

UC Santa Cruz

UC Santa Cruz Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

The Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: The Lives and Politics of Internally Displaced Peasants in Medellín, Colombia.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3ts4x2p0>

Author

Lopez, Claudia Maria

Publication Date

2017

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

**THE LIFE-CYCLE OF FORCED MIGRATION: THE LIVES AND POLITICS
OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEASANTS IN MEDELLIN, COLOMBIA**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

SOCIOLOGY
with an emphasis in LATIN AMERICAN AND LATINO STUDIES
and
FEMINIST STUDIES

by

Claudia María López

June 2017

The Dissertation of Claudia Maria Lopez is
approved:

Professor Steven McKay, chair

Professor Emeritus Jonathan Fox

Professor Miriam Greenberg

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Copyright © by
Claudia María López
2017

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Dedication and Acknowledgments.....	vi
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review.....	29
Chapter Three: Methodology and Case Selection.....	76
Chapter Four: Phase 1 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Displacement.....	98
Chapter Five: Phase 2 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Resettlement.....	144
Chapter Six: Phase 3 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Integration.....	190
Chapter Seven: Phase 4 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Community-Building....	239
Chapter Eight: Conclusion.....	277
References.....	291

Abstract

The Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: The Lives and Politics of Internally Displaced Peasants in Medellín, Colombia.

Claudia María López

The dissertation examines the dynamics of conflict-induced internal displacement on the urban integration and citizenship of peasants in Medellín, Colombia. Using this case study of displacement in Colombia—which has the largest population of internally displaced persons in the world—my dissertation fills in a gap in the migration literature that does not adequately address internal and forced migration. It also goes beyond viewing displacement as a single event, analyzing it instead as a life-long process that constitutes what I call the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration. My broader analysis of migration links displacement, resettlement, integration, and community-building, providing a multistage understanding of the processes of citizenship and belonging. The research utilizes mixed-methods for gathering data, drawing from ethnographic interviews and surveys with rural internally displaced persons, as well as interviews with representatives of government agencies and NGOs, to answer: How does a group of migrants become non-citizens despite not crossing borders, not losing formal citizenship, and not losing national identity? I find that even after having resettled for two decades in Medellín, people still identify as “displaced” due to differential inclusion, which negatively affects their sense and practice of citizenship, a form of Segmented Citizenship. I define Segmented

Citizenship as a new social status, within a spectrum of non-belonging, that is both inclusionary and exclusionary; where citizens have claims to formal rights, yet are limited from practicing these rights fully. I argue that Segmented Citizenship changes the displaced into Partial Citizens due to inadequate state aid and attention, stigma from state actors and the receiving community, stagnation in informal employment, segregation in informal settlements, and the displaced's own subjective experiences with violence and trauma. However, by highlighting the lives of displaced community leaders, the thesis shows how Displaced Consciousness— a new affective awareness which results from displacement—is used as a tool for building solidarity with other displaced peasants and defending their Right to the Territory in the peripheries of the city. Ultimately, I contend that this research demonstrates the limits of integration and national citizenship, offering a more nuanced lens for examining citizenship as a spectrum, pushing us to examine belonging beyond a binary category of citizen/non-citizen; included and excluded.

Dedication and Acknowledgments

If it would not have been for the support, dedication, and care of literally hundreds of amazing people, over the course of almost a decade, this project could not have been carried out and completed. I am humbled and honored to be able to sit down and reflect on all the people who have been integral to my personal and professional growth and success. I would like to first and foremost acknowledge and express my deep gratitude to the internally displaced women and men in Colombia who participated in this study. Their openness to share their stories with me has been life-changing and I am forever indebted to their time, kindness, and knowledge. The bulk of the interviews and surveys with the displaced could not have been completed without the help of my research assistant in Colombia, Carmen Rosa Jaramillo. Rosita has been and continues to be an invaluable help, as well as dear friend. Her insight and non-stop energy was key for completing data collection and interview analysis. I am always impressed with her drive and fight. The day after the failed Peace Agreement referendum in September 2016, I called Rosita and expressed my sadness, saying that I had been crying all day. Rosita scolded me, saying, “Crying?! *Hija*, there is no to cry, more than ever it is time to fight!” Thank you, Rosita, for showing me strength in the face of despair.

Without the support of my contacts, community, and colleagues in Colombia, each stage of the research could not have happened. First off, thank you to Sandra Alvarez whose friendship and personal contacts in Colombia were critical for the initial connection with networks in Medellín. Most importantly, Sandra introduced

me to Piedad del Carmen Morales and Andrea Juliana Gonzalez, without whom I would not have been able to enter into the activist community of Medellín. When I arrived to Medellín for the first time in 2011, I was not ready for the reality of the consequences of war in Colombia. Afro-Colombian leader, Ana Fabricia Cordoba had just been assassinated while riding on the bus heading home to the Comuna 3. At the time I was unaware that I, as a stranger and researcher, was arriving to a community in grief and fear. However, in spite of the fear, due to Piedad, an acclaimed poet and community organizer, vouching for me, I was able to enter spaces that I would never have been able to in that time. Sadly, in 2012, Piedad passed away unexpectedly. I am forever grateful to Piedad for helping facilitate contacts in Medellín that have been critical for carrying out and completion of the project. I am honored to have spent nights at Piedad's home and in the hangouts around Medellín, talking feminism and resistance.

As I prepared to enter the field in 2014, Andrea Julianna Gonzalez connected me with the Corporación Jurídica, an organization that wrote a letter of support for funding and sponsorship, without even knowing me personally. When I arrived to Medellín that year, Adriana Arboleda, welcomed me and introduced me to people who would end up being the core support of my research during 2014. I met with Andrea in April and told her about the organization I was closely working with through her suggestion. I will never forget that she paused and laughed, saying, "That's who Ana Fabricia was working with..." I got the chills. My research ended up following much of Ana Fabricia's community work, and I found myself riding the

same bus route that she was assassinated on. I want to acknowledge her life and recognize that her spirit has guided the research as well.

To the multitude of activists, organizations, and movements in Colombia, thank you for opening the door to me and allowing me to work closely with you as a fellow organizer: Corporación Jurídica, Mujeres que Crean, and La Ruta Pacífica de Mujeres, to name a few. I am especially thankful to La Mesa Interbarrial de Desconectados, who became my community and the group, as we joke, of which I have become the “International Branch.” Thank you for the continued support and friendship: Lorena Zapata, Claudia Serna, Carlos Velázquez, Jhon “Mono” Duque, Carlos Bedoya, Andres “Negro,” Don Ivan, Elizabeth “Chava” and Luz Elena Ibarra. I also want to recognize the lives of those who have passed, in particular Don Gabriel Orrego and Jairo Maya.

While conducting fieldwork in 2011, I met Adriana González Gil, professor at the Universidad de Antioquia and from that point on, she has been a supportive mentor in Colombia. When I returned in 2014, Dr. González Gil offered me a space to work and present my work for feedback at the university. I want to give a special thank you to Adriana and the rest of the research team at the Instituto de Estudios Políticos in the Universidad de Antioquia, especially Sandra González Díaz. Sandra has been an amazing researcher to bounce ideas off of and has helped me situate my research within the literature in Colombia.

I was able to conduct research with government administrators of different humanitarian and social work programs in Medellín, in addition to city urban

planners. Thank you to Fundación ProAntioquia, Centro de Formación para la Paz y La Reconciliación, Medellin Solidaria, Agencia de Cooperacion e Inversion de Medellín y la Area Metropolitana (ACIMAM), Unidad Municipal de Atención y Reparación a Víctimas del Conflicto Armado (UAO), Unidad de Víctimas (UV), Empresas Publicas de Medellín (EPM), and Departamento Nacional de Planeación. A special thank you to Brenda Tamayo, who took special interest in the project and who has offered important insight into resettlement programs in Medellín.

Lastly, to the scores of people who participated and supported the project directly and indirectly by supporting me and my family while in Colombia. To my neighbors, friends, and those who were an emotional support to myself and the family while completing international research. It would not have been possible with you.

To my dissertation committee, I am so thankful for your guidance and support. Your assistance, patience, and input have been key to developing my work and skills as a researcher and academic. To my adviser, Steve McKay, who has worked with me since the day I entered the Sociology program at UC Santa Cruz, I do not have the words to fully express my gratitude. You were a tough mentor, and your comments were often served with no sugar, but your dedication and investment in my research and professionalization showed me that you believed in me. As the years have passed, I see how lucky I am to have had you as my mentor. You have sat with me on the phone to help me edit an application, or practice a Skype interview. At times, I did not know if I wanted or could finish. But, you always gave me a pep talk

to get me back on my feet. I remember being so sick and exhausted during the job market season. I had just completed a campus visit, with a couple more in the next weeks that would fly me to the East Coast. Just like a good coach, you said, okay, you kicked butt but now get out there and get all the job offers. Miraculously, I got all the job offers. You have shown me what a sociologist-in-action is, what cutting-edge research can be, what an amazing teacher looks like, and how to be a powerful mentor. You are a rock star. I am so thankful I was able to work under your guidance.

To Jonathan Fox, when I met you my second year of graduate school, I was intimidated by your brilliance. Although I was scared of you, I knew I had to work with you since I recognized that you would push me to be the type of scholar that I wanted to be. For the last eight year, you have challenged me and pushed me to be conscience about how I am approaching the research and why. Your attention to detail, theoretical engagement, and methodological approach, has trained me to be pay attention and be meticulous about how I write and the direction of my arguments. You have also shown me that you are invested in my work since you have read and given thorough comments on almost everything I have written in the past eight years. You have high expectations but you are also a dedicated and compassionate scholar-activist. I will always be grateful for a package you sent me with old documents and booklets, gifts from when you were cleaning out your office at UCSC. You also included a postcard with an image of a Zapatista mother carrying a baby on her back and the world in her arms. On the back of the postcard you wrote,

“FYI” and the title said, “Constructing Another World.” Below the title it read: “The Zapatistas teach us that with organization and hope we can achieve our dreams.” I received this package right as I was preparing to leave for 8 months of research. I took the postcard with me and it sat on my desk in Colombia, a daily reminder. Your mentoring has inspired the main ideas of the dissertation and has shaped how I think. *Gracias, Profe Fox.*

To Miriam Greenberg, a brilliant mind and amazing cheerleader. While I had been interested in urban issues before I started the project, it was not till I was in the field that I realized I could not tell the story of internal displacement and resettlement of peasants in Medellín without considering the role of the city, place, and space. I had a moment of panic in the field and I reached out to you, and you responded right away via Skype. When I returned to the U.S. you agreed to be on my committee and since then you have been an unending source of encouragement. It has been your support that has brought me into the fields of urbanism and geography, especially through the work with the Democratizing the Green City project. I have loved talking to you. Your amazing grasp of theory is exciting to engage with as I have developed my own work. Thank you for agreeing to be on my committee, for seeing potential in me, and most of all, for being so kind to me.

In terms of my research team, I have been blessed to have the support of an army of dedicated undergraduate research assistants at UC Santa Cruz: Ivette Olguin, Maria Carmen Reyna, Andy Velasquez, Carla Zamarripa, Shirley Laveda, Luciano Hidalgo, Ana Velazquez, Natalie Franco, Gabriela Lopez, Samantha

Vazquez, Abel Alvizo, Isabel Herrera, and Karen Herrera. Also, a special thank you to Jesus Rosales for your help transcribing interviews. These students helped with translations, transcriptions, and coding of interviews, as well as coding of surveys, literature searches and reviews, and creation of PowerPoint and research report presentations. Also, the development of ideas and concepts, could not have happened without the support of the UC Santa Cruz library staff, especially Annette Marines.

My graduate studies and research was supported by a range of sources: University of California Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship, the Social Science Research Council, Andrew Mellon Foundation, UCSC Chicano Latino Research Center, Sociology Department, Latin American and Latino Studies Department, Feminist Studies Department, UCSC Graduate Student Association, the STARS Center, Soroptimist International, Santa Cruz Branch & American Association of University Women, Santa Cruz Branch.

I want to recognize the work of staff at UC Santa Cruz for all their work and help with important paperwork and bureaucratic “crisis”: Ann McCurdy, Mizuki Hisaka, Perla Miranda, Jessica Lawrence, Colleen Massengale, Tina Nikfarjam, Alessandra Álvarez, and Maya Woolfe . A very special thank you to Barbara Laurence, who has been a grounding and supportive force for me in the Sociology department. I will miss our talks and checking in with you. I also need to thank, Everardo Zarate, the College 8— now Rachel Carson—College custodian. Everardo cleaned my office, brought tamales from his mother to share, and was a comforting face at the end of the day. Most importantly, Everardo never judged me for the late

nights I spent at the office, and in the last year when I began sleeping in the office, he was always concerned about my comfort. He would make sure the doors of the building was locked to ensure I was safe. *Gracias, señor, por su labor.*

To the departments of Sociology, Latin American and Latin studies, and Feminist studies at UC Santa Cruz, the efforts of so many professors is recognized and I am humbled to have had your candid input, comments, and support, not just for my academic progress and success, but for my self-care. In the Sociology department, Melanie DuPuis, Hiroshi Fukurai, Craig Reinerman, Veronica Terriquez, and Hillary Angelo. In the Latin American and Latino Studies department, Sylvanna M. Falcón, Rosalinda Fregoso, and Adrián Félix. A very special thank you to Shannon Gleeson, who has been a huge supporter since my second year, and Pat Zavella, who is my feminist shero and Chicana inspiration. It has been an honor working with you both. In Feminist Studies, Felicity Schaeffer, thank you for you being a powerful mentor in the department. Also, to Marcia Ochoa, who is both academic mentor, but most amazingly, a *parcera* who was vital for the emotional support of myself and my family. Lastly, thank you to Bettina Aptheker, an amazing scholar and teacher, but mostly important, a mentor and friend. Bettina, I remember reading an evaluation of the course I TA'd for you, Introduction to Feminist Studies. The student said, it was not a class but an experience. Knowing you has been just that, a beautiful experience. I have been in awe of you and anytime I have had an issue, you have been the first person who has stepped up to see how you can help me.

I am also grateful to colleagues and scholars who have advised and supported me: Rhacel Parreñas, Stephanie Nawyn, and my SSRC family: Katherine Donato and Donna Gabaccia. A very special shout out to the SSRC 2011 Gender and Migration cohort, especially, Laura Enriquez, Maria Hwang, Alison Kolodzy, Sarah DeMott, and Cheryl Llewellyn. Throughout the years you all have stepped up, again and again, and been key forces in helping me navigate, survive and just find joy in what can be a rough academic world.

My last year of dissertation writing was supported by the Andrew Mellon Foundation's John E. Sawyer Seminar Dissertation-Year fellowship. I wanted to give a special thank you to the Non-Citizenship committee, especially Cat Ramirez and Jackie Powell, for the unending support and positivity. To my co-fellows, Emily Mitchell-Eaton and Tsering Wangmo, being able to complete this last year working with you both was the cherry on top of a beautiful and brutal year. I am amazed by your brilliance. Thank you for your encouragement, dinners, and birthday get-togethers. You are such amazing people. Lastly, to Bridget Anderson, who I met during the fellowship seminars, thank you for our conversations which inspired the direction of the dissertation on migration and citizenship.

The support, community, and friendships I made at UC Santa Cruz have been key in my survival and success. There are so many people to thank! Xochitl Chavez, Sandra Alvarez, Jenny Escobar, Susy Zepeda, Rose Cohen, Emily Cohen, the Women of Color Cluster: Nadia Roche, Alina Ivette Fernandez, Saugher Nojan, Krisha Hernández, Hafsa Mohamed, Hannah Higgins, Tommi Hayes, Karina Vazquez, and

Karla Cativo. A special thank you to WOC supporters, Cindy Cruz, and Carlos Jackson. To my fellow and beloved graduate student friends, who read, edited, talked through drafts and ideas, and those who hugged, laughed, and cried with me along the way. Definitely could not have done this without you: Brandi Thompson Summers, Jimi Valiente-Neighbours, Tracy Perkins, Katherine Valery Barahona-Lopez, Ruben Espinoza, Justin Alexander Obcena, Shun-Nan Chiang, Mario Avalos, , Christie G McCullen, Yvonne Kwan, Uriel Serrano, Yvonne Sherwood, Angie Bonilla, Sandra Harvey, and Claire Urbanski. I also wanted to give a very special thank you to Lorena Mansilla and Steven Araujo whose friendship during the last year, whether for writing, letting me sleep over, or getting our political *chisme* on, was critical for getting through the year. Thank you for the realness, the comfort, for just showing up, not just for me but for my family. Got mad love for you both!

I could not have completed my doctoral work and research without the support of an amazing community! Thank you to my Bay Area friends and familia! Love you so much, Jose Lopez, Lina Murillo, Bernardo Murillo, Ginny Browne, Brian Helmle, Adam Welch, Latu Tapaatoutai, Victor Guendulain, Adriana “La Patriota” Garcia, Amalia Renteria, Yesenia Ramos, Adriana “AD” Garcia, Michelle Tran and Anu Manadavilli.

To my best friend, who is one of the few who knew me before this academic stuff happened, Kari Capparelli-LaFaye, thank you for 20 years of friendship, of daily phone calls, of always listening, always loyal, always making me laugh, and never allowing me to forget where I came from so that I keep it real. Also, to Kenny

Capparelli, who I wish could be here to see me graduate and see what is possible when we embrace life. I saw you in a dream this week as I am completing the dissertation and I can't help to feel that you already know. Miss you so much.

To Monica Tamayo, my dear friend and God Mother, who I met during fieldwork and who has become a part of our family. Thank you for taking us into your home and treating us like your children, for feeding us, and comforting us in Medellín. Even through the distance, our friendship has grown and I know that the universe brought you into our lives.

Lastly, to my dear family, who have endured my years in the Ph.D. program. To my mother-in-law, Delfina Elicea, thank you for bringing me food and love to make it through the difficult weeks when work was a priority. To my beloved daughter, Reign, thank you for your patience. I entered the program when you were 4 years old and I am leaving when you are 13. We have grown up together and we have been able to spend many nights together doing homework. Thank you for understanding the nights when I could not be there for you, for the absent weeks when I was traveling, for your patience when I brought you to do fieldwork with me, to sick days in my office, and even enduring lectures. Raising you as a single mother during the first six years of graduate school was not easy, but I hope that I have shown you that when you put your mind to something, anything is possible. Thank you for the notes of encouragement during the last year, for your massages when you noticed I was having a hard night, and for always saying, "You can do it, mom." Love you so much, Reigny.

To the love of my life, my dear partner, Jose Romero. I met you when I was studying for my qualifying exams and we joke that you should have ran then. But you decided to stay, and here we are years later and now you are preparing for the Ph.D. As I complete my dissertation, you have just graduated from San Jose State University. During the last year, you worked two jobs, went to school, took care of the family, AND you finished the year with straight A's. You are amazing. Thank you for listening to me talk-out ideas, reading the first drafts, and listening to every practice presentation. Thank you for putting your life on hold to follow me into the field and taking care of Reign. Also, thank you for your assistance on the project via helping scan surveys, data entry, and transcribing and translating interviews. I would not have been able to complete this dissertation without you. A huge thank you for the final four months of finishing the thesis when I was on the job market; thank you for bringing me coffee in bed every morning, for taking Reign to school, for doing all the cooking and cleaning. Your labor allowed for the reproduction of my labor. Thank you for your love and dedication. Of course, I can't forget to thank Rascal Lopez-Romero, the family cat, who sat through either the writing or editing of every page of this dissertation. Rascal's furry presence and companionship saved me on the long and lonely nights.

I have the greatest appreciation for my parents Jay and Amintha Petersen. Without your love and support I would not have been able to even go to college, let alone complete the Ph.D. You have helped me with the most important, which was helping me raise Reign. You showed me strength and dedication, you have taught me

compassion and joy. Papa Jay, thank you for being my father and an amazing partner to my mother. You have shown me how people should treat each other and your spiritual practice has shown me the need to find a higher purpose. Thank you for your patience while I grew up and found my path. I know it was not easy but thank you for your unending and continued love.

Last and not least, to my *madre querida*, Amintha, I dedicate this dissertation to you. How do you thank your hero? *Gracias por todo y mas!* You never lost faith in me, even when I had given up on myself. Your positive thinking, stubborn drive, and spiritual dedication has been pivotal for my success. You have taught me to push through the hard times, to stay thankful, and focus on healing. You asked me once, what is my purpose on this earth? You came to the United States at 26-years old, an *opita* from Huila, Colombia, the first one of your eight brothers and sisters to immigrate the U.S. Over the past 40 years, you have been the bedrock of the family, bringing family members to the United States and giving people the opportunity to reach their potential. You are the family *consejera*, always trying to make sure there is harmony in the family. The work and drive behind my graduate studies and this dissertation is all built on your shoulders. I carry your torch. You have shown me the power of being grateful and dedicated to the sacred energies have guided me, to my ancestors, my guru, the spirits that protect and inspire my thoughts and actions. You are a maverick, a healer, a force to be reckoned with. You have created legacies, mama. *Gracias, mama! Gracias a la vida!*

Chapter 1

Introduction

According to the Migration Policy Institute, the number of global migrants has tripled to almost 244 million in 2015, a significant increase from 77 million in 1960 (Migration Policy Institute 2015). But, these numbers solely reflect international migration. Contemporary research on migration tends to focus primarily on international immigration, highlighting cases of poor populations moving from the Global South to the Global North (Coutin 2016; Chávez 2016; Anderson 2013; Menjívar and Abrego 2012; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Yet, internal migration occurs more often than international—with approximately 381 million people estimated to have moved within their country between 2008-2013 (Esipova, et al. 2013).

A second focus within migration studies is on voluntary or economic migration (Castles and Miller 2009; Portes et al. 2009; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Goldring 2003; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Meyers 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1990). What is understudied is forced migration. Forced migration is a now global phenomenon, hitting unprecedented numbers, with 65.3 million people—or 1 in 113 people—displaced in 2015 alone due to persecution and conflict (Edwards 2016). Nevertheless, again, there is a focus on international forced migration as we have seen with Syrian refugees seeking help in countries like Turkey (Baban et al. 2017; Kirişçi 2014).

The categories of refugee, asylum-seeker, and internally displaced, while often and mistakenly used interchangeably, represent different forms and causes of

forced migration. Forced migration consists of “a number of legal or political categories, all of which involve people who have been forced to flee their homes and seek refuge elsewhere” (Castles 2006: 7). Refugees and asylum-seekers are people who cross international borders seeking refuge. In comparison, the internally displaced are a distinct category.

Internal displacement is a distinct category of forced migration because those who are displaced do not seek sanctuary outside their country. According to the United Nation’s High Commissioner of Refugee’s, internal displacement occurs when “persons who, as a result of persecution, armed conflict or violence, have been force to abandon their homes and leave their usual place of residence, and who remain within the borders of their own country” (UNHCR 1997: 99). In international law and relations, because of issues regarding sovereignty, the protection and aid of internally displaced persons are the responsibility of state of origin (Castles 2006). This is problematic since in many instances it is the home state that is the cause of its citizens’ displacement.

Taking internal displacement seriously, we touch on another important issue in migration studies which is the relationship between integration and citizenship. Sociologists have examined how and to what degree migrants incorporate into a host society through the lens of assimilation and integration (Portes et al. 2009; Jiménez 2008; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Alba and Nee 2003; DeWind and Kasinitz 1997; Portes and Zhou 1993; Gordon 1964; Park 1930). Again, these studies on migrant incorporation— as a process of citizen-making— is centered

on the social, economic, political, and cultural incorporation of an international migrant in a new country. Within citizenship studies, research on migration examines the formal citizen-noncitizen division which is based on comparing native-born citizens and incoming international non-citizens (De Genova 2007; Joppke 2007). Yet, these perspectives, first, neglect the forms of inclusion and exclusion that are not based on state-centric binary of membership (Anderson 2013; Somers 2008); second, assume that citizenship is experienced equally—and fully— among all formal citizens of a sovereign nation (Benhabib 2004; Yuval-Davis 1997); and third, that national identity is homogenous and that citizens always feel like they belong to the nation-state (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016).

This dissertation uses the case of internal and forced migration in Colombia—the country with the largest population of internally displaced persons in the world (IDMC 2017)—to address the above-mentioned gaps in three areas of migration studies. The first argument the dissertation makes is that a sole focus on cross-border and voluntary mobility in migration studies neglects a majority of migrants and, thus, results in under theorizing about human mobility generally. Second, since the internally displaced in Colombia do not leave the boundaries of the nation-state, and retain political membership, war, displacement and policy create limits to citizens' ability to exercise their citizenship rights fully. Therefore, this case of internal displacement asserts that there is a great urgency to develop theories about migration that include a discussion about forced migration as global processes that reveal the tensions and limits of national citizenship.

The research addresses key gaps in the migration and citizenship literature, but also contributes an important extension to studying forced migration: going beyond a focus on the displacement event. Instead, I conceive of a broader process, what I call the *Life-Cycle of Forced Migration*, tracing the progression from displacement to resettlement, re-integration, and finally, community building. By employing this framework, I show how, over the phases of the forced migration life-cycle, displacement negatively affects peasants' sense and practice of citizenship (Oosterom 2016) which has adverse outcomes on their long-term integration. In addition, examining displacement as a life-cycle reveals the processes related to war and expulsion that influence peasant's feelings of non-belonging to the Colombian nation.

The Case of Internal Displacement of Colombian Peasants

In 2017 Colombia became the country with largest number of internally displaced person in the world (IDMC 2017; UNHCR 2017). Though the exact number of people who have been displaced is difficult to gauge since many people do not register with the state, or are not counted as displaced due to how different agencies measure the population, it is estimated that over seven million people have been internally displaced in Colombia since 1985 (IDMC 2017). The primary cause of displacement is the more than 50-year civil conflict in the country.

Populations that live in the countryside of Colombia, like peasants, are most affected by the conflict since the armed actors are vying for control of land where

these populations live. Of the rural population, Afro-Colombians and Indigenous groups comprise 74% of those who suffer mass displacement—which is the forced expulsion of 10 families or 50 people at once (IDMC 2017). While these rural populations of peasants, Afro-Colombians, and Indigenous groups do not leave the borders of Colombia, internally displaced persons face similar struggles as international forced migrants, in spite of not losing their citizenship status or national Colombian identity. For example, as Chapters 4-7 will show, Colombian peasants who resettle in the city of Medellín continue to live in protracted states of displacement, even two decades after resettlement.

According to the Brookings Institute and Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, protracted displacement “...are situations where the process for finding durable solutions is stalled, and/or where IDPs are marginalized as a consequence of violations or a lack of protection of their human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights. Solutions are absent or have failed and IDPs remain disadvantaged and unable to fully enjoy their rights” (Brookings and IDMC 2011). These situations are considered protracted if it continues for five or more years.

The Colombian state has created and implemented national policies—like Law 386 of 1997 and the current Victim and Land Law—to address the crisis of displacement in the country. However, in spite of national efforts, especially in cities like Medellín, where large state agencies, international humanitarian aid centers, and a range of NGOs are headquartered, interviews with peasants reveal that the displaced continue to live in prolonged states of impoverishment. While Medellín is a growing

urban center with a new reputation for innovation and development, this city's image clashes with a dire reality: over 300,000 displaced persons living in the peripheries in protracted displacement (MCV 2014). The research shows that rural-to-urban displaced persons suffer from high risk and long term impoverishment. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre's 2017 report on internally displaced persons, "As many as 80 per cent live below the poverty line, including between 33 and 35 per cent who live in extreme poverty" (2017: 29). As interviews with displaced persons, government administrators, and NGOs show, since rural persons lack formal education and urban job skills, the displaced are excluded from formal labor markets and limited to precarious informal jobs. In addition, peasants are spatially segregated in poor, shanty "displaced" neighborhoods on the margins of the city. Also, the displaced are stigmatized by state actors and the receiving community due to their rural origin and relationship to the conflict and not seen as assimilable urban citizens. Thus, we are presented with the primary puzzle of this study: How do internally displaced persons end up resembling international refugees in their own country? I will argue in this dissertation that issues of integration and citizenship are associated with international forced migration, but, by examining the lives of the internally displaced, I will show how these dimensions also operate in the same country.

Research Questions

To address the puzzle of internal displacement and belonging in Colombia, this dissertation examines the connection between incorporation and citizenship to

understand how displacement influences these twin processes of belonging. The research asks: How does a group of migrants become non-citizens despite not crossing borders, not losing formal citizenship, and not losing national identity?

In order to answer this question, I address five empirical questions: 1) How does the Colombian state integrate in their displaced citizens?; 2) How and to what degree do the policies implemented by the Colombian state hinder or promote feelings of belonging for the displaced?; 3) How do rural displacees see themselves as belonging to Medellín, and how are these processes gendered, raced, and classed?; 4) How does place and the subjective experience of displacement affect integration and feelings of belonging?; and 5) How does the displaced's interaction with the state influence their collective identity formation, and potential to build and defend "space" in the city? Throughout the research, I analyze the role of the Colombian state, globalization, gender, race and class, subjectivity and place in each phase of the life-cycle of the forced migration to understand the lingering effects of war and displacement on peasants' integration and sense of belonging as citizens.

Argument

To understand how displacement influences incorporation and citizenship, I analyze the dynamics of urban resettlement and long term integration of internally displaced peasants in Colombia through an intersectional lens. I argue that at different points of the state-displacee interface, during the forced migration life-cycle, multiple transformations and shifts occur in and through the state, economy, and locale, which

(re)construct the collective and individual identities of rural displaced men and women. Further, I contend that, across the lifecycle, the state marginalizes the displaced, and does not consider them capable urban citizens due to their rural origin and inability to contribute to formal labor markets. In addition, the same state that is perceived by the displaced to have caused their displacement, is also in charge of their resettlement, causing a lack of confidence in all state actors. While displaced citizens retain formal citizenship, the neglect by the state fails to uphold the rights that they enjoy on paper but do not experience the ability to exercise their rights fully in the day-to-day. The displaced still identify as Colombian, but their experiences with the state, which leave them in states of protracted displacement, result in peasants also retaining the identity as “displaced.”

The displaced do not enjoy the rights of full political membership in Colombia, though they are citizens, but, due to the trauma and memory of displacement, inadequate state attention and aid, and stigma from the receiving community, displaced persons experience *segmented citizenship*. Extending Parreñas’ work (2015; 2001) on partial citizenship, I define *segmented citizenship* as a new social status, within a spectrum of non-belonging, that is both inclusionary and exclusionary, where one has claims to formal rights, yet is limited from practicing these rights fully. Segmented citizenship changes displaced peasants into *partial citizens*, which is experienced differently by citizens due to context of expulsion and reception, demonstrating the ways that rights are both gained and lost over the life-cycle of forced migration.

Gender and race identities for both men and women are disrupted and reconstructed in urban resettlement and integration, relating to employment, provider-ship, and public life. During displacement, armed actors target men due to their position as head of the household and owner of the house and property. In this period, men are more likely to be assassinated or disappeared, and women are targeted for sexual abuse and rape. After displacement, women enter the city, many finding themselves for the first time in the informal labor market as the sole household provider. These women's decision-making processes are constrained by structural inequalities that highlight patriarchal gender relations during war. Afro-Colombian and Indigenous women have a more difficult time resettling in the city due to sexist and racist discrimination from the urban community. However, I found that displaced women experience greater freedom by exercising their political agency through community and political participation in grassroots organizations.

Men have a difficult time during resettlement because their agricultural skills are not useful for the urban labor market and they no longer occupy the role as primary provider for the family. Men's disconnect with the public sphere can be devastating since "the erosion of their role as provider--the crux of their masculine identity and the source of their domestic power--adds one more loss to those already suffered by displacement" (Escobar 2000: 117). The lack of socially accepted gendered norms for dealing with trauma can limit men's ability to manage their stress and contributes to an added strain on men's recovery post-displacement, which can result in domestic violence or a separation of the family due to divorce or

abandonment.

Theoretical Frameworks

To understand how citizens become non-citizens, I draw from three different frameworks. First, in terms of integration, how and to what degree migrants incorporate into the host country is a major theme in migration studies in Sociology, which has primarily been studied through the framework of assimilation. However, to understand how people feel like refugees in their own country, the lens of assimilation does not address the differential forms of inclusion of displaced citizens that go beyond the social, political, economic, and cultural. Rather, I draw from Espiritu's (2003) framework of *differential inclusion* as a method of examining the range of experiences of forced migrants that are neither fully integrated nor fully excluded.

