoid such discrimination as outlined above, many of the respondents stated that they do not share with everyone that they are displaced, even though they indicated that they do not feel ashamed or uncomfortable for being such:

"I am working, and I like what I am doing and I do not feel uncomfortable saying that I am displaced. But normally I do not tell the whole world that I am displaced, the ones who know are the ones I trust, not more."
(Male, 40, Nariño)

"I do not always tell that I am displaced, because especially in Bogotá the picture prevails that IDP are thieves, people which are connected with the extralegal groups; So, I identify myself as IDP to some, to others not."
(Male, 24, Chocó)

"You can feel they treat you differently when they know… my children in college they do not say that they are displaced. When they ask 'Are you displaced?', they always say 'no', because it bothers them so be seen like that."
(Female, 33, ns)

The difference over time was also mentioned. Thus, some people felt offended shortly after their arrival in Bogotá when someone was labeling them as IDP, while they got used to it in the course of the time. At the beginning, however, this uneasiness with being known to be displaced led them

not to declare their status as such, which is in turn a necessary prerequisite for receiving governmental support:

> *"At the beginning I was offended by people calling me a displaced person, because I was coming from a different place and I was used to a different behavior… and then arriving in a city in which people insult you in many ways… that is why I did not go to ask for help in places where they gave you clothes, or a room for the night. I did not do so precisely because I did not want the people to know that I am displaced. Everyone fears such labels. But now, no, I don't care. You need to adapt."*
> (Female, 42, Meta)

> *"My documents still classify me as displaced, but I think the displacement happened years ago, and somehow this stage of my life is over. It is over… It happened eight years ago and needs to stay in the past now. You have to look ahead and continue restructuring your life. You cannot live in your past, you cannot live your memories."*
> (Female, 52, Tolima)

> *"Not anymore, maybe in the beginning I paid much attention to it, now it does not bother me anymore if you think I am displaced or not. I have a clear conscience and look ahead, willing to move on. I think it is better this way, that I do not give that much attention to it as I did six or seven years ago."*
> (Female, 42, Meta)

To sum up, even though most of the respondents do identify themselves as IDP and also do not bother when others do so, they clearly state that they do not feel different from others and are orientated towards overcoming their situation instead of keeping this label for all their live. In line with the high level of discrimination described by some of the respondents, however, many respondents do not share their identity with everyone.

9.6 Future Plans: Staying or Leaving

The future aspirations of the IDP can provide an additional inside on how IDP feel with their displacement in Bogotá. Three different opinions emerged: the first and biggest group aspires to stay in Bogotá (66%), the second wishes to go back to their homelands (12%), while the third one does not want to stay in Bogotá or return to their place of origin (22%).

The main reasons for staying in Bogotá are the improved opportunities brought along by the capital and Colombia's biggest metropolis:

> *"Well, for now I plan to stay here in Bogotá, because Bogotá is Bogotá, and despite all the problems of the city I think that here you can find more things to do, a lot of possibilities to earn money."*
> (Male, 36, Tolima)

"Even if they arrest all guerilla, when there are no problems of safety anymore, I would not go back. (…) Staying here, you can make some progress, while in the small cities they just care about having a boyfriend, finding a husband and staying there, without progressing. The city in turn changes the perspective."
(Female, 33, ns)

Besides better chances to find a work to sustain themselves and the family, the respondents also regard Bogotá the best place to receive governmental support (even though they emphasized weak spots and discontent). It is not only the capital and biggest refuge for IDP, but also the city where the governmental and non-governmental support organs are located:

"I will stay because I think that Bogotá is the capital, it has more opportunities. In fact I have seen lots of opportunities, opportunities which do not exist in my city. It is the centre where all the support for the displaced population is united."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

"Yes, when I could I would go back to Palmira. Palimira, where I lived all my life. But I did not go because there I cannot offer anything to my girls, here at least the government helps a lot the displaced children."
(Female, 32, Nariño)

The opportunities perceived by the respondents as better than at their original places not only refer to work and support opportunities for the respondent, but in specific also to the improved possibilities for the respondents' children in terms of education and quality of life – even though the respondent him-/herself does not necessarily feel at ease in Bogotá:

"I would like to go back to my place, but there are not so many opportunities. That is the thing, here they help me with these programs that my daughter can study for free. She is already in the 7th grade, and I think a lot about her future. Here there are more opportunities for her to study."
(Female, 37, Arauca)

"I will not leave Bogotá as my daughters here have more possibilities to study, to make a progress. That is why you endure so many things. If this would not be the case, I would already have left for my home."
(Female, 32, Nariño)

Safety is still another issue. Hence respondents mentioned that they still feel haunted by paramilitary or guerilla forces, and thus want to take benefit from the anonymity of a metropolis like Bogotá.

"No, here, my children grew up and I feel more comfortable, more safe, I can breeze again. But at the beginning it was a sacrifice."
(Female, 42, Meta)

"It is the capital and the biggest city. My idea is that it is the most difficult for them [the guerillas] to find me here."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

"I want to stay in Bogotá, because anywhere else I am not safe. In my department there is no safety for me, almost all the departments are still involved in this… ."
(Female, 51, Atlántico)

When taking into account the potential decision to go back to the place of origin, it becomes apparent that part of the respondents deliberately decides against returning to their homelands. For this, beside similar arguments as the ones for staying in Bogotá, mainly two reasons are stated: firstly, the fear that violence is still existent or will return, and secondly, the traumatic experiences which make a return to the village or region as the scene of their displacement unthinkable:

"We lived a time of very terrible violence, during which not even children have been reprieved, during which the guerrilla shot them in the forehead… the paramilitaries killed and destroyed, they stayed here with a list in their hands who comes next… then, when I decided to take my kids, I told them 'if they are going to kill us, they will kill us all'… but that was tremendous. Honestly, I would panic going back there."
(Female, 42, Meta)

"I would say that it is very difficult to judge if the countryside is safe again. You could feel safe today, but you never know what could happen during the night, or the next day."
(Male, 36, Tolima)

"I don't think it's my old town where I can take roots again, because I really am afraid of Caesar as such, and Tolima, I would not live in those departments anymore. They say you can return, but I would not dare because I experienced what I experienced, and I think I would still have the same problems there. I do not feel I can go back there, ever."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

Also, consistent with perceiving Bogotá as a place with more opportunities, respondents fear that with a return they would make steps backward instead of making some progress.

"I would not like to go back, that would mean to go back to the same situation than before."
(Male, 45, Antioquia)

Others, even though the minority, wish nothing more than return to their place of origin:

"I pray to God to give me the chance to return and to live there, I belong there. Hundred percent sure."
(Male, 50, Meta)

Apart from living in Bogotá or returning to the place of origin someday, other respondents decided for themselves to return to the countryside, but by no means to their place of origin. Therewith,

many respondents aspire to go back to the way of living they were used to, namely having a farm and some crops to sustain themselves instead of the harsh city life based solely on monetary interaction. But still, a return to their homelands they do not consider due to the same fear or experiences of extreme violence outlined above:

> *"I would not like to go back to the same place, because there we would not be able to live. But in another place which is not Bogotá. The idea was always to go back to the same way of living, having some land to work with."*
> (Female, 61, Cesar)

> *"Someday, I would like to have the possibility to buy a small house in a village to spend my last days there. Because Bogotá is a harsh place to live, but it is a nice place for my kids who are young and studying. The education here is good, and that is why I fought for my children to study here, but to end my days, I would like to be somewhere where you can live your life more easily, more quietly."*
> (Female, 42, Meta)

Some even aspired to leave the country and seek refuge abroad. This is, however, not easy and did not work out for the ones who applied amongst the interviewees so far. These attempts are motivated for this interviewee by a lack of safety in Colombia as a whole:

> *"I had the intention to leave the country, but when I tried to seek refuge in Canada, I never got it. But me, for my health and the well-being of my children, I wanted to leave Colombia because I do not feel safe here, there are still parts I would never go."*
> (Male, 43, Cesar)

It becomes clear that the majority of the interviewees either aspire to stay in Bogotá, or to go back to a place in the countryside different from their place of origin. The first group is motivated by better work and education opportunities as well as the governmental support on the doorstep, while the second one is looking forward to having a similar rural lifestyle they were used to before the displacement took place. The traumatic experiences and a fear of repetition, however, keep them from going back to their place of origin.