Espirtu's (2003) work on transnational Filipino migrants demonstrates that while migrants do experience differing forms of social, economic, and political exclusion when settling in the receiving community, they are not outright excluded. Rather, their differential inclusion is a process that deems them integral to "the nation's economy, culture, identity, and power (Espiritu 2003: 47)," *but* their value is based on their subordinated social status. For example, in the case of internal migrants, a major way that peasants are included into cities of Colombia is through a process of resettlement that gives them monetary aid as a form of securing the safety of its citizens *and* the country. Therefore, the state-led resettlement of internally displaced persons is integral to the security of Colombia. Being recognized by the

state as a “victim” is used by the displaced to secure aid by signaling a subordinated social status. While they retain their Colombian-ness, the displaced’s place of origin, relationship to the conflict, lack of urban capital, and subjective experience with war and displacement, have made them unassimilable urban subjects from the perspective of the receiving community.

The second framework the dissertation uses to understand how citizens feel like they do not belong is of *non-citizenship*. Drawing from work on non-citizenship, as a concept that denotes *not* a lack of membership (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016), but a new social status that acknowledges, as Castles (2005) argues, that citizenship operates within a global and national hierarchy that, for some, limits their sense and practice of citizenship, resulting in what he calls differential citizenship. I use the framework of non-citizenship to understand the puzzle of people who have formal citizenship but are unable to exercise their rights fully. In terms of their relationship to the state, *campesinos*¹ have their civil rights as Colombians violated due to the war and displacement. However, the displaced also gain new rights as “victims of the conflict.” Yet, these rights as displaced citizens do not offer durable solutions to prevent protracted states of displacement and impoverishment. As Chapter Five and Six demonstrate, due to a focus on linear, short-term, and monetary-based solutions, the displaced are limited to the informal labor market, excluded from the formal

¹ Defined as peasant but also refers to anyone who lives in the countryside.

urban employment sector, and segregated in informal settlements on the peripheries of the city. These chapters also reveal the importance of understanding the perceptions of *both* the displaced *and* the state that influence feelings of belonging.

Lastly, the dissertation employs the framework of consciousness to understand the subjective outcomes of displacement and how feelings of non-belonging influence incorporation and citizenship. Drawing from W.E.B. Du Bois' (1903) *double consciousness* and Gloria Anzaldúa's *mestiza consciousness*, I develop the concept of *displaced consciousness*, to highlight the subjective consequences of war and displacement on the psyche of the displaced. Displaced Consciousness is a new affective awareness which results from loss and trauma during the phase of displacement. This new consciousness changes the way that the displaced perceive the world around them and how they see society perceive them.

The research shows that throughout the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration, the Displaced Consciousness develops in the phases resettlement and integration due to peasant's status as partial citizen in the city. Displaced Consciousness highlights the psychological outcomes of war and forced migration, influencing how people will respond to their precarious situation. In addition, understanding the subjective experience of displacement helps us answers why people continue to identify as "displaced—even two decades after resettlement—and why they might feel like non-citizens in their own country.

I argue that while displaced consciousness is experienced as loss, nostalgia and waiting, it also represents possibility. The shared experience of displacement,

whether from the same place of origin or not, leads to a collective memory of being expelled from the rural. Further, the shared experience of expulsion and exclusion are utilized as a tool by displaced community leaders during the phase of community-building to build solidarity with other displaced persons.

Displaced community leaders utilize collective memory and trauma to understand their shared experiences of exile. Understanding that the production of space is a product of social relations through the material production of place (Lefebvre's 1991), I argue that the rural internally displaced community leaders, living in the *barrios* at the edges of the city of Medellín incorporate a displaced consciousness as both a survival strategy and form of coalition building among other rural displaced persons across Medellín.

Displaced consciousness highlights both the losses of displacement *and* a new awareness of possibility. Based on a collective memory of displacement from a rural homeland, displaced consciousness represents a potentiality, an opening for exercising their rights as displaced *and* citizens of Colombia. I highlight women leader's perspectives—the majority of community organizers— as a necessary feminist intervention to demonstrate the benefits and limits of political activism on women's decision-making process and long-term integration.

Methodology and Findings

I draw from 81 ethnographic interviews and 112 surveys with displaced persons in Medellín, in addition to semi-structured interviews with government

administrators (n=22) and non-governmental organizations (n=16),² to explore the multi-level determinants of differential integration which results in segmented citizenship. However, by focusing on grassroots mobilizations in Medellín, led and participated by displaced community leaders, I show how segmented citizenship results in a new political consciousness, the *Displaced Consciousness*, which is utilized as a tool to lay claims to the Right to the Territory at the peri-urban edge. I define “territory” as a set of social, cultural, economic, political, environmental and support relations and representations that are built from the land (Fajardo, Darío, 2002 in Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular 2009, Author’s Translation).

I find that while peasants do not leave the borders of Colombia and retain political membership, lack of durable solutions, exclusion from the formal labor market, social stigma and discrimination by state institutions and the receiving community, and the displaced’s own subjective experience with violence and trauma, negatively affects peasants sense and practice of citizenship. Oosterom (2016), who researches the effects of civil war on citizenship in Uganda, defines sense of citizenship as relating to how they see themselves in relations to others and the state. In regard to practices of citizenship, these are individual and collective actions taken to partake in politics at different scales. Ultimately, I contend that this research demonstrates the limits of integration and national citizenship, offering a more nuanced approach for examining citizenship as a spectrum, pushing us to examine

² I use a broad definition of NGO, which ranges from international NGOs to small grassroots groups, like a neighborhood committee.

belonging beyond a binary category of citizen/non-citizen, included and excluded. By examining internal and forced migration, we see integration as a state-led project, that include migrants in some aspects of society while also exclude them in others. Examining protracted displacement reveals the limits of integration and citizenship by showing how citizens become partial citizens as the gap between formal rights and ability to exercise these rights become wider.

Background

While Colombia is typically associated with cocaine production and trafficking, what is less talked about is the massive displacement of peasants due to civil war. The root cause of the conflict is over fifty years of fighting between left-wing guerrillas, right-wing paramilitaries and the Colombian military, armed groups vying for control of land and power (Bejarano and Pizarro 2005; Bouvier 2005; Aviles 2001; Andreas et al. 1991). The role of other non-state actors in the cocaine economy has further exacerbated the scale and intensity of the war, particularly after the implementation of Plan Colombia in 2000, a U.S.-sponsored security policy that has assisted in the funding and training of the Colombian military and the fumigations of coca fields (Ramírez and Youngers 2011; FOR 2010; Bouvier 2005).

Since these battles have historically been fought in the countryside, those caught in the middle of the conflict have been the peasant farmers, or *campesinos*, who are direct and indirect targets of displacement. While some *campesinos* living at the borders of Ecuador and Venezuela might seek refuge in these countries (UNHCR 2017), most displaced person stay within the boundaries of Colombia thereby making

the resettlement of millions of nationals a critical task of the Colombian state.

Medellín

Ninety percent of displaced peasants resettle in the city (IDMC 2011), highlighting urban areas in Colombia as key sites for state intervention through local programs of resettlement and transitional justice. Cities in Colombia, like Medellín—the second largest city in the country—are key receptor site since areas of conflict are located in or near the department of Antioquia, where this city is the capital (Sánchez 2013). The site of Medellín is important for examining how place shapes feelings of partial citizenship. Medellín was once home to Pablo Escobar, head of the Medellín drug cartel, a cartel that in the 1980s and 90s controlled 90% of the world's cocaine production and distribution (Bouvier 2005; Thoumi 2002; Andreas et al.1991). Once a conservative merchant and textile-producing town, the prosperity of the cocaine economy modernized Medellín (Roldán 1999).

In the last 7 years, entities like ProAntioquia, a private foundation composed of groups from the corporate sector, have worked closely with the government in Antioquia to rebrand Medellín by investing millions of tax dollars into greening and



transportation projects and inviting new foreign entrepreneurs and developers to the city as a strategy of drawing capital and rebranding (MCV 2016, 2014). Once homicide capital of the world,³ Medellín is now a site of global finance, fashion,

³ During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the rate of homicides in Medellín hit record marks: in 1991, the rate of homicides were 380 persons per 100,000 (Lowenthal and Rojas Mejía 2010).

transportation, and urban development, rebranding itself on the world stage as an urban “miracle” (Brodzinsky 2014; Barrows 2013; Moreno 2013).

But, the waves of displaced peasants clash with this global city’s image. Displaced person’s segregation in informal settlements on the peripheries of the city and their inability to participate in the formal urban labor market, affects their long-term integration, particularly in terms of their upward mobility (Carrillo 2008; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007; Bello A. 2006). I examine protracted displacement as a method of understanding how and to what degree displacement has influenced integration over time. In addition, to examining protracted displacement, I also contribute to the field of forced migration by examining displacement as a life-long process that includes community-building, or collective integration for claims-making as a vital part of the integration process of forced migrants.

Life-Cycle of Forced Migration

My project analyzes the influence of displacement on integration and citizenship in Colombia through what I call the *life-cycle of forced migration*. Like demographer Glen Elder’s (1998) Life Course theory, I use the life-cycle of forced migration as an analytical approach to examine processes related to displacement overtime. It also gives me a framework for analyzing displacement beyond a single event. Instead, I examine internal displacement as a life-long, serial process that links

displacement, resettlement, integration, and community-building, providing a multi stage understanding of the processes of citizenship and belonging, from the perspective of the state *and* the displaced. Theoretically looking at incorporation like a life-cycle allows us to examine the processes *inside* incorporation related to belonging and citizenship, specifically, the layers of socio-economic and political integration as mediated by the state. This framework also recognizes that each of the before and after phases influence each stage of post-displacement recovery, which explains the puzzle of protracted displacement.

The life-cycle of forced migration is composed of four phases, including the ruptures or shifts in between: Phase 1: Displacement; Phase 2: Resettlement; Phase 3: Integration; and Phase 4: Community-Building (see Table 1 below).

LIFE-CYCLE OF FORCED MIGRATION	Phase 1: Displacement	Phase 2: Resettlement	Phase 3: Integration	Phase 4: Community-Building
Colombian State	-Lack of protection in rural areas -Cases of state-violence	-Problematic program structures & implementation -"Blame the Victim"	-Lack of programs for training/skills in formal urban labor market -Lack of housing solutions	-Urban development policy -Urban Rebranding
Displaced Peasants "Campesinos"	-Displaced from Territory (as a set of relations) -Onset of Displaced Consciousness	-Lack of durable solutions -Identity shift: from peasant to urban displaced	-Differential inclusion: Housing & Labor -Spatial Exclusion	-Double-Displacement -Displaced Consciousness as tool

I imagine the life-cycle of forced migration in the Weberian sense of an "ideal type," however, I do not assume that displaced persons who experience Phase 4 are fully integrate, satisfied, or healed. Rather, instead of conceptualizing of the displacement process linearly, the cycle represents a process of perpetual formation, always unstable, unfinished; and with the possibility of reversion and setbacks. For example, campesinos can resettle in a neighborhood in Medellín only to be displaced once again due to paramilitaries and gangs or urban development projects.

Life “as it was”

I begin the analysis of displacement by starting with life “as it was” as a point of reference, using how the displaced *remember* rural life before their first interaction with armed actors and the displacement event. Understanding Life “as it was” is key for exploring the material and subjective losses of displacement

Rupture

According to interviews with displacees, the rupture from Life “as it was” represents the moment that the conflict entered their everyday lives. Some interviewees told me that this rupture endured for years as armed actors entered and controlled their village/town. For others, the rupture occurred when they heard news of violence happening in nearby villages. Those most affected by the rupture with Life “as it was” were those who directly experienced violence, treats, torture, kidnapping, or forced recruitment, or violence and/or death of their loved ones.

Phase 1: Displacement

Phase One represents the moment when the person is forced to physically

leave their home, livelihood, town, and/or region. During the phase of displacement, displaced interviewees talked about the lack of protection from state forces that led to their displacement, and mentioned violences caused by Colombian military forces, that also lead to violations and expulsion. In addition, development projects that target natural resources in Colombia, like petroleum and gold, are part of the forces that result in the mass displacement of the countryside, demonstrating that development and conflict go hand in hand (Muggah 2003). In Colombia, land is power and *campesinos* are considered a barrier to taking this power.

The identity of peasant or *campesino* refers to anyone living in the countryside, rather than only signifying those who are peasant farmers. For the dissertation, I will use interchangeably the terms peasant, rural person, and *campesino*. The place-based identity of “*campesino*” is one of pride, and the rupture with “life as it was,” results in a new awareness resulting from loss and trauma. This is the onset of the *Displaced Consciousness*.

Phase 2: Resettlement

Phase Two represents the process that spans from first entering the city and seeking aid, either from the government, NGOs, churches, family and/or community members, and/or self-settling. Resettling in the city, problematic program structures and inadequate attention, particularly when seeking legal claims to reparation and restitution, further cement feelings of distrust of all state actors, social and humanitarian worker included, who, through interviews, revealed deep biases about peasants, and racial discrimination against Afro-Colombians and indigenous groups.

Phase 3: Integration

Phase Three address the years after displacement and resettlement to understand the socio-economic, and political process of migrant incorporation into the city. Research reveals that lack of durable solutions, via training for skills in the urban labor market, as well as segregation in precarious housing situations, result in a new social status of Partial citizen. Of my sample, most displaced people work in the informal sector, but informal work is not considered a contribution to the global city of Medellín, therefore the displaced are not profitable, and thus without value (Anderson 2013). The displaced's continued poverty posits them as unassimilable urban subjects, a drain on society, due to, as a program coordinator said, "...their rural culture that does not let them understand how to be a citizen of Medellín."

Phase 4: Community-Building

Phase Four entails the building and sustainability of collective networks, organizations, social movements, that (re-create collective identities associated with where they live (peripheries), where they came from (the countryside) and their situation (displacement and impoverishment). Community-building serves as a form of collective integration, with displaced community leaders applying a Displaced Consciousness as a tool for contesting segmented citizenship. This new political awareness, which is based on the identity of "displaced," is utilized as a strategy by displaced leaders to build solidarity with other displaced persons and make claims as citizens and victims of the conflict.

Chapter Overview

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The dissertation begins by situating the research within the Sociological literature on migration and citizenship. The chapter is divided into four sections: Migrant Incorporation, Citizenship, Everyday Consciousness, and Space. I draw from the theoretical frameworks of differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003) and non-citizenship (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016) to analyze the influence of displacement on these twin processes of belonging. I consider the perspective of the state and the displaced, highlighting the subjective outcomes of war and displacement.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Chapter 3 details the research design, methodology and case selection over the course of five year, discussing 12 months of fieldwork in Colombia between 2011-2016. The following of the chapters discuss the empirical findings, which are organized according to the phases of the life-cycle of forced migration.

Chapter 4: Phase 1 of Life-Cycle of Forced migration: Displacement

Chapter Four introduces the first phase of the life-cycle of forced migration: displacement. Rather than begin at the displacement event, the life-cycle begins with “life as it was,” life before armed actors—whether guerrillas, paramilitaries or military—expelled them from their home, land, and livelihoods. I begin with the material conditions *before* displacement to focus on the meaning and significance of

land and territory to understand the material losses of *campesino* life. Using Bridget Anderson's typology of citizens, I argue that the loss of the ability to practice their agricultural skills in the city, shift campesinos from Good *Campesino* (contributing) to Failed Urban Citizen (burden) (Anderson 2013). To explore the subjective losses of displacement, I explore the tensions between campesinos' memories of the countryside as both as both utopic and haunted (Gordon 2008). I contend that *campesinos* hold a collective memory of expulsion that is rooted in place-based and temporal understandings of the rural which creates a new critical awareness; the Displaced Consciousness. This analysis demonstrates the importance of considering the subjective as a critical element of integration and citizenship.

In the second part of the chapter, I focus on the initial displacement of *campesinos* by different armed actors—guerrillas, paramilitaries, and the military—recognizing that some peasants have experienced multiple displacements over the years before settling in Medellín. I show that the context of expulsion differs among participants; some people were displaced due to armed actors directly targeting them, felt forced to migrate to avoid potential threats and violence. Demonstrating the spectrum of expulsion, I aim to show why peasant's displacement from land and territory represents a traumatic rupture from their identity, and economic, social, environmental, and support networks, which negatively affects their sense and practice of citizenship in the future. The expulsion from the countryside thereby transforms displaced peasants into partial citizens in the city, resulting in protracted states of displacement.

Chapter 5: Phase 2 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Resettlement

This chapter examines the Colombian state's response to displacement through the programs of resettlement available to displaced campesinos in Medellín. As displaced campesinos move to urban areas to find refuge, they encounter stigma from state actors and city residents and struggle as they attempt to relocate into the receiving urban communities. The process of resettlement is plagued with problems that do not allow for long term solutions, leaving the displaced dependent on the state or forced to self-settle. Using my interviews with government administrators, social workers, and psychologists in humanitarian aid and welfare programs, I argue that distrust of rural displacees, coupled with problematic structures of resettlement and transitional justice programs, and lack of durable solution for insertion into the formal labor market, have led to exclusion of displaced citizens from full participation in the urban community. Exclusion from segments of Medellín, result in a heightened risk of lifelong and even generational impoverishment. I assert that assisting with humanitarian aid yet not assisting with economic and labor insertion is an example of failed inclusion, and has resulted in protracted states of displacement in Colombia.

Chapter 6: Phase 3 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Integration

This chapter examines the processes of economic and social integration as a multipronged process associated with long-term migrant incorporation into the host society. I draw from Heckmann and Bosswick's (2005) framework of integration to discuss the economic integration of internal forced migration as a

gendered state-led program, demonstrating the shifts that occur for women and men during post-displacement resettlement which affect economic conditions of forced migrant incorporation. To address the economic outcomes of protracted displacement, I then show how *campesinos* are limited in the informal labor market, often with help from state-led income-generating programs. The chapter argues that to extend Heckmann and Bosswick's (2005) framework of integration, I add the subjective experience of migrants. I discuss the subjective losses of displacement and how segregation in the peri-urban "borderlands," (Anzaldúa [1987]1999) sustains the displaced consciousness, experienced as waiting, loss, and nostalgia. This chapter explores the way that the internally displaced are integrated into limiting sectors of societies, like through income-generating programs, but how positionality, like gender, and the subjective can result in *campesinos* continuing to identify as "displaced" and feel like non-citizens in their own country.

Chapter 7: Phase 4 of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Community-Building

Chapter Seven examines the last phase of the lifecycle of forced migration, focusing on the participation of displaced community leaders in neighborhood organizations movements to contest double-displacement in Medellín; expulsion first from the countryside and now, after resettling for years in the city, facing another displacement due to urban development projects. I discuss the literature on the Right to the City to situate my argument that the Right to the Territory is a better approach to understanding the particular needs of territorial movements in the peripheries that

are led by the displaced *campesinos* in Medellín. Using twelve interviews with displaced women and men leaders, I discuss the processes of barrio-building and territory-building, and how these co-constitutive processes develop founder's leadership skills that, later, are used for political activism for defending the territory and making claims to the state. I show how displaced consciousness is applied for coalition-building, fore-fronting the work of *La Mesa Interbarrial de Desconectados (MID)* or the Inter-Neighborhood Committee of the Disconnected, a network of various individuals and organizations, both on neighborhood and city-wide levels, that have displaced persons as key leaders and members. I conclude by discussing *MID*'s hosting of yearly popular school of political formation that centers the workshops on the premise that to defend the territory, one must know the territory. This chapter demonstrates that while displacement does affect people's integration and sense of belonging to Colombia, displaced community leaders utilize their new political awareness as partial citizens as a tool for contesting segmented citizenship and double-displacement from the Medellín Miracle.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

I conclude the dissertation by revisiting the research questions, findings, and theoretical implications of the study. I argue that we are living in a distinct time in history where forced migration is a global phenomenon, and the categories of partial citizens experiencing segmented citizenship is growing as the gap between formal rights and ability to exercise these rights become wider. This is due not only to war, but also, globalization as it drives displacement due to development, economic and

labor markets, climate change, and gentrification. Due to this, there is a greater urgency to develop theories about internal migration and forced migration as global processes, while also highlighting how people contest these expulsions.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

My research is situated within the fields of migration and citizenship, drawing from the frameworks of *differential inclusion* (Espiritu 2003) and *non-citizenship* (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016) to critique and extend the existing literature on migrant integration and national citizenship. In addition, I draw from feminist approaches of everyday consciousness (Smith 1987) and space (Lefebvre's 1991), to understand the role of the state, globalization, gender, and place on the integration of internally displaced peasants who have resettled in Medellín, Colombia.

Chapter Two is divided into four sections: Migrant Incorporation; Citizenship; Everyday Consciousness; and Space. Each section situates the theoretical frameworks of the research project to answer the primary question of this research project: How does displacement influence the processes of incorporation and citizenship from the perspective of the state and its subjects?

Processes of and Pathways to Migrant Incorporation

How and to what degree migrants incorporate into the host society is a major theme in migration studies in Sociology, which has primarily been studied through the framework of assimilation. Assimilation, the incorporation and integration of immigrants into a host society by giving up “their distinctive linguistic, cultural or

social characteristics” (Castles and Miller 2009: 247), is a process shaped not only by what immigrants bring with them—human, social and economic capital—but also by where people immigrate to, and how the receiving community welcomes or excluded them (Portes et al. 2009; Bloemraad 2006; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1990). Theories of assimilation measure immigrant incorporation into the host society through social, economic, and political outcomes, which have focused on comparing immigrant groups to U.S. born whites (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Kasinitz et al. 2008 Alba and Nee 2003; Portes and Zhou 1993; Gordon 1964).

Classical assimilation theory—or “straight line” assimilation theory—claims that immigrants’ assimilation into the U.S. is linear and progressive over time, moving upward between generations so that by the third and fourth generation assimilation into the U.S. social fabric, in terms of structure, culture, and politics, is complete, meaning that any traces of an ethnic background are erased (Gordon 1964; Park 1930). Straight line assimilation theory assumes that the “American-Only” identity and status is the ultimate goal by which to measure migrant incorporation. However, this linear approach negates a range of factors and processes that affect the process of incorporation itself that is not true to real life. As Portes and Rumbaut argue, “While assimilation may still represent the master concept in the study of today’s immigrants, the process is subject to too many contingencies and affected by too many variables to render the image of a relatively uniform and straightforward path credible” (2001:45).

Yet, immigration scholars have continued to argue for the utility of a neo-assimilation theory approach to studying contemporary immigrant populations. Alba and Nee (1999) show how the different flows of migration in past and present eras have assimilated in the United States. In the 1920s the flow of European immigrants ebbed dramatically due to newly implemented immigration policy (Alba and Nee 1999). As Jiménez (2008) argues, since there were no new generations of immigrants entering the United States, assimilation happened more readily. In comparison, immigration post-1965 has had a greater continual flow due to less restrictive immigration policies. In addition, new immigrant groups come from a diversity of ethnic backgrounds, thereby making their incorporation into the United States a more complicated process (Alba and Nee 1999), yet not much different from European immigrants pre-1920s. Social incorporation can be especially difficult for immigrant groups of colors who come from countries with low economic growth and little upward social mobility (Jiménez 2008). In the face of these barriers, Alba and Nee (1999) affirm that upward assimilation does occur between generations of immigrant groups within the receiving state, though how much and to what degree varies per generation. In addition, the authors assert that assimilation is the outcome of social incorporation that intentionally or unintentionally happens and should not be ignored as a point of inquiry into intergroup relations within migration studies (Alba and Nee 1999).

Models of assimilation theory assume that the sole pathway to migrant integration is based on the erasure of ethnic, cultural, linguistic markers of difference,

and participation in social and economic markets with the native-born community. But, immigration scholars have found that there are different paths to assimilation which are influenced by a myriad of structural inequalities that have different outcomes for social, economic, and political integration, as well as gender, race, and household relations (Zavella 2011; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Bloemraad 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1990).

Departing from classical assimilation theory, Portes and Zhou (1993) present *segmented assimilation* as a more realistic framework for thinking about the paths to inter-generational immigrant adaption. The authors argue that in order to understand why second generation immigrants assimilate differently from the first generation one needs to consider various factors that impact those in the second generation, not only of a particular immigrant group but also between groups (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Portes and Zhou's (1993) theory of segmented assimilation focuses on the context of reception to understand the modes of incorporation: "modes of incorporation consist of the complex formed by the policies of the host government; the values and prejudices of the receiving society; and the characteristics of the coethnic community" (p. 83). The social context of the receiving community plays a direct role in creating vulnerability of settling migrants due to three factors: (1) color, or race/ethnicity of migrant groups; (2) location: where migrants settle; and (3) absence of mobility ladders (Portes and Zhou's 1993). Segmented assimilation theory first identifies the exogenous factors in an immigrant's life, which consists of human capital (education or socioeconomic status); context of reception in host country; and

compositions of the family, such as the modes of incorporation which pertains to the government/community/society organizations and networks that help or hinder immigrants' adaption into the host country (Portes et al. 2009).

For Telles and Ortiz (2008) there are two intersecting processes that shape an immigrant's experience in the host country: assimilation and racialization.

Racialization can stunt the process of incorporation, especially for immigrants of color, which is evident in the response of nativists like Huntington (2004) to Latino immigration. Telles and Ortiz's (2008) work examines the experiences of Mexican American assimilation in the United States, overtime and between generations of immigrants, by testing the variables of economic status, ethnic identity, education, politics, inter-ethnic relations, and culture and language. The authors find that overtime there is a decrease in the assimilation gap between groups but not between generations. This is particularly important when considering the variable of education, which shows a downward assimilation of immigrants by the 3rd generation.

Jiménez's (2008) work also examines race and assimilation of later generation of Mexican Americans, but instead of focusing on factors of assimilation like socioeconomic status, area of residential, language fluency, and intermarriage, Jiménez looks at the erasure, and upholding, of ethnic boundaries and group identities to analyze assimilation. Creation of inter-group boundaries between Mexican-American and other groups, and intra-group boundaries, between Mexican-American groups, posits Mexican Americans as living between the boundaries of a

dialectical ethnic identity: being Mexican “enough” and being “too” Mexican (Jiménez 2008). This strengthens intra-group boundaries since nativism solidifies ethnic boundaries by pushing these ideals on Mexican-Americans *and* by the internalization of these ideals, as well. Overall, Jiménez’s findings show that though not fully on par with whites, later-generations of Mexican Americans have made “significant intergenerational gain” (2008:1542).

The work of Telles and Ortiz (2008) and Jiménez (2008) are good examples of why taking race into account when examining the assimilation of immigrants of color is important. Theories compare contemporary immigrant assimilation to experience of European immigrants of the 20th century do not consider discrimination on the basis of race (Portes and Zhou 1993). In addition, as Portes and Zhou (1993) state, we cannot just look at the rates of assimilation over time since the economic structures of the sending and receiving countries change overtime, affecting the immigrant experience. For these reasons, classical assimilation theory does not correctly address the complexities that lead, or don’t lead, to assimilation. However, I argue that assimilation theories within immigration studies are based on primarily comparing international migrant groups to the native population using imagined U.S. “values” and practices that filter who is deemed acceptable to be included into the American social fabric.

For this research, I apply the principle of integration to refer to how internal and forced migrants socially and economically incorporate into the city after being displaced from the countryside of Colombia. Integration can be defined as a gradual

adaption process that requires “some degree of mutual accommodation” (Castles and Miller 2009: 247) between state structures and migrant agency. Assimilation differs from integration because, as discussed by Castles and Miller, it refers to the incorporation of immigrants as a “one-sided process of adaption...where [immigrants] were to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population” (2009: 247). The concept of integration is better to use when discussing the incorporation of internal migrants. These migrants do not cross borders, rather they stay within the boundaries of their nation-state and retain their national membership as citizens. In the case of Colombia, rural internal displaced persons stay within the borders of Colombia, resettling in urban areas, hoping to receive aid and opportunities through the state to reconstruct their lives post-displacement. In this context integration can involve insertion into society by obtaining sustainable employment, living in racially and ethnically mixed neighborhoods—including areas resided by non-displacees—access to social and health services, legal attention and protection, and inclusion in policies and programs that address the needs of vulnerable groups, such as women, children, Afro-Colombians and indigenous people.

Sociological research on the integration of migrant men and women has been measured by examining economic, social, and political elements of incorporation into the host society overtime (Coutin 2016; Waters and Pineau 2015; Anderson 2013; Dahinden 2012; Nawyn et al. 2009; Curran et al. 2006; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Heckmann and Bosswick 2005; Goldring 2003; Guarnizo et al.

2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Espiritu 2003; Jones-Correa 1998; Portes and Zhou; DeWind and Kasinitz. 1997). To examine the integration process of internally displaced campesinos in Colombia, I focus my analysis of migrant incorporation on social and economic integration. Research on economic incorporation, which means control of one's economic condition, measures occupational level, income, and accumulated wealth which is linked to length of time in host country, educational attainment, and, for future generations, the socio-economic status of parents (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Terriquez 2014). For example, Terriquez's research on 1.5, second, and third-plus generation Latino youth, shows that the low socioeconomic status of parents and low college enrollment result in working-class stagnation and lack of upward mobility.

Economic incorporation is also mediated by the types of labor markets available to arriving migrants, particularly as labor migrants (Meyers 2000; Massey 1999; Piore 1979), as well as racialization and discrimination (Terriquez 2014; Portes et al. 2009; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Espiritu 2003; Portes and Zhou 1993). Portes et al. (2009) stress the importance of racialization and discrimination due to race as a major barrier to upward mobility for immigrants of color. In addition, the highly bifurcated labor market that places highly skilled and educated jobs at the top of the economic hierarchy, and low skilled, manual labor jobs at the bottom. This creates barriers for future immigrant generations since their parents may not immigrate with economic or educational capital, which in turn affects what job skills their children will acquire. As Portes et al. (2009) state: "For new entrants into the labour force, including the

children of immigrants, this stark bifurcation means that they must acquire in the course of a single generation the advanced educational credentials that took descendant of Europeans several generations to achieve” (p. 1080).

Social integration is examined by looking at migrants’ networks, that could be measured by educational incorporation (Terriquez 2014; Telles and Ortiz 2008), inter-marriage and family formation (Feliciano et al. 2011), or place of residence (Telles and Ortiz 2008; South et al. 2005; Alba et al. 1999; Massey and Denton 1987). Research has found that spatial assimilation may facilitate or limit educational opportunities and inter-ethnic relations (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Massey and Denton 1987). In other words, where you live can dictate where children go to school, which also mediates the quality of education, the type of inter-ethnic relations with other groups, and future socio-economic mobility (South et al. 2005; Portes and Zhou 1993). Phenotype has also been found to differentiate opportunities of immigrant groups of color (Alba et al. 1999; Telles and Ortiz 2008) for social incorporation since they may be discriminated against and these immigrants may experience spatial segregation (Iceland and Nelson 2008; South et al. 2005; Denton and Massey 1989).

Acquisition, maintenance and nurturing of parents’ socio-economic capital is another important component of social integration, highlighting the importance of social capital (Woolcock 2010). Social capital is a vital component for adaption of migrants and their children, keeping in mind, as Kasinitz (2008) says, that for particular ethnic groups, it is not solely about social networks but about ethnic

institutional organizations that made-up the receiving community. Portes et al. (2009) and Kasinitz (2008) both discuss the importance of the role of education in the assimilation of immigrants. Yet, the indicator of education represents a contradiction in assimilation literature. Some assimilation theorists see education as a key component in telling who is more likely to fully assimilate (Telles and Ortiz 2008), that is, the higher the education, the more likely an immigrant will separate themselves from their ethnic background and fully assimilate into the host country. But, other literature has found that the higher the level of education, the more likely immigrants will find ways to keep ties to their native country, such as through political participation and the engagement with transnational networks (Fox and Gois 2010; Portes et al. 2009; Smith 2006; Goldring 2003; Jones-Correa 1998).

While not an explicit part of this dissertation, political integration of migrants is another important marker of incorporation into a new community. This may be measured by looking at voting rates or civic participation in political community groups or organizations (Milkman and Terriquez 2012; Fox and Bada 2011; Bada et al. 2010; Fox and Gois 2010; Jones-Correa 1998), or hometown associations (Smith 2006; Goldring 2003). Portes et al. (2009) find immigrant political participation on a transnational scale is influenced more by country of origin and how the immigrant is received in the host country than by education. Guarnizo et al. (2003) also discusses the context of migration and reception as primary factors that shape the immigrant experience. Negative reception can lead to greater ties to sending country and therefore facilitate the process of transnationalism.

The above section reviews the Sociological literature on economic, social, and political integration, but an additional factor that influences migrant integration that needs to be mentioned is the role of the state (Portes et al. 2009; Guarnizo et al. 2003). The relationship between sending and receiving countries, and immigration status given by the host country to different immigrant groups affects future opportunities for full incorporation. An example of this would be the case of Cuban immigrants, who were given asylum status and an immense amount of financial support/aid and political leverage, all which has solidified their political and socioeconomic integration in the United States now (Bedolla 2014). Juxtapose Cubans with those who migrated from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador during the 1980s, seeking asylum from the conflict but were repeatedly and systemically denied asylum status. This affected not only their ability to stay in the United States but left them in a legal limbo, the “in-between” space between documented and undocumented—what Menjívar (2006) calls “liminal legality”—that affected Central American immigrants’ social networks, families, opportunities, and overall incorporation in the United States. The concept of “liminal legality” can also be used to understand the case of displaced people in Colombia, who are given aid and services once they are registered and state-recognized as displaced. Since people who have displaced due to military-led coca fumigations are not legally recognized as displaced, these persons are left to fend for themselves and rebuild their lives with far fewer opportunities and potential success. However, findings show that even with the aid of state-led program of resettlement, displaced peasants in Medellín do not

experience upward mobility.

The context of reception is a key point to understand the different paths to integration that migrant experience in the host society. While some of the sociological literature on assimilation and incorporation have discussed the downward assimilation patterns of migrants and their children, arguing that particular groups, like Latinos, have experienced socio-economic and political exclusion (Telles and Ortiz 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993), others have had a more positive analysis of generational patterns of incorporation (Alba et al. 2011; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Alba and Nee 2003). However, this dissertation on internal and forced migration of Colombians addresses differential migrant incorporation via state and personal pathways that are both exclusionary—as displaced persons—and inclusionary—as displaced “victims.” I draw from Espiritu’s framework of differential inclusion as a method of examining the range of experiences of forced migrants that are neither fully integrated nor fully excluded either.

Differential Inclusion

Espirtu’s (2003) work on transnational Filipino migrants demonstrates that while migrants do experience differing forms of social, economic, and political exclusion when settling in the receiving community, they are not outright excluded. Rather, their differential inclusion is a process that deems them integral to “the nation’s economy, culture, identity, and power (Espiritu 2003: 47),” *but* their value is based on their subordinated social status. For example, in the case of internal migrants, a major way that peasants are included into cities of Colombia is through a

process of resettlement that gives them monetary aid as a form of securing the safety of its citizens *and* the country. Therefore, the state-led resettlement of internally displaced persons is integral to the security of Colombia. Being recognized by the state as a “victim,” is used by the displaced to secure aid by signaling a subordinated social status.

However, while peasant do not leave the borders of Colombia and retain political membership, lack of durable solutions, social stigma and discrimination, and trauma, negatively affects peasants’ sense and practice of citizenship (Oosterom 2016). Their sense of citizenship relates to how they see themselves in relations to others and the state. In regard to practice of citizenship, these are individual and collective actions taken to partake in politics at different scales.

Understanding the shifts that displaced persons experience in terms of their political sense and practice of membership to the state and nation is part of the process of uprooting, not solely from place but, more significantly, uprooting from conceptions of “home” and belonging. Espiritu focuses on Filipino immigrants in San Diego, California as a method of demonstrating the process of migration, not solely as arrival and settlement, but as a beginning for home-making and possible return; home-making is considered as both “imagined and an actual geography; or more specifically, it is about how home is both connected to and disconnected from the physical space in which one lives” (Espiritu 2003: 2). Further, “home is defined here both as a private domestic space and as a larger geographic where one belongs, such as one's community, village, city, and country. I am especially interested in

understanding how immigrants use memory of homeland to construct their new lives in the country to which they have migrated" (Espiritu 2003: 2).

I extend Espiritu's work by applying the framework of differential inclusion to the case of internal and forced migration. For internally displaced campesinos, the moment of displacement and their memories of the rural past, along with the loss of the material, social, economic, environmental, and personal link to the land and territory, represents a break with "home," or a place/space where they feel like they belong. While they retain their Colombian-ness, their place of origin, relationship to the conflict, lack of urban capital, and subjective experience with war and displacement, have made them "home-less." In addition, as I will discuss in Chapter 4, displaced interviewees feel that they cannot return to their rural homeland, either due to the trauma they faced, or feeling that they were not longer capable to start over in the countryside due to lapse in years, skills, and age.

In terms of their relationship to the state, campesinos have their civil rights as Colombians violated due to the war and the problematic processes of state-facilitated aid. However, the displaced also gain new rights as "victims of the conflict." Yet, these rights as displaced citizens do not offer durable solutions to prevent protracted states of displacement and impoverishment. As Chapter Five and Six demonstrate, due to a focus on linear, short-term, and monetary-based solutions, the displaced become stagnated in the informal labor market, excluded from the formal urban employment sector, segregated in informal and settlements on the peripheries of the city. These chapters also reveal the importance of understanding the perceptions of

both the displaced *and* the state that does affect the processes of resettlement and integration. Since displaced campesinos' subjective experience with displacement are connected to the rural *and* the urban, it is key to acknowledge both consciousness and place/space for understanding the lingering influence of displacement on integration and national citizenship.

I contribute to the sociological literature on migration incorporation in three ways: first, by examining the process of integration of internal migrant, a group that, while larger than international migrants, is not sufficiently theorized within the fields of migration. Secondly, this research project examines the integration of internal migrants as a political project of the Colombian state, as both sending and receiving state, offering us a more intimate view into the role of the state in the process of migration. Lastly, I argue that approaches to migrant incorporation tend to focus on the processes of cultural and socio-economic participation that will result in incorporation. But, what this misses is the perceptions of both the displaced and the state in understanding the political project of involuntary resettlement and integration of displaced Colombian peasants. For example, as I show in Chapter Six, while displacees may be included in income-generating programs and receive aid on the basis of being both citizens and displaced, they may not feel like they belong, even after two decades in the Medellín and continue to identify as “displaced.” Therefore, while we think of incorporation in term of the material outcomes of economic, social, and political participation, this dissertation addresses and forefronts the non-material elements of migrant integration. To address this gap in the migration

literature on assimilation and integration, I develop the concept of the displaced consciousness in Chapters Four, Six, and Seven, to discuss the affective outcomes of war and displacement, which develops a new awareness of the world as the displaced now carry memories of “home”—as the homeless—with them into the urban. Thus, I contend that this dissertation extends research on incorporation by also considering feelings of belonging that are connected to “home” (or the rural) and identity formation as related to being national (urban) citizens.

By examining integration through the life-cycle of forced migration, I show how each phase of the serial process of internal displacement affects socio-economic opportunities and outcomes for long-term recovery. I use the framework of the life-cycle to consider the outcomes of conflict and expulsions overtime, highlighting the context of expulsion, context of reception, the role of the state, gender, and place, and subjectivity to understand feelings of non-belonging and how it creates limits to “home-making” and citizenship.

Citizenship: Studies of Belonging

Conceptions of citizenship—who is included in a society, nation, or country—is a highly-contested topic on migration and integration, both academically and politically. The topic of citizenship and non-citizenship has been widely studied, across disciplines, particularly in Political Science, Anthropology, and Economics, and in a range of subfields within migration studies. I will focus this section of the literature review on the Sociological literatures on citizenship. The section on Citizenship is divided into two parts; the first will briefly discuss the classic

conceptions of citizenship as related to formal considerations of national belonging. The section half will engage with literature that examines non-citizens, often associated with the exclusion of undocumented persons through immigration policies. Additionally, I address literatures within citizenship studies that examine conceptions of national belonging beyond a strict binary of citizen/non-citizen. I draw from the literature on non-citizenship to argue for a more nuanced approach to belonging and exclusion through the Spectrum of Non-Belonging.

Citizenship is the contract between the citizen and the nation-state which bestows rights and obligations to the individual as part of their membership. Marshall (1950) defines citizenship as a status based on a two-way social contract with the nation-state. This social contract assumes that citizens can claim, through their membership, “to be accepted as full members of the society (Marshall 1950: 8). Tracing a historic progression of rights from the eighteenth century, Marshall argues that citizens have acquired rights through the development of civil, political, and social citizenship. The development of these citizenship is part of a trajectory that would expand the types of rights and entitlements of citizens, resulting in universal equality. Civil citizenship encompasses the civil and legal rights, such as property rights; political citizenship is engagement in the government and civic society, like through voting or civic participation. Social citizenship involves the entitlement from the welfare state, such as healthcare and education.

However, Marshall’s linear progression of rights has limits which does not explain the range of experiences of different members of a society. First, aside from

considerations of class difference, Marshall does not address other forms of inequality that might create barriers to a person's ability to fully exercise their citizenship rights and practices. These barriers might be due to discrimination based on gender, race, sexuality, and legal status (Yuval-Davis 2007; Benhabib 2004; Luibhéid 2002; De Genova 2007). This limitation demonstrates the need to recognize that national identity is not homogenous (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016).

Secondly, Marshall's theory of the linear progression of rights assumes that people merely need to fulfill in their obligations in society for acquisition and guarantee to their rights and freedoms. But, the degree that one can freely participate in society in order to fulfill their obligations to the State—for example, through formal work—is experienced differently for many people. Citizens may experience differing forms of social, political, and economic inclusion and exclusion by the same nation-state and society that they are supposed to be a part of. For example, the working poor fulfill their obligation to the State by having a job, but unsustainable low wages and continued poverty keep workers socially and economically excluded in spite of their formal political inclusion. Citizenship is not solely about being conferred a status by the State, but it is also a practice engaged with in “multiple forms and at multiple levels of political integration, and as intersecting with different forms of social division such as gender, class and race” (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016). Understanding citizenship as a homogenous status negates the social inequalities that come from discriminations against minority groups (Yuval-Davis 1997). Addressing this limitation allows for the recognition of the diverse range of rights needed for all

members of a nation-state, and beyond, to be guaranteed freedoms and protections.

Understanding the connection between the processes of citizenship and incorporation is related to upholding and protecting the social contract between the modern state and its subjects:

The starting point for understanding incorporation is historical experiences of nation-state formation: the ways in which emerging states handled difference when dealing with internal ethnic or religious minorities, conquering new territories, incorporating immigrants, or ruling people in their colonies...Differing ideas about citizenship developed from these experiences (Castles and Miller 2009: 246)

For scholars such as Arendt (1968), Tilly (1995), and Joppke (2007), Citizenship brings with it the rights that can only be guaranteed via a legal attachment to a territorial-bound, sovereign state. There rights are ideals of the nation about who is included in the process of nation-building. This process is also a process of building a national identity that is supposed to create feelings of belonging and alliance to the nation-state.

On the other hand, scholars, like Somers (2008), argue for examining citizenship beyond a dominant organizing theory or a status. Rather than examining citizenship as a conceptual object like Marshall, Somers examines what she calls genealogies of citizenship, using the case of Hurricane Katrina, to demonstrate limits of national citizenship for guaranteeing rights and generating feelings of national belonging. She argues that “the citizens of New Orleans were made stateless by the man-made tragedy of Katrina, the borders and boundaries once used solely as external demarcations designed to exclude people from nation-state entry are

increasingly expanding to the center of our polities, creating sharp interior borders of internal social and political exclusion..." (Somers 2008:21). Using the case of Hurricane Katrina, Somers explores the forms of social exclusion in spite of formal nation-state membership, that transform citizens into "defacto internally stateless superfluous people" (2008: 27).

Making the connection between the erosion of rights and the growth of capital markets, Somers (2008) argues that citizenship rights need to understand both *de jure* and *de facto* rights; rights as social inclusion and civil-juridical. As she points out, "It is only this primary right of inclusion and membership that makes possible the mutual acknowledgment of the other as a moral equal, and thus worthy of equal social and political recognition" (Somers 2008:6). Pushing against Marshall (1950), Somers says that defining citizenship on a membership status alone does not allow for a wider range of understandings about other forms of belonging and exclusions not based on formal conceptualization of national belonging. According to Somers, examining citizenship beyond a formal state-centered membership "allows me to think comparatively about citizenship regimes as variable, along a continuum from lesser to greater degrees of democratic and rights-based social inclusiveness" (2008:6). In this same vein, I think about the citizenship within a spectrum of belonging and non-belonging, spectrums which are tested with the movement of humans within and across borders.

Migration and Citizenship

Studies on migration and citizenship are focused on the movement of

immigrants across borders, examining the tensions between the migrant and the receiving country. Based on a binary of citizen/non-citizen, state policies that control borders and the movements of bodies, particularly from the Global South to the Global North, hold citizenship as a status that protects the acceptable citizen as well as excluded those who are seen as non-citizens Others. As Bridget Anderson's (2013) work on migration policy and citizenship argues, "The exclusion of migrant helps define the privileges and the limitations of citizenship, and close attention to the border (physical and metaphorical) reveals much about how we make sense of ourselves" (Anderson 2013: 2).

Keeping incoming non-citizens out via strict immigration policies is a process that also transforms the migrant into a category of non-citizens who are portrayed as a problem, criminal, illegal, and/or alien. De Genova (2010) argues that the state's positioning of the immigration of Mexicans as "the national problem" is part of what Étienne Balibar calls an 'immigration complex' which frames society's problems as caused, in due part, by undocumented immigration. De Genova (2010) argues that racial constructions that posit whiteness as a necessity for "legal citizenship" is part of the postcolonial character of the nation-state formation of the United States. Positing Mexicans as "the Nation problem" justifies the state's implementation of policies that include some ["good citizens"] by excluding Others ["bad illegals"]. Exclusion is produced by both physical deportation and the threat of deportability. De Genova (2007) expands on this idea by saying that the state aims to deport and detain: "Indeed, detainability as such, in its excruciating indeterminacy, becomes a zone of

indistinction...where the very meaning of ‘legality’ and ‘illegality’ seem to crumble—always, notably, at the expense of any erstwhile presumable stability or security naively attributed to ‘legality’” (2007: 438).

For immigrants who are non-citizens, entering a community marks the body as a site of contradictions. Inside the border of a political community represents a “domain of universal citizenship, but [aliens] remain outsiders in a significant sense...” (Bosniak 2006:4). Exclusion occurs at the border, therefore when the “alien” enters the community, the “border follows them inside” transforming their bodies into a marked place of surveillance and permanent exclusion. Only focusing on the geopolitical borders of a state assumes that borders are static and fixed. This approach does not consider the various forms of entry and exit, bodies, economy, innovation, technology, etc., that move between, through, and within borders. This is of particular relevance for non-citizens who enter a new country, yet is still relevant for migrants who are forced to migrate but stay within borders.

According to Bosniak (1999) understanding that there are socially constructed differences based on certain characteristics or factors such as race, sexuality, gender, disability, and region allows us to see the stigmas attached to migrants of particular origins and backgrounds. These preconceived notions of particular groups of immigrants create assumptions about who is more able to assimilate and incorporate within the social fabric of the receiving community, and therefore perform the “acceptable” citizenship norms and practices. This idea is reflected in Meyers’ (2000) delineation of the National Identity approach to immigration control. This approach

argues that immigration policies are shaped by histories, nationality, ideas of citizenship and identity, and social conflicts that are unique to a particular country. This changes over time as a response to cultural developments and political debates. An example, denial of citizenship has been used historically by the U.S.—African Slavery and Jim Crow, Chinese Exclusion, Mexicans post-treaty of Hidalgo—as a form of exclusion and as a tool of keeping the racial status quo and hierarchies (Ngai 2007). Ngai (2007) draws from legal history to show how racial categories were legally constructed and upheld through restrictive immigration laws (for example through the quota system for Asians) that were part of a nation building project. Quota systems created a new category of non-citizen: the "illegal alien." In spite of their legal status, Ngai argues that racialization created a new category of citizen, "the alien," with alien citizenship who "had citizenship to the state but not the nation" (Vollp 2005: 1617). The contradiction between being excluded—or aliens—and included—as citizens—transformed them into impossible subjects. Ngai's research challenges Arendt by demonstrated that in spite of a formal contract with the state, the state must first recognize its citizens' right in order to guarantee rights.

Bosniak (2006) argues for rethinking about forms of citizenship, such as global and transitional citizenship, that are de-centered from the state. Focusing on "alienage," or non-citizen citizenship, Bosniak (2006) presents two analytical starting points for looking at citizenship: 1) the inward-looking approach, which uses a universalist ethic that claims everyone is included in citizenship; and 2) the boundary-consciousness approach (or inward-looking) approach, which looks at citizenship as

defined by who belongs to a political community, while simultaneously defining who is excluded, marked by the boundaries of a territory/nation-state.

However, these forms of non-belonging are examined by analyzing international immigration with a focus on the context of reception and migrant's participation in social, political, and economic sectors for incorporation. But, there are, like Somers's (2008) argues, other forms of non-belonging that result from violation of rights in spite of formal membership to the state. According to Hannah Arendt's (1968), human rights are not an inalienable fact rather it is a promise that comes with membership to a political community. Therefore, a person who is stateless, without a citizenship to a sovereign nation-state, has no rights. Tubb (2006) uses Arendt's theory of statelessness to analyze the situation of displacement in Colombia. According to Tubb (2006), people who have been displaced are protected in theory—by the Colombian Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—but not in the application. Though Arendt argues that the nation must exist for rights to exist, Tubb (2006) refutes this by saying that legal citizenship does not guarantee citizenship rights. When the nation-state/citizen “agreement” disintegrates—which happens when the state has neither the capacity nor the interest in securing those rights equally for all its citizens—the rights of citizens, along with their membership to the state, disintegrates as well. Tubb explains that Colombia's internally displaced persons have lost the access to rights, to the resources of a political community, due to their exclusion from the nation-state, which therefore classifies them stateless.

I use Tubb's argument as a platform to explore the forms of non-belonging of internally displaced personas in Colombia that result in protracted states of displacement. While *campesinos* do not cross international borders, their relationship to the Colombian nation-state is affected by war and displacement, which (re)make their sense and practice of citizenship, and thus feelings of belonging. I contribute to the range of citizenships by arguing for the framework of a Spectrum of Non-Belonging, which offers a more nuanced approach for understanding the dimensions of citizenship, as related to a citizen's ability to fully exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations.

Spectrum of Non-Belonging

Drawing from work on non-citizenship, as a concept that denotes *not* a lack of membership (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016), but a new social status that acknowledges, as Castles (2005) argues, that citizenship operates within a global and national hierarchy that, for some, limits their sense and practice of citizenship, resulting in what he calls differential citizenship. Further, Castles asserts that formal equality masks a new global hierarchy of nation-states and of citizenships which results in "patterns of differential citizenship within nation-states are now overlaid with patterns of global inequality" (2005: 203). These patterns of global inequality are highlighted due to globalization and international population mobility which challenge formal citizenship and borders. Castles conceptualizes political membership as a status, a membership in the national community, which offers citizens a range of civil, political and social rights. These are rights are also held in place via the citizen's

obligation to civil society, such as obligations “to obey the law, pay taxes and to defend the country in the case of war” (Castles 2005: 204). However, as Castles argues, due to inequalities within and across the nation-states, citizens hold differential forms of citizenship in relation to their power and status in the global economy. Echoing Somers’ (2008) work on markets, globalization, and citizenship, Castles, discusses the ways that global economic markets now move between and within borders and nation-states, markets that cannot be fully controlled by governments. Citizenships exist within a hierarchy of rights between states. However, even within states, there is de facto exclusion from social, political, and economic participation for minority groups: “For such minorities, formal equality as citizens is not enough. They need differentiated rights that take account of their special needs and identities: self-government rights for Native Americans, public recognition and equal opportunities measures for ethnic and religious minorities, and a stronger welfare state for socially excluded groups” (Castles 2005: 216). These minority groups experience as sense of exclusion or feelings of non-belonging in spite of formal membership. For migrants, these sentiments of exclusion affect their integration into different segments of society.

To better understand the multifaceted long-term process of migrant integration, I use Heckmann and Bosswick’s (2005), who offers a four-level concept of integration to address the multiple factors needed for full migrant incorporation. The four levels of integration include, Structural integration: insertion and pathways to positions in society's core institutions, like the economy, education, or political

participation; Cultural integration: which entails the adaptation of the norms, values, and behaviors of the receiving society, like religion or language; Interactive integration: primary membership to social groups and networks of the host society, like through integrated neighborhoods or intermarriage; and Identificative integration, the stage of integration that deals with “feelings of belonging to and identification with groups, particularly in forms of ethnic, regional, local and/or national identification” (Heckmann and Bosswick 2005: 17). Identificative integration is the slowest level of integration, the degree to which differs per person and situation. Though people can experience economy integration, for example, they still may not identify with the principles of the state and may continue to feel unaccepted and excluded (Heckmann and Bosswick 2005). This last element nods to how people identify or feel connected to a nation. For example, while Latinos might be born in the United States, their positionality and phenotype might place them outside the realm of being perceived as full U.S. citizens. So, while they might achieve structural integration by attending college, getting a job, and even experiencing upward mobility, Latinos might still not feel like they identify with or are accepted by the state and the dominant community.

Anderson (2013) argues that modern states are held together by a Community of Value, rather than a random collection of “imagined” members (Anderson 2006) The Community of Value is "composed of people who share common ideals and (exemplary) patterns of behavior expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture, or language—that is, its members have shared values. They partake

in certain forms of social relations, in 'communities'" (Anderson 2013: 2).

Participation in the community of value allows the state to claim legitimacy and uphold the ideas and values of the nation. Anderson (2013) moves beyond the citizen-noncitizen binary of formal belonging, creating a more nuanced typology of citizens, which is composed of the Good, Failed, Tolerated, and Non-Citizens (migrants) citizens. In the construction and implementation of migration policies, the unit of analysis is the individual and their ability to fulfill the obligations of Good citizenship. The Good Citizen populates the community of value, and these individuals are 'law-abiding and hard-working members of stable and respectable families...The Good Citizen is the liberal sovereign self: rational, self-owning, and independent, with a moral compass that enables him to consider the interests of others" (Anderson 2013:3). Protection of the community of value is the primary task of immigration policies, and of the Good Citizen. In this view, Anderson argues, that "Immigration and citizenship are not simply about legal status, but fundamentally about status in the sense of worth and honour—that is, membership of the community of value" (Anderson 2013:4). On the other hand, the Failed Citizen is the individual or groups who have failed to live up to the ideals of the community of value. This category of citizen can be the homeless, job-less, criminal and welfare cheat. Due to bad decision-making, lack of discipline, divisive cultural norms, and dependency on the state, the Failed Citizen does not belong, and have proved unworthy of being a part of the community of value. As Anderson argues, like the criminals, the Failed Citizen "may be formal citizens but they are strongly imagined as internal Others,

who have proved themselves unworthy of membership of the community of values" (2013:4). In this sense, the Failed Citizen lacks rights because they do not have the correct values that are valued by the community, which are inter-linked to "economic worth, independence, self-sufficiently, and hard work" (Anderson 2013:5). Adding to the typology of citizens, Anderson also introduces the Tolerated Citizen, like the refugee or forced migrants, who is temporarily accepted into the community of value based on their subordinated status.

If we define citizenship to be based on rights and obligations, Anderson (2013) urges us to consider what types of contributions are acceptable as part of a citizen's obligation to the Community of Value. Anderson (2013) makes the link between contribution and work, saying that the Failed Citizen, for example, the poor, does not contribute and their poverty is blamed on their individual inability to be self-sufficient. Somers (2008) echoes Anderson's (2013) idea that relates work with contribution. For example, Somers argues that the long-term unemployed are "treated as less than full members of society. In effect, the people who belong to the under-class are not quite citizens...Nothing guarantees social exclusion more than the inability to participate in the right to livelihood or being forced to live...under the 'specter of uselessness'" (2008:46). Somers cautions against the necessity to condone the "obligation to work as a condition of full citizenship" (2008:46), saying that the connection between markets and citizens right "makes social inclusion and moral worth no longer inherent rights but rather earned privileges that are wholly conditional upon the ability to exchange something of equal value. This is the model

by which the structurally unemployed become *contractual malfeasants*” (2008: 3).

The case of internally displacement in Colombia demonstrate the ways that forced migration, markets, and inability to continue through valued labor, turn displaced peasants from the Good Campesino, to the Tolerated Displaced, to the Failed Urban Citizen. The majority of campesinos interviewed worked in informal markets in the countryside but they were self-sufficient. However, being uprooted from the rural and the inability to contribute to the urban community due to stigma and lack of formal education and skills, makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the displaced to experience upward mobility. Drawing from Anderson (2013), the displaced are no longer the Good Campesino Citizen, self-sufficient and productive, rather they have become the Failed Urban Citizen. During the first stage of resettlement, the state treats the displaced as Tolerated Citizens, and the process of reception is a “the” National Colombian Project. The resettlement of millions of displaced nationals is integral to the security of the nation-state since the waves of poor, job-less, and traumatized citizens creates instability in the receiving community. However, after years of segregation in the informal sector and dependence on the government, the displaced shift from Tolerated Citizens to Failed Citizens due to their inability to contribute to the Medellín Community of Value. While the displaced are not fully excluded from the labor market, their position as informal workers and displaced citizens is partial. Taking into account Heckmann and Bosswick’s (2005) multipronged definition of migrant integration, the displaced are incorporated in some ways—as displaced subjects—

giving them access to a particular set of rights as “victims.” However, the displaced are not fully integrated since, while a part of the economy, their position in the labor market is limited and subordinated, which does not lead to upward mobility. A Good Urban Citizen is one that works in the formal labor market, contributing to the Medellín economy. While one could argue that informal employment does contribute to the city’s economy, informality is still precarious which leave the displaced unprotected, without benefits, susceptible to exploitation, and at a high risk of lifelong impoverishment (Chen et al. 2004; Cernea 1997). I contend that, in the case of internal migration, integration is a political project of the state since the state is the most impactful mediator of the types of jobs and opportunities the displaced can participate in for post-displacement recovery. State-led resettlement income-generating programs highlight this point, since these programs funnel people into areas of the economy where the displaced stay subordinated. Exclusion from the formal labor market and segregation in the informal market of Medellín are the key processes of economic integration that do not treat displaced campesinos as full urban residents or full workers, rendering them partial citizens.

Drawing from Parreñas’ (2015, 2001) concept of partial citizenship, I examine the differential inclusion of displaced peasants which reveals the differentiated hierarchies of citizenship within Colombia (Somers 2008; Castles 2005). “Partial citizenship broadly refers to the stunted integration of migrant in receiving nation-states” (Parreñas 2001:1130). I extend partial citizenship in two ways: 1) by applying this concept to the experiences of internal migrants; and 2) by exploring the forms of

nation-state exclusion of citizens that occur due to war, displacement, and law—what Coutin (2016) calls “dismemberments.” I argue that displaced peasants experience *Segmented Citizenship*; displaced citizens are accepted and integrated into some segments of society due to their subordinate social status—like through victim aid programs; and, at the same time, excluded from other segments of society, also due to their subordinated status. While peasants are included as “displaced citizens,” interviews reveal that displaced participants do not feel like they belong in spite of the many years in the city. This is especially prominent in Medellin, where a cosmopolitan citizenship creates new borders and hierarchies of citizenships (Castles 2005) within the sub-national. These borders create unnatural divisions between rural and urban citizens according to class, gender, race, place of origin, and productive ability. As Chapter Five shows, even state actors read displaced *campesinos* like a distinct ethnic groups, blaming their unassimilability on peasant’s rural culture. These perceptions of the displaced by the state and urban community, is recognized by displaced persons, as discussed in Chapter Six, which feeds into feelings of non-belonging in the city.

To conclude, citizenship is typically understood within a state-centered contract of rights and obligations, which is based on the citizen/non-citizen binary. What is less discussed is the loss of degrees of national belonging of internal migrants who are already members of the nation-state. In the case of internally displaced peasants in Colombia, while they experience forms of exclusion via lack of durable aid, stigma from the urban community, and discrimination from state actors, they are

part of a state-led legal process to aid them. But, this process operates within a longer trajectory of the life-cycle of forced migration, which results in differential inclusion of displaced persons. In addition, the relationships within the processes of integration and citizenship are infused with violence and trauma which make it important to point out the subjective outcomes of displacement that influence feelings of belonging to home and the nation. I add to conceptions of citizenship within the Spectrum of Non-belonging by considering everyday consciousness and the role of place and space for exploring the lingering subjective losses of displacement and migrant agency for contesting segmented citizenship.

Everyday Consciousness

The dissertation uses the framework of Consciousness to understand the subjective outcomes of displacement and how feelings of non-belonging influence incorporation and citizenship. As discussed above, the shifts in displaced person's national identities in Colombia, results in feelings of "in-between-ness" (Du Bois 1903; Anzaldúa 2007); between displaced and citizen, Good Citizen and Failed Citizen (Anderson 2013), and included and excluded. This "in-between" position, I argue, cause the displaced to develop a new consciousness or awareness of the world, based on their rural past and precarious urban present. I draw from feminist approaches to consciousness (Smith 1987; Anzaldúa 2007; Collins 2009, Zavella 2011) to explore the everyday experience of *campesinos* who have resettled in the city. I apply this type of analysis to understand why people continue to identify as displaced even after two decades in Medellín.

I use the framework of consciousness to explore how displacement affects the daily lives of the displaced from their perspective. Dorothy Smith (1987) developed Standpoint theory to as a mode of understanding processes of knowledge production within everyday life. Using bifurcated consciousness, Smith highlights the contradictions between the lived experience of women and theories, concepts, and approaches to understanding the objective “real world.” However, the assumed objective truths are filtered through the universal male perspective. Smith presents standpoint theory to address the unique point of view of Others as a point of entry into the ways that alienation creates contradictory perspectives on life. Recognizing the everyday consciousness and perspective of the oppressed brings to light the macro and micro-level-dynamics of the daily life as a mode of knowledge production that are rooted in uneven power relations. As Smith argues, "We must remember that as we begin from the world as we actually experience it we are located and that what we know of the world, of the 'other,' is conditional upon that location as part of a relation comprehending the other's location also" (Smith 1987: 93). Addressing the consciousness of the displaced allows us to delve into the lingering subjective outcomes of displacement throughout the life-cycle of forced migration. Studying consciousness also allows us to understand the non-material elements of post-displacement integration of internally displaced peasants.

Drawing from W.E.B. Du Bois’ (1903) *double consciousness* and Gloria Anzaldúa's *mestiza consciousness*, I develop the concept of *displaced consciousness*, to highlight the subjective consequences of war and displacement on the psyche of

the displaced, who develop a new awareness of the world around them and how they see society perceive them. In Chapter Six I show that displaced consciousness is experienced in three forms: loss, nostalgia, and waiting. These elements of displaced consciousness are anchored on temporal and place-based memories of the rural past—of the *territorio*— that have a direct influence on the shifts in men and women’s identities from Good Campesino Citizens (belonging) to Failed Urban Citizens (excluded).

DuBois’ concept of double-consciousness is used to describe the identity of an individual that is dived into different parts. DuBois applied this concept to the experience of African-American individuals in the United States to refer to the conscious feeling of their “two-ness,” of being Black and American, recognizing not only how they viewed of the world, but also how others viewed and judged them: “this sense of looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity” (DuBois 1903:16-17). Anzaldúa’s (2007) work calls for the development of a new mestiza consciousness to navigate the “borderlands.” Mestiza consciousness is not simply about being aware of “where severed or separated pieces merely come together” (Anzaldúa 2007: 101), rather it is an awareness built on the transformation, evolution, and creation of hybridities for examining the intersections of the dualistic categories for reconciling the “in-betweenness.” Other scholars have also developed similar concepts for discussing how marginalized people reconcile with existing at the intersections, for example: Collin’s (2009) “Outsider-Within View”; Zavella’s

(2011) “peripheral vision”; and Mignolo’s (2000) “border thinking.”

In Chapter Seven I argue that while displaced consciousness is experienced as loss, nostalgia and waiting, it also represents possibility. The shared experience of displacement, whether from the same place of origin or not, leads to a collective memory of being expelled from the rural, and thus a shared place-specific experience of expulsion and exclusion, a subjective awareness used by displaced community leaders during the phase of community-building as a point of unification.