Besides the own aspirations for the future, and especially regarding the place where to live, it is of interest how the children of the displaced respondents feel about their future. Consequently, the respondents were asked if they could make a statement in place of their kids. Especially those who have been displaced in young ages adapted quickly to the new situation and are considered by their parents as well-integrated into the society of Bogotá, mainly showing up in a close-knit network of friends and an occupation and/or studies in the city:

> *"They feel they belong here. They spent twelve years from their childhood here, and they accomplished primary school and college here. So they would not leave, me yes, I would. But I am where my children are and I will live where they feel good, even though I might not."*
> (Male, 50, Meta)

"They are rolos, they already have their documents from here, completely different than mine. And they have their friends here."
(Male, 45, Antioquia)

"My children already feel like being from here, and this is what matters to me. That they continue studying, that they have their prospects to become a professional. They are people with an education which is typical for here, so they are not rejected."
(Female, 42, Meta)

These quotes illustrate more than anything else the two facts: in the first place, the children of the IDP surveyed are – quite contrary to their parents – well integrated into the society of Bogotá, identify themselves with the city and do not conceive the wish to leave Bogotá or return to the rural way of living. Secondly, even though it seems that many respondents gave up on fulfilling themselves in Bogotá, they sacrifice their own happiness to enable their children a future in Bogotá and to stay with them where they progress.

9.7 Sense of Belonging

It became evident that there are three different groups of IDP with regard to their sense of belonging. The first camp consists of those, who feel to belong to Bogotá (55%), while the second one comprises IDP still feeling to belong to their place of origin (31%). Last but not least, there is a minority not knowing where they belong to, or which explicitly stated that they do not belong to any place (14%).

Regarding the statements of those who have a feeling of belonging towards Bogotá, it can be concluded that this is mainly related with where they are situated at the moment, and where they are able to make a living:

"Let's say we feel to belong to the place where we are at the moment, so yes, to Bogotá."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

"I feel like I belong to Bogotá. I feel good with that, even though I also belong still a bit to Caquetá. But this is still related with the guerilla and the conflict in general. I want to make my life here in Bogotá, because it is the capital of Colombia and I want to capacitate myself here."
(Male, ns, Caquetá)

Another interviewee additionally pointed out, that you need to develop a sense of belonging at the place where you live, otherwise it becomes too difficult to adjust. And also the negative memories of the conflict and displacement do their bit in the willingness to integrate and to belong to Bogotá:

"I, I am a rolo, I am from Bogotá. I always had the mentality that I am where I live. If I would go to Canada now, I would be Canadian, otherwise it would be too difficult to adapt

yourself to the new situation. And to the land I left with pain years ago, I do not want to return to, ever."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

The group of IDP who still exhibit a sense of belonging towards their origin, mainly explains this with their culture and customs, which differ significantly to the ones in Bogotá:

"No, I am always thinking of my region, for our customs and culture. I am here since 14 years, and I can still not talk like the rolos, nothing of this glom onto me because my culture and my customs still exist in another place. I cannot pretend to say 'hola chino'; I am from the coast and I love my region, respect my region."[11]
(Male, 46, Cesar)

"I was born and raised in Antioquia. My parents are costeños, like them I have the blood from the coast."[12]
(Female, 39, Antioquia)

Another aspect is given by the fact that the majority of the interviewees remembers their life at their place of origin much happier and easier than the one they are currently living in Bogotá. This influences the sense of belonging accordingly:

"I would say I belong to my land, to Palmira, where I always lived. This is where I felt at ease and lived happily."
(Female, 32, Nariño)

When the following statement of the most recently displaced interviewee (2014) is regarded, it becomes clear that displacement at first presents an uprooting with regard to sense of belonging:

"This is a good question… I think, in this moment I do not have a specific place I belong to. I think I am in a process of identification, both on a personal as well as geographic level."
(Male, 30, Sucre)

Even though a considerable 14% of the questionnaire respondents still report this lack of belonging to a geographical place, some of the interviewees stated that they developed a 'new' sense of belonging over time, evolving with a social embedding and an enhanced knowledge about Bogotá as such:

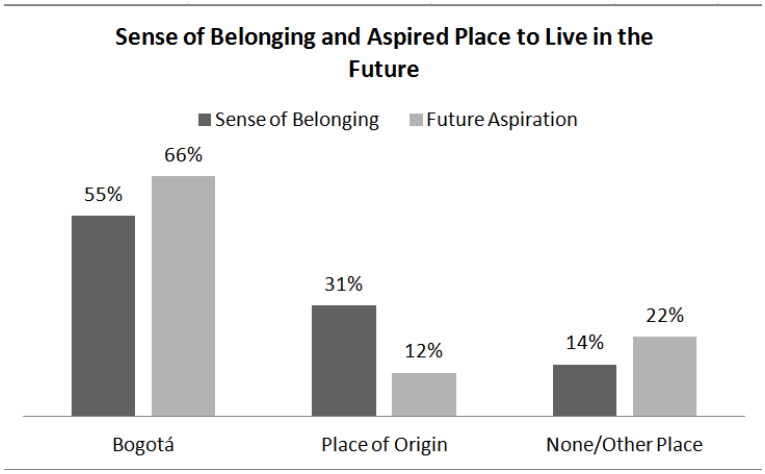
"Well, I feel like belonging to Bogotá. I am already eight years here, and in eight years I build a lot of friendships and know most parts of Bogotá. And in the life of my children takes place here, here is where my grandchildren were born. So, yes, I already feel like being from Bogotá."
(Female, 52, Tolima)

[11] "Chino" is a term to refer to a young boy, which is typical for Bogotá.
[12] "Costeños" is a term to refer to the persons originating from the coast.

9.7.1 Sense of Belonging: Possible Drivers

Consequently, in order to describe their sense of belonging, the respondents use similar arguments than the ones already outlined earlier: the ones feeling to belong to Bogotá explain this with the ability to make a living there and to improve life prospects. They are apparently more willing to adapt and integrate, and to do so they try to acquire a sense of belonging to Bogotá. A sense of belonging for the place of origin is related to huge differences between Bogotá and the respective place, where they mostly had more social contact at their disposal and lived more at ease. It seems this group has certain barriers to adapt and integrate themselves.

It is interesting, however, that also the persons stating to have a sense of belonging for Bogotá reported the comparably limited social life in Bogotá, discrimination and struggles with integration – nevertheless, they feel to belong to Bogotá, and also mostly aspire to stay there.

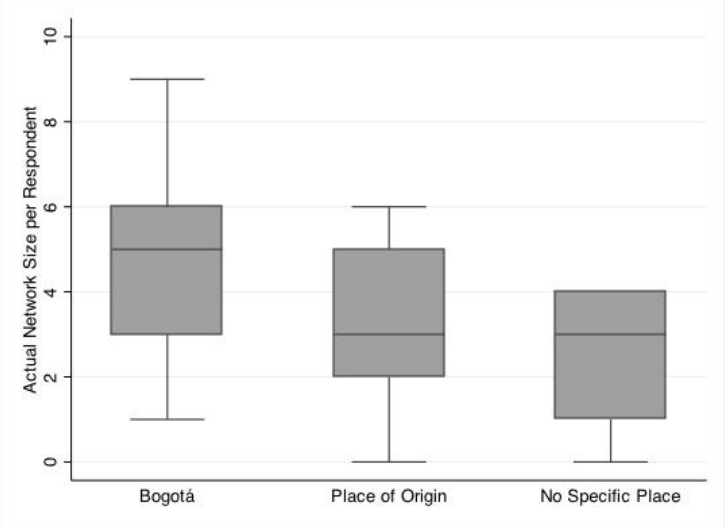


Graph 9.1: Sense of belonging and aspired place to live in the future in percentages from the respondents (questionnaire)

It is striking that the ones still feeling to be emotionally attached to their place of origin do not necessarily want to return there. As graph 9.1 illustrates, the persons who aspire to return to their place of origin are less than half as much when compared to the ones who exhibited a sense of belonging for the same. This can be ascribed to the traumatic experiences and the fear of repetition, as well as the prospects and opportunities which they consider better – at least for their children – in Bogotá. This seems to weigh more for their decision on where to spend their future.

These findings might support that the shock of displacement is still profound for the majority. Wittingly or unwittingly, it seems that they are trying to plan their future away from their place of origin, from where they experienced an extreme violence and from where they were displaced in the end. While the sense of belonging to one's home region is still considerable, only a tiny minority aspires to go back.

When the actual network size is regarded for the three different manifestations of sense of belonging, it seems that there is a relation between a comparably higher network size and a sense of belonging for Bogotá. Graph 9.2 shows three boxplots per sense of belonging. It can be concluded that the respondents with a sense of belonging towards Bogotá do indeed have more active network members than the ones feeling attached to their place of origin or to no place in specific. This forms the idea that the social embeddedness indeed makes a difference on where the IDP feel to belong.



Graph 9.2: Boxplot for the relation between average actual network size and the sense of belonging of the respondents of the questionnaire

9.8 Conclusion

The preceding paragraphs described in detail the feeling of IDP towards their place of origin and Bogotá, and singled out a few variables which could possibly explain the variance for the same.

Integration is one issue. The interviewees argued that most of the IDP are not well-integrated mainly due to urban and rural differences, however most of them feel accepted and valued by their environment. With regard to the feeling to fit, the findings are very diverse.

It became clear that many respondents face **discrimination** either for being IDP, or for their specific ethnicity. This discrimination is not only met with employers but also with parts of the society, and is based on fears to get involved with the conflict or negative generalizations for the displaced, branding them beggars or criminals.

Even though the majority if IDP does **identify** themselves with **being displaced** and do not bother when others do the same – according to the motto "that's what things are, and what happened happened" –, the aforementioned discrimination still causes many of the respondents to hide at times their status of being displaced.

Regarding the aspired **place to live in the future**, it became evident that the vast majority of the questionnaires' respondents want to stay in Bogotá, giving the improved opportunities for them and for their children as the main underlying reason. The second biggest group wishes to return to the rural way of living, even though distinctly stated that this does not include their original place of living. Amongst both groups there is a strong argumentation for not going back to the place of

origin, mainly based on the experiences made and the fear of repetition. Only a minority indeed desires to return to their place of origin.

The **sense of belonging** sated by the respondents confirms these findings for some, while at the same time displaying at first glance a contradiction: one third of the respondents stated to feel to belong to their place of origin; however, only less than half of them actually aspire to go back. Given the traumatic experiences and the on all sides perceived opportunities in the capital, it seems that most interviewees prefer to stay in Bogotá or to go to live in another place than following their feeling of belonging.

Also interesting is the fact that the majority of respondents stated to feel to belong to Bogotá, while at the same time putting forward grave differences between them and the so-called rolos, experiences of discrimination and a lack of integration. It seems that also here factors such as future aspirations with regard to Bogotá's opportunities for the respondents and specifically their children outweighs negative aspects, and still leads to attempts to gain a better foothold and adapt to the city.

10 Discussion and Conclusion

The research presented here aimed at revealing the meaning of social capital for IDP living in Bogotá. Former studies on social capital and vulnerable groups revealed that social capital is referred to as 'the capital of the poor' for a good reason: it provides the poor with an asset to stabilize life and to improve well-being in a situation of crucial resource scarcity.

To evaluate the meaning of social capital for IDP in Bogotá, a first step entailed the detailed characterization of the networks build and maintained by IDP. Networks were characterized along their size, composition, spatial dimension, reciprocity and frequency of contact. Secondly, the support originating from these networks was examined based on the emotional, informational, material and physical support content. The four support contents have additionally been analyzed with regard to the respondents' gender and IDP as a specific source of support. As a last step to provide an image about the forms and features in which social support occurs, a general comparison between the support received at the place of origin and the support encountered in Bogotá has been drawn. Subsequently, the implications of social support and networks were presented according to subjective perceptions of the interviewees. These also embrace disadvantages associated with the governmental support system as well as the importance of support during the first days or weeks in Bogotá. The final part of this study focused on the IDP' sense of belonging and self-identification, including experiences and opinions on integration and discrimination, self-identification with the label 'IDP', and the aspired place to live in the future.

At this point, the most important results will be evaluated on the basis of earlier findings on social capital and/or displacement, while at the same time revealing new insights and implications for the specific case of IDP in Bogotá. Additionally, the research and the gathered data will be assessed according to its validity, after which some recommendations on future research will be presented.

10.1 Summary of Findings

McMichael and Manderson (2004) and Duplat (2005), amongst others, describe networks, relations and social support as a means for vulnerable groups to stabilize livelihoods. For the case of the participating IDP in Bogotá, it becomes clear that these networks are rather **limited in size**. It seems that they do not arise automatically as a response to the poor socio-economic conditions the IDP have to face, as pointed out by Duplat (2005). Neither does the strengthening of the networks seem to be a pursued goal of the IDP, as a considerable part of them stated to be – or prefer to be – on their own, many times motivated by a tremendous distrust in people apart from the family. This is doubtlessly a direct consequence of what makes IDP so much different from other poor and vulnerable groups: the traumatic experiences before, during and after the displacement. Thus, McMichael and Manderson's (2004: 89) apprehension that violence and displacement "(…) erode social reciprocity, trust, and social cohesion" could be an explanatory factor for the lack of relationship and network building.

Thus, it does not seem surprising that **most members of the already limited network belong to the family**, giving new life partners and friends, housemates and neighbors, as well as superiors and workmates a secondary role. This is in line with earlier studies which revealed that ego-centered networks usually consist at a high percentage of family members (Stone, 2001, Walker et al., 1993). Some studies, however, point out that other groups apart from the family are rather associated with certain types of support, e.g. neighbors with the provision of material support (Walker et al., 1993). For the existing study, on contrary, all support types are first and foremost provided by the family (to a lesser extent for informational support though).

Other IDP are to a high share represented in the respondents' networks, therewith pushing forward the idea of displacement as an axis of solidarity. However, this is caused by the high share of family members within the very same network; are these omitted, **solely every fifth network member is also displaced**. The majority of participating IDP normally withholds their status of being displaced, mostly due to discrimination and stereotypes they have to face on behalf of the society as well as in labor markets. This could be a reason for the inability of some respondents to tell for their entire network members whether these have been displaced or not, while they confirmed that they many times just realized after quite some time that their friends, coworkers or neighbors also experienced displacement. Even though these findings do not necessarily confirm displacement as an extraordinarily strong axis of solidarity, as amongst others suggested by Duplat (2005) and Meertens (2002), mutual support amongst IDP was frequently confirmed for emotional and informational exchange.