Displaced community leaders utilize collective memory and trauma to understand their shared experiences of exile, using spaces like popular schools of political formation, to connect their personal lives to global processes. Understanding that the production of space is a product of social relations through the material production of place (Lefebvre’s 1991), I argue that the rural internally displaced community leaders, living in the barrios at the edges of the city of Medellín incorporate a displaced consciousness as both a survival strategy and form of coalition building among other rural displaced persons across Medellín.

Displaced consciousness highlights both the losses of displacement *and* a new awareness of possibility. Based on a collective memory of displacement from a rural homeland, displaced consciousness represents a potentiality, an opening for exercising their rights as displaced citizens of Colombia. I highlight women leader’s perspectives—the majority of community organizers— as a necessary feminist intervention to demonstrate the benefits and limits of political activism on women’s decision-making process and long-term integration.

Following a feminist tradition of analyzing consciousness and everyday practice through ethnography (Smith 1987), the empirical findings of this study highlight the subjective experiences of displaced peasant women and men as valuable knowledge. This insight contributes to the scholarship on displacement, which is often examined through the lens of development programs and policy. In terms of understanding involuntary resettlement, recognizing the role of consciousness and place is critical for analyzing the material and non-material elements of integration within a Spectrum of Non-Belonging.

Borderland theory also points to the importance of place and space to understand the borders as both geopolitical and psychological (Anzaldúa 2007). As I argue in Chapter Six and Seven, the peripheral areas where the displaced resettle act as a Borderlands, where the excluded and exiled inhabit. These chapters demonstrate how the peripheries of Medellín have lasting effects on how identities are re-created, formulated, perceived and internalized. The occupation of the peripheral Borderlands of Medellín creates the need acquire a new consciousness, which I argue must be considered to fully understand why integration fails in Colombia. In addition, recognizing the consciousness of the displaced brings to the forefront the creation of possibilities for contesting segmented citizenship and creating “space” in the city.

Space

Definitions and conceptualization of space have been developed within the discipline of Geography. However, the terms of place and space must be first defined in order to distinguish between these two concepts. First, according to Sociologist

Gieryn (2000), place represents both geographic location and a physical and material form, either made by nature or artificially. As Gieryn describes: “A place is a unique spot in the universe. Place is the distinction between here and there, and it is what allows people to appreciate near and far. Places have finitude, but they nest logically because the boundaries are (analytically and phenomenologically) elastic. A place could be your favorite armchair, a room, a building, neighborhood, district, village, city, county, metropolitan area, region, state, province, nation, continent, planet—or a forest glade, the seaside, a mountaintop” (2000: 464). According to Gieryn, as three element of place are the meanings and relationship that are infused into a place, for example, to make a place “home.” Pushing against scholars like Lefebvre (1991) and in line with Giddens (1984), Gieryn argues that space, as a concept, refers to the geometric elements of place, that is, space as an empty “container” (Giddens 1984).

While I agree with Gieryn’s conceptualization of place, I disagree with his thoughts on the concept of space. Instead, I use Lefebvre’s concept of space to think about the meanings and relationships that are infused into and produced from a place. Drawing from the Lefebvrian (1991) framework of space as-product of the social: "This space comprises social relations and is not only seen as a physical space, it also the product of social lives" (López et al. 2017:46). In this conceptualization, space, according to Lefebvre (1991), has three elements: 1. social practice; 2. representations of space, or conceived space; and 3. representational space. To give an example, Elden (2007) explains: "For example, where the space of town planners is seen as a scientific object, as pure and apolitical, Lefebvre argued that it has been shaped and

molded by historical and natural elements, through a political process. Space is a social and political product" (2007:107). Lefebvre then was interested in the everyday modes of the production of social space as a political project. As Elden (2007) states in his overview of Lefebvre work on the production of space, moving beyond a geometric conceptualization of space is our reaction, as a society or community, to the ability to exist in a place and fulfill our human potential. Therefore, the production of space is an on-going process of that involves spatial and social relations.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the meanings of territory as a method of understanding the place and space of the countryside, and the material, social, and subjective losses of displacement. Chapter Seven draws from two theoretical approaches, Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space* and Anzaldúa's (2007) *Borderlands*, to think about community-building as a collective process of integration that is connected, mediated and understood through constructing and defending of what the displaced leaders in Medellín call "The Territory." I apply the concept of the production of space to the borderlands to demonstrate how place and landscape influence subjectivity—both in the countryside and the city. The approach of the production of space helps ground my analysis of political activism of the displaced as a response to segmented citizenship by understanding the territory as an ongoing material and social production and reproduction of place and space. As I argue in Chapter Six, the areas of the peripheries of Medellín represents as a borderland. However, I argue that here, in the Borderlands, is where displaced consciousness

develops as a form of possibility. I draw from W.E.B. DuBois' double consciousness, Gloria Anzaldúa's (2007) mestiza consciousness, and Jim Clifford's (1994) discussion on diasporas as a borderlands' methodology (Segura and Zavella 2008) for understanding how displaced *campesinos* make connections between *there* (the rural "homeland") and *here* (the peri-urban borderlands of Medellín) as a strategy for coalition-building and producing space to resist erasure in the city.

David Harvey's work takes a critical look at the accumulation of capital in constructing and transforming the city, and how the rise of the neoliberal state has led to the dispossession of those that live on the peripheries of the city, both physically and socioeconomically (Harvey 2004). While Harvey (2008) has called for the Right to the City for the inclusion of marginalized communities in the city, this approach does not fully explain the historical, spatial, and social relationship of internally displaced *campesinos* to the urban. The Right to the City assumes that urban residents already feel and want to be a part of the city and are struggling to stay. What this approach assumes are static understandings of who comprises the urban citizen. This assumption is problematic since it does not consider the modes of differential citizenship (Castles 2005) and inclusion (Espiritu 2003) that shape who is and who is not perceived as an acceptable urban citizen by the receiving Medellín community. Rural forced migrants in Colombia have a distinct relationship to the city itself. They live in the urban but within a different context and connection, and with distinct relationships, opportunities, and limitations, that have been influenced by the processes of displacement, processes that affect place and the (re)making of

individual and collective identities of national belonging. I assert that theories of the Right to the City does not go far enough for understanding the social and affective outcomes of these spatial interactions for displaced subjects. Rather, a perspective that takes seriously the Right to the Territory—understood as interrelated spatial and social relations built from the land— serves as a better approach for understanding the geographic and temporal dimensions of displacement for an analysis of the formulation of identities based the rural *and* urban. These identities, of “displaced,” are formulated and connected to the destruction and production of place and territory—a necessary approach for understanding displaced *campesinos*’ sentiments of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state. To this aim, an analysis of displaced persons in Medellín and the role of the urban in the integration process must include the presence of the countryside by de-centering the city in order to fully understand the city itself (Krause 2013; Merryfield 2011).

My analysis of migrant integration and political activism of displaced *campesinos* draws from both the rural and urban, centering the intersection and overlap of the countryside and city as my site of analysis (Angelo 2016; Merryfield 2011). The territorial movements led by displaced *campesinos* in Medellín are neither rural or urban movements, rather, by using the concept of “territory” and the identity of “displaced,” leaders draw from the spatial-temporal moment of the phase of rural displacement—the onset of Displaced Consciousness—as a strategy of contesting double-displacement in the Medellín.

In this urban context, how do people challenge institutional forms of development, while creating alternative claims to citizenship to contest displacement? The site of the city creates a backdrop for a new urban citizenship that urges alternative practices for making claims for collective rights to territory through building the *barrio*. As Holston (2008) states in his discussion of insurgent citizenship of *favela* dwellers in Brazil, “The development of the auto-constructed urban peripheries [has] thus produced a confrontation between two citizenships, one insurgent and the other entrenched” (p. 6). Utilizing the dual strategy of making claims as victims of the conflict and Colombian citizens, leaders demand that they be included in defending the barrios they founded while also push forth new proposals for urban development in their sector.

The dissertation highlights the importance of place and landscape for incorporation and feelings of national belonging. For example, recognizing the memories of the past are always linked to the rural, and the meanings of the land and territory as a hybrid of land and social relations. The research also highlights the site of the city to demonstrate the ways that globalization is localized and experienced every-day by marginalized populations living at the urban edges. Medellín has been re-branded as an urban miracle, a global city driven by neoliberalism which contrasts with the presence of waves of poor displaced peasants. If Medellín is the subnational site for the national project of economic growth and development, the exclusion of the displaced from the Community of Value is also signifies exclusion from the modern nation as well.

Theoretical Contribution

Both of the theoretical frameworks of differential inclusion and non-citizenship focus on international migration for their analysis. I add to these frameworks by analyzing integration and citizenship within the context of internal displacement by emphasizing consciousness and place/space. Much of the literature on assimilation in Sociology focuses on socio-economic and cultural incorporation. By using the case of internal migration, we can see the political element of migrant integration as a state-led project. Espiritu's (2003) work does highlight the political because she focuses on the role of colonialism on the racial formation of migrants. I build on Espiritu (2003) by asserting that integration is a political project of the state, that includes migrants on some aspects but not in others. We see this also in the case of internal migrants in China where the household registration system allows the state to mediate migration and separates the population into rural and urban citizen with distinct citizenship rights and resources based on place of origin.

Wing Chan and Zhang (1999) discuss the *hukou* system in China, a mandatory household registration system, which uses geographic origin—rural or urban—as the key factor for determining people's mobility and access to state entitlements. The authors argue that this system was implemented by the state as a form of social and spatial control. Though strict restrictions on rural-to-urban migration loosened post 1978, at present, rural migrants without urban *hukou* are still denied access to social services and benefits, such as jobs, education, and housing subsidies. The authors state that rural migrants are treated like an ethnic group, separate and subordinate to

urban residents. I use the case of the *hukou* system and internal migration in China to think about the role of the state as an instrument for differential inclusion. I am especially interested in the separate types of citizenship that rural and urban citizens have, which facilitates their degree of belonging to the nation, and their socioeconomic mobility and political participation. In Colombia, in order to be recognized as displaced and receive aid, forced migrants need to register with state officials. Since cities have greater resources, 90% of rural persons resettle in urban areas (IDMC 2011), making the city a site of state intervention in the process of resettlement. This is another example of that helps understand internal migration as a project of the state, resulting in segmented citizenship.

I develop two theoretical approaches to understanding failed integration and migrant agency: Segmented citizenship and Displaced Consciousness. In the case of the internally displaced peasants, they experience segmented citizenship, based on their rural origin and relationship to the conflict. Segmented citizenship denotes a new social status that is both inclusionary and exclusionary, where one has claims to formal rights, yet is limited from practicing these rights fully. However, as this dissertation will show, while displacement does affect people's sense of belonging, I found that displaced community leaders utilize their new political awareness as partial citizens as a tool for practicing their citizenship through community-building. Displaced Consciousness, based on the identity of "displaced," is utilized as a strategy by displaced leaders to build solidarity with other displaced persons to contest further expulsion from the nation. Therefore, Segmented Citizenship helps us

answer why integration in Colombia fails, and Displaced Consciousness helps us understand how the displaced contest failed integration.

The dissertation contributes to three fields of study: Migration, Citizenship, Consciousness, and Space. I contribute to the field of migration in four ways. First, the research address the under-studied field of internal migration. Second, I contribute to forced migration by examining displacement through a life-cycle of forced migration. In each phase of the life-cycle of forced migration, I highlight highlight the role of the state, place, economy, and gender. Gender analysis of migration is particularly helpful when looking at forced internal displacement due to conflict. Each empirical chapter shows the disproportional ways that men and women experience internal displacement, demonstrating that conflict- induced displacement is a gendered process. Third, I engage with the integration of internally displaced persons to consider the political aspect of migration incorporation as a project of the state. Lastly, I also consider the perceptions of the state *and* the displaced to understand the non-material elements of incorporation.

The second field of study the dissertation contributes to is Citizenship. I contribute to the field citizenship by demonstrating that citizenship and integration are twin processes related to subjects' belonging which are influenced by forced migration. The research shows the limits of integration and national citizenship, in spite of the political membership. To analyze the outcomes of differential inclusion, I develop two concepts: Spectrum of Non-Belonging and Segmented Citizenship. Using the Spectrum of Non-Belonging offers dimension to the idea of non-citizenship

beyond the category of citizen/not-a-citizen (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016). In this vein, I aim to show that formal conceptions of citizenship and non-citizenship are one-dimensional and do not address the multiple forms of non-belonging based on both de jure and de facto rights (Somers 2008). I also contribute to the field of Citizenship by developing the concept of Segmented Citizenship. This concept refers to the differential forms of inclusion and exclusion in Colombia society that are based on being displaced and citizen. While displacement changes how the displaced and society see campesinos as part of the nation, limiting their rights as citizens, the displaced also gain new rights based on being displaced citizens. The outcome of Segmented Citizenship turns the displaced into partial citizens, or Failed Citizens (Anderson 2013), which has resulted in protracted states of displacement.

Lastly, I contribute to the feminist field of Consciousness and Space. By drawing on feminist approaches to consciousness and space, I develop the framework of Displaced Consciousness to trace the subjective place-based understandings of marginalized communities as excluded subjects and how they navigate and resist their status of partial citizen in everyday life. What I add to typologies of consciousness is an analysis of the spatial-temporal dimensions of displacement, considering the formulation of identities based the rural *and* urban—an outcome of destruction and production of place and territory—as necessary components for understanding displaced *campesinos*' sentiments of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state.

By using the field site of Medellín, this research aims to show the ways that

global economic markets shape the resettlement and integration of displaced peasants. By doing this I demonstrate how the global is localized through policy at different scales and its consequences on the everyday lives of displaced *campesinos* living at the edges the “Medellin Miracle.” This research asserts that an extensive and fuller understanding of the role of the state and its subject is important because it gives us an intimate glimpse into the workings of the state on its most vulnerable citizens. Research on displacement should analyze both state policy *and* migrant subjectivity as key entrees into understanding integration, more generally, and more specifically, comprehending the limits of citizenship within the Spectrum of Non-Belonging.

Chapter 3

Methodology

“Yet is there is one point to be learned from the investigation of ghostly matters, it is that you cannot encounter this kind of disappearance as a grand historical fact, as a mass of data adding up to an event, marking itself in straight empty time, settling the ground for a future cleansing of its spirit. In these matters, you can only experience a haunting, confirming in such an experience the nature of the thing itself: A disappearance is real only when it is apparitional. A disappearance is real only when it is apparitional because the ghost or the apparition is the principal form by which something is lost or invisible or seemingly not there makes itself know or apparent to us. The ghost makes itself known to us through haunting and pulls us affectively into the structure or feeling or a reality we come to experience as a recognition. Haunting recognition is a special way of knowing what has happened or is happening” (Gordon 2008: 63).

The research project asks, how does a group of migrants become non-citizens despite not crossing borders, not losing formal citizenship, and not losing national identity? To answer this research question, I employ a feminist mixed-method approach to data-gathering and analysis. While the research focus centers on the lived experiences of internally displaced peasant who have resettled in the peripheral areas of Medellín, I also worked with government administrators and NGOs as a method of understanding the macro, meso, and micro-level determinants of urban integration for displaced persons.

To understand the long-term effects of displacement on the everyday lives, practices, and politics of displaced peasants, I conducted 81 ethnographic interviews and 112 surveys with men and women who had been displaced and were permanently

resettled in the city of Medellín. Surveys and ethnographic interviews allowed me to both map and describe the lives and politics of displaced people living in informal settlements in the peripheries of Medellín. While these surveys were not a representative sample, they represent descriptive statistics of a hard to reach population, offering insight into demographics, housing, social, economic, and labor networks, and civic engagement, which was useful information for the local organizations to assess their neighborhood needs. Ethnographic methods allowed me to enter these communities from the perspective of the displaced, positing participants as experts in their experience, their interviews serving as key interventions for producing knowledge on displacement, development and grassroots resistance.

While highlighting the subjective experience of the internally displaced in Colombia was key to understanding the outcomes of war and forced migration on their integration and citizenship, I felt that it was also necessary to comprehend the perspective and character of the state and how this entity addresses issues of displacement at the local levels via policies of resettlement and transitional justice (like Victim's Law). To this aim, I conducted 22 semi-structured interviews with government administrators of state-led humanitarian aid programs, at the national, municipal, and city-wide level, along with social workers and psychologists in victim's emergency units, and social welfare programs.

Most of these programs were specifically for victims of the conflict but others, like the social welfare programs, was not solely for displaced clients but did prioritize

these populations. In addition, since urban development projects were directly targeting informal settlement where displaced communities resided—thereby eliminating their neighborhoods—I felt it important to also interview city developers, planners, and boosters or private-public organizations, like ProAntioquia, that were essential in rebranding Medellín into the model city of current.

Lastly, to examine the meso-level structures, organizations, and activists who worked directly with and for displaced populations in Medellín, I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews, as well as direct participant observation, with NGOs and grassroots groups and networks that work on issues related to post-conflict reconstruction or calling attention to the needs of vulnerable populations. I made sure that the grassroots organizations had displaced persons who are core leaders and organizers. Interviews with NGOs and organizations allowed me to understand the social and political context of Medellín as a receptor site, the types of claims that the displaced make from the state, and how they act on their own behalf.

In total, over five years, I conducted 119 interviews and 112 surveys between 2011-2016. In the following sections of Chapter 3, I will discuss the details of my data collection with each research sample group. I begin by discussing my three research trips to Colombia between 2011-2016. Then I will explain how I approach my methodology as a feminist mixed-method. The last section of the chapter will address how I gained access to different communities and participants, sampling, and information and demographics on participants and organizations.

Fieldwork in Colombia 2011-2016

Fieldwork was conducted over the course of five years, with a total of twelve months of fieldwork in Colombia between 2011-2016, primarily in Medellín but also in Bogota. The ability to return to the field at three different time periods allowed for a longitudinal study of state intervention through the implementation of Victim's Law. Also, I was able to analyze the changing character of the state by way of the changing government administration at the national and local level. For example, the inauguration of a new Colombian President in 2011—from Uribe to Santos—was a pivotal moment in how non-state armed actors were being perceived by the state and how Medellín's mayor enacted Victim's Law at the city-wide level. In addition, I was able to follow the development of the city of Medellín over a five-year period and how, through the waves of incoming displaced persons and the drive of a neoliberal agenda, the city and the receiving community had changed, influencing the context of reception.

While not initially planned, my fieldwork coincided with the trajectory of the implementation 2011 Victim's and Land Law. My first trip to Colombia—three months during the summer of 2011, occurred at a key period because different institutions, like the Colombian president's office and the UN High Commissioner of Refugee, were holding workshops, conferences, and events with and for victims of the conflict to explain what these new laws meant from their reparation and restitution. This period was also important because human rights defenders and prominent displaced community leaders in Medellín were targeted for threats and

assassination purely on the basis of speaking out against state crimes and political corruption related to the conflict.⁴ Due to this, and the election of President Santos in 2010, displaced persons and community leaders were concerned about what these policy changes would bring since the types of demands were viewed as threats to the states.

When I returned to Medellín in 2014, Victim's and Land Law—a 10- year policy—was two years in and I was able to speak with the displaced and state actors about how these policies were being implemented, their thoughts on program structure, and how these programs were assisting—or not—with the integration of displaced persons. At the same time, 2014 was a pivotal year for urbanism in Medellín. Medellín had just won the title of Most Innovative City in the World in 2013, was the site for the 2014 World Urban Forum, and, in the same year, also won the title of Most Sustainable City in the world. During this period, urban social movements and mobilizations rose up strong, bringing local, national and international activists, community leaders, and academics together in Medellín to facilitate discussion, planning, and solidarity for inclusive “space” in the city. As a participant at the Alternative Urban Forum in April 2014 stated, “The city is a

⁴ A week after I arrived to Medellín in 2011, Ana Fabricia Cordoba, a displaced woman and prominent Afro-Colombian community leader was assassinated on June 7th while riding the bus to her neighborhood in the Comuna 3 Barrio of La Cruz. Her bold assassination shocked the city and community, and like many crimes against displaced persons, the killer was never found. Interviews with the organizations, leaders and other displaced persons during this time reflect the deep fear and terror, a lack of protection, and feelings of being “without a state” (Interview with displaced woman leader). However due to my personal connections via transnational solidarity movements, I was allowed entry into these communities and they were more concerned about my safety during this period since academics were also systematically targeted and assassinated for researching the taboo topic of conflict. It was not till I returned to Colombia in 2014 that I grasped the privilege it was to be allowed entrée into these spaces in such a tense period.

masterpiece that the poor are not invited to paint.”

During 2016 I returned to Colombia to conduct follow-up interviews and gather final data for the research stage of the project. This period was significant because the change of administrations in the Medellín mayor’s office and opened up a new era in the city, shifting the administration’s focus from social welfare programs and urban development to securitization. The anticipated passage of the Peace Accord between the Colombian state and FARC guerrilla fighters was looming and the city’s gangs were rampant, making the summer of 2016 particularly violent in terms of homicides, forced recruitment, and extortion. The focus on security cut substantial funding from humanitarian aid programs for victims of the conflict.

Follow up interviews with coordinators of victim aid centers and community activists revealed the instability caused by these cuts and deep worry about what would happen with programs that assisted the displaced. Many social workers were losing their jobs and there was less money available for monetary aid and program implementation. In addition, questions about the future of how to serve the victims of the conflict, and, soon, how to serve demobilized guerrilla fighters who have been viewed as direct enemies of the state, showed the instability and insecurity of the humanitarian and social aid system.

In the next section I will discuss how I approached this research project from a feminist methodology.

Research Forced Migration through Feminist Mix-Methods

As western feminist ethnographers, we run the risk of “othering” third world subjects, by positing ourselves (Schrock 2013) as the normative and thus comparing experiences rather than making connections. By framing participants as experts in their experience, I was able to reflect on the tensions between the perspective of the state and the displaced, particularly concerning integration and development. For example, interviews with city planners concerning the eviction and demolition of informal settlements showed that they perceived the project as a form of civilizing and assisting with the development of peasants’ lives. In contrast, the displaced perceive these projects as another form of displacement and dispossession since they would be forced to relocate to housing projects on the other side of the city, uprooting key networks, relationships, economies that go beyond material compensation. These tensions reveal conflicting meanings and processes of development.

Using a feminist methodology for studying integration and citizenship from an intersectional perspective revealed how the displaced were (re)formulating their rural identities, relationships, and politics, taking into account gender and race/ethnicity. Staying vigilant to the power differentials between myself and participants, and understanding that I would initially be viewed with suspicion as an outsider, I had to be very clear with participants about my intentions, why was I there, and why this research was important. In addition to being clear about my intentions, I had to be aware of how my positionality affected the project. I was surprised to find that, aside from my Mexican heritage, the biggest point of entry into the displaced communities was my role of wife and mother, which created gendered, yet positive, assumptions

about my character and capacity as an activist scholar. Women interviewees were more open to speaking with me after I mentioned that I had brought my partner and child with me to conduct fieldwork.

Lastly, I had to be willing to be vulnerable and share my life with my displaced participants. Interviewees would ask me personal questions about my life, my family, and my own struggles, and I had to be open to answering them with sincerity. Since I was asking people about their traumatic experiences, I too had to had to be willing to be informally interviewed in order to build trust.

Due to the sensitive nature of this research and the different types of populations sampled, research participants were recruited via different methods, mostly via personal contacts. Initial contact with informants in Medellín was facilitated via personal contacts in transnational social movements between the United States and Colombia. My involvement in social movements in the U.S. and Colombian heritage, connected me with leaders and coordinators of local chapters of national women-focused NGOs, which opened up doors to the local, grassroots organizations and to my initial of groups of interviews with displaced persons.

June-September 2011

Interviews with NGOs and Internally Displaced Persons

I reached out to my personal contacts in transnational social movements and academic colleagues in Colombia, seeking people who would be open to talking to me about the situation of displacement in the country. Sponsored by the Social Science Research and the Andrew Mellon Foundation, I spent 3 months in Colombia,

over the course of 4 months—returning to the U.S. for two weeks in-between—conducting preliminary research in Bogota and Medellín. In Medellín, a friend connected me with a prominent activist who founded a large women-focused NGOs for those affected by the conflict. Through this gate keeper I was introduced to other activists, organizations, and professors at the local universities. In addition, her partner was a psychologist and case worker in a government victim-aid program for people who participated in income-generating programs. She led workshops on memory and healing for displaced persons in these programs as a psycho-social approach to helping them with trauma. I attended six different full-day workshops and met displaced persons for interviews. For these first contacts, I snow-ball sampled for 17 interviews. I stayed in contact with these interviewees, many who were leaders in community, which helped with snow-ball sampling in 2014.

Interviews with activists in 2011—some professors and social workers—and organizations were semi-structured. I conducted these interviews to obtain background information and perspective on the situation in Colombia from the point-of-view of organizers who currently work on the issues presented in this thesis. Interviewees were asked questions about their work and knowledge on the topics of the conflict in Colombia, policy, economics, displacement, and issues of gender, race, and labor. These interviews gave me a better idea of the political and social issues in Colombia that influence and lead to displacement. Twenty-eight interviews were conducted; seventeen interviews with displaced men and women who have settled Medellín; seven interviews with Colombian activists and organizations;

and five interviews with professors from prominent universities in Bogotá and Medellín. All interviews except for two—due to safety reasons—were voice recorded with the permission of the participants and transcribed into Spanish and English. Interviews lasted between thirty minutes and two and a half hours.

In addition to ethnographic interviews, I conducted participant observation. To understand the articles and details of Victims Law, I attended presentations, workshops, panels, and several conferences in Medellín and Bogotá, organized by various agencies, such as the Colombian President's office, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee, the mayor's office of Medellín, universities in Bogotá and Medellín, and NGOs and activist organizations in Colombia. All these events were related to Victim's Law and/or to issues of displacement, the armed conflict, victimization, gender, law restitution, and/or drug policy in Colombia. Also, many hours were spent with interviewees who had been displaced, in their communities and homes, participating in activities, organizations, and events that they were involved with.

Interviews with displaced individuals were conducted in various locations, such as classrooms, libraries, parks, church rectories, restaurants, and the homes of the interviewees. Interviews were unstructured which allowed for the interviewees to give a testimony of their own experience. Interviewees were asked to simply tell me about their story of displacement and resettlement. Questions were asked about their background and to expand on points or for clarification. The point of these interviews was to understand how displacement is experienced from the perspective of those who have been displaced and how they were navigating their situation with

urban resettlement. Both men and women were interviewed to gain an understanding of how the process of displacement is gendered. Interviews gave a personal account of the displaced persons' experience, but the time spent with internally displaced people was just as important in understanding their experience. It gave an intimate glimpse into their daily lives, homes, and introduced me their families and friends, which highlighted the importance of networks and connections for resettlement.

January-September 2014

From January to September 2014 I spent 8 months in Colombia, solely conducting research in Medellín. For the dissertation research phase, I sampled three groups of participants: displaced persons for surveys and interviews; government administrators for interviews; and NGOs for interviews and/or direct participant observation.

Interviews and Surveys with Internally Displaced Persons

Interviews and surveys with displaced persons occurred through different entry points. First, I had stayed in contact with displaced participants and NGOs from research in 2011, and used snow-ball sample through word of mouth, or by visiting neighborhoods by invitation of the residents, and attending meeting or events on the topic of issues affecting the area. I also accessed participants through regular participation in meetings, workshops and events with a grassroots neighborhood network of popular sectors around the city. It was important for me to recruit and access communities without the aid of the mayor's office, or other state organizations since I knew they would give me a different view of the situation of

resettlement in Medellín. But, I did make connections with these government entities and they invited me to tour particular “successful” communities, which allowed me to get a range of perspectives of and from the displaced.

Gaining access to research sites that were informal settlements was tricky. I had to be patient because I knew I needed to be invited by the communities themselves. It was a mix of taking a step back while working with community members for the first few months in the field, participating in events, workshops, meetings, before asking for an interview, and a little luck was involved as well. I waited almost 5 months before asking for interviews with the grassroots organizations I had worked with, which was helpful because by this time we had created trust and they were more than willing to help. In addition, even before this time, when I would tell people about my project, many would offer to give me an interview or find me participants. Lastly, and most importantly, after 4 months in the field, a displaced community leader found out I was a researcher and asked if she could work as my research assistant. This was a key point during the dissertation research because 1) her influence opened up different doors to the displaced communities, especially of indigenous groups; and 2) her insight as a displaced person was invaluable to the direction, and later analysis, of the data. My research assistant, Carmen Rosa Jaramillo, and I continue to stay in regular contact and she has been an amazing partner in thinking through ideas for this project and the future endeavors.

In addition to the above-mentioned entry points, I also was able to begin surveys with displaced persons through the Center for the Formation of Peace and

Reconciliation (CEPAR). This is a program implemented by the president's office but administrated by the individual mayor's offices on a national level. This program is focused on helping both the victims and victimizers (such as ex-paramilitaries) of the conflict reintegrate into society. This meant that both displaced persons and demobilized paramilitaries went to school together. I made this contact with CEPAR through my landlady's niece's friend. Once contacted, the CEPAR allowed me to sit in the faculty break room and they would ask students if they wanted to take a survey. Students would come in groups of 2-8 and I would tell them about the research, what the surveys were for, and after they were completed, get their contact information if they were interested in being interviewed. One thing I was not prepared for was that most of the displaced peasants were illiterate so I had to fill out the survey for them. This shifted how many students I would survey at a time and I learned to ask, "Do you want to fill it out or do you want me to ask you the questions and fill it out for you?" This helped so that they didn't have to admit that they could not read or write.

From this group, a handful invited me to their homes and once there, I would regularly visit their neighborhood—at their invitation—which allowed me to get intimate knowledge on how informal settlements were founded and structured, who were the leaders, and how the area had developed overtime. One participant allowed me to use a community space she had constructed above her home, which she made into a bar on the weekends, to do surveys and interviews. At one time, I had over 20 people in the room at once, explaining the project and helping with surveys. I found that people really wanted to tell their story and looked to me for advice. I had to tell

people that I was not from the government or an NGO and the only thing I could promise them was that I would listen.

I also sampled participants in unexpected places. For example, at my daughter's karate class, while talking to another parent, I found out that one of the parents was displaced, but her experience was unique because she had managed to find formal work as a live-in house-keeper. She lived in an elite neighborhood and she was allowed to have her son live with her, and she admitted that her experience was not typical.

I did not have monetary compensation for participants, but I did bring fruit or bread to interviews, was able to give them their interviews on CDs and, when I returned in 2016, I was able to give them photos that I had taken during 2014 as a gift of appreciation.

Surveys asked internally displaced individuals about their demographics, household, labor, housing situation, and social, economic, and political networks and participation. Follow up interviews asked about their background history—before displacement—experience during physical displacement, decisions for coming to Medellín, experience in Medellín seeking aid from government and other organizations, connections with the displaced communities, strategies for social incorporation, and what, if any, are their forms of community engagement. I did not sample for gender and race and just observed how they self-identified with race/ethnicity, and the gender dynamics of the neighborhoods and committees/organizations. Overwhelmingly, the majority of research participants

were women. This is due to the fact that there are more women living alone or as head of household in displaced neighborhoods, which made women more accessible for sampling. During physical displacement men are targeted for assassination, forced recruitment or disappearance, leaving many woman who enter the city alone for the first time with their children. Also, I found that many men leave the family after resettlement, some going back to the countryside—though not from their place of origin—or they find another woman that is not associated with their traumatic past. In addition, since women can more readily move between private and public spheres—since they are not seen as a threat—there were more opportunities to meet them and get their distinct perspective as they navigate these different spaces.

This dissertation draws from a subsample of 102 surveys and 70 interviews (n=16 during 2011; n=54 during 2014) with internally displaced campesinos who have permanently resettled in Medellín. I have left out interviews and surveys with people who were displaced due to inter-urban conflict or were babies or young children when they were displaced with their parents. I wanted to focus the analysis on displaced campesino adults who could speak to the rural-to-urban shift, from life in the countryside, and had been in the city for 5 or more years.

While I did surveys and interviews with people in other areas of the city, I highlight life in different neighborhoods in Comunas, or communes, of Medellín that are located in the peripheries of the city, specifically, Comuna 3, Comuna 8, and Ciudadela Nuevo Occidente. Ciudadela Nuevo Occidente was unique because it was a new sector of the city where housing projects were built and being built to house

displaced persons—as part of their restitution—and where people were told they were going to be relocated from evicted settlements.