An especially interesting aspect with regard to the **network composition** can be seen when the origin of the new life partners and friends – thus, as outlined earlier the most voluntary relations to bond with – is considered: this group consists to almost the **same extent of persons from the region of origin, as from Bogotá** (only about one tenth are from other regions in Colombia). Therewith, the surveyed IDP tend to build or retain relations with the people from the same geographic region, but also to bond with people from Bogotá. In contrast, most of the interviewees commented on the difficulties of bonding with people from Bogotá and the distinct differences between the social support they were used to at their place of origin and the little they receive in Bogotá.

The findings on the **spatial dimension** of the network members are not completely in line with Brun (2005) who pointed out the tendency of IDP to keep relying on already existing relations also after displacement, therewith creating a very translocal network. In accordance with Walker et al. (1993), the relations do exceed the limitations of the neighborhood; nevertheless, the majority of the IDP' network members is located **within the same or the boundaries of the city**, while only a minority reaches beyond the same. This applies also for the acquaintances who originate from the same region as the respondent, as many of these live in Bogotá as well. Only a minority of the respondents' ties can be traced back to their places of origin (even more when network members from the family are omitted). In the same tenor, the majority of the respondents commented on a complete or partial rupture with their social networks – at times also including family members – as a consequence of displacement, which could not be reversed even after a considerable amount

of time. This might once again point towards the particularities of the Colombian conflict, in which personalized death threats and expulsion triggered strong feelings of being haunted; this is a contrast to most other displacement events around the world, where war and violence mostly torment a specific area without targeting single individuals (Ibáñez and Moya, 2009). Consequently, the personally threatened respondents reported of being scared – at least shortly after the displacement – to get in contact with the persons at the place where the displacement happened, as they still fear for being found by their tormentors. Thus, a translocal network as envisaged by Brun (2013) can only be found for few respondents.

With regard to the social support received from exactly these networks, **most network members listed by the respondents effectively provided emotional and informational support**, while both **instrumental support types (material and physical) make up the smallest number of recently supportive ties**. This could mean two things: respondents do not really need this kind of support and consequently do not seek it, or simply do not have it at their disposal. When regarding the most important type of support mentioned by the respondents as well as the respective support need, however, it becomes clear that the second case applies for IDP in Bogotá; material support is by far the most sought and wanted.

The **examples for the support types** illustrated by the respondents **revolve around economic stabilization**, and include conversations about the personal economic situation (emotional support), information on how to find work (informational support), loans or donations of money (material support), and support with the child care in order to enable the respective parent(s) to work (physical support). These economic struggles may thus emphasize the difficulties of the participating IDP to integrate into the labor market and economically stabilize their lives. This confirms one of the major constraints to the IDP population highlighted by Ibáñez and Moya (2009).

Even though women have a slightly higher average network size, they on average only exhibit more network members for received emotional support than men. For all other types of support the male respondents have more active members at their disposal. This illustrates an interesting aspect: **male respondents did receive more support than women, even though the latter maintain on average a greater network**. This is caused by some network members providing for more than just one type of support, which can be mainly found in the male networks. Hence, a more extended network does not necessarily increase the IDP' support opportunities, as pointed out a possible implication of network size by Stone (2001).

The respondents additionally stated that even though there is **mutual support between IDP** it is rather **limited to emotional and informational support**. They first and foremost exchange information and converse at places frequented by IDP as a group of society, such as the center DIGNIFICAR. This implies that the exchange of information and emotional conversations are not always undertaken with the same persons, but rather with the ones they meet at these localities. It was confirmed by the participating IDP that they do not arrange appointments or organize themselves apart from these occasions; consequently this emotional and informational exchange

usually does not lead to the establishment of strong relations. This explains why most of the interviewees stated that IDP do mutually support each other, but that these numbers are not reflected in the network size. Exchange of other support is very seldom, due to the same precarious economic situation the IDP are facing. It did occur in a limited extent, however, for IDP from the same region.

In line with these occurrences of the different support types, the **positive implications** of the social relations and support revolve around informational and emotional support. In this sense, some interviewees noted an **economic stabilization** going hand in hand with the relations enabling the respondents to find work. Most interviewees, however, pointed towards friendships and an **emotional stabilization**, while in the same breath confirming that this does not necessarily help them to economically stabilize their lives. The importance of the implications of the support right after the arrival should be emphasized in particular. In line with the findings of Duplat (2005) and McMichael and Manderson (2004), a very basic support during the first week provided the newly arriving IDP with necessary information on where to turn to, a roof over the head, or a first idea on how to make a living, therewith facilitating the start for some significantly.

Negative implications of social capital were just mentioned **to a limited extend**. Only one interviewee confirmed the apprehension of Walker et al. (1993) that a situation in which the help receiver cannot pay back a favor (in time) could lead to damages of the relationship. It can be argued that this is not necessarily relevant for the surveyed IDP as they first and foremost exchange information and emotional support, which are usually very mutual. The exchange of goods and services is rather limited and thus does not put the IDP very frequently in a situation where they cannot return the respective support received. In this sense, the vast majority of the respondents confirmed that the help exchanged is reciprocal and well-balanced. In the same tenor, it was not considered a problem that networks and the support exchanged involves excessively high investments – which would be equivalent to an aggravation of the IDP' already vulnerable position –, as proclaimed by Cleaver (2005) and Coyne and Delongis (1986). Given their precarious situation, these investments cannot and are not undertaken in the first place, thus inhibiting an exchange which exceeds the IDP' abilities.

In specific the **dissatisfaction with the governmental support** has been pronounced when asking for disadvantages of social support, thereby confirming the IDMC and NRC's (2014: 42) observation that "IDP have been given better access to regular social welfare programmes, but only a small number have so far received the financial reparations outlined by the Victim's Law". Thus, delays of financial support payments as well as a limited instead of the promised preferential access to services (e.g. education or health care) seem to be core reasons for the expressed dissatisfaction.

With regard to the **sense of belonging**, it was revealed that the majority **of the surveyed IDP confirmed to feel attached rather to Bogotá** than to their place of origin, even though the number of those still feeling to belong to their place of origin is with about one third of all the respondents still considerable. As also for the case of Holocaust victims and Israeli soldiers, the experiences

made by the IDP lead for some of them to a feeling of not belonging anywhere (see Hagerty and Patusky, 1995).

Explanations for the feeling to belong to Bogotá could be a comparably higher number of active network members, as well as undoubtedly the **improved perceived opportunities and a sensation of safety** in Colombia's capital. This is in accordance with Brun's (2003: 380) perception that the feeling to belong and the willingness to integrate are related more than anything to "(…) finding a safe home base, as well as a position – a place for oneself – as a participant in the society". In this context, Sørensen (2001: 7-8) provides a relevant comment on the misleading conception of 'home' prevailing in sociology:

> "The idea that 'home' is your community, your village, the place where you, your ancestors and relatives come from, the soil where your identity is rooted and where you have an almost natural sense of belonging, is only partly true. IDP' accounts revealed that this was only the case for some. For others, 'home' was something that was always in a process of being created, depending as much on future opportunities as on past experiences. (…) People do not only look back; they also look to the future and try to plan for it."

Most remarkably, more than half of the respondents exhibiting a sense of belonging for their homelands still do not want to go back there for living, making the **IDP actually wanting to return to their homelands the smallest group of the sample**. Sørensen's (2003: 11) observation that it is wrong to assume that IDP usually aspire to return to their place of origin can consequently be distinctly confirmed for the existing research on IDP in Bogotá. Explanations for not returning are the traumatic experiences as well as a fear of repetition, while the aspiration to stay in Bogotá is triggered by better opportunities to work and to be supported, as well as the size and concomitant anonymity which provides them with a feeling of safety. In the same tenor, the IDMC and NRC (2014: 42) recorded in their yearly update on global displacement for the case of Colombia that "violent opposition to the restitution process has led to a decrease in the number of claims, as many IDPs decide to prioritise their physical security over the recovery of their land". Especially highlighted is also the wish for better prospects for the own children, for which the respondents are also willing to stay in the city even though they neither feel well integrated nor happy. The high shares of IDP feeling to belong to Bogotá or aspiring to stay there in the future was thereby expressed despite the fact that many IDP face discrimination and struggle with integration, while romanticizing their former social life in comparison with the current one.

As observed amongst others by Brun (2003) and Duplat (2005), the **label** of being an IDP does indeed **trigger discrimination**, thereby relying on stereotypes such as being criminals, thieves, or beggars. This discrimination can be regarded rather a reason to the lack of integration on behalf of the IDP than the assumption that IDP are willingly limited to their communities and thus do not bond with the local society (see McMichael and Manderson, 2004). At the same time, the perception of being different from the rest of the society could have triggered the emergence of a threatening environment as outlined by Inzlicht and Good (2005), therewith possibly intensifying the perceptions of being discriminated even further.

10.2 The Meaning of Social Capital: Implications for IDP in Bogotá

As amongst others pointed out by Lee et al. (2005) and Yip et al. (2007), fostering networks and facilitating the exchange of social support can be very beneficial for the development of vulnerable groups. For the case of IDP in Bogotá, however, it seems that there are still a variety of factors inhibiting the mere establishment of relations, and consequently the access to social capital. These inhibiting factors are what make the IDP in Bogotá so much different from other (forced) migrants, therewith possibly explaining the at times varying findings when compared with earlier studies on social capital and vulnerable groups.

Thus, before the beneficial potential of social capital can be unlocked in the way described by the various authors quoted in the existing study, inhibiting factors need to be overcome in a first step. A few ideas on this shall be given in the following.

10.2.1 Distrust: Addressing the Experienced

The findings of the research indicate that most of the respondents still suffer from the consequences of the displacement and the violence which triggered the same, mainly in form of a general social distrust which clearly inhibits the establishment of social networks and thus the possibility to draw on social capital when needed.

A potential task for the government and NGOs is thus to provide more psychological support programs aiming at supporting the victims to process what they passed through. The experiences of the IDP can neither be revoked nor forgotten, but it seems that for many of them an engagement with the matter never properly took place – especially as they seldom open-up socially given the mentioned distrust and fear for some kind of retaliation. Thus, as revealed for the emotional support earlier, only about one tenth of the respondents named the traumatic experiences as a topic they talked about during the last months.

The conversations undertaken within the scope of the research clearly revealed the inner barriers the respondents had to overcome in order to talk about what they experienced and what still influences their daily lives to a tremendous extent – even though for some the displacement dates back more than 15 years. The lack of (psychological) attention became very apparent with the respondents thanking for having the opportunity to share their story to someone listening, despite the aforementioned barriers and the emotional distress during the same. Psychological help and professionally organized workshops dealing with experiences and memories could help them to reduce inner barriers at least to some extent and to be able to more easily build new relationships.

Moreover, the IDP should be enabled to inform themselves properly about the conflict's current stage, thereby specifically considering the comparably low educational level and the limited access to information channels (e.g., the internet) for some parts of the IDP population. To be able to access more and adequate information can support the IDP in getting a realistic picture about the happenings of the conflict in Colombia's departments. Even though the conflict still exists and displacements, amongst other forms of violence, undoubtedly continue to take place, the constant

fear to be looked for and to be found by their perpetuators does not seem to reflect reality for at least some of the respondents. Many illegally armed groups involved in the respondents displacements were considerably reduced in numbers and retreated from several regions; hence, realizing the reality of a receding conflict with regard to an improved safety and a reduced existence of illegally armed groups – at least for some parts of the country – could support IDP in feeling a bit more at ease and to 'risk' again to trust in people. Nevertheless, the conflict's magnitude shall not be downplayed here, neither the risk for some IDP to return to their place of origin (see Human Rights Watch, 2013; IDMC and NRC, 2014).

In turn, regained self-esteem, a proper dealing with their traumas and a reestablished trust could help the IDP to get involved with their social environments and consequently integrate to a higher extend. It is only logical that a proper integration process cannot take place when parts of the IDP socially isolate themselves from the rest of society, except for the own family.

To sum it up by the words of one of the female interviewees:

> *"I think I need a lot of psychological help to become again who I was. But when I talk to a stranger, I think 'shit what did I do'. (…) I think that we need more psychological help in order to be able to integrate ourselves better into society."*
> (Female, 42, Meta)

In a similar way, these measures could support the ones who truly want to return home, while potentially helping others who due to their trauma have not yet realized that they would like to go back to their former life that they can do so, both psychologically as well as in terms of security.

10.2.2 Discrimination: Creating Social Convergence

The next issue to discuss is again closely involved with integration processes. Even though most of the interviews confirmed the feeling to fit in and to be valued and accepted by their environment, discrimination – and the strong perception to be different transmitted by it – complicates the social and economic involvement of IDP. It not only hinders the IDP to bond with their environment, but additionally prompts IDP to hide their identity. This in turn could possibly further slow down the aforementioned process of coming to terms with the own experiences and identity.

This problem has to be tackled by two sides: it should be done the utmost to enable IDP to not perceive themselves as different (thus reducing the threatening environment), while awareness for the IDP' situation should be created within the society. Both are of course strongly related, and might thus be achieved by measures aiming at capacity building, education and information. The goal would be a convergence process – also mentioned by one of the interviewees, while at the same time describing the problem of discrimination very lively:

> *"When you come to me saying 'Juan, I want to be in your soccer team', and I tell you that you are not invited without knowing you; I could lose a good soccer player for my team which could help us to make some progress. But because I am excluding you from the beginning I am losing the opportunity to get to know you. That is why it is important to put*

forward a process of re-socializing, which could be from the urban society towards us and from us towards the urban society, and would be thus beneficial for both parties."
(Male, 43, Cesar)

Apart from the discrimination perceived on part of the urban society, discrimination on behalf of companies and employers – as one potential reason for the high unemployment and the very slow integration into labor markets – needs to be reduced. Given the difficulties mentioned by the interviewees to gain access to the educational and capacitating measures offered by the state, it seems that improvement of such could support IDP in enhancing human capital and chances to find a job. Vocational training could further assist IDP to better adapt to the needs of the urban labor markets (for the ones who aspire to stay in Bogotá).

The better the state can support the IDP in entering the labor market, the lower will the currently tremendous need for material support be in the future, and the easier will a economic stabilization be achieved. As mentioned by the interviewees, finding work enables them more than anything to fulfill all their other needs – so this is what to start with from their point of view.

10.2.3 Organization: Facilitating Social Support Exchange

In addition to the aforementioned barriers on the personal as well as societal level inhibiting the IDP to build relations and networks, there are also logistical obstacles for exploiting the full potential of social capital.

The interviewees pointed out that the exchange with other IDP can be very beneficial, in particular with regard to emotional and informational exchange. However, due to a lack of organization and alternative occasions to meet, such exchange is limited to random meetings in centers such as DIGNIFICAR. It became evident that there have been activities organized for displaced families earlier on. Given the following statement of one of the interviewees, however, they do not exist anymore:

"I got to know her as we were going together to some activities for displaced, but these stopped now. Every 14 days we met in a park, talked, and they gave us some lunch."
(Female, 61, Cesar)

Such an occasion to meet outside the oppressive atmosphere of governmental institutions the IDP have to turn to in order to satisfy their very basic needs could undoubtedly trigger a more friendly environment and an exchange on a more frequent basis, the establishment of friendships and relations, as well as a more efficient communication with regard to possible opportunities regarding housing, work, child care and others.