Research in the Comuna 3 and 8 was important because 1) these areas have not been thoroughly researched since they are informal, or have just been “recognized” by the city; 2) these barrios are located in a distinct peri-urban space on the peripheries of the city where campesinos can use their rural skills for urban resettlement; 3) residents in these areas are battling a “double” displacement—displaced first from the countryside to the city by the conflict, and now face a second displacement due to development projects; and 4) in spite of multiple challenges, there is an understudied grassroots movement by displaced persons, led by women, in these neighborhoods who are using their identities as victim and Colombian to make claims to the state. I focused my examination of integration and citizenship on topics related to gender, race, and place, housing and labor, and civic and political engagement.

Interview participants were between 28-75 years old, displaced peasants who resettled in Medellín for 8-22 years, and still identified as “campesino” and “displaced.” Interviews lasted between 45 minutes to 2.5 hours in locations chosen by the interviewee, such as in their home, community, organization, restaurant, library, or park. The majority of interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants.

While not an original focus of the research, as I began my interviews, I found a category of displaced person emerging: the community leader. This group emerged

as I noticed that there were strong social movements coming out of the displaced community in Medellín and that the experience of integration of community leaders was unique. I interviewed 12 displaced community leaders, eight women and four men. Though there were other people interviewed and surveyed who had participated, now or in the past, in organizations, I categorize these interviewees as leaders because they were involved full time in community work, known for their community work, were involved in at least two or more organizations, and were founders of neighborhoods. Interviewees were asked about their current socio-economic and living situation in Medellín, their home life, how they became a community leader, and what this role means to them as a displaced person. The experience of women leaders were particularly interesting because except for one woman whose family were community leaders in the rural place of origin, women in this sample did not become civically involved until after displacement.

While surveys and interviews were a one-time event, I would often spend days with participants, and interacted with interviewees and their families several times throughout the week at different events, both formally and informally, like at a workshop or celebrating a birthday.

Government entities

Interviews with Government administrators (n=22) occurred through both formal and personal contacts. For example, a professor at the University of Antioquia—the university who sponsored me while in the field during 2014—introduced me to the director of the municipal victims' unit. Interviews with social

workers in the program, Medellín Solidaria, and CEPAR, occurred through conversations with my neighbors, and interviews with the local victim's unit happened through my landlady. Also, interviews with directors and psychologists of the PAPSIVI program occurred because leaders from the displaced community invited me to a workshop for victims of the conflict in the informal settlements. Often, it was a displaced leader who would contact me and invite me to an event or workshop by the city and I would take this as an opportunity to talk with people from government programs.

Interviews with people in ProAntioquia—a private group from the corporate sector that has worked closely with the government of Antioquia to re-brand Medellín—occurred through my contact with a teacher at CEPAR. Interviews and participant observation with city planners and developers happened through participant contacts and from being invited to attend community workshop by the city which was supposed to tell the neighborhoods about the projects and the process of eviction. In these spaces, the urban developers did not know I was a researcher since I was there to observe and listen to how they were relaying information to the community and how they were answering their questions.

Research with the above-mentioned government entities was important to know the perspective of displacement and the displaced from the point of view of the state and how policies were being implemented at the local level. It also revealed how personal bias and discriminatory assumptions about campesinos, Afro-

Colombians, and indigenous groups, influenced how humanitarian and social workers viewed and served their clients.

NGOs: Grassroots to International

Through contacts from 2011 research I was able to connect with a grassroots network of people—ranging from students, union organizers, to the displaced — who lived in popular neighborhoods and were calling attention to issues pertaining to lack of services, like water and electricity, and resisting eviction due to development projects. I worked directly with this group to organize large events concerning the 2014 World Urban Forum in Medellín, which led to the creation of the Alternative Social Urban Forum. The Alternative Urban Forum brought activists from local, national, and international organizations, to contest the glamorization of a city that is considered the most unequal in Colombia. This 3-day event was held at the University of Antioquia and opened a space to discuss issues and proposals for alternative urban development in Medellín, specifically, and global cities in general.

I offered my services as a community organizer, helping plan for this event—which cumulated in a city-wide march—and assisting with writing communications and English translations for fliers for the event. This work connected me with people in different sectors, such as the labor unions, political parties (the presidential elections were in June, the Senate elections happened in 2014), professors, and youth groups working on issues related to the Right to the City. Working alongside these groups also allowed them to get to know me, trust me and resulted in close friendships with those I worked most closely with. Best of all, I have been able to see

the forms of grassroots collective action of the various groups and barrios across the city. Since many of the displaced leaders participated in these same organizations and groups, I was given a chance to work and learn from them about how they advocated on their own behalf and how they used their identity as “displaced” to make claims to the Right to the Territory.

I also attended weekly meetings of committees of victims (name they used) in the Comuna 3 and 8. This gave me a close understanding of the local issues, in their neighborhoods, and how they mediated their relationship with city social workers to obtain resources. Through these meetings, I was invited to events, like the presentation of a website on memory—a collaborative project between the displaced in the Comuna 3 and the local university. I was also invited to informal solidarity-building events, like a “field trip” to a park on a mountain range where we made soup over a fire and spent the day swimming in the river. These moments were the most precious to me since it gave us a chance to get to know each other on a personal level.

In addition to interviews and participant observation with grassroots organizations and groups, I also interviewed leaders who were not displaced but were poor and from the popular neighborhoods, along with directors of international NGOs that worked closely with the local, municipal, and national government. All these interviews give me a comparison group of analysis and allowed me to understand the resources and sources of aid that are available, or lacking, for post-displacement reconstruction.

In total I conducted 16 semi-structured interviews with coordinators and/or members of these NGOs. Those categorized in this interview group were not displaced.

June-July 2016

The third and final trip for fieldwork in Colombia was for one month between June and July 2016. I used this opportunity to conduct follow-up interviews with the coordinator of a local victim's emergency unit. The change in governor of Antioquia and mayor of Medellín had changed social programs for the displaced since 2014. The old mayor was focused on urban development programs but was also dedicated to pushing the budget towards social programs. The new change of administrations cut major spending for social programs, laying off hundreds of social workers and humanitarian workers, and shifting its focus to securitization. I noticed this when, one night going to dinner, I saw that soldiers with automatic weapons now lined the streets after dark. My interviews with people in the victim's unit allowed me to see how local governments can directly shape how policies of resettlement and transitional justice are being implemented.

While one month was not that much time, I was able to check in with community leaders and NGOs that I had worked with in 2014, hearing about the changes that had happened over two years. I took this opportunity to bring CDs and transcriptions of interviews and photographs as gifts to research participants. I also was able to talk about ideas that emerged from the findings, and used our time

together to get their input as I developed theoretical concepts, such as displaced consciousness, and double-displacement.

Since returning from the field, I have stayed in regular communication with people in Medellín via emails, phone calls, Skype, Facebook, and Whatsapp. This has been an invaluable source of communication since it gives me the chance to discuss ideas and stay up to date on the social and political context of Medellín and Colombia. I use Dedoose software to analyze data, using both selective and focused coding for an inductive approach.

My feminist mixed-method approach over five years has yielded an overwhelming amount of rich data, much of which will not be included in this thesis, but it has been critical in revealing the limits of integration and national citizenship, while also showing how displaced peasants re-make their relationship to the nation, build solidarity, and mobilize their community.

Chapter Four

Phase One of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Displacement

Back then, Dabeiba was a marvel - the most productive town for food. You can ask anyone, where is the most productive town in the department of Antioquia? Dabeiba. There we grew beans, corn, passion fruit, the plantain...everything, everything, everything! Imagine us, our hometown, the maternal house where they raised us, we are a numerous family. The nostalgia. Many times, I start talking with my mother and she begins to cry. Dabeiba was very good, but, *ay*, now no. I saw many things there, many victims, many things that, no. And over there, people are displaced. So, that is something that, ah, and my wife, she ended up with a problem from seeing [armed groups], from seeing the bodies thrown through the land. I will no longer return.

(Pedro, displaced peasant farmer, resettled since 2000)

Chapter 3 discusses the first phase of the life-cycle of forced migration:

displacement. While this study focuses on the long-term urban integration of displaced *campesinos* in Colombia, it is necessary to address two important moments that are key to understanding why and how displacement has life-long consequences on displaced person's lives. First, "life as it was," or life before the conflict or the invasion of armed actors, is critical to understand the material losses due to being expelled from the countryside. Second, the displacement event, or the context of expulsion, which has a range experiences, is also key for comprehending the affective outcomes of displacement. This chapter argues that in order to understand why integration fails and how displaced peasants become partial citizens, we must understand the previous phases of the forced migration life-cycle as part of the same

life-long process. Thus, to understand issues of resettlement and integration (Chapters Five and Six), we must begin by first examining how the displaced remember the rural and the context of expulsion.

The chapter begins by briefly discussing the history of roots of current conflict in Colombia, which has been attributed to a civil war between 1948-1966 called *La Violencia*, or The Violence (Roldán 2002). I then explain different, and contentious, meanings of territory, focusing on how this term is used by government entities, development organizations, NGOs, and rural social movements in Colombia. As I will later explain, in this context, the territory is defined as a set of relations and representations built from the land (Fajardo, Darío, 2002 in Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular 2009). After, the discussion connects the meanings of territory to practices of citizenship in order to understand the consequences of the shift from territory-based labor economy to a money-based economy on the displaced's economic integration. The next section discusses displaced's memories of "life as it was" to explain the material conditions *before* displacement to focus on collective memory and the meaning and significance of territory. This analysis is to demonstrate the connection between peasant's productivity and national belonging, asking how do material and subjective attachments to and dismemberments from memories of the territory affect feelings of national belonging? (Coutin 2016).

Drawing from Bridget Anderson's (2013) work on the community of value (Chapter Two), I argue that how the rural is remembered becomes a key factor in how and to what degree peasants are able to be contributing subjects—or Good Citizens—

in the city. The displaced's inability to participate in the formal labor market in Medellín, and their memories of the rural and displacement, influence their relationship to the state and affects their long-term integration. For example, once self-sufficient *campesinos* who could produce their own food, the displaced now must rely completely on a money economy, which does not allow them to contribute to the urban labor market via their agricultural skills. Interviews with the displaced—like Pedro above—revealed that not being able to produce with the land and soil, and having to depend on the state, is devastating and interviewees mourned the loss of being productive citizens. While many were poor in the countryside, *campesinos* remember the rural as a place of abundance, a utopic homeland where they did not lack their basic needs since they could produce their own food. However, when asked if they wanted to return to the countryside, most displaced respondents said they did not want to go back. This sentiment was gendered, with women who had been directly victimized by armed actors refusing to return to the countryside altogether, and men expressing differing feelings on returning, yet all mentioning that they would not return to their place of origin. Therefore, I argue that the rural is remembered as both utopic and haunted (Gordon 2008).

To explore the hauntings of the countryside, I draw from interviews with displaced peasants to show both the material and subjective losses of displacement. I contend that *campesinos* hold a collective memory of expulsion that is rooted in place-based and temporal understandings of the rural which creates a new critical awareness; what I call Displaced Consciousness. As explained in Chapter One,

Displaced Consciousness is the subjective outcome of displacement, which is experienced as a prolonged sense of exile, nostalgia, and loss.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the initial displacement of *campesinos* by different armed actors—guerrillas, paramilitaries, and the military—recognizing that some peasants have experienced multiple displacements over the years before settling in Medellín. I show that the context of expulsion, highlighting the gendered and racialized outcomes; some people were displaced due to armed actors directly targeting them, while others felt forced to migrate to avoid potential threats and violence. Demonstrating the spectrum of expulsion, I aim to show why peasants' displacement from land and territory represents a traumatic rupture from their community, family, livelihood, networks, research, and identity, which negatively affects their sense and practice of citizenship post-displacement.

Roots of the Current Conflict: *La Violencia*

According to historian Marco Palacios (2006) and political scientist, Mary Roldán (2002), the history of displacement in Colombia can be traced to a series of civil wars, the most prolific of which is *La Violencia*. *La Violencia*, an era estimated between 1948 to 1966, was a conflict between conservative and liberal parties. This civil war targeted and killed hundreds of thousands of people—mostly peasants—and is estimated to have displaced two million people (Roldán 2002). *La Violencia* is considered the root of the current crisis of forced migration within Colombia, an era that, as discussed with research participants and my own family, touched every citizen in Colombia and continues to shape current generations through

the tensions between the rural and the urban, the regional and the national, and the state and its subjects. As one activist in Medellín told me during 2011, “The blood from *La Violencia* still runs in the veins of all Colombians.”

La Violencia was sparked by the 1948 assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, a Liberal party presidential candidate. Gaitán’s murder was seen as a direct attack on the voice and ideals of the liberal party (Dix 1987). Conservative party hired militia groups, many comprised of police, who attacked any person or group that was perceived as Liberal sympathizers, particularly labor unions and later, peasants. In the later years of the civil war, both Conservative and Liberal groups, made up of militias and peasants, fought in the countryside, between each other and with the military, in what can be said was one of the greatest uprisings of armed peasants (Dix 1987). Further, Dix (1987) states that “*La Violencia* was notable for its brutality” (p. 37), with Conservative paramilitary groups using massacres, tortures, and destruction of entire towns and cities, including Colombia’s capital, Bogotá, to enact terror regional and national levels.

Colombian scholars, Meertens and Segura-Escobar describe the generational effects of this civil war:

La Violencia left nearly 300,000 victims, both men and women. A common phenomenon was the killing of peasant families, including women and children, with opposite political affiliations and the successive occupation of captured territories, resulting in the political homogenization of entire rural areas...From that time onwards, a new generation of *hijos de la Violencia* (Children of the Violence) comprising those who suffered the dramatic killing of their families during childhood expressed the need for revenge and even made violence into a way of life (1996: 166).

The need for revenge—born during the era of La Violencia— brought with it new “technologies of terror” (Uribe 2004) which anthropologist María Victoria Uribe argues have been handed down to the current generation of armed actors. Discussing the semantics of political terror in Colombia, Uribe (2004) examines two moments of “extreme political polarization in Colombia: *La Violencia* of the 1950s and the generalized war waged today among the military, guerrillas, and paramilitaries” (p. 80). Uribe argues that the mechanisms of terror, of torture and the mutilation of the body, during *La Violencia* were rooted in everyday peasant practices related to butchering of animals and culinary practices. These strategies of terror were aimed at expelling peasants from their homes to gain territorial control, while causing a real and symbolic rupture of the peasants and the body with the countryside. Uribe explains:

La Violencia wasn't simply about killing Others; their bodies had to be dismembered and transformed into something else. What were the killers looking for when they cut up the lifeless bodies of their enemies? What alterities did they constitute, these *bandoleros* armed with machetes, operating under cover and at night? In most cases, they killed their enemies by shooting them in the back of the head, after which they manipulated the corpse by making a series of cuts with a machete. The objective behind the cuts was to disorganize the body, depriving it of its human nature and turning it into a macabre allegory. What belonged inside the body was placed outside it—the fetus in a pregnant woman was extracted and placed on her midriff; men's tongues were exhibited like neckties by pulling them out through a hole cut in the trachea—and insides were replaced with what belonged outside—the fetus was replaced by a rooster, and men's testicles were stuffed in their mouths” (p. 88).⁵

⁵ These “technologies of terror” are not isolated to the countryside. Armed actors have brought these same strategies into the city to frighten urban residents, especially resettled *campesinos*, who do not adhere to the unwritten “invisible borders” of criminal groups in Medellín. In Chapter Six I will discuss how the precarious nature of urban survival is gendered, and how men are viewed as potential rivals which, as told to me by family members, have resulted in the torture, killing, and mutilation of their husbands and sons.

The corpses of *campesinos* were positioned in visible places where they could be easily found by the community, and these bodies represented a symbol of possibility, of what might happen to them, which frightened neighbors into abandoning their homes, livestock, and lands. As Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996) argue, those who saw their families and neighbors victimized in this manner, grew up to apply these same mechanisms of terror as a way to enact vengeance during the current civil war. As during *La Violencia*, peasants continue to be targeted, viewed as disposable, a barrier to the appropriation of land by armed actors. Acknowledging the historical, material, and social context and meanings of the land and territory by different groups and actors is important for understanding the connection—and disconnection— of the *campesino* to the countryside.

Meanings of Land and Territory

This section engages with the different meanings of land and territory as a method of understanding the material, social, and affective connections of *campesinos* to the Colombian countryside. One of the challenges in specifying the different definitions used by different groups involves spelling out this distinction between land and territory. This section draws from the literature in geography to examine the interconnected spatial and social relations of power to analyze the losses that occur due to expulsion from the countryside.

Classical definitions of territory, as proposed by Ratzel (1897), associate “the term *Territorium* to the relationship between the state, control, and the production of

borders" (López et al. 2017: 44). However, political geographers like Stuart Elden (2010), challenge older conceptions of territory that solely equate it with the “economic object of land” or a terrain of the state (Elden 2010:810). Rather, Elden argues, territory should be understood as a “vibrant entity,” an “emergent concept of ‘space’ as a political category: owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered and controlled” (2010:810). In his review of the work of classic geographer, Jean Gottman’s *The Significance of Territory*, Elden (2013) argues for a conceptualization of territory from the perspective of different actors with distinct agendas.

To begin an exercise of exploring differing meanings of territory, I use Elden’s (2013) definitions of land, terrain, and territory as a starting point for situating meanings of land and territory in Colombia. According to Elden (2013), “Land is a relation of property, a finite resource that is distributed, allocated and owned, a political-economic question. Land is a resource over which there is competition” (P. 804). In terms of the concept of terrain: “Terrain is a relation of power, with a heritage in geology and the military, the control of which allows the establishment and maintenance of order. As a ‘field,’ a site of work or battle, it is a political-strategic question” (P.804). Lastly, “Territory is something that is both of these, and more than these. Territory must be approached in itself rather than through territoriality, and in relation to land and terrain (Elden 2010: 804). To describe further, the concept of territory “it is linked to the population and natural resources, to emotive attachments; it can be understood as terrain, related to tactical and strategic matters; it is a legal notion inherently intertwined with jurisdiction and sovereignty; it

is a portion of bounded space, ready to be located and catalogued; it links politics, people, and the environment; and these different elements can either be addressed singly or better, as part of a synthetic analysis” (Elden 2013:66).

While the concept of the territory has been discussed widely by geographers (Elden 2013; 2010; 2007; Painter 2010; Gottman 1973), critical geographers, López et al. (2017) engage with different conceptualizations of the term via the Spanish language use of *territorio* to place their exploration of territory in the context of Latin America. Explained as a "hybrid construction," the authors outline both classical and more contemporary uses of the concept, arguing that placing their analysis of *territorio* in the context of Latin America "can help to reveal the power relations of space, triggered by disputes or negotiations between global and local forces, and expressed through actions of 'territorially anchored' groups" (López 2017: 56).

To situate their discussion of *territorio* in Latin America, López et al. (2017) argue that *territorio* is comprised of three main elements: space, power, and locality. Drawing from the Lefebvrian (1991) framework of space as-product of the social: "This space comprises social relations and is not only seen as a physical space, it also the product of social lives" (López et al. 2017:46). In this conceptualization, space, according to Lefebvre (1991), has three elements: 1. social practice; 2. representations of space, or conceived space; and 3. representational space. To give an example, Elden (2007) explains: "For example, where the space of town planners is seen as a scientific object, as pure and apolitical, Lefebvre argued that it has been shaped and molded by historical and natural elements, through a political process. Space is a

social and political product" (2007:107). A second element of *territorio*, power, draws from Foucauldian (1976) understandings of power as a flow, pervasive, and not emanating from a terminal point. The question is how does it operate and "produce reality, especially since power is embodied in discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth" (López et al. 2017:48). The third element of *territorio* is locality, an element that links the meaning of territory to the specific region of Latin America. In this context, *territorio* refers to the "lived space of experience":

Territorios are seen as complex spatial entities shaped by both place-based and external elements, where a diversity of social arrangement interplays with power relations, generating what Massey (1994) would call a 'power geometry,' where notions of locale, locality and location become fundamental. Finally, locality embraces endogeneity, or the capacity of groups and organization to act with some degree of autonomy, there be define unique developmental patterns of continuity and change. The current use of *territorio* in Latin America not only reflects power relations in space, but also in locality" (López et al. 2017: 56-57).

López et al.'s (2017) discussion of *territorio* in the Latin American context is an excellent and useful addition to comprehend territory, and to understand how entities in Colombia conceptualize this concept as it pertains to conflict, security, displacement, and claims to the territory. In the next section I will be drawing from López et al.'s (2017) work to discuss the thematic contexts in which *territorio* and its associated concepts can be applied to the case of Colombia: as spatial entities of jurisdictional administration; control, dispossession, and reconstruction; spatial entity of assets and place-based development; appropriation by indigenous, Afro and peasant communities; and political demands and social movements. The purpose of this exercise is to understand the different meanings of territory in Colombia, which

influence how each group recognizes their relationship to the land, state, community, and nation. Each group's definition of *territorio* mediates and shapes how they will respond to issues concerning land use, rights, and dispossession. As an analytical approach, "Debating *territorio* also contributes to critical discussions about knowledge production, and in particular, it can question the politics of language and narrative during knowledge production" (López et al. 2017:58). In this context, an exploration of the concept of *territorio* offers a new perspective to understanding the range of losses associated with displacement from the countryside and its impact on *campesinos'* urban integration in the later phases of the life-cycle of forced migration.

Colombian State and the Territory

Spatial entities of jurisdictional administration & control-dispossession and reconstruction

"The use of *territorio* as a space, controlled by a normative-legal authority, is according to Haesbaert (2013) one of the interpretation of the political dimensions of *territorio*...For instance, *ordenamiento territorial [land use planning]* is conceived as a rational, technical, and normative process, expressed in a public policy, guiding spatial planning by the state, and materialized within territories" (López 2017:51).

Meanings of territory was most recently discussed as part of the Colombian peace accord process. According to Sergio Jaramillo, Colombian High Commissioner for Peace (2012), the territory is a state-governed area of sovereignty of country, associated with the land of the country and its borders, and is meant to be protected and secured by the Colombian forces as part of a process of peace. According to the 2016 Colombia Peace Accord, "The territorial approach of the Agreement involves recognizing and taking into account the economic, cultural and

social needs, characteristics, and particularities of the territories and communities, ensuring socio-environmental sustainability; and seek to implement the different measures in an integrated and coordinated way, with the active participation of citizens. The implementation will be done from the regions and territories and with the participation of the territorial authorities and the different sectors of society” (Oficina del Alto Comisionado para la Paz 2016: 6, Author’s translation). In the context of the peace process, “territorial peace” entails the ability of the Colombian state to uphold rights and guarantees of peace in the rural territories. “Rights” are associated with the strategies and role of the state to end the conflict, which is posited as needed to guarantee the constitutional rights of Colombian citizens in the country.

The state views poverty in the countryside as a factor that allowed the violence and conflict to flourish (Jaramillo 2012). Thus, closing the gap between the urban and rural is at the core of being able to both secure the territory and their population for the protection and implementation of post-conflict programs of peace. Some approaches to constructing territorial peace might entail: “The end of armed confrontations and reparations; strengthening state capacity to guarantee rights; advancing solutions to grave social and economic problems while not yet solved; strengthen the social state of rights; recognize that sustainable and sustained peace needs to be completed in the territory and that requires the active and incidental participation of the communities” (Zapata 2015: 5, Author’s translations). Strategies of constructing peace in the territories are defined by installing formal structures of institutionality, which Jaramillo defines as “not only a presence of state entities, but

also the establishment with practices and norms that regulate public life and produce wellness” (Jaramillo 2012: 5, Author’s translation). A method of increasing the presence of state institutions in the rural and the construction of “territorial peace” for the Colombian government is linked to property and property rights.

The Peace Accord seeks to push rural development as a process of “territorial consolidation” towards recuperating territorial control and strengthening the role of the state in the rural territory (Palou, et al. 2011). This approach is based on securitization— “security” in this sense means armed militarization of the country and its borders to protect the state and its territories—and economic development of the countryside by establishing an institutional presence to prevent and guarantee future violation of rights of the *campesino*—as stipulated by Victim’s Law—and to develop and expand economic markets for the purpose of alleviating poverty in the countryside.

Rural Development Organizations and Territory

Spatial entity of assets and place-based development

“...economic definition of territorio as the spatial source of productive forces (especially capital and labor) that result from class struggles” (López 2017: 55).

In the context of rural development organizations in Colombia, is related to the projects of NGOs that work on the issue of rural development in Latin America. For example, *Rimisp-Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural*—an organization that works with governments as technical advisors—approaches the

issue of rural development by focusing on the territory (Schejtman and Marzo 2004). They define rural development of territory “like a process of productive and institutional transformation in a determined rural space, with the purpose of reduction of rural poverty” (Schejtman and Marzo 2004: 4, Author’s Translation). In this context, the territory is understood as a rural-space container (Giddens 1984) for economic development. Economic development through territorial rural development seeks to stabilize the countryside for the movement of economic markets and opportunities. This would entail “agricultural development; stressing the importance of urban-rural links and with dynamic markets; emphasis on technological innovation; and demands of institutional reforms, decentralization and strengthening of local governments, social, intersectoral and public-private consultation, and others” (Schejtman and Marzo 2004: 4, Author’s Translation). Much of the focus of what “makes” the territory is associated with outside state forces intervening in the rural spaces to shape the territory in accordance to state and economic market needs. Using this definition, the *campesino* is both the object of development programs *and* included as an active agent in production and reproduction of the territory.

Rural Groups and Territory

Appropriation of territorio by indigenous, afro and peasant communities

Territorio is also used in a context symbolic-cultural definition, as the subjective appropriation or valorization of a lived space by a group (Haesbaert 2004). In this context, the Lefebvian notion of the representational or lived space and the humanist tradition of place as subjectively defined, both correspond to the spatial fundament of territorio. Here, territoriality is constructed between people and nature through actions, perceptions, forms of territorial valuation and attitudes (Raffestin [1980]1993). A cultural and

spatial construct, territoriality functions through complementary and reciprocal relationships of kinship, production and religion, and can likewise elicit confrontation (Nates Cruz 2011:211). In this context, territorio secures the reproduction of social groups and the satisfaction of their material or symbolic needs (Giménez 1999:27)" (López et al. 2017:52).

Meanings of land and territory in Colombia must be considered from the perspective of three main groups of rural populations: peasants, Afro-Colombians and Indigenous peoples. These groups have similar understandings yet with different relationships to and with the land. The Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular's (2009) [CINEP] document on the right to land and the territory in Colombia discusses in detail the meanings and applications of these two concepts: "Land and territory are two closely related concepts. For land, it is understood as the physical base and productivity of a territory. For territory, it is understood as a set of relations and representations that are built from the land" (Fajardo, Darío, 2002 in Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular 2009, Author's Translation). *Campesinos* understand the land as a source of life and work, and territory as a site of community and roots for themselves and future generations. For Afro-Colombians, the land represents the possibility of reproduction of their lives and culture, and the territory is vital for survival and wellness. Indigenous peoples see themselves as protectors of the earth, and the territory is understood as a spiritual concept, part of their cosmology, as a Sacred Mother, the link between spiritual and material realms (CINEP 2009).

The concept of the territory for these groups can be understood as a set of six relations: (1) Social Relations: "product of the interactions between the

population, such as kinship, friendship, compadres and companionship”; (2) Cultural Relations: ‘the customs, beliefs, and forms of life of the population, in accordance with the trajectory of the human group and that generate roots and identity as related to the territory and its appropriation’; (3) Political Relations: “Linked to the power and the ability to make autonomous decisions about the destiny of the lands and the human beings that occupy them”; (4) Support Relations: “marked for the utilization, transformation and production of resource for subsistence; (5) Economic Relations: “established for the production and exchange of products, goods and services that are found in the territory”; and (6) Environmental Relations: “determined by the use and conservation of the natural resources that are found in the territory” (CINEP 2009: 14, Author’s Translation).

Right to the Territory

Political demands and social movements

Escobar (2008) “refers to indigenous and Afro-Colombian movements as place-based social movements (*Movimientos sociales basados-en-el lugar*), who live and experience place, but who claim recognition of their collective rights to *territorio*, as a means to survive as a group” (López et al. 2017:49).

There are national Colombian laws that protect the lands of officially recognized ethnic groups on the grounds that these are patrimonial lands that are deemed critical for teaching and passing on the cultural traditions and practices of these populations. These laws allow for ethnic minority groups, like Afro-Colombians, to claim ethno-territorial rights. For example, Law 70 of 1993 addresses issues of Afro-Colombian ancestral territories and rules that:

The object of the present Law is to recognize the right of the Black Communities that have been living on barren lands in rural areas along the rivers of the Pacific Basin, in accordance with their traditional production practices, to their collective property as specified and instructed in the articles that follow. Similarly, the purpose of the Law is to establish mechanisms for protecting the cultural identity and rights of the Black Communities of Colombia as an ethnic group and to foster their economic and social development, in order to guarantee that these communities have real equal opportunities before the rest of the Colombian society (Law 70 of Colombia of 1993, Article 1).

Indigenous groups in Colombia are protected by the Rights of Indigenous Peoples under the 1991 Colombian Constitution, which both recognizes and protects the diverse culture and ethnicity of the various indigenous groups in Colombia, and, under Article 63, the constitution states that communal lands and reservations can not be taken or dispossessed from these groups. In spite of these legal protections, and mandated rule concerning previous consultation before any project is planned or implemented in these areas, the immense resources in areas like the Choco and Putumayo, like gold and oil, have made these lands targets for sale to multi-national companies. In addition, while Afro-Colombians and indigenous peoples represent only 3.4 per cent and 10.6 per cent of the total Colombian population, they comprise 74% of the groups that experience in mass displacement (IDMC 2017) by armed groups, including paramilitaries working for multinational companies.

In their research on Afro-Colombian women's territorial movements, Grueso and Arroyo (2005) examine Afro-Colombian communities that live on the Pacific coast to discuss the defense of the territory as a method of both contesting violations and claiming territorial rights. In this context, the authors argue that "The territory is

seen as constructed by the community on the basis of the ‘use space’ (*espacios de uso*) of the ecosystems that sustain the life project of the community. The territory where the social matrix is woven generation after generation, linking past, present, and future in a close relationship with the natural environment” (Grueso and Arroyo 2005:102). Through social practices, identities are also produced through the production of the land and spatial and social production of territory: “The construction of identity is associated with the spatiality of productive activities” (Grueso and Arroyo 2005:102). To defend the territory is also a process of knowledge production for social reproduction and survival. Thus, displacement from the land and territory also represented a rupture with epistemological and spatial-temporal understandings of Life “as it was” and what could be “When, for instance, knowledge of animals and plants for food and healing is lost, there is a loss of the value of the territory as a space for life” (Grueso and Arroyo 2005:103).

According to Bettina Ng’weno (2007), “Although the definitions of territories and the peoples who occupy these spaces remain central to disputes over land in Colombia, territory is only part of what people are claiming. They are also claiming recognition as politically salient communities...territory is seen as a means to participation, which in turn is understood to enact real citizenship” (p. 267). As I will discuss in Chapter 7 on community-building, the concept of territorio is brought into the urban as a recognition of “emancipatory possibilities (Escobar 2008), “associated to a broader understanding of nature, where the live projects of communities take place” (López et al. 2017: 53), and as a way to challenge their subordinated status and make claims as

partial citizen. In this vein, “Territorial claims are the setting through which the goals of citizenship in terms of resources, livelihood, self-definition, and the politics opening are produced within the contemporary state” (Ng’weno 2007:25). Further, “As such, claims to territory are both claims to power and demonstrations of power in negotiations over authority, legitimacy, citizenship, and political participation” (Ng’weno 2007:197). In the following section, I will be building on this discussion of territory by examining it through the lens of rural expulsion, labor, and citizenship.