Another idea was evoked by an interviewee, who talked about an electronic network facilitating the exchange amongst IDP while at the same time pointing out the lack of cohesion as a constraint:

> *"I was planning to found an organization, a group, a network with mail addresses and telephone numbers of the people (…). When I need someone to fulfill a work I could easily write on such a platform, or an email, and therewith I could help the people which are looking for a job. I don't know why, maybe because auf the emotional trouble we experienced, but we as Colombians we are not very persistent with these things; Let's say that you know a person, and in the next moment you ignore him, forget him. I have not seen an organization as such, but having such a group could change this. But not even the governmental institutions did their best in do something like that, I have a grudge against the state… they could help us more than just giving as a financial support once in a while."*
> (Male, 43, Cesar)

The ideas, which could be exchanged utilizing such a platform, are manifold:

> *"Something I always wanted to organize, but I never managed, is a workshop for tailoring. We could become an association of displaced women; we could work, tailor and sell what we manufactured together."*
> (Female, 52, Tolima)

It should not be forgotten, however, that the access to such a platform would need to be adapted to the IDP population's needs and abilities, as the access to information channels such as the internet is limited at least for some.

Another benefit which could come with the facilitation of exchange, and finally with the establishment of an organization or community, is an improved potential of social capital in its second meaning, namely as a resource at the community level mostly manifested in collective action and participation ("communitarian view" of social capital; see 3.2). Even though not directly dealt with in this research, some interviewees mentioned in this context the benefits of organizations with regard to achieving community goals:

> *"It is easier… it is easier to claim your rights through an organization, with more people than just yourself."*
> (Male, 46, Cesar)

10.2.4 Staying or Leaving: Understanding the Motives and Adapting Support Measures

The topic of the IDP' sense of belonging and aspirations for future living is properly the most complicated one – thus, the most complex to integrate in current programs and policies –, while it still requires further research (see 10.4).

The fact that some of the IDP still feel to belong to their place of origin but aspire to stay in Bogotá has mainly two reasons: on the one hand, part of the population aims at staying due to improved opportunities regarding work, education and governmental support, while the other part is feels too threatened and/or traumatized to even think about going back to the place of origin. This could also be thought of as push and pull factors for staying in Bogotá: on the one hand positive attributes given by the improved opportunities (pull), and on the other hand negative factors

associated with the return to the place of origin (push). This brings the whole topic to migration, and in particular return migration theory, for which pull factors have been emphasized as normally exceeding push factors in terms of importance (see for example Gmelch, 1980; Hare, 1999). A proper understanding of these factors and their implications is of utmost importance in order to be able to assess the IDP' decisions as well as to adapt current policies the best possible (see 1.3). At this point, just some particularities and observations shall be noted.

One of them is that it should be increasingly taken into account for public policies that – at the current state – the vast majority of IDP aspires to stay in Bogotá. In this context, some of the interviewees mentioned that with the displacement they have not alone been deprived of their original life and assets, but that the same displacement also brought along certain chances, mainly with regard to education:

> *"I would not say that everything became bad [with the displacement]… I mean, yes, we have been displaced but here also good things happen to you. For example, like this I was able to finish my high school degree."*
> (Male, 27, Antioquia)

> *"If you think about the academic possibilities you can seize here, yes, it seems to that it was a good opportunity to come here in order to acquire more competencies, in a city like this."*
> (Male, 24, Chocó)

Also to be taken into account is that many of Colombia's arable land is not in use due to unlawful appropriation of strategically valuable land by the paramilitary and guerilla forces at an earlier time, while a considerable share of IDP aspires to return to the countryside and retrieve agriculture as a means to make a living (see Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica, 2013). Some of this arable land is secured again by the state, and thus presents an opportunity for those wanting to continue with a life in the rural areas. Such a relocalization is offered by the state under the umbrella of the 2011's Victims Law, thereby including support with livelihood projects at the respective place. However, during the research it was revealed that most people were not able to receive consideration for a relocalization, or simply lack information on such. Improved information and possibly stronger incentives to go (even to a completely unknown) region could improve the prospects of such who prefer to return to the countryside but do not consider to go back to the place of origin.

Another topic of concern is the loss of culture in the big cities for those who do not want to return. As pushed forward by an indigenous interviewee:

> *"I am really anxious that in some ten to twenty years our children will lose our cultural identity will lose everything we grew up with. We are in danger of becoming extinguished in this city, in a cultural sense; with being displaced and coming to the city we are in danger of losing our identity."*
> (Male, ns, Cauca)

Providing those who aspire to stay but to keep (parts of) their cultural identity, the provision of channels to maintain and memorize the cultural peculiarities could improve the livability of the city for such communities.

10.3 Validity of the Data

Given the limited time frame and the struggles to get into contact with organizations and institutions working with and for IDP, questionnaires and interviews were only conducted in an institution of the governmental support system. Therewith, the research and its underlying data most probably are biased towards the most vulnerable part of the IDP population. It is likely that the IDP who have a steady job and thus exhibit more economic stabilization apply less frequently for financial or other support. As pointed out by one interviewee, who used to sustain himself as a musician:

> *"There are other displaced who need more support than I do, because they do not know how to defend themselves in the city. I defend myself with my voice and my guitar. I just declared my status of IDP six or seven months ago because I got sick; they diagnosed me with cancer, so now I do need the support of the government."*
> (Male, 54, Nariño)

Thus, no conclusions can be drawn on this part of the IDP population, neither on their networks, relations and social support. A study focusing also on them would be very beneficial, as it is conceivable that this part of the IDP population managed better to move on from displacement, to regain trust into people, to integrate into Bogotá's society – and thus possibly bring along preconditions which facilitate the creation of networks and the exchange of social support, contrary to the participating IDP of this study.

Given the limited educational background of some of the respondents (in particular with regard to the questionnaire), it cannot be ruled out that they were at times not able to fully comprehend the questions and provide the answers accordingly. A pilot study aiming at revealing weaknesses and possible misunderstandings was conducted prior to this research and the questionnaire adapted accordingly. Even though it should be kept in mind that this limitation could have influenced the data, this pilot study should have mitigated such a risk.

10.4 Research Recommendations

As outlined with regard to the validity of the research, it would be very beneficial to improve the knowledge about displacement and social capital with additional research on the topic, including a higher number of participants and – most importantly – other means of approaching IDP apart from the governmental support system. This enables a comparison between those which first and foremost – willingly or unwillingly – rely on the government, and IDP not drawing too much on the state as a source of support. Do they possible have more social capital at their disposal they can draw upon?

In order to better adapt policies to reality, it is of importance to learn more about return migration and the decision to stay for persons internally displaced due to violence and conflict. The traumatic experiences make this group of IDP very distinct from other (forced) migrants – and last but not least, as also shown by the existing research, the assumption that the majority wants to return is simply wrong. The aforementioned bias towards the less well off part of the IDP population suggests that even less IDP may feel the urge to return home, assuming that the ones better-off prefer to stay in Bogotá. Especially the motives behind such aspirations and the final decision are important to be known in detail in order be able to design policies supporting the IDP in their best interest. By way of example, Cantor (2011) suggests that some IDP simply return to their places of origin as they failed to integrate properly and still doubt that the government is able or willing to protect them; the existing research cannot provide in-depth information on such motives. Additionally, it would be specifically beneficial to gain knowledge under which circumstances returned IDP manage to gain foothold again, and how they evaluate the decision to return.

Another interesting topic to focus on would be the second generation of IDP, and their perceptions on sense of belonging and future aspirations.

Last but not least, an evaluation of the governmental support system could to a large extent help to remedy shortcomings, such as the delays in payments and the limited access to services outlined by some interviewees in the course of this research. In combination with the aforementioned research suggestion, this would ensure a more optimal adaption of policies and practices to the needs of the IDP.

10.5 Conclusion

This research shows that the conflict, the traumatic experiences and the resulting psychological damages run like a golden thread through the research presented here: they are the reason for the distrust prevailing in most respondents, they caused a rupture with the IDP' former social life, they trigger discrimination, and they prevent some to follow their sense of belonging. Consequently, they are the reason why the IDP are so much in need of support in the first place, while at the same time being the factor inhibiting them to construct a new social life to provide such a support in a situation of resource scarcity.

It can thus be concluded that the **meaning of social capital for the participating IDP in Bogotá** is rather **limited**, as psychological and societal factors inhibit the pronounced establishment and maintenance of relations and networks – both in Bogotá as well as in the place of origin. These in turn are prerequisite for the exchange of social support, which the IDP thus cannot utilize to its full potential. When they manage to draw on social capital, on the other hand, the same proved to be very beneficial, mostly in terms of emotional stabilization, and for some in form of economic stabilization through finding and maintaining employment. Most of these benefits which can explain the positive, although limited, meaning of social capital for IDP in Bogotá are thereby contributed by the family. It was shown that this leaves a margin for the positive benefits to be

gained with the utilization of social capital, possibly making the facilitation of such a desirable solution to improve the IDP' current position characterized by distinct vulnerability – and therewith possibly increasing the meaning of social capital for Bogotá's IDP in the future.

The existing research thus combined social capital – mainly in form of networks and support – with IDP in Colombia, thereby pointing specifically to inhibiting factors on behalf of the society and the IDP themselves. In comparison to existing studies, this research takes a stronger agency perspective on the issue of internal displacement, and reveals that certain barriers also prevail with regard to the IDP' own capabilities of establishing and utilizing social capital. This exemplifies that future approaches need to take the IDP' agency increasingly into account instead of merely focusing on structural barriers. For social capital theory, in turn, the research illustrated that there can be considerable differences between the groups of the poor and the vulnerable; social capital does not have the same meaning for all of them, neither are its characteristics identical for all the poor and vulnerable in the global society.

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Annex 1: Complete Questionnaire (Spanish)

CUESTIONARIO *(adapted Version of the ASSIS)*

COMPONENTE I: DATOS PERSONALES DE LA PERSONA INTERROGADA

Me gustaría hacer algunas preguntas sobre usted, y después sobre sus relaciones sociales, la manera en que hace amistades, se trata con sus familiares y amigos. Por supuesto, usted siempre tiene la oportunidad de no contestar, si prefiere. Eso es válido para todas las preguntas. Además, la información es anónima (nadie sabrá su información).

(1) Edad:
(2) Sexo:
(3) ¿Cómo se compone su núcleo familiar? *(esposo/-a, hijos/ as?)*
(4) ¿Hasta qué grado usted siguió estudiando?
(5) Origen / lugar que tuvo que abandonar:
(6) ¿Por qué usted tuvo que abandonarlo?
(7) ¿Cuándo?
(8) ¿Dónde vive ahora?
(9) ¿Desde cuándo está viviendo allí?
(10) ¿Por qué se decidió mudar a Bogotá?
(11) ¿Llegó directamente a Bogotá o vivió en otros lugares?
(12) ¿Usted está trabajando ahora?
(13)¿Dónde le gustaría vivir en el futuro? *(dado que su lugar de origen sea seguro y accesible)*
    - Aquí en Bogotá
    - Me gustaría volver a mi lugar de origen
    - Otro:
(14) ¿Usted está recibiendo alguna ayuda por parte del gobierno o de otras organizaciones?

COMPONENTE II: LAS CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA RED Y FORMAS DE AYUDA

En los próximos minutos me gustaría obtener una idea de la gente que es importante para usted en maneras diferentes. Después de leer las preguntas, le pediré que los identifique si prefiere con nombres, las iniciales o apodos de las personas (para que puedan ser identificados y posibilitar el análisis en la tabla de resultados) que encajan con la descripción en la pregunta. Estas personas pueden ser amigos, familiares, maestros, sacerdotes, pastor, médicos, u otras personas que usted podría conocer. Además pueden ser personas de otros lugares, también de su lugar de origen o del extranjero. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre las descripciones que he leído, por favor pídame clarificarlas.

A. Ayuda Emocional *(Emotional support)*

A1. Si desea hablar con alguien acerca de sus asuntos o problemas personales (privados o emocionales) ¿Con quién hablaría?
(Si el entrevistado no puede nombrar una persona, ir a A5)
(Si los nombres nombrados por el entrevistado son una o más personas, compruebe: ¿Hay alguien más en que puede pensar?)

A2. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Con cuál de estas personas habló acerca de sus asuntos o problemas personales o privadas?
(Pregunta sobre las personas que están en la respuesta A1, pero que no figuraban en respuesta A2)

A3. ¿Usted podría mencionar algunos ejemplos de asuntos o problemas personales sobre los que necesitó hablar?

A4. ¿Cree que realmente le ha servido hablar con estas personas para solucionar estas asuntos o problemas?
(Mostrar opciones para dar respuesta; anota respuesta en la hoja de respuestas (para cada pregunta "4"))

A5. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿ha sentido la necesidad de hablar de sus asuntos o problemas personales con estas personas?
(Mostrar opciones para dar respuesta; anota respuesta en la hoja de respuesta (para cada pregunta "5"))

B. Ayuda informacional *(Informational Support)*

B1. ¿A qué persona se acercaría usted para pedirle un consejo?
Usted puede nombrar las mismas personas que ha nombrado antes si se ajustan a esta descripción, o puede nombrar otras personas.
(Si el entrevistado no puede nombrar una persona, ir a B5)

B2. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿cuál de estas personas en realidad le dio un consejo apropiado?

B3. ¿En qué tipo de situaciones ha solicitado un consejo a esta o estas personas?

B4. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Cree usted que este tipo de consejos realmente le sirvieron?

B5. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Piensa usted que era indispensable recibir consejos por parte de estas personas?

Ayuda instrumental *(Instrumental Support)*

C. Ayuda Material *(Material Support)*

C1. ¿Si usted necesita un préstamo de dinero o algún bien material (comida, ropa, medicinas), cuáles de estas personas le brindarían ese tipo de ayudas?
Usted puede nombrar las mismas personas que ha nombrado antes si se ajustan a esta descripción, o puede nombrar otras personas.
(Si el entrevistado no puede nombrar una persona, ir a C5)

C2. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Cuáles de estas personas realmente le brindaron ayuda económica o en bienes materiales que usted necesitaba?

C3. ¿Podría describir algunos de estos bienes materiales que necesitaba y que recibió por la ayuda de estas personas?

C4. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Con la ayuda proporcionada por estas personas, usted se sintió satisfecho?

C5. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Piensa usted que necesita de la ayuda de estas personas para cubrir esas necesidades?

D. Ayuda Físico *(Physical Support)*

D1. ¿Con qué personas piensa usted que podría contar para realizar asuntos de su vida cotidiana como transportarlo a algún lugar, en las labores del hogar como cuidar sus hijos o en los quehaceres?
Usted puede nombrar las mismas personas que ha nombrado antes si se ajustan a esta descripción, o puede nombrar otras personas.
(Si el entrevistado no puede nombrar una persona, ir a D5)

D2. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Cuáles de estas personas en realidad le ayudo a hacer las cosas que necesitaba?

D3. En su experiencia, de las ayudas anteriores por favor mencione un ejemplo.

D4. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Cree usted que este tipo de ayudas realmente le sirvieron?

D5. Durante los últimos tres meses, ¿Piensa usted que era indispensable recibir este tipo de ayudas por parte de estas personas?