Displacement, Territory and Citizenship

Drawing from Anderson’s (2013) work on citizenship and migration, I argue that citizenship is exercised as both rights and contribution. As Colombian citizens, peasant farmers—due to geography and landscape—might be more distant from to access to state and economic markets, but their civil rights as Colombian citizens are assumed as binding by the constitution and *campesinos* contribute through their labor and production with the land. In this context, “the use of territorio in debates over the survival of the peasantry and family farming (Schejtman 1980; Bendini and Steimbregger 2011) implies a subjective valorization of space, in which labor and agricultural production are related” (López et al. 2017: 52). While many peasants are still historically poor, and many labor as sharecroppers, access to land, even rented, allows for farmers to work, giving them the ability to produce their own food through their agricultural practices, which also gives them the chance to cover their basic necessities. This permits them to be contributing subjects, not a burden,

and thus, a Good Citizen. Once farmers are displaced, loss of land results in the loss of work, livelihood, culture, and identity as “farmer,” factors which are tied to agricultural productivity and self-sufficiency. The shift from a land-based economy to a money-economy is devastating (Grueso and Arroyo 2005), and, for those who resettle on the peripheries of Medellín, their labor flips them from Contributing Citizen to Dependent Subject since they are refused entry into formal labor markets that do not view displaced peasants as acceptable urban workers. Interviews with government administrators of aid and welfare programs, city boosters, urban planners, and NGOs reveal that this is due to the stigma of displacement by the urban community, and is further exacerbated by gendered and racialized assumptions about a person's ability and value (Chapter Five). To survive, most displaced farmers must now depend on informal markets and/ or government dependency to be able to subsist (Carrillo 2009; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007; Bello A. 2006), forms of work that convert *campesinos* into Failed Citizens.

The idea of productivity is tied to contribution, that is, productiveness via valued labor is at the core of being perceived as a valuable, contributing Good Citizen. In the rural, as farmers, agricultural labor and skills are valuable, though they do not fully contribute in the way urban citizens do—that is, directly to labor and economic markets—but, farmers can access food, at minimum from their production or through bartering. In Colombia, narratives of the Good Campesino are infused with representations of the farmer who can produce their own food, who is driven by self-determination and communality, and who can not only reproduce

themselves but the nation. This is evident by the saying “Sin campo, no hay ciudad”/”Without countryside, there is no city” (ACR 2016; Domínguez 2014). The saying represents the idea that the peasant and their agricultural skills feed the city. Therefore, the city’s own existence relies on the countryside, making farming a patriotic act, and the productive farmer a symbol of the Good Colombian. Using Anderson’s concept of the community of value as a framework, we can posit displaced farmers in the city as the Failed Citizen since they cannot contribute to the urban community of value via formal labor, which is considered “valued labor.” As peasants resettle in the city, they “fail” to contribute to urban society and thus move from productive to dependent workers. The city—as a site of neoliberal markets, exchange, and development (Greenberg 2008; Harvey 2004; Brenner and Theodore 2002) becomes a space of contestation since displaced peasants clash with city planners plan of innovation and progress (Harvey 2013), perceiving these groups as socio-economic and political burdens. If we approach citizenship as rights and contribution—via labor and labor practices—then it can be argued that the displaced experience non-citizenship in two ways: first, displacement violates internal displaced peasants human and civil rights due to violence and losses as a consequence of war. Second, dislocation from and dispossession of land and the relationships of the territory eliminates peasants’ ability to contribute to society as valued and valuable workers. Once contributing citizens, rural-to-urban displacement transforms the Good Campesino into the Displaced Dependent, a shocking shift for the peasant whose life was based on the land and territory and must now depend more on the cash

economy.

From Territory to Money-Based Economies

The shift from land-based to money-based economies is jolting for the farmer and causes anxiety about how to cover the new costs of basic necessities like food, transportation, and housing. This type of new costs, along with lack of access to formal labor markets, and the shock of the rural-to-urban displacement and resettlement, results in insecurity and fear on how to cover the expenses for the household. Mari, a 30-year-old Afro-Colombian woman and single-mother, gives us an example of the long-term consequences of the rural-to-urban shift on displaced's people sense of belonging as it is related to her capacity to contribute and support her family. She was displaced from Quibdo, Choco when she was 18 years old, coming to Medellín with her cousin and settling in the periphery of the Eastern mountain range of the city. She is now a widow with five children, all minors, and is the sole provider in the household. Mari came to the house of a family friend and started working cleaning homes. She got tired of being mistreated by the woman of the house and began working selling batteries, candy, coffee, and cigarettes, moving to Barrio La Fé when a lot in the informal settlement opened up for her to build a *ranchito*⁶. After a couple years, she met a man from the same neighborhood and got pregnant. She went on to have four more children but her partner was killed due to inter-neighborhood gang violence.

⁶ Self-constructed, precariously-built housing, usually a shack built from scavenged materials.

Since her family still lives in the Choco, and she doesn't want to return, Mari has had to supplement the household income with sex work in the richer and tourist-filled sector of El Poblado and the downtown area. The shift from land-based to money-based economy is still felt 12 years after coming to Medellín as Mari continues to struggle to subsist and support her family:

I have been able to find food and I live working a job that forces you to do what you have to do, but even this...if you have to pay for services, pay for this thing and the other thing, for the kids, for you, well, it doesn't cover things, it doesn't give. You understand me? Because if you were in your home, even if it was there in the *finca*⁷, you would have at least bananas, *frijoles*, potatoes to eat...there you don't need anyone to give you anything because you have everything there. But here in the city is it different. If you want to go downtown, you need to have money. If you go to the doctor, you need to have money. If you need anything, for all moves, you need money, and if you aren't working, where are you going to get the money? That "oh, the services never got turned on, the gas ran out," when the rent runs out, when you have to send whatever it is to the [kid's] school. So, then you experience anxiety that the kids' shoes have holes, that my sandals don't work, that we need to pay to go downtown to get food.

Mari is frustrated at having to navigate an economy that makes her dependent on money and which creates long-term barriers to her ability to access basic necessities like healthcare or her children's education. For Mari, her conception of "home" is still located in the rural, where she is not a burden because "there you don't need anyone to give you anything because you have everything there." She associates the countryside with autonomy, where one can freely and easily access to food, and thus, as many interviewees mentioned, a dignified life. This point was a common theme among displaced peasants interviewed and a platform used in

⁷ Means "estate," but signifies a rural or agricultural land with a house or shelter attached to it where the owner or farmer lives.

Right to the Territory claims in urban social movements in Medellín, which will be discussed in Chapter Seven. To understand how the displaced perceive and know the rural, the next section analyzes the material and cultural conditions of the countryside to comprehend the full range of losses of displacement.

Material Conditions

Peasants talk with pride about their farms, skills, and ability to subsist by growing their own food. While rural persons ranged from large plantation-owning farmers, to sharecroppers, and even small rural merchant-supported households, interviewees all identified as *campesinos* and felt the loss of land and territory as a loss of productivity and self-sufficiency. The agricultural skills of the *campesinos* was one of pride and of cultural belonging. Jaime is a 44-year-old mestizo man who lives in Barrio Montecito in the Comuna 3. Jaime was displaced ten years ago by paramilitaries from the region of Dabeiba where he labored as sharecropper. He went to a small city for three years and was displaced again by paramilitaries before coming to Medellín in 2007. He has lived now in Barrio Montecito for four years and has been able to build a *rancho* with his wife and three children, and their families, along with his brother who was also displaced. Jaime works as a gardener in Itagui, and he reminisces about his life in the countryside:

Jaime: I had a little piece of land that a man had given me, that is, I worked with him for seven years and the man had a large farm, and so, because I practically worked with him and I practically was raised there working with him, well then, after he said, “I am going to show you a small piece of land so that you work it so that you find a partner because you need land.”

Interviewer: So, then you started to work the land?

Jaime: Yes

Interviewer: So then, what did you have on your land?

Jaime: Tomato, the type from a tree, fruit, passion fruit, bananas, a little sugar cane, and like five animals...yes, that is what they took...

While Jaime did not own his own piece of land, working in these types of relationships, between the owner and the land, was a typical rural relationship of non-land owning farmers. In spite of not having legal property rights, access to use of land and the support of the landowner via wage labor and mentoring, allowed Jaime and his family to subsist in the countryside.

This sentiment is echoed by Carlos, a 64-year-old mestizo man who worked in agriculture for 48 years: “When I lived in the countryside, we grew our food and could live off of it.” He arrived to Medellín from Urrao 16 years ago and struggled to find a job, even now, because he was displaced as an older farmer, which has disadvantages in the city since employers view older men as a liability, unable to learn new skills, thus not a good worker to invest in. He runs a small store out of the front of his home, but, since it is located in a poor neighborhood with a majority of displaced persons who are residents, sales fail to support the family so his wife and 22-year-old daughter, both study and work side jobs to cover household costs. They had community networks to help them when they first arrived to Medellín, which assisted them with housing and work, a critical factor for their immediate arrival to the city facilitated their resettlement and helped create networks for integration. In spite of being among a

few people who reported upward mobility after rural-to-urban displacement,

Carlos longs for his life in the countryside:

The countryside is more relaxed, you have the chickens and hens, the pigs, a place where the community would help each other, where you could help each other...I want to return, but when I went to check a year later the war had finished with the land.

Carlos expresses the importance of the countryside in juxtaposition to the city in terms of the rural's production of food, as well as a loss of country culture associated with a communitarian lifestyle and relationships.

Cultural Conditions

While Carlos, Jaime, and Mari mention the material conditions associated with land and access to the land, their responses reveal the losses of the territory that are linked to the social relations of rural culture and way of life. Pedro, a 62 year old mestizo man displaced by paramilitaries 14 years ago, talks about the cultural loss:

Interviewer: So, what has been your experience living here in Medellín?

Pedro: Well, how do I say this, hard because one arrives, how do you say, very... *montaño* (from the mountains), and yes, but, that it, one has experiences but for one to try to integrate into the city, well, that is a bit complicated. In the first place, well, one feels timid and it seem like the people of the city are other people, very different, but you arrive and it's like the normal, but it hits you hard to adapt to these things because, one being from the countryside, you have other ways of living, you have other customs...while you arrive here, the culture is distinct. It is distinct because you, you feel it, you have trust in, in this person or not, while you arrive to a new place, you arrive to start to everything, to leave behind your customs and begin, like, taking on the customs of other people...that is hard for you, right?

The cultural break from the rural life is gendered since women's and

men's lives in countryside and the private and public spaces they occupy are mediated by gender. For example, according to Cesar, a displaced mestizo man from the countryside of Antioquia—who is now the coordinator of the community garden program for victims of the conflict in Medellín—recuperating the culture of the rural for resettling in the city also means recognizing the different relationships to the land experienced by women and men:

The highest percentage, for example, of participation [in the program] is of women, but it is, look, that is why I tell you what it is to recuperate culture because the home gardens or small gardens always, in the countryside, is run by the women. The large crops were where the men were... You find thousands, a hectare, of one hectare you can yield tons of corn. Meanwhile the home gardens, that you always found right to the side of the kitchen, to the side. So, the *mamas* always had tomatoes, onions, cilantro, aromatic plants, carrots, cabbage because these were their gardens. That's why there are a higher percentage [of women participants], that is in the culture. But you can also analyze this from the point of view that many more men were assassinated during the conflict so there are many women alone.

Cesar's interview reveals the gender dynamics related to rural life and production, and the outcomes of war and displacement that result in the loss of the male household provider, which affects women's post-displacement survival. Women now lose two sources of subsistence: land and partner.

Land and Territory as Utopic and Haunted

Interviews with displaced *campesinos* reveal that the countryside is remembered as both utopic and haunted. Avery Gordon's (2008) work on state-led violence in Argentina during the Dirty wars of the 1970s, highlights the historical lingering of war of a particular place as it relates to both conflict-driven erasure and knowledge-making as an outcome. Gordon describes hauntings as:

...those singular yet repetitive instance when home becomes unfamiliar, when your bearing on the world lose direction, when the over-and-done-with comes alive, when what's been in your blind spot comes into view. Haunting raises specters, and it alters the experience of being in time, the way we separate the past, the present, and the future. These specters or ghosts appear when the trouble they represent and symptomize is no longer being contained or repressed or blocked from view...(Gordon 2008: xvi)

The characteristic features of hauntings are the ghost which “imports and charges strangeness into the place and sphere it is haunting, thus unsettling the propriety and property lines that delimit a zone of activity or knowledge...the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice not only to itself but also to what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes a life, sometimes of a path not taken” (Gordon 2008: 63). The peasants’ collective memory is a contradiction between the rural during “life as it was”—associated with autonomy and self-determination—as shown in the section above, and the tension between the ghosts that now appear in their memory of the countryside. When I asked *campesinos* if they want to return, if possible, to their lives in the countryside, the majority of displaced persons said they did not want to return to a place they now see as tainted and traumatic. For example, though Jaime does long for life in the rural, he does not want to return to his hometown he was displaced from:

I am not provoked to return back to, to the town where I lived...I would like to return to another *pueblo*, but to return to my town, no, but to another yes. But where I lived no. I had a farm and a little house in the town, I had coffee. And yes, the majority was pure coffee and a lot of mango fruit, avocados, *cacao*, many animals, that's what I had, chicken and pigs and that is what we had there on our farm. We harvested every day.

While Jaime would like to return to the countryside, others do not want to return

to the life in the countryside at all. For example, Monica, a neighbor of Mari from Barrio La Fé in the Comuna 8, though deeply connected to and proud of her identity as a *campesina*, does not feel like she could survive in the rural after being so disconnected from agricultural life since coming to Medellín 14 years ago:

Interviewer: Have you felt that you have been discriminated against for being displaced?

Monica: Well I don't know...they might think so but they have not said it out loud to me, but if they did I would tell them that I feel very proud to a farmer, I am what I am, and I have my roots in being from the countryside, that's what I am. Whatever happens, you never stop being a farmer...but I guess we are supposed to be civilized here [in the city] (laughs).

Interviewer: Do you want to return to the countryside?

Monica: No, I would not be able to support myself anymore, I am not good to work in the sun anymore (laughs) no, I do not want to return, I have very bad memories of what happened to me over there so, no, I would not like to return because the *finca* where I left from, the paramilitaries took over and there they killed people and that frightens me. That someone was killed there and I have to sleep in the same place? No, I will not return back there.

Monica was displaced from Dabeiba, a region heavily affected by the conflict in the late 90s and early 2000s. While on her way to the market she was captured by paramilitaries and tortured. She said she was never able to return home because the paramilitaries said if she ever did they would kill her. She left to Medellín where her sister lives and asked a brother to bring her children to the city. Since 2000 she has never returned to the countryside nor does she want to.

In spite of fear of returning to the countryside, most peasants interviewed had positive memories of the rural, remembered as a utopic space with access to resources, food, work, and community. The relations that make up the territory are another loss that does not have a monetary value, for instance, via economic and social networks and markets like bartering, based on community and self-determination. Brenda, a middle-age mestiza woman, displaced from the northern region of Antioquia, describes how war and rural-to-urban displacement makes it difficult to integrate into urban culture and impossible to return to the countryside:

The war has created a cycle...the country has been dragged to the city and now the country person who is used to other customs, in the simple life, in self-dependency. The city does not give security, and how are they supposed to return to the country when they have lost everything there, where are they going to settle?

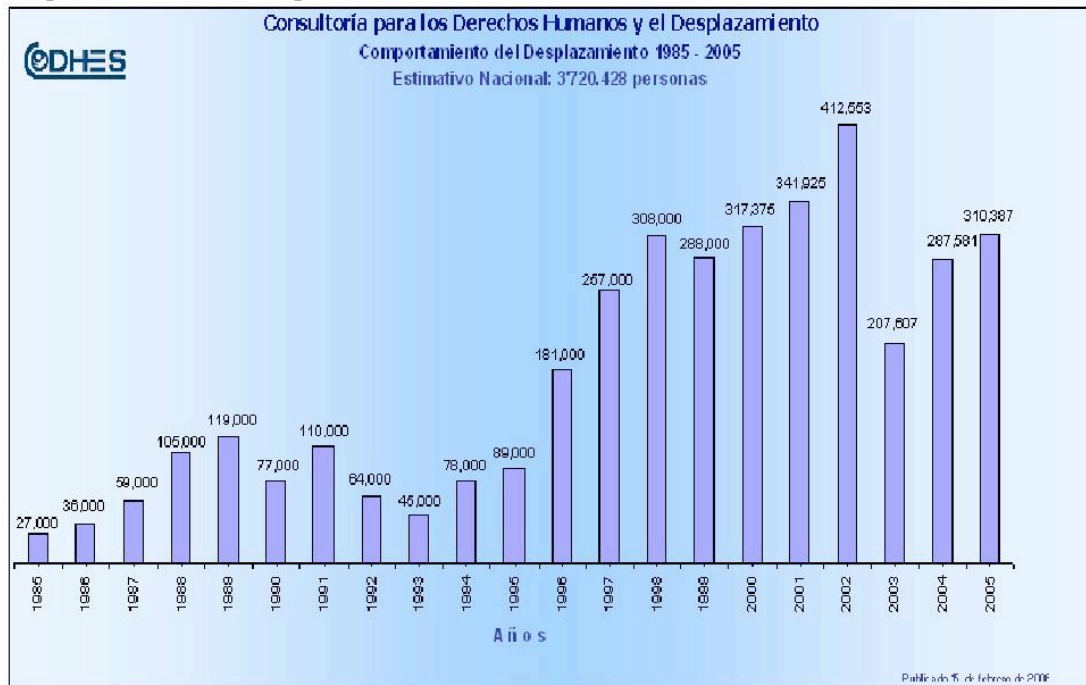
The material and cultural conditions of the countryside are associated with territory. Using the definitions discussed above, I argue that the territory is constructed as a set of spatial and social relations and representations related to the land and agricultural production, therefore the loss of land represents an elimination of resources, networks, and practices, that affect *campesinos*' identity as contributing subjects and citizens.

First Rupture: From Life "As It Was" to Displacement

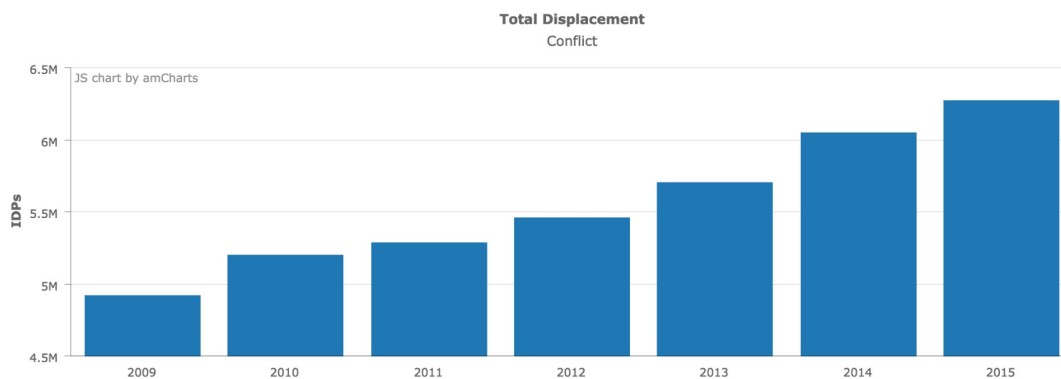
The crisis of displacement in Colombia has grown since the 1960s. Displacement increased exponentially in the mid-1980s, however it was not till the 1990s that the Colombian government finally recognized that displacement was a

social problem. Graph 1 below shows the estimated numbers of displacement due to conflict in Colombia from 1985 to 2005, and Graph 2 shows the estimates from 2009-2015.

Graph 1: Numbers of displaced in Colombia between 1985-2005



Graph 2: Numbers of displaced due to conflict in Colombia between 2009-2015 (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre)



Dr. Celia Ramirez, a Colombian professor interviewed, gives a brief overview of the timeline of displacement in Colombia:

There are some key moments in the history of, what we now call, forced internal displacement that have occurred. The first moment occurred from the mid-80s to the mid-90s, that while it is not officially recognized, internal displacement now shows this...specifically in the regions most affected by the conflict. In '95, the problem becomes visible enough on a national level and a public debate begins over the existence of the displaced. In '97 the existence of the problem is recognized by the implementation of Law 387 of 1997 that for the first time signals that internally displaced people exist in Colombia. There are peaks but the numbers go down, but it spikes again at the beginning of 2000. In the beginning of the 21st Century, we see that the problem is not just about the confrontation between the guerrilla and the paramilitaries but also with the implementation of Plan Colombia, the existence of mega-projects, that they are displacing people in order to advance with development projects. In addition, we see the rise of self-defense groups [paramilitaries]... (Dr. Ramirez, Political Science professor, Bogota)

In the case of Colombia, in addition to internal displacement due to the conflict, massive displacement from rural areas is also a result of development-induced displacement due to mining, construction of hydroelectric dams, and the cultivation of palm oil, which often goes hand-in-hand with the conflict (Muggah 2003). Colombian refugees and asylum-seekers from forced displacement find refuge in other countries such as Ecuador (Riaño-Alcalá and Villa 2008), and those from upper-class backgrounds have historically been able to find refuge in countries like the United States, England, Spain, and Canada (Riaño-Alcalá and Marta Villa 2008; Torres 2006; Guarnizo and Díaz 1999).

For those who stay within Colombia, the rupture or shift from life “as it was” represents the development of a new consciousness of the conflict as the presence of armed groups become more pronounced in *campesinos*’ everyday life. The presence of armed groups in a town depended on which group—guerrillas or Paramilitaries—had control of the region at the particular time. For some rural

persons, these armed groups stayed in the town and monitored the region for long periods of time, even up to a year or more, which greatly reduced rural life and mobility between home, work, and the market:

Pedro: ...And it started, everyone started to leave because the [paramilitaries] kept coming...Yes, because they were farms. Things were not very close, that is, the houses were far away because they were large farms, and each farm had an owner. So, the things were like that, they did not let people leave town, not even to go to the market or something like that and people would go shopping and they would not let you back in. You enter and leave. There were roadblocks, roadblocks going down and roadblocks coming up. A person could not go shopping with more than 30 million pesos because if you went shopping with more than 30 million, [the money was] already for the guerrillas.

This caused tension in the daily lives of peasants, who were often caught in between two rivals and with a lack of state intervention due to geography and distance from formal institutions, and violence from armed actors like paramilitaries that acted with impunity (Roldán 2002). Sonia, a 39-year old mestiza woman, was displaced in 2006 and came to Medellín in 2007. She says she was displaced by both the ELN and the paramilitaries. The groups would constantly monitor the town and take turns going into the town and ordering the people to make them food, or kill them a goat. They would even order Sonia's young son to go do errands for them, buying him soda, and telling him, "Remember, we are going to be around in case you want to come with us." She says, "It was like they were preparing him to take him. I then realized, I cannot live here." Sonia left even though the father of her children was against it. While they rented a small lot of land, he would go fishing or hunting and leave the family and children to help cultivate the land with tomatoes or other agriculture: "We had horses, and rabbits and on another piece of rented land we grew onions, cilantro,

yucca from the home garden, and we lived well.” But when her husband would go fishing, leaving them alone, the armed groups would come out of the jungle and demand her to make them food. She would tell them, “Okay but I will put it in a bag so it does not look like I gave you food, because other people are watching and that makes it difficult for me.” The third time a group came, they were mad and asked, “Who cooks here?” Sonia got nervous because her daughter was of high school age and she got scared they would take her. After arguing with her husband, who did not believe her fears, she decided that she could not handle this situation anymore and in the middle of the night, she and her children left the area for a small town near Medellín.

Herman, a displaced merchant from countryside of Antioquia, also describes the rupture from “life as it was” when the presence of armed actors resulted in making peasants trapped and surveilled, again revealing the lack of State presence and protection in the area:

In that time, the presence of the guerrillas was heavy, we had felt the presence of the ELN and after, the *paras* [paramilitaries]. Also, other militia groups came, I am talking about the municipality of Peque, Peque, Antioquia. Around 1999, 2000 the oppression by the guerrillas and the abandonment of the state was so great that the public sector and programs left the area, and they left us alone at the hands of those groups. So, we kept going, us merchants there and when all of a sudden the paramilitaries put on pressure that did not allow us to bring in our merchandise and things to eat, they wouldn't let cars enter. They only allowed shipments and things that they permitted. We would have to label everything in our inventory to show what we were carrying because it could only be what they permitted. They would not let us bring in batteries for flashlights, and us being country people, we needed lanterns, and for the radio too, those little batteries because supposedly that was for the guerrillas, for the walkie-talkies, so they would block that part to try to weaken the enemy's communication but it was the people who would suffer. People would have to

go to the paramilitaries, the ones with authority, to get permission to go to the local municipality's market, and there you see those in domination being able to make a business out of war.

Displacement

Interviews with displaced person show that there is a spectrum of experiences with expulsion. Displacement entails the moment of actual physical dislocation, which could be the result from direct or indirect causes.

Direct causes of displacement via violence

Direct displacement means that *campesinos* had direct contact with armed groups or individuals via means of violence that resulted in the physical harm of the interviewee and/or the harm or death of a loved one, friend, and/or close community members. The use of violence is used as a strategy of dispossession and displacement. Displacement is caused by armed actors perpetrating violence in the form of murder, assault, torture, rape, forced recruitment or disappearance, and the destruction of property, home, community, crops and livestock. Displaced participants gave testimony to armed actors—many not knowing who exactly was the group that displaced them—targeting them due to their land, or because they thought someone in the household was a sympathizer to the rival group. In other instances, the violence occurred when armed actors felt that people were not complying with orders, for example, when a boy or man refuses to be recruited, it often led to the household being targeted as a measure of social control and teaching a lesson to the community.

Esperanza, a 58-year old displaced mestiza woman from the western

countryside of Antioquia, gives her account of the circumstances that resulted in her displacement:

It happened three years ago, an armed group tried to force my son to go with them. Come with us, they told him, we will pay you a wage, and he said, no I do not kill for money, the day I kill it will be for revenge but not for nothing... They began to chase him so he came here to Medellín, and I told him to leave. One night, it was 7 o'clock, two men came on a motorcycle, I was home eating with my husband. The two men came and they had their faces covered with masks, they asked if my son was there, and they said they wanted to talk to him. I asked them what group were they from and they said they were friends, but I said, no, you are not friends because no friends of his would come with masks on. I told them he was at a farm working on the other side of the mountain, but he was really in another place. They made a phone call and left, and it was good we were all there because they did not kill us that day. I called my son to warn him and the next day he woke up early and left. My daughter was working to become a nurse, and she was finishing up her high school, working on a farm down the way and using a motorcycle to get up and down the mountain. One day when they realized that they were not going to be able to get my son they went to her and said, *Mona* [Blondie], help us, give us your brother. She said, what problems do you have with my brother? I see that you are big stuff with your guns and you can't get my brother yourself? Who knows what other ugly stuff she said to them. And she left and told me, mother, they came to look for my brother and wanted me to help them. I asked her what she had said, and she said, I just asked them if my brother had been too much for them, well, they were the ones with the guns. My son had just gotten arrested because he was traveling with a gun and they had stopped him, and that is why my daughter was making fun of them because, because the men work hand in hand with the law. She knew that they already knew where he was and they were just bothering her, and that's why she made fun of them. I told her, my daughter, it is very dangerous for you to make fun of them, they are dangerous people, she told me, why do I have to worry? I don't have anything to do with them. I told her, but you laughed at them in their face, but not even 15 days passed and they killed my little girl. That day she called us and asked her father to come pick her up down the road since her motorcycle could not make it up, and he went but couldn't find her. I called and called but it kept going to voicemail. He came back and we both went to look for her and we found her dead, and not just dead in the road, they had already picked her up and taken her, so they, the authorities, already knew what was going on. I asked them, what happened to my daughter? Who was in the accident? And the police said, no, señora, it wasn't an accident, she was killed. And my husband started screaming, "They assassinated my daughter!"

and I told him, quiet because they will kill you too. I told the people from the morgue to help me with him because he was in despair and I was calm...there was the law, there, like nothing was happening, like they were in a reunion, like they had killed a dog. We buried my daughter May, 4th, 2009. They assassinated my daughter and then we came here to Medellín to do the paperwork, and when we were here the caretaker at the farm called us and told us, they came looking for us like at 11 at night, asking for you and so we did not want to return. We thought, do you think that the caretaker is lying and just wants to keep the farm? But after three months they ended up killing him, the caretaker, in the corridor of the house. So, the situation was bad so I declared [myself to the authorities] to be displaced...

Esperanza's experience shows how armed actors use strategies that seek to enact terror and revenge on the whole family, using "technologies of terror" (Uribe 2004). In addition, it reveals sentiments of distrust of the police and state. Esperanza says that she knows that the police work hand in hand with the criminal groups and echoes other interviewees testimonies regarding the extensive reach of criminal gangs and their ability to track anyone, and making their situation inescapable. These sentiments of distrust against state actors, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, demonstrate how the phase of displacement affects the later phase of resettlement.

Celia, a displaced mestiza woman, recounts her experience being displaced and tracked by armed actors:

My husband, they killed him in 2002 when there was a confrontation [between armed groups] in a little town, Santa Rita Juan. In 2002, there were the guerrillas and they killed my husband and his father. I mean, they killed many people. I stayed over there. From there, about 3 years ago, I had to displace myself from Santa Rita de Juan. Why? Because they hurt my son, they cut his appendix. They stabbed him three times. I put in a legal complaint against these threats, against that man, and he has uncles who are guerrillas. They found me and they called me and "remove that complaint or I will kill you and your children." I had to stay there for a month more to save money to be able to finally leave, and during that time they would call and call, and I would lock myself up in my house by 6pm in the afternoon due to the point that, well, that they would kill me...from there, I got money in a

month I came [to Medellín]...I came scared to death because on the road there are guerrillas that might take me off [the bus]. The driver was very kind, “Don’t worry, *señora*, this bus is yours.” And I came to Medellín...

For many, it has been impossible to rebuild their lives because they were not able to take anything with them when they were displaced. Also, many participants did not know who displaced them, which can make the process of declaring displacement difficult:

Dolores: In my house we are nine, we have to take care of them all. I was displaced with five children and with us two, seven. We were displaced on the 15th of November of 2001. The situation was very hard because we had to be on the street. The situation was very critical and it is critical still....

Interviewer: Do you know who displaced you?

Dolores: No, there were guerrillas, paramilitaries, and whatever other version. So, you don’t really know, they put you *entre la espada y la pared* (between a rock and a hard place). Dressed like the same police, you don’t understand who is one and who is the other, they put us *entre la espada y la pared*. Simply, they caused a massacre and some people in a car made us leave in the timespan of two hours and they didn’t let us take out anything.

(Dolores, 51-year old white women, from Urrao, Antioquia)

Direct Displacement Due to Explicit Threat/s

This category of displacement represents displacement caused by the threat of violence, disappearance, torture or any physical or psychological violence. For many people interviewed, their displacement was due to an armed actor coming to their door, telling the household that they had anywhere from minutes to hours to leave the home or else they or their family would be killed, forcefully recruited or disappeared. They might not experience direct violence but *campesinos* understand the reality of sure harm or death if they don’t obey the

explicit threats of armed actors and due to this are forced to migrate.

Indirect Displacement

This category represents displacement as a preventative measure, that is, the displacee and/or their family flees because of the perceived indirect threat or possibility that violence might happen to them or their household. For example, someone hears that armed forces have come into a neighboring area/community thus, out of fear of being targeted, peasants make the decision to leave:

We already knew the war was coming, killed neighbors, burned buses. We knew it was time. (Adriana, mestiza woman).

This is also how Pedro was displaced by paramilitaries:

First with threats and after they went and killed some people and you, there seeing that they killed some people, we started to leave...because they wanted a lot of land. The leaving (long pause) they killed a friend, on a Thursday in the early morning and they took him there, and so, they went to the high part and there they stayed in the house talking to him. And there they killed home, and they took everything. They took the beasts and cattle.

People also self-displaced as a form of family unification. If a family member, usually a partner or child, was targeted for displacement and resettled in a town or city, the family member followed at a later date, but they themselves were not directly threatened. For example, an interviewee reported that her husband had escaped death squads for working in the banana fields in Uraba that was taken over by paramilitaries. After escaping death twice, he decided to flee to Medellín. She stayed in Turbo, in the north of Antioquia, and after eight months she stopped hearing from him. She decided to spend her the last of her money, leaving her three

kids with her mother, to go to Medellín to find him. She considers herself displaced.

Understanding the spectrum of expulsion is important because the context of displacement has deep impacts on the subjective experience of war. For example, exploring how people were displaced and the degree of violence endured during forced migration recognizes that people's differing experience can have detrimental long-term effects on the emotional and mental health of the displaced. For people who had time to plan their migration, even a day's time helped them plan their escape, gather and pack important documents and basic necessities, and, if possible, make phone calls to contacts in destination site.

Who Are the Displaced?

Those displaced come from various areas, backgrounds, and communities. For the most part, since the conflict is centralized in rural areas of Colombia, those in rural communities are more likely to be displaced (HRW 2012; IDMC 2011). According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre:

...minority ethnic groups, including indigenous people and Afro-Colombians, continue to make up a significant proportion of IDPs [Internally Displaced Persons]. Six per cent of IDPs are indigenous people and 23 per cent are Afro-Colombians. These groups make up three and seven per cent of the Colombian population, respectively. They are specifically targeted by criminal groups, and their territories are located in rural areas where most confrontations between armed opposition groups and government forces take place (IDMC 2011:58).

Bello A.(2006), a Colombian scholar, expands the description of displaced persons:

Although the displaced population is very heterogeneous and it varies from time to time, the great majority of those who are displaced are poor peasants and people belonging to ethnic communities, Afro-Colombians and indigenous. That is to say, people who historically have been excluded from the benefits of the models of accumulation, excluded from political participation and culturally invisible. The victims of the armed conflict are, in many cases, communities ignored by the state and society, that have been able to survive by their own resources, mediums and strategies (Bello A. 2006: 384) [Researcher's translation].

The vulnerability of communities who lack socioeconomic and political power is highlighted in times of conflict, making them more susceptible to exploitation.

The Gendered Experience of Displacement

Women represent between 49% to 58% of total IDPs in Colombia (IDMC 2011). Displaced women are more likely to become victims of sexual violence (Sánchez et al. 2011). The vulnerability of displacement due to conflict allows for gender-based violence to accelerate, and rape is frequently used to dehumanize and exert power. Sánchez et al. (2011) conducted a survey between 2001 to 2009 on the prevalence of sexual violence against women who had been displaced due to the Colombian conflict. In their findings, Sánchez et al. (2011) report that in 407 municipalities where armed actors were actively present, the rate for sexual violence was estimated at 17.5%. This means that during 9 years 489,687 women were sexually victimized, which averages out to “54,410 women per year, 149 per day, or 6 women every hour suffering sexual violence” (Sánchez 2011:7). These numbers do not take into account women who do not report abuses. The lack of prosecution of cases of human rights violations creates an added difficulty for victims (IDMC 2012).

Normalization of gender-based violence and discrimination is rooted in socially constructed conceptions about gender “roles” and performance that favor patriarchy (Barbero 2009). In traditional rural communities, men and women are separated into a binary of dominant and submissive positions.

In rural communities in Colombia families are structured into gendered divisions of labor. Typically, women stay in the private sphere of the home, taking care of the family and performing the role of nurturer and caregiver. Women stay closed off from the political sphere since the limit of their connection to the outside world is mediated by their relationships with men, such as their fathers, brothers, or husbands (Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996). Men operate in the public sphere as the family’s primary provider. This gives them access to politics and current events through their interaction with other men. The onset of conflict highlights the power differentials between men and women (Sánchez et al. 2011; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996).

Meertens and Segura-Escobar’s (1996) work on gender and displacement is a useful framework for understanding how displacement is experienced differently by men and women throughout the various stages of displacement. Using data from surveys on displaced households and interviews with displaced men and women from rural areas in Colombia between 1994 to 1996, Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996) explain that the process of displacement has five stages: “destruction,” “eviction,” “displacement,” “survival,” and “reconstruction.” In order to understand conflict-induced displacement, and how it is gendered, it is necessary to comprehend that

these stages are all parts that comprise the process of being displaced. The stages where gender is emphasized are in the “destruction” and “reconstruction” stages of the process.

The first phase of displacement, according to Meertens and Segura-Escobar (1996) is “destruction,” the moment armed actors enter a community and begin using terrorist tactics to instill fear. As its name, this stage encompasses physical destruction of home, land, and bodies, in addition to the demolition of networks, relationships, and identities (Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996). Men are targeted due to their position as head of the household and owner of the house and property. In this period men are more likely to be assassinated or “disappeared.”

The loss of the male figure is devastating to a peasant woman’s life on many levels:

Those who become widows are victims thrice over: they bear the trauma caused by their husbands’ death and possibly other violent acts such as rape against themselves or members of their family; they suffer the loss of means of subsistence and domestic reproduction and they endure emotional and social dislocation from their primary world, dropped as they were in the midst of a new, unknown and often hostile urban environment (Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996: 172).

For these women, the loss of the men in their lives leaves them susceptible to physical violation and exploitation. The social constructions of gender, which posit men as dominant and women as submissive, are highlighted under the strain and brutality of war (Sánchez 2011; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996). As Sánchez et al. (2011) show in their study of women and sexual violence in Colombia, women are victimized by armed actors who use rape as “warfare”

(Lindsey 2000) and as a “weapon of war” (Falcon 2001). Sexual violence is used as a way to control, shame, and terrify the community; torture and mutilation of the female body, on pregnant women as well, is used to symbolize the destruction of the “seed” of the enemy (Meertens and Stoller 2001).

Displaced peasants’ stories of “survival” ranged from step-migration to city, for example, first arriving to a smaller town or city before settling in Medellín, and other people displacing directly to Medellín. As I will discuss in the following chapter, the history, character, and landscape of Medellín makes “reconstruction” to the second largest city in Colombia unique in the context of internal displacement demonstrating how place influences the development of displaced *campesinos* into partial citizens.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the first phase of the life-cycle of forced migration. I show that understanding the experience of life “as it was” and the displacement event is key to comprehending *campesinos*’ losses when expelled from the countryside. While this research focuses on the long-term urban integration of displaced *campesinos* in Colombia, it is necessary to show two important moments that are key to understanding why and how displacement has life-long consequences on displaced person’s lives. First, “life as it was,” or life before the presence of the conflict or the invasion of armed actors, is critical to understand the material losses due to being expelled from the countryside. Second, the displacement event, or the context of expulsion, which has a range experiences, is also key to comprehending the affective

outcomes of displacement that go beyond material losses. This chapter argues that in order to understand why integration fails and how displaced peasants become partial citizens, we must understand the previous phases of the forced migration life-cycle as part of the same life-long serial process. Thus, to understand issues of resettlement and integration (Chapters Five and Six), we must begin by first examining the material and subjective losses of displacement.

Discussing the differing meanings of land and territory, I show how *campesinos*, who relied on the land-economy, must now must rely on a money economy, which does not allow them to contribute to the formal urban labor economy via their agricultural skills thereby making them Failed Citizens. This chapter argues that how the rural is remembered—as both utopic and haunted—is key factor for analyzing people’s memories of the past and how displacement shapes how they understand their present and future.

In the second half of the chapter I discuss the displacement event and aim to create a typology of conceptual categories to show the range of experiences with expulsion. I then discuss the demographics of the displaced with a special focus on gender. I draw from Meerten and Segura-Escobar’s (1996) framework of displacement to discuss the phases of displacement in Colombia. What I add to Meertens and Segura-Escobar’s (1996) framework of the process of displacement is extending the phase of “reconstruction” to include the phases of resettlement and long-term integration (protracted displacement). Meerten’s and Segura-Escobar (1996) focus primarily on the displacement event. Since this research seeks to

understand the long-term consequences of displacement on urban integration and citizenship of displaced men and women, I feel that formulating a more nuanced analytical framework of “reconstruction” that takes seriously labor, place, landscape, and subjectivity is necessary for a fuller and contemporary understanding of internal displacement and urban resettlement in Medellín, Colombia. Due to this, I draw from the phase of displacement as a foundation for understanding the following chapters on resettlement, integration, and—to demonstrate migrant agency and collective action—community-building.

Chapter 5

Phase Two of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Resettlement

With a population of almost 2.5 million people (MCV 2016), Medellín—the second largest city in Colombia—is quite the modern spectacle: the city boasts the most advanced transportation system in the country, and has become an important commercial, financial, and technological center, in addition to leader in urban renewal and sustainable energy projects. As the capital of the department of Antioquia, located in north-western Colombia, Medellín was once home to Pablo Escobar, head of the Medellín drug cartel, a cartel that in the 1980s and 90s controlled 90% of the world's cocaine production and distribution (Bouvier 2005; Thoumi 2002; Andreas et al. 1991). In this era, the rate of homicides in Medellín hit record marks: in 1991, the rate of homicides were 380 persons per 100,000 (Lowenthal and Rojas Mejía 2010).

Since the early 2000s, Medellín has made a dramatic transformation from homicide capital to the “Medellin Miracle” of current (Brodzinsky 2014; Hylton 2007). For example, Medellín was named Most Innovative City in the World in 2013 (Moreno 2013), hosted the World Urban Forum in 2014 (WUF 2014), and recently, in 2016, the city won the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize for “outstanding achievements” towards sustainable living (Urban Redevelopment Authority 2016). These achievements have thrust this city onto the global stage as a model city for urban development and sustainability (Thong 2016). However, these accolades mask a dire reality: more than 300,000 displaced persons struggling to re-build their lives

on the peri-urban margins of Medellín (MCV 2014).

The process of resettlement—phase two of the life-cycle of forced migration—is plagued with problems that create barriers to long term solutions, often leaving the displaced dependent on the state for survival. Drawing from surveys and ethnographic interviews with displaced *campesinos* who have resettled in the city of Medellín, in addition to interviews with government administrators, social workers, and psychologists of humanitarian aid and welfare programs, and organizers in NGOs that work with displaced persons, Chapter Five examines involuntary urban resettlement, highlighting formal state-led programs of resettlement.

In my analysis of government programs, via national policies like the 2011 Victim's Law, I focus on how policies are implemented through resettlement and transitional justice programs in Antioquia and Medellín. To further delve into the outcomes and consequences of these policies and programs, or how these policies are actualized at the local level, I also consider how both state actors and the displaced perceive each other. I find that the displaced do not trust state actors due to negative interactions with them during the phase of displacement. The displaced are conflicted because the same state actors they perceive as either complicit or directly involved in their displacement is now the entity they must go to for aid. This results in a deep distrust of all state actors—from military to police, and even to social workers in humanitarian aid and welfare programs. Feelings of mistrust, born out of fear and trauma during the phase of displacement, and further embedded during the displaced's interactions with state actors during resettlement, leave *campesinos*

unwilling to invest time and energy into participation in state-led processes of resettlement, or opting to self-settle.

In terms of government administrators, interviews revealed that social and humanitarian aid workers also have negative feelings about their displaced peasant clients and express sentiments of distrust and lack of sympathy that are infused with discriminatory tropes that describe peasants, Afro-Colombians and indigenous populations as lazy, uncivilized, and culturally inferior to residents of Medellín. Interviews also show that state actors feel frustrated with program structures and want to see changes. Drawing from these interviews, I argue that distrust of rural displacees, coupled with problematic structures of resettlement, stigma and discrimination, and exclusion from the formal labor market, have prevented displaced peasants from full participation in the urban community, heightening the risk of lifelong and even generational impoverishment (Cernea 1997, which results in partial citizenship.

The displaced's perceptions regarding the state are important to explore when examining resettlement and migrant integration since it shapes and influences how and to what degree migrants will feel like they belong to, or are excluded from, the receiving community. To illustrate this argument, the involuntary resettlement of rural peasant farmers is examined to analyze how the displaced's attitudes about the state, and vice versa, influence *campesinos'* integration, resulting in the differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003) of peasants in Medellín, which affects their sense of citizenship.

Migrant reception is important to examine since it affects migrants' opportunities in the new society for socioeconomic mobility, long-term or generationally (Portes et al. 2009; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Guarnizo et al. 2003), and, additionally, the context of reception transforms the character of the state and the receiving community as well (DeWind and Kasinitz 1997). A careful interrogation of resettlement is key to understand the processes of internal and forced migration as a state-led project, urging us to take an intimate look at the interfaces between the displaced and the state as critical moments that shape how migrants will be included, or excluded, in their new home (Dahinden 2012; Long 2004; Arce and Long 1987). As migration scholar, Dahinden explains, "By investigating which actors (nation-states, administrations, media, associations, migrants, non-migrants, etc.) contribute in which ways to the formation and crystallisation of ethnic and national groups, as well as how the boundaries of these groups are maintained, transgressed, blurred, shifted or dissolved, we stand to learn much about belonging, identification and migration incorporation" (2012:124). My analysis of post-displacement resettlement centers the state *and* the displaced's perceptions of each other, throughout their encounters in the phases of displacement and resettlement, as critical points that shape feelings of belonging that influence the next phase of long-term integration.

I begin Chapter Five by discussing the context and history of Medellín as a primary site migrant resettlement in Colombia. After, I layout national policies since the 1990s that have been implemented to address the crisis of internal displacement in

Colombia. I follow by discussing the process of applying for governmental aid. Next, I show how state actors and the displaced perceive each other, centering these processes as having gendered and racialized implications for how the displaced conceptualize their situation and their subjective understandings of “home” and the nation. Then I discuss different state actors’ suggestions on changes and improvements to the system of aid for displaced persons. I conclude Chapter Five by contending that the phase of resettlement as a pivotal moment in the life-cycle of forced migration—influenced by the phase of displacement—that shapes the foundation of how and to what degree *campesinos* are integrated into the city years after resettlement.

Medellín: From Homicide Capital to Urban “Miracle”

Medellin's geography and history distinctly shape its reception of the rural displaced persons. The city is the second largest in the country, and is located in the Valle de Aburra, a valley surrounded by jutting mountain ranges to the east and west. Capital of the department of Antioquia in northwest Colombia, Medellín was, and still is, a primary route for the drug trade because the department extends from the mountainous Andean region—where coca is produced—to the sea where it is transported to buyer countries, like the United States. This favorable topography allowed the drug cartels of the 80s and 90s to flourish, resulting in the urbanization of the once sleepy town of Medellín (Hylton 2007; Roldán 1999).

Becoming familiar with the history of Medellín is important to understand how its past still impacts the city today and the context of migrant reception. Cocaine was the catalyst for the modernization of Medellín (Roldán 1999). According to Colombian political scientist, Mary Roldán (1999), the cocaine economy brought with it the demand to create services, and transportation and communication systems that would allow the cocaine entrepreneurs to expand the drug business and enjoy their wealth. Medellín was home to Pablo Escobar, head of the Medellín drug cartel, a cartel that monopolized the global market of cocaine during the 1980s (Thoumi 2002; Andreas et al.1991). To understand the amount of wealth that Escobar had: in 1989 Forbes magazine estimated Escobar to be the seventh richest person in the world (Gibbs 2009) and he is estimated to have had a fortune of over \$5 billion dollars (Thompson 1996). The battle between drug cartels over territory and business turned the city into a war zone, with frequent bombings in city centers, and the systematic assassination of police, cartel members, and citizens caught up in the narco business (Hylton 2007; Thompson 1996). Nubia, longtime activist and director of an NGO in Medellín that works with women who lost children and partners due to the war, describes the long-term consequences of this period of the Escobar era:

I think that that period in Medellin left us a very big legacy and unfortunately it is a horrible legacy... [The world] look at us as narco-traffickers, as hired assassins and prostitutes. It left us with those three strong stigmas...because that was a time that was marked with the dynamics of narco-trafficking, it was the dynamic that Pablo Escobar, the cartels of Medellín and Cali, created a political and economic infrastructure, not just for the city but for the country. It stayed very much in this city because many lived here, and many like Pablo and others were raised here in Antioquia, and because many of the criminal and violent actions happened here, many of the

bombs that went off were here, many of the assassinations were here, the disappearance, the tortures, all that was geographically centered in the city, but it was a matter that was dispersed throughout the country... These are patterns in terms of politics, in terms of economics, that the city still lives in... The mafia culture is a culture, a way of life that infected the administrations and in Medellín has left after-effects of that in terms of the relationships that they have with whoever is in the government... they are mafioso cultures that still persist and that permeates the forms and politics, local, including national politics. So today Medellín still has in its administrative circles people who still do business, and are clientele, with all the political dynamics, all the political status, who generate particular forms of administration that, let's say, many times one will find, and it was found many times in the administration of the past, closer to the 90's and the beginning of the 2000s, that they were doing business, programs, projects with people in the city that had that way of [narco] life... so what is left over today in Medellín is very much in part the leftover of that structure, that they reconfigure and structure today...

Though Medellín has made remarkable strides to distance itself from its troubled history, the effects of this tumultuous period now shape the context of reception of displacees. The ghosts of the Escobar era are still visible, present in the culture of corruption within political and government offices that accept bribes from criminal groups, the rise of urban paramilitary and criminal groups who run micro-trafficking and extortion practices in the city, the high rates of inter-urban displacement, the lack of prosecution of crimes committed against internally displaced persons, and the continued threats from armed groups who operate with impunity (Rosser 2015). The history of the cocaine economy is Medellín's scar that reveals a society deeply affected and transformed by violence and trauma, and that continues to be altered with the thousands of survivors of the conflict who seek safety in the city.

Medellín is also distinct in the context of displacement. Aside from Bogotá, Medellín has one of the largest populations of resettled displaced persons from

outside the city (IDMC 2012); receiving over 100,000 displacees in 2012 (Barrows et al. 2013). Medellín also experiences a high rate of intra-urban displacement, meaning displacement from one *barrio*, or neighborhood, to another (Sánchez Mojica 2013). Intra-urban displacement in Medellín is due to threats from urban paramilitaries and other criminal organizations and gangs. I found that people also experience a *double-displacement* after arriving to Medellín, that is, they resettle in Medellín after being expelled from the countryside only to be displaced once again from one *barrio* to another due to urban development project. I will delve into the topic of double-displacement in Chapter Seven.

For *campesinos* who come to Medellín to find refuge, resettlement does not always mean that they can escape the cycle of displacement or the armed actors who have targeted them:

Interviewer: Have [armed actors] threatened you since you arrived here to Medellín?

Sara: Oh yes, I have papers from the prosecutor's office reporting the threats we have received since being here in Medellín, calling me, insults, can I tell you the words?... For example, "we already know where you live. You thought you could hide for the rest of your life?" I would tell my son, let's go to the prosecutor's office with that voicemail, but I know they don't know where we are because they haven't come yet, they call on our cell phones so they don't know where we are. They are just testing us. That is why you have to be cautious of who you tell where you live...

(Sara, Displaced Women, Resettled 6 years in Medellín)

Arriving in the City

Interviews with displaced peasants revealed that coming to the city post-displacement was another traumatic moment, especially for some women who arrive alone with their children, with no family or networks in the city:

Well, when [me and my companion] got displaced each of us took off in different directions. In the beginning I waited for him, when there was a knock at my door I would think it was him. After eight years, he finally showed up and what's more is that I didn't know that he had another family and he didn't tell me either. I was not more than a month pregnant when he left me... When my son was six months old I had to decide if I was going to work or be with my son. I left to work but I would work selling candy door to door, on the buses...we lived in the streets, with the three kids in the streets. Somedays we would have to. I was in the streets for two years. My face was disfigured from being in the sun all day. In the night, I would go to those quiet, rich neighborhoods. I would go there and place my children around me and while they slept I would stay up watching. In the day, I would have to leave them in the plaza and get on the bus, I would have to, to work. I would get on the bus, crying, to work, praying that they would still be there when I came back, and the buses would sometimes leave me very far away. The situation was very hard. I would walk so much that my feet would bleed. I would have to get water to drink from the toilet tank in the public bathrooms...

(Celia, Displaced Woman, Resettled 12 years in Medellín)

For some displaced persons, already having family or community members living in Medellín is a key factor in helping with reception to the city. These networks facilitate arrival, particularly since some peasants do not have a lot of time to decide where to go, nor are they able to leave with many things, if anything at all. Once in the city, some interviewees expressed that they did not know how to go ask for help from the state, which can be nerve-racking for someone from the countryside. They must first navigate the city bureaucracy to find the right government agency to

declare and register as displaced, and then must re-live the experience of displacement to social workers in order to begin the process of securing aid:

[The paramilitaries] made me leave my farm. I had to come due to being displaced, they told me that if I didn't leave they would kill me, so I told my companion, let's go, and she said no, if we go to the nearest town because we were living in the countryside—they will find you and kill you, so where can we go? So, I had always thought about Medellín. It makes me very sad because I had to leave with only what I was wearing, I left what was the farm, house, my animals, everything, so I came. I arrived at my brother-in-law's place and it was difficult because I didn't have a job or anything to even buy an ice cream for my daughter or my wife. I finally found work with a childhood friend that I ran into downtown. We got work, doing construction for a while but then the job finished and he said, let's go to find work... And my [work] partner asked, Andres, why have you not registered [as displaced]? I said, well the truth is I probably will not be favored [in the system] because I got here a long time ago. They won't believe me anymore, they will tell me, you are no longer displaced. One day, I decided to go to the Human Rights [office] and reported, I put the reason and they asked me everything, everything, everything, the information, including who at that time was the mayor of that town. You know, as someone who is from the countryside, from the mountains, you get scared of things, you get scared to open your mouth, but I was like, if they kill me, I just have to say something because I had a huge loss. I abandoned my farm, I abandoned everything...

(Andres, Displaced Man, Resettled 5.5 years in Medellín)

Resettlement in the city is a difficult, frightening, and overwhelming process, particularly when the peri-urban edge of the city is one of the few places where peasants can afford to live. As Merrifield articulates in his work on dispossession and urbanization: "So they come to an alien habitat they can little afford or understand, a habitat which is now strangely neither meaningfully urban nor exclusively rural, but a blurring of both realities, a new reality the result of a push-pull effect, a vicious process of dispossession, sucking people into the city while spitting other out of the gentrifying center, forcing poor urban old-timers and vulnerable newcomers to

embrace each other out on the periphery...”(Merrifield 2011, 474). Mayra, an older mestiza woman who was displaced from Urrao thirteen years ago with her husband, reflects on her resettlement in Medellín: “One arrives, you feel totally strange, dislocated, scared, unsure, this isn’t part of the territory where you know, where you are a part of...” Juan, a displaced man who resettled in Medellín 13 years ago, echoes Mayra’s sentiments:

I came here to Medellin because I had to when I was displaced. I was able to finally locate someone I knew, I was able to find a job since I worked as a mechanic, because I had a skill. But a *campesino* who doesn’t have this type of skills? You beg or you rob. What else can you do, beg? The war has created a cycle. The country has been dragged to the city and now the *campesino*, who is used to other customs, in the simple life, in self-sufficiency well, the city does not give security. How are they supposed to return to the countryside when they have lost everything there, where are they going to settle?

Campesinos face several barriers to resettlement; the insecurity of where to live and where to go for help, coupled with the overwhelming shift from the rural to urban, is further exacerbated by workers within the state-led system of aid that view displaced applicants with suspicion. In an interview with community organizers of a network of NGOs that aids victims of the conflict, the two women speak about the frustration that many displaced persons find seeking help when they arrive to Medellín:

Lorena: Antioquia has programs for displaced people that set the example for the other departments, but there is so much lacking. The office for registering is lacking so there is a large degree of under-registration, keeping in mind that this is the “best” [system for supporting the displaced] in the country, and much of the population that arrives displaced, the [aid] office says, no, these papers that you are showing me, this does not show displacement. So, the people who are running those programs are lacking the willingness to investigate the causes of displacement...

Maria: Many displaced people arrive at a family members' house, so no, they don't register because many times they arrive and [the social workers] look at them to see if they are dirty, and they interrogate them, why were they displaced, and because of this [the displaced] say no, I would rather not report and we will figure out on our own how to sustain ourselves, our housing, our health, economy. Many are confused and get the run-around because they are coming to an unknown city, big...

According to interviews with municipal and local directors and coordinators of victim units, while Medellin has the best system of resettlement and humanitarian aid in the country, the problematic process of securing institutional aid, results in many people self-settling, or waiting many years before they register as displaced, which is one of the reasons that many people stay in protracted state of displacement for years after resettlement.

Institutional Responses to Resettlement

Internal displacement is a distinct category of forced migration from refugees because those who are displaced do not seek sanctuary outside their country (UNHCR 1997). Because of issues regarding sovereignty, the protection and aid of internally displaced persons are the responsibility of state of origin (Castles 2006). State-sponsored involuntary resettlement is problematic since, in many instances, it is the national state that, either directly or indirectly, is the cause of displacement, while at the same time being the institution responsible for creating and implementing policies of resettlement (Muggah 2000). What results is a paradox of the state as both perpetrator and protector, leading many displaced persons to mistrust the state's ability to help them, and unwilling to invest in long-term programs for resettlement

and integration. Lack of durable solutions to resettlement and migrant integration decreases life chances and opportunities for the displaced, heightening the risk of impoverishment (Cernea 1997), which further violates the human rights and security of internally displaced persons. The risk of impoverishment is high, with 92% of internally displaced persons in Colombia living below the poverty line, and 33% living in extreme poverty (IDMC 2015).

January 1st, 2012, the Colombian government implemented the Ley de Víctimas (Victims Law) which offers restitution, rehabilitation, and the promise that violations will not be repeated (ECRC 2011) to victims of the conflict. Though there is controversy surrounding this policy—many articles within the law are contradictory, limit who is deemed “displaced,” and it is currently only funded for 10 years—it represents the first time the Colombian state has publicly, and legally, acknowledged that there is an armed conflict within the country (Summer 2012; IDMC 2011). During 2011 research, the Victims Law was in the process of implementation and in transition from older models of transitional justice. For example, Law 387 (1997) was specifically geared toward internally displaced persons but did not include other victims of the conflict, such as people who had been forcefully recruited by armed actors, suffered sexual violence, as well as the spouses, partners, or parents of people who were disappeared or killed (Summers 2012). The implementation of the Victims Law reorganized and created new response units, but the strategies and approaches to resettlement have largely stayed the same (Hanson 2012). It could be argued that the implementation of Victims Law, which completely

restructured the national and local systems for addressing displacement, and created a centralized inter-agency registration and response system, was the state trying to provide answers to the victims of the conflict, but there is something still lacking in the strategy and implementation that leads to failures. Dr. Nubia Ramirez, expert on conflict-induced displacement in and out of Colombia, discusses the history of displacement and policy since the 1980s:

There are some key moments in the history of, what we now call, forced internal displacement. The first moment occurred from the mid-80s to the mid-90s that, while not officially recognized... In '95, the problem becomes visible enough on a national level and a public debate begins over the existence of the displaced. In '97 the existence of the problem is recognized by the implementation of Law 387, which for the first time signals that internally displaced people exist in Colombia. There are peaks, but the numbers go down but it spikes again at the beginning of 2000. In the beginning of the 21st Century, we see that the problem is not just about the confrontation between the guerrillas and the paramilitaries but also with the implementation of Plan Colombia, the existence of mega-projects, that they are displacing people in order to advance with development projects... in addition, we see the rise of the groups of self-defense groups [paramilitaries].

The “official” definition of an internally displaced person, according to Colombia's Law 387 of 1997, defines an internally displaced person as someone who “has been forced to migrate inside their national territory, abandoning their local residence or regular economic activities, because their lives, physical integrity, security or personal liberty has been violated or they find themselves directly threatened by the internal armed conflict, interior disturbances and tensions, general violence, massive violations of human rights, breaches of International Humanitarian Law or other circumstances emanating from the previous situations that drastically

alter or can alter the public order” (Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008). Various organizations that monitor displacement in Colombia, such as Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (CODHES), as well as the international organization, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), use the same definition of internal displacement, but their statistics on the numbers of displaced persons differ from the state since many displacees do not register with the government, and therefore are not officially counted as displaced (Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008). In terms of state records, government statistics on displacement are often much lower than statistics from CODHES because records do not include displacees who are not recognized by the Colombian state. For example, the Colombian government does not recognize displacement due to coca crop fumigations. In addition, there are various armed groups, particularly paramilitary groups, that are not recognized as armed actors post-2006 demobilization and therefore not acknowledged as legitimate perpetrators of displacement. Due to the restrictive categorization of state-recognized displacees, many people are left out of assessing the state system of aid.

Pre-2011, Law 387 was the primary guiding document that addressed the situation of displacement in Colombia. This policy helped the displaced with emergency aid, health and social services, and even subsidized monetary aid and housing. Acción Social [Social Action] was the government agency responsible for the program implementation. Acción Social renamed the Unidad de Atención al Desplazado [Displaced Attention Unit] in 2011, however displaced interviewees

continue to refer to the aid agency as Acción Social. The biggest issue with Acción Social was that it did not have inter-agency coordination and people's claims would take months to get responses at the municipal level. In addition, distribution of aid or access the health care system lacked a unified registry that ensured communication and exchange of information and documents between national and local agencies, for example, to approve eligibility for monetary emergency aid and free healthcare

The current process of resettlement is also plagued with problems that make it difficult to access emergency aid. Most of the money allotted for the displaced under Plan Colombia and Victim's Law, focuses on emergency humanitarian aid (Hanson 2012; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Muggah 2000). Problematically, emergency aid is temporary and only last three months. This short timeline does not facilitate long-term, durable solutions, which leave the displaced dependent on the state. For example, helping *campesinos* with skill-building for sustainable urban jobs, housing, and long-term health and social services that focus on psychological healing (Hanson 2012).

Colombia has failed to implement policies of resettlement that adequately address the long-term consequences of displacement and provide durable solutions for the reintegration of displaced persons. In the case of conflict-induced displacement, the situation of forced migration is further complicated because the conflict is ongoing, which does not permit for sufficient budgeting and planning of resettlement strategies and programs, like in the case of development-induced displacement (Muggah 2003). One of the biggest issues for why resettlement fails is

because state-based policies and programs approach resettlement and integration based on linear, temporal bound, models of resettlement (Muggah 2000), concentrating efforts on emergency aid (Hanson 2012).

The Process of Resettlement and Accessing Aid

The process of resettlement might begin with securing emergency government aid. Resettlement is defined as a state-sponsored process, with or without international help from an *international refugee regime* (Castles 2006), that addresses the settling of forced migrants in the receiving society, which includes, emergency aid and durable solutions, with access to civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights and opportunities (Boano et al. 2003). For those who do hope to access government aid, the displaced must go through a registration process that begins by declaring their situation and registering with the local government victim's unit in the city of resettlement.

As of September 1st, 2015, 142,503 people have registered with the Colombian government as displacement in Antioquia, but only 28, 550 have been recognized as displaced (RNI 2015). This is due to the difficulties in proving displacement since displaced persons need to show evidence, like documents or newspaper reports, that show either a battle or the presence of armed actors in their place of origin. The validation process—the investigative stage where the state examines if claims of displacement are legitimate—is supposed to take less than 60 days, yet at the beginning of 2012, cases were backlogged for over 6 months (Hanson 2012). Since the Victim's Unit and other state agencies on displacement are headed

by the office of Colombian President, claims must be validated by the primary response offices in Bogotá and, if approved, the displaced are officially recognized by the Colombian state as displaced, categorized as “victim,” and registered in the new Single Registry of Victims (Hanson 2012). The label of “victim” is given by the state to the displaced as a way to establish “victimhood,” which is a necessary certification for obtaining government assistance. Only after a person is legally recognized by the Colombian state as displaced, and labeled “victim,” can they access government aid.

Throughout the process of declaring and registering as displaced, applicants must complete multiple forms and show identification to begin the process of declaration. This might cause issues with people who did not have time to bring important documents—if they even had them—like IDs or birth certificates with them when they were displaced. Registration takes hours to complete in offices that are understaffed and overwhelmed, therefore slowing down the process from the beginning. Additionally, local agencies do not adequately train staff, who are not all social workers, on how to serve displaced clients. In addition, from the side of the displaced, peasants who arrive without already established family or community networks, often do not know how to access the system of aid. As Juan, admits, “It was a long time before I got any help because I didn’t know how to get help.”

Emergency aid is disbursed for three months, with the assumption that this is enough time for the internally displaced to resettle. Realistically, three months is not enough time to socially, economically, and psychologically recover when the means, materials, and networks for survival are not available, and the trauma of violence

permanently alter the displaced's reality. Hanson (2012) and Ibáñez and Velásquez (2008) both point out that the Colombian state has set up three types of aid to address displacement: 1) prevention; 2) emergency humanitarian aid; and 3) socioeconomic stabilization. Most of the money is for emergency aid (Hanson 2012). However, this does not result in long term solutions and leaves the displaced dependent on the state since the focus is on monetary stipends. Natalia, a 45-year old displaced Afro-Colombian woman who resettled in Medellín in 2000, agrees why three months of aid is not enough assistance to help during urban resettlement:

In 2000 I was displaced by paramilitaries. It was a massacre of nineteen people (pause) and then they made us leave. They made us come by fear, terror, and threats... I had to beg door to door to support my children while I figured out some situation that could help us. [The government] gave me groceries for three months, and they abandoned me saying that I had no right to anything else...they said, "It's that you have already been here a long time, you should already be established." How are we ever going to be established if we left our farms, our houses, our livestock, without nothing, nothing? Because they gave us three hours to leave, with nothing...who is going to give a job to a person with diabetes? Why do they have to wait in line? We did not look for this. This was a matter for the state...