COMPONENTE III: CARACTERÍSTICAS PERSONALES DE LOS MIEMBROS DE LA RED Y PREGUNTAS CONCLUYENTES

Ahora me gustaría obtener alguna información acerca de la gente que usted nombró. Me podría decir:

Ea. ¿Cuál es la relación de esta persona con usted? *(padre, hermano, amigo, vecino, …)*

Eb. ¿Qué edad tiene esta persona?

Ec. ¿Cuál es el sexo de esta persona?

Ed. ¿Cuál es el origen de esta persona?

(1) El mismo pueblo/ciudad que yo
(2) El mismo departamento que yo
(3) Bogotá
(4) Otro lugar

Ee. ¿Dónde vive esta persona ahora?

(1) En mi vecindario
(2) En Bogotá
(3) En mi lugar de origen
(4) En otro lugar

Ef. ¿Esta persona también se encuentra en situación de desplazamiento?

Eg.¿Cuántas veces se mantienen en contacto?

(1) Cada día
(2) Cada semana
(3) Cada mes
(4) Cada tres meses
(5) Cada seis meses
(6) Cada año
(7) Ahora no nos mantenemos en contacto

i. De las formas de ayuda las cuales hemos mencionado, ¿Cuál es la más importante para usted?
ii. En relación con la ayuda recibida y dada, ¿diría que hay un buen equilibrio, o tiene la sensación de que usted normalmente da más de lo que recibe, o al revés?
iii. ¿Dónde siente que pertenece ahora? *(¿Cómo respondería cuando alguien le preguntara: De dónde es?)*

Annex 2: Complete Interview (Spanish)

ENTREVISTA

A continuación, me gustaría hacerle algunas preguntas más específicas. Estas preguntas no son restringidas - no hay respuestas buenas o malas - y tampoco son limitadas en detalle. Por lo tanto, todo lo que se le ocurra con respecto a la pregunta es de interés para mí. Como en el cuestionario, trataré su información anónimamente y usted siempre tiene la oportunidad de no contestar, si así lo prefiere. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, por favor dígamela para clarificarla.

1) ¿Podría darme una descripción de cómo vivía antes en su lugar de origen (por ejemplo, qué tipo de trabajo tenía)?
2) ¿Por qué tuvieron que abandonarlo, qué pasó?
3) ¿Tuvieron tiempo para prepararse antes de salir del lugar en donde vivían?
    a. *En caso de "si":* ¿Cómo se preparaba?
4) ¿Su familia y / o algunos de sus amigos le acompañaron para venir aquí?
5) ¿Llegaron directamente a Bogotá, o primero vivían en otra ciudad? ¿Cómo decidió a venir a Bogotá?
6) ¿Cómo el desplazamiento a Bogotá ha influido su vida? En concreto, ¿Cómo han cambiado sus relaciones sociales en su lugar de origen?
   ***Prueba**: ¿Piensa que abandonar su lugar de origen llevó a una ruptura de sus relaciones, o todavía siguen existiendo?*
7) ¿Cuáles son las diferencias entre sus relaciones allá y aquí? ¿Cuáles con las diferencias entre el apoyo social qué se intercambió allá y aquí?
8) Por favor cuénteme un poco sobre lo que pasó durante los meses inmediatamente después de su llegada aquí. ¿Cómo se sintió?
9) En las primeras semanas aquí, ¿había algunas personas que apoyaron a ustedes, por ejemplo para encontrar un lugar para vivir, un trabajo, algunos alimentos?
10) ¿Conocía usted estas personas antes de llegar? ¿De dónde son? (de su región, de su familia)
11) ¿Cuál es la diferencia entre el apoyo social de sus conocidos que usted recibiste durante las primeras semana y el cuál usted está recibiendo ahora?
    ***Prueba**: ¿Usted consideraría que ahora es más fácil recibir ayuda de sus amigos y conocidos comparado con los primeros meses que pasó aquí?*
12) Algunas personas dicen que las personas que sufrieron las mismas experiencias – en su caso, el desplazamiento – se ayudan y se apoyan el uno al otro. ¿Usted está de acuerdo con eso?
13) ¿Qué piensa usted, en qué manera se apoyan el uno al otro?
    ***Prueba**: ¿Usted estableció muchos contactos y relaciones (para apoyarse el uno al otro) con otras personas en situación de desplazamiento, que eran desconocidos antes?*
    ***Prueba**: Qué piensa usted, ¿hay muchas amistades entre personas en situación de desplazamiento, que eran desconocidos antes de llegar aquí a Bogotá?*
14) ¿Usted es miembro de una organización de víctimas aquí en Bogotá?
    a. *En caso de "si":* ¿Cómo le apoya esta organización?

15) Qué piensa usted, ¿Es fácil vincularse aquí con otras personas, para construir relaciones y para recibir algún tipo de apoyo?
16) ¿Hay diferencias entre vincularse con gente de Bogotá y gente que también está en situación de desplazamiento? ¿Y con gente de su mismo lugar?
    ***Prueba**: ¿Usted tiene muchas relaciones con la gente local, la gente de Bogotá?*
17) Para la ayuda prestada y recibida, ¿cuál de las afirmaciones siguientes es correcta en su opinión y en relación con sus experiencias?:
    - Normalmente se intercambia con la misma persona el mismo tipo de ayuda dada como la recibida (recibir el mismo tipo de ayuda que da)
    - Normalmente se intercambia con la misma persona diferentes tipos de ayuda dada como recibida (recibir otro tipo de ayuda que da)
    - El intercambio de ayuda no es restringido a una sola persona, por ejemplo, recibió ayuda de un vecino y dio ayuda a su hijo
    - La ayuda no es necesariamente devuelta (reciproca).
18) En relación con la ayuda que usted recibe y que usted da, ¿diría que hay un buen equilibrio, o tiene la sensación de que usted normalmente da más de lo que recibe, o al revés?
19) Cuando usted piensa en los diferentes tipos de conexiones que tiene con la gente y el apoyo que recibe: Qué cree, ¿cuáles son los beneficios para usted? ¿Cómo le ayudan?
    ***Prueba**: ¿Le ayudan para estabilizar su vida?*
20) ¿Usted también podría pensar en algunos inconvenientes o desventajas de todas las relaciones que tiene usted y el apoyo que recibe y da? ¿Se siente apartado o discriminado de alguna manera?
21) ¿Cómo respondería cuando alguien le preguntara: De dónde es? ¿Dónde siente que pertenece ahora para usted mismo?
22) ¿Usted mismo se identifica como una persona en situación de desplazamiento?
23) ¿Cómo se siente si alguien le llama "desplazado"?
24) ¿La gente le trata diferente cuando sabe que usted está en situación de desplazamiento?
25) ¿Usted se siente aceptado y valorado por su entorno aquí?
    a. *En el caso de "no"*: ¿Usted se siente excluido de la sociedad? ¿Por qué?
26) ¿Usted se siente que encaja (o pega) bien en la sociedad/su entorno? ¿Por qué?
27) ¿Usted se siente bien integrado?
    ***Prueba**: ¿Usted piensa que la mayoría de la gente que vive en desplazamiento está bien integrada?*
28) Durante el tiempo inmediatamente después de su llegada aquí, ¿Se sintió bienvenido? ¿De cuáles personas? ¿Y ahora?
29) ¿Diría usted que tiene con la gente de aquí más desacuerdos, riñas y conflictos que antes en su lugar de origen?
30) ¿Cuáles son sus planes para el futuro? ¿Por qué?
    ***Prueba**: Permanecer en Bogotá, volver al lugar de origen, ...*
31) ¿Dónde viven sus hijos ahora? Me podrías decir, ¿Cómo se sienten acerca de vivir en Bogotá? ¿Qué hacen? ¿Usted cree que prefieren quedarse aquí?
32) Cuando se piensa en todo lo que estábamos hablando, ¿Habrían otros temas de los que no hablamos y que usted considera importante?