As we see from Natalia's testimony, even while seeking aid, she feels abandoned by the state since emergency aid is only distributed for three months and aid workers dismiss her needs based on the amount of time she has been in Medellín. At the time of this interview, Natalia had been in Medellín for fourteen years, and survived by washing clothes. Since she has serious health issues, walking down the mountain range from her neighborhood into the downtown to beg or find clients became unbearable, making her dependent on state aid. Natalia's losses go beyond monetary compensation. *Campesinos'* values, traditions, culture and lifestyle are based on their

relationship with the land and soil, which is intimately connected to their sense and practice of Colombian citizenship. That is, while some peasant might not produce a marketable surplus, they are able to produce their own food, a symbol, as I found in my interviews, of pride and how farmers practiced their citizenship. Therefore, forced displacement to the city also displaces their identity, relations and networks of survival, and relationship to the nation, making establishment difficult, and in some cases impossible.

Current resettlement policies do not consider compensation that goes beyond material losses. Maldonado (2012) articulates this point: “Policies cannot just be about replacement housing; they need to address other losses, such as social disarticulation, loss of access to common urban resources, and the dismantling of social networks that undermine the income earning capacity of the people displaced” (p. 8). Unfortunately, as Muggah (2000) argues, few governments can or do create a program design for durable solutions to conflict-induced displacement and resettlement. In addition, the programs do not focus on the particular needs of *campesinos*, women, or ethnic minorities.

In the follow section I will show how state actors perceive displaced clients, and after, how the displaced perceive and experience their interactions—or interface—with state actors. I argue that perceptions shape how programs are implemented, influencing the process of resettlement, a form of differential inclusion that affects the next phase of the life-cycle of forced migration: integration.

Perceptions about the Displaced

I arrive at one of the offices of a government program for adult education of victims and victimizers of the conflict in downtown Medellín. There are two armed guards at the locked gate and they eye me suspiciously, put off by my Spanish accent that makes it clear I am not from Medellín. I ask for the program coordinator, explaining that I have a meeting with her in fifteen minutes. They call her and after getting the confirmation, they unlock the gate, search my bag, pass a metal detector wand over me, and escort me to the program coordinator's office. Dolores greets me as I walk in and offers me coffee. I sit down with her and begin explaining why I am there and the purpose of my research project. With her permission, I turn on the tape recorder and Dolores tells me that she comes from a rich family in Medellín, that she has never had to personally deal with displacement, but as she went to school to become a social worker, part of her requirements was to work with displaced families in the shanty towns outside the city. She says that she felt that this experience showed her the reality of resettlement: the displaced were not willing to make sacrifices and do the "real work" to reconstruct their lives. She no longer felt sadness for her clients, she tells me, admitting that she was now jaded:

...everything was of the culture of 'give me, give me,' when [the social workers] said, 'come, work,' [the displaced said] "No, I do not want to work, I do better begging." I already understand that if you want to help them, it is not, "come, give me," but, come, learn and come, I'll show what you will learn to do, how you are going to succeed, what an example you will give your children..." Anyway, like many other little things that changed me and gave me a very significant perspective, and I'm now one of the people that I see someone asking for money at the traffic lights and (rolls eyes and laughs). I have already become very jaded to that. I think the way out is elsewhere, and I would love it if everyone understands that the solution is not,

"give me money." It is, "come work"...Look, in general, I think it is more question of conscientizing people. It is very difficult to change the "chip" in people, to tell them, hey, you were displaced but you have moved on and you have been in the displaced category, for x number of years. But from then to now, you are no longer displaced, you are already part of this city. Many stay displaced, from twenty years back, and they still have the mentality of displacement. So, I think that the city, for all the housing, groceries you give them, you have to also work for your part as well. You are benefiting, you can no longer say you are displaced, you are already a citizen, you have tools to use to already be a citizen.

Dolores' interview reveals a common theme found through conversations with other social and humanitarian workers in Medellín: jaded workers who blame the displaced peasants for their continued poverty. Dolores mentions that she is frustrated with program structure that is solely based on monetary stipends. However, she blames continued mentality of displacement on the displaced, highlighting the amount of time people have been in the city as a sign that they should already be successfully integrated. Other social workers, like from the city government welfare program, Medellín Solidaria, echo Dolores' sentiment.

The Medellín Solidaria office where I meet Flor, a social worker, is located in an area that has a reputation for being dangerous and having an older population of displaced persons and young gang members—many children of the displaced. I enter the office and there is a buzz of about twenty-five social workers with red vests in cubicles, using tablets to input data, before heading back into the field to check in with their clients at their homes in the outskirts of the city. Flor has worked at Medellín Solidaria for five years and says she enjoys it but hopes to move up the ranks to do more administrative work at the municipal level someday. Since she has

to check in with five families that day and has work to do, she introduces me to two of her colleagues, Elizabeth and Julia.

Over the course of two and a half hours, the three social workers take turns talking to me, giving me a breakdown of the welfare program, offering me insight into how they perceive the displaced populations they serve. While the program focuses solely on people who are in extreme poverty— those with income less than 95.703 Colombian pesos a month or, using 2014 rates, a little over \$47 U.S. dollars— many of their clients are displaced peasants. Like Dolores, Flor, Elizabeth and Julia feel that the problem of why people are in protracted states of displaced is due to *campesino* culture, which makes them lazy and unable to assimilate to the city: “*Campesinos* like the city, of course, they love the technologies we have here, but they don’t like to study, they don’t like to work so they have a hard time and it’s difficult because they have a different culture” (Interview with Flor). Elizabeth also points to peasants’ rural culture as the reason for why they stay in poverty: “The hardest part is that they don’t want to do anything! I have these mothers who are supposed to be examples for their children but I can’t change the mind of the mom who does not want to get help. They need to change their ideology, change their culture of poverty so they can advance. It is like teaching someone to use a computer. They have to be willing to learn.” Julia also shares her colleagues’ sentiments: “The displaced have all the access to help, but no change in the thought process. They are so focused on ‘give me, give me, give me.’ A huge culture of saying ‘they are going to pay me’ instead of looking it [as a temporary help].” All three social workers

agree that they feel their displaced clients expect to be maintained by the government and that the programs are not the issue. As, Flor exclaims, “*Es que tienen absolutamente todo!*” [“It’s that they have absolutely everything!”] In addition, the social workers mention that they feel Afro-Colombians need more help and experience racism in the city, but that they didn’t have a sense of identity and, along with indigenous populations, these groups were the laziest of the clients they have. They blame it on regionalism and, as mentioned, their particular ethnic culture. However, the social workers admit that there is a huge stigmatization of the displaced peasants by the receiving urban community who see them as robbers and untrustworthy, and these attitudes make it difficult for *campesinos* to find employment. Dr. Ramirez speaks to the point about the stigma of displacement:

One of the things that exists is way displaced people are perceived in Colombia. They are seen as suspicious, as suspect of something because they had interactions with one of the actors of the war. So, the tension with the institutions, but also with society in general, of the receiving communities of the displaced, is a distrust that makes it difficult to pay good attention to the displaced. The problem with the help is that it was for three months and that was insufficient because in three months their situation of being displaced had not been solved.

Here Dr. Ramirez argues that the stigma of displacement affects institutional processes, while also mentioning that the official approach to resettlement is problematic. Again, three months of emergency aid is not enough to incorporate the displaced in the city, but the social workers and Dolores’ interviews suggest that if the displaced would only follow the linear resettlement programs, they would achieve upward mobility. However, according to interviews with the displaced and a director

of a local Victim's Unit, monetary subsidies are not distributed on time, or may be delayed up to six months or more. In addition, as Flor, Elizabeth and Julia admit, the stigma of displacement creates barriers to finding formal work in the city. Lupe, an activist and organizer, reiterates Dr. Ramirez's statement by connecting stigmatization to exclusion from political, social and cultural integration in the city:

In general, in Colombia, the people who have been displaced have many difficulties, in all senses. In political terms, because they are stigmatized, they are seen as the residue of the war and the problem from where they come from...so [a displaced person] says, "I am displaced from Chocó (a department in Colombia with a large Afro-Colombian population), and the people say, "Oh you are a guerrilla. [The displaced] say, "I am displaced from this *comuna*, and people respond "Oh, then that means you are a paramilitary," so you are stigmatized, and in political terms that ends up looking bad. In social terms, because they are excluded populations, they generally arrive to the fringes of the margins of the cities and so they arrive with no housing, with the lowest economic levels, the most complicated, it becomes a situation where they are homeless, they become the most vulnerable people, with the, the greatest likelihood of being exploited physically and economically. In cultural terms, in the barrios, the focus of the conflict is (pause) there are many different cultures that converge and arrive in the same place and they clash in terms of habits and customs, and that complicates it. In general terms, to say displaced population and to say problem, they are synonymous.

Lupe's interview demonstrates that stigma is also linked to place. Where people are displaced from, like Chocó, and where they are resettling on the peripheries, associates them with stereotypes of danger and violence, which further segregates them and excludes them from socio-economic opportunities into Medellín.

Not only does the stigma of displacement affect displaced persons on a societal level but it also influences how the state actors treat and respond to peasant's claims:

...So I go [to get help] and they ask, “Why are you here?” [I tell them] “I’m here to get help, I’ve been displaced, I am bringing this letter to show what happened...” [They say] “You? Displaced?!” rolling their eyes at me, I tell her, “I am displaced, yes!” [They say] “You displaced? Look, this woman is saying she is displaced, look at her, look at her.” It makes you feel really bad. Then I had to be rude, “Look sir, are you saying that for me to say I am displaced I have to come here dirty, filthy? I don’t have to be filthy to come here to show you that I been displaced, no sir.” Displaced is one thing, filthy is another.

(Natalia, Internally Displaced Woman, Resettled 7 years)

While not all of my interviewees expressed similar experiences with state actors, most participants who have sought institutional aid complained of not being able to obtain aid or not having their cases taken seriously because of how they were treated by social and humanitarian aid workers. Along with issues of long lines, delayed response to claims, and monetary amounts that were much less than expected, these respondents mentioned that they were conscious that state actors perceived them in a negatively light. Throughout the interviews, similar stories of these types of encounters, between state actors and the displaced community, were described, which had a direct effect on how the displaced perceive the state and its ability to truly protect and aid them. The result: many of the displaced are not fully invested in these projects of integration, and are no more prosperous than those who self-resettle (Ibáñez and Moya 2007).

Perceptions about the State

Interviews with resettled *campesinos* reveal four key explanations for why the displaced distrust the state: They 1) view the state as complicit in their displacement; 2) see the state as untrustworthy and lacking accountability thus unable to adequately

aid them; 3) experience mistreatment by various state actors, like police, judges, aid workers during resettlement; and 4) do not feel like their particular needs, as *campesinos*, or members of vulnerable groups, like women, are not taken into account in the resettlement process.

The State as Complicit: "Who is to Protect Us?"

Through my interviews with displaced persons, I found that even if respondents had been displaced by non-state actors, like paramilitaries, they still blame the national state as complicit in their displacement because they view the Colombian conflict as the state's "problem." As Gloria, a displaced Afro-Colombian woman from Uraba, Antioquia, exclaimed, "We did not take part in that war! Because we didn't even pay for those arms, nor are we at fault because we are working, honest *campesinos* in this..." I also found that displaced persons blame the Colombian state for not protecting them from displacement in the first place. As a result, confidence in programs of resettlement and socioeconomic integration, like income-generating projects, is not high since the displaced do not trust in the ability of the state to adequately respond to their situation. Javier, a mestizo merchant from western Antioquia, expresses his frustration at, what he sees, is the government's failure to ensure his security:

For us, as being displaced, to analyze this, we have to ask, why do we, as citizens, have to take on the government's problems? It is the obligation of the government to ensure our security, not just here [in Medellín] but in the place where we were. But this is the fault of whom? It's the fault of the same state! Because they shouldn't put us in the middle of this.

The displaced also felt that the state is complicit in escalating the war, resulting in more displacement, because of its unwillingness to deal with the root issue of the armed conflict. Camila, director of a national nonprofit organization that works with women who were victims of the war, shares her thoughts on why state responses to the victims of the conflict are ineffective:

The restitution of land, economic reparations, and emergency response, for example, are not sufficient. So, the state does have the intent but does not go about it in a way that is appropriate to the displacement situation. Politically, displacement is a national issue which is visible on national and international levels but it continues to be ignored, and it continues to be ignored because the principal focus is the armed conflict...The state has a few actions, military, police actions for control, but a political response that is peaceful and civil does not arrive and this sustains [the crisis of] displacement. While the conflict does not have a political resolution, and structural response, to the factors that feed forced displacement, it will continue.

Camila, expressed a frustration at “Band-Aid” solutions to address the aftermath of war rather than preventative measures that examine the source of the conflict in the first place.

The State as Corrupt: "They are all criminals, one in the same"

Displaced interviewees believe that the conflict, paramilitaries, lack of adequate aid can all be attributed to a lack of transparency and accountability by the Colombian state. People believe the government, police, and military are corrupt, accepting bribes from criminal groups, and even working on their payrolls, allowing gangs to act with impunity. According to displaced interviewees, they do not feel like they can defend themselves against this level of corruption, and regard entities like the police as criminals:

Look, I see the leader of the gangs of paramilitaries talking with the police chiefs, the guerrilla sells cocaine to the paramilitaries. The guerrillas and the paramilitaries are united! They are not fighting, they are negotiating. They eat from the same plate...

(Diego, Internally Displaced Man, Resettled 18 years)

Another displaced interviewee reiterates the same feelings:

Where I lived is the most rotten with paramilitaries. While [the government] says that [the paramilitaries] have turned in their guns, [the paramilitaries] turn in one but keep two or three. [The paramilitaries] are earning a salary, they don't have to go to Acción Social every month to try to live, they just have to go to the bank. While they go to the bank, they celebrate by killing another person and getting paid for killing them, and they pay the authorities of the town to look the other way. Because I know that the police have a lot to do with the paramilitaries because they pay, they pay to be able to stay in the town and they earn money just because they are studying. We all know this, that I am not telling a lie and that's the way it is.

-Juana, Internally Displaced woman, resettled 12 years

Corruption is understood as the *modus operandi* of the police. Interviewees feel that those who are supposed to protect them, the state and police, are in collaboration with the same people who may have caused their suffering results in the displaced not viewing the police as reliable sources of help and protection. Distrust of the police and the legal system leads to low-levels of crime reporting and widespread abuse, and prevents people from declaring and registering their displacement. This affects displacee's ability to resettle since they do not have access to emergency aid or to be registered in the welfare system which would also give them access to long-term welfare programs, like Medellín Solidaria.

Problematic Processes for Accessing Aid

The displaced also have negative attitudes towards aid and social workers at the response units, reporting that navigating the system of aid is confusing and

fruitless. Most of the problem lies with the unreliable and slow process of accessing the system of aid, leaving the displaced in limbo, for months and even years, waiting for responses to their restitution claims:

Looking at all these things then, we have had to wait in long lines to get into the different programs, and we have received mistreatment at the social level. These lines have also become a business for the [criminals]. That is impressive. Those lines, one has to leave at 4 in the morning and be there sometimes till 2 or 3 in the afternoon just so that they will attend you, and then he who can buy the line, buys it, and [workers] answer us, already rejecting the petition. So, we have to go get a protective order from the court, but it results that many, or the majority, of us do not know how to read law! (David, displaced man)

David expresses the fact that just navigating the system of aid has several factors that are barriers to accessing aid. One of them would be how people are treated by victim response workers. According to interviewees, the administrators and social workers of aid and welfare agencies, act as if displaced persons are lazy and only looking for hand-out from the government. Reflecting back on the interviews with Dolores, Flor, Elizabeth, and Julia, we see that the sentiments of the displaced are valid. Peasants' frustration with aid agencies of the state is a source of pain and anger. The displaced understand that they are supposed to be aided by the state, as part of their rights as citizens. Their poor treatment by the same organizations that were established to help people in their situation is disheartening, confirming the displaced's mistrust of the state.

Triggers: Post-traumatic Stress Resettlement

Living through the trauma of displacement causes serious emotional and mental strain for the internally displaced. Some interviewees suffer from anxiety, nervousness, and even express fear to go outside. As one displaced woman shared:

...I am scared to death [to leave the house], and now it is the same thing with my son. He is nervous that they are going to find me and they will kill me.
-Leidy, Internally Displaced Person

Subjective feelings about emotional strain are expressed openly by the women interviewed but by very few of the men. Only one man interviewed spoke candidly about the stress he experienced, saying that he had been so traumatized when he arrived in Medellín that he could not leave the house.

The psychological toll of settling post-displacement makes life for some displaced persons intolerable. As a single-mother who lost her brother during the conflict and whose husband survived an assassination attempt in Medellín, told me, “My life is unbearable, I live a horrible life. If it wasn’t for the kids, I might have thrown myself in front of the Metro [train].”

Addressing the Needs of Displaced Campesinos, Women and Ethnic Minorities

For *campesinos*, whose values, traditional, culture and lifestyle are based on their relationship with the land and soil, relocation to the city uproots their whole sense of being and belonging to the nation. Cohen (2010) discusses the effects that being separated from the land has on peasants’ livelihood and mental health. Using the concept of uprooted ecologies, Cohen explores how the displacement of

campesinos represents for them not only a fragmentation of social and economic networks, community, kin groups, but also a separation from the land and nature which for them represents a break with epidemiological understandings of labor, self, and the future. Low levels of literacy, lack of job skills in the urban labor market, and segregation in neighborhoods in crime-ridden urban slums, pose further challenges to resettlement, and, later, integration.

Women represent between 49-58% of the total number of displaced persons (IDMC 2011) yet programs do not consider their needs as primary caretakers and single-head of household, especially for victims of domestic or sexual violence, or women who need childcare, or who want jobs that are not based on domestic and/or informal work. Rural women enter the public sphere during resettlement, many finding themselves for the first time in the labor market. For some women, this new relationship to the world opens up opportunities, perspectives, and networks which can help facilitate coping with the trauma of displacement. Sixty percent of internally displaced women work in the informal market, and 20% are employed in domestic work (IDMC 2011). The literature on women and conflict-induced displacement shows that women and girls become targets for exploitation, rape and sexual assault during the process of displacement (Sanchez et al. 2011; Meertens 2010). Men experience different forms of violations during displacement, such as murder, abduction, and forced recruitment by armed groups. During resettlement, men's agriculture skills are of no use in the city and they no longer occupy the role as sole provider for the family. For men, the disconnect with the public sphere can be

devastating since they lose their role as family provider (Escobar 2000). The lack of socially accepted norms for dealing with trauma can limit men's ability to manage their stress. This contributes to an added strain on men's recovery post-displacement, making it more difficult for them to ask for help and heal psychologically:

...the men, that many of them are older men, as part of those family structures, end up very broken, that is, habitually, morally, mentally end up devastated so they end up giving up, slowly, because, to learn the logic behind it, to reconfigure the family structure that they had on the farm, as the master, there are many families where they had haciendas, where there were farms where they had very good production, and he was the boss, he had his workers, and to come here with nothing, that destroys him.
(Susana, social worker)

For many rural women resettlement in the city is the first time they have had to navigate within the public sphere. For men, it is difficult because the loss of land and their role of key provider is devastating to the ego. These two changes cause a disruption and reconstruction of traditional ideals about gender performance. Susana talks about the problems that arise from this "disruption":

...for example, when they are displaced and they are able to leave with the complete nuclear family, they come to a place and the man does not have the possibility to work. So, since it is the women who, culturally, has the role of caretaker, it becomes her job to take care of the children. Obviously, care-taking implies what? Feeding, education, recreation. The man, who is not in charge of care-taking, does not participate. He worries about providing the material support and because he does not have access to a form of providing—food, health, education—the woman takes on that responsibility too. So [the women] tell us, "Look, since he cannot work, I am the one who goes to the street to look for it." So, everything becomes another responsibility for the woman. Many times men have greater risks of going out there, often it is the women who ends up providing materially and economically for the family, and supporting all the conditions that are cultural and social.

Those who worked with displaced people, as organizers or social workers, say that rural men have a hard time looking for work when they arrive to the city because their agricultural skills are not useful in this urban space. On the other hand, though men have traditionally taken on the role of provider, moving between private and public spheres, it is rural women who have acquired the domestic skills that translate well into both rural and urban spaces. Overwhelmingly, it is the woman that ends up having to find work, as well as subsistence. In addition, since women with children are favored in resettlement and humanitarian aid programs, they are also in charge of registering with the government office and applying for aid. Yet, programs of resettlement do not offer important resources for mothers who are single head-of-household, like free babysitting or employment for women to work in the formal sector where they can also get off work in time to pick up their children from school.

Ethnic minority groups, like Afro-Colombians and indigenous populations also struggle during resettlement. Lina, a psychologist in an NGO for women who are trying to leave prostitution, talks about the experience of these groups in the city:

...so, it is much more difficult because it concerns cultural and structural issues, so then this is what happens in general, the situation becomes more grave when the woman has been displaced, and even more if she is black or indigenous, when there are situations, let's say in poor conditions. This is especially true when the woman has come from rural areas with little education. They face more danger when it comes to being violated sexually. ...for example, the difficulty for indigenous women in Medellín is huge, first, because they don't speak Spanish, it is very difficult for them, many of these women are being treated (pause) they are being exploited, their children too, and since they don't speak the language, they are even exploited by people of their same, of their same ethnicity. So that is a great difficulty for these women, very complicated, very hard that they don't know, don't know the language, very difficult...

Racism and discrimination, couple with the stigma of displacement, place ethnic minority groups in a particularly vulnerable position, which also affects how they will be received by the urban community and how they will be attended by state actors. Soledad, is a 32-year old Afro-Colombian widow with five children. Below she talks about her experience resettling in Medellín, and accessing aid:

Interviewer: How was your experience relocating to Medellín?

Soledad: Well, a little hard. Hard because one comes displaced, and you look at all the years, already so many years which do not amount to anything. They don't, that is, don't treat one as they should. As a displaced person it does not suit you, I mean, that you have survived and one has to look for work because if one depends on the government you'll die of hunger.

Interviewer: And you, have you received help from the government?

Soledad: Yes, they have given me help but that takes a long time... [The workers] are in bad moods, how they respond to you, when you try to ask them a question about something and to get you out of there, they look quickly at the [computer] system and look and they say, you have nothing, no, no. The things are like that. You go to another part [of the agency] and, well, they don't serve you well...and while the racism has gotten better [in Medellín], in the street, yes, the people look at you, well, like you are not the same as them, like, they are better than you, you understand? Like, you are worth nothing to them.

Interviewer: Did you find this in other places where you were looking for help, or when you looked for work?

Soledad: Well, if, at least one sometimes goes to an employer, well, to look around for a job, and sometimes because of the fact that one is *moreno*, they do not give you employment. That because *morenos* are this, that because the *morenos* are that, well really, the bad people look white...But when there is racism, one will not look at what is in other people, but at color...

Suggestion on Program Changes

While the government administrators discussed above have painted the displaced in a negative light, service providers are not homogeneous. Through three interviews, I found that psychologists in different social and aid programs were very dedicated to serving displaced populations and these participants were also the most critical of the programs they worked for. I asked each psychologist what they felt the displaced needed or what changes they would make to the program or policies that address resettlement and transitional justice.

Isela used to work at Familias en Acción (Families in Action) a government welfare program that serves poor families, many of whom are displaced. Isela left the program as a social worker to take care of her children, but does miss the work she did. Her biggest critique of the programs for victims of the conflict is that the workers are not trained or do not have the background to serve clients who have experienced violence and trauma:

It makes me really sad because I had some colleagues who would turn people away, kick them out, so [the displaced] left and with the same questions they came with, or left worse. Well, everyone works the way they want, but, how horrible to talk about my colleagues but I had colleagues who, for me, were in the wrong place. That is one of the failures and I would say that is one of the suggestions I have for a program like Medellín Solidaria or a mayoral program, a suggestion that I believe that you can do is to hire people from the social service field because all many colleagues were not from the social field....

Isela's interview also reveals that workers are jaded and do not try to find the correct assistance for clients. She says that this is a reason why people do not trust workers or the program. While Isela's comments point to more internal implementation of

these programs, other talked about issues with the structure of the policies themselves.

Sergio, the lead psychologist of the health agency under Victim's Law, critiques the overall approach of this law:

When Victim's Law was created, there were four million victims. Now there are six million victims. So, look at how in two years the budget that was thought to be for four, you have to now think for six. When you create a document of victims, you create a document thinking that we are post-conflict, when, in reality, we are actually still in an internal conflict.

Jose, a psychologist in the CEPAR program, is frustrated with the changing nature of the programs due to different mayor administrations:

...unfortunately, politics permeates these programs a lot, and they are programs of the institutional policy but it is still political and sometimes, policy in this sense, that they are implemented in accordance to the mayor who arrives because he does some processes, in accordance to the new mayor who arrives. Then the process that could have really clear objectives, can be altered at any moment. So, for example, a program like CEPAR that depends on a program in the mayor's office, the day a new mayor arrives, decomposes. It may continue, but by mobilizing, both the processes also move, they become destabilized. That seems to me, a difficulty, a deficit that has to be determined in terms of, for example, aid.

Further Jose argues that the displaced need programs that focus on implementing programs that ensured insertion into the labor market:

Let's see, I would think that the needs of these people is (pause) they finally arrive to the city with many difficulties, many problems, however they are linked to these programs. Maybe, perhaps, the programs should provide more and more support to the person in terms of possible job training, obviously the academic but also work. To offer many options, many more, as alternatives for example, for different types of jobs based on an agreement with companies.

Elizabeth, the social worker in Medellín Solidaria, also felt that jobs needed to be a primary focus of programs rather than subsidize so that people would not become dependent on government aid, but, as previously discussed, due to stigmatization of displaced peasants, they cannot find formal work. Rosa, a member of a corporate booster group that works with the department of Antioquia addresses this point when I asked her if companies were hiring displaced persons:

It is difficult for the *campesinos* to insert themselves in the city and get the kind of services they really need, including jobs with good salary. There are the cultural differences that also make it difficult, for example a *campesino* may not know the social and cultural norms needed to work at a technology company. The private sector of Antioquia has created spaces for people to advance, socio-economically, but it also can't help those who were never trained to have social and cultural capital in order to progress.

However, the biggest critique that all mental health care workers had of the state and the policies of resettlement was that the focus of the programs was on monetary compensation rather than the psychological:

Usually one of the problems of the state is that they first began to compensate people without measuring their psychosocial affections. That has created a lot of problems, to the point that people believe, the victims believe, that what they are doing is paying the victim. When they will pay me? When do I get my money?...That has been a big problem because a series of conflicts in the social fabric
-Sergio

Jose also laments the fact that psychosocial attention is not prioritized:

Clinical attention and let's say that (pause) here I am going to make a critique about the social environment and the environment of the programs that work with vulnerable population, displaced, victims. Clinical care is very important and they do not present it as such. It is very important, why? Because you work with the subject in an individual way, it really involves mobilizing many

situations and being able to transform, in a certain way, meanings that are wrong and be able to give them a new different meaning, which will allow you to begin to develop in a different way. What I have noticed, for example, is that I attended many of these people who come from programs, then when I ask them, “but did you have a program psychologist?” “Yes they give us an appointment but it’s too far away, or it’s with a group.” So let’s say that it is very superficial attention and very group based, like we are going to do a workshop and that all but it stays very informative, lots of information and little intervention... That [the displaced] leave their land threatened or displaced because they were forced to, that is already a pain that needs to be work with... That is, all that seems very important and I, at least as it is here, I try to contribute to that process of psychological intervention as certain elements that they can go working on.

Lastly, Sergio mentions that part of the psychosocial intervention for displaced peasants must focus on shifting their thinking from seeing themselves as victims to citizens:

As the state had never thought about rehabilitation, the subject of the psychological and social circle is affected very seriously. When we deal with people who have been displaced, we began to deal with them on the issue that they were displaced, they were a victim, working with a projection into the future. It is one of our focuses, the issue is emotional recovery, let’s talk about the separation, of the pain etc. If you are excluded from society. So much that they are called a victim of armed conflict. You have to begin to tell them, you are not a victim, you are a citizen. Others also have to accept me as a citizen, beyond a victim. The system will have to accept me more than a victim, but as a citizen.

Sergio’s quote demonstrate that displacement does negatively affect displaced peasants’ sense and practice of citizenship. While they are still national citizens, the outcome of war and trauma, and their experience with displacement and resettlement results in a new relationship to the nation as partial citizens.

One of the most fundamental factors for understanding the process of resettlement, and later integration, for people who have been displaced due to conflict is acknowledging and taking seriously trauma. Many displaced have been highly traumatized by how they were displaced, with 67% of displaced households reporting problems with psychosocial issues in a 2007 survey (Carrillo 2009). The context of their expulsion affects how they will integrate. For example, those who have been displaced because of direct violence, for example armed actors violating or torturing them or a family member, might be more psychologically affected than someone who was indirectly displaced, that is, they decided to leave as a precautionary measure. Though the trauma of displacement affects everyone differently, the condition of the displaced's mental health can deteriorate under the strain of unaddressed trauma, negatively their desire and ability to incorporate into the receiving community. Trauma can also be transmitted intergenerational (Espiritu 2006; Burchardt 1993), affecting the life chances of future generations.

Discussion

Applying Espiritu's concept of differential inclusion to the urban resettlement of displaced peasants, we can see that internal migrants experience differing forms of social, economic, and political exclusion when settling in the receiving community, they are not outright excluded. Rather, their inclusion is a process that deems them integral to (quote) "the nation's economy, culture, identity, and power (Espiritu p/47)," *but* their value is based on their subordinated social status. For example, in the case of internal migrants, a major way that peasants are included into cities of

Colombia is through a process of resettlement that gives them monetary aid as a form of securing the safety of its citizens *and* the country. Therefore, the state-led resettlement of internally displaced persons is integral the security of Colombia. Being recognized by the state as a “victim,” is used by the displaced to secure aid by signaling a subordinated social status. I contend that assisting with emergency and irregular humanitarian aid yet not assisting with economic and labor insertion is an example of failed inclusion, and has resulted in protracted states of displacement in Colombia.

Cernea’s (1997) work on development-induced displacement and resettlement highlights the indicators of the risks of impoverishment associated with internal displacement--outlined as components needed to reverse the risk of impoverishment during the reconstruction process--which centers the state as the key figure in facilitating resettlement. These components consist of: land-based re-establishment; reemployment; housing reconstruction; social integration; improved health care; adequate nutrition; restoration of community assets; community reconstruction; access to educational opportunities; reformation of political activity; and physical and legal protection. Using Cernea’s Impoverishment Risk and Livelihood Reconstruction (IRLR) model, Muggah (2000) applies the IRLR indicators to cases of conflict-induced displacement in Colombia, showing failures in state policies on resettlement.

What I add to Cernea and Muggah’s work is an examination of involuntary resettlement that takes migrant agency and perceptions into account, while at the same time taking seriously the role of the state and place. I argue that in order to

understand why resettlement fails, we need to consider the perceptions of the displaced and their trust in the government. Institutions like the World Bank or United Nations focus on the state when analyzing policy failure, which is justified and necessary, but a sole focus on the state misses an important point: internally displaced persons' perceptions of the national state as illegitimate.

Overall, the rural displaced believe that the Colombian state's corruption and apathy has led to their precarious situation. These attitudes decrease confidence in state actors and prevent willingness to commit to programs of resettlement. In terms of structure of programs of resettlement for internal displacement, these programs are created and implemented by the national state, often with good intentions, yet are not always successful since the metric of “success” is based on the number of people who have received monetary emergency aid (Hanson 2012; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008). Another issue is how “successful” integration is conceptualized. Measures of “success” are set by members of the *resettlement regime*, entities like the UNHCR, policy makers, and donors, groups focused on linear models of resettlement based on monetary and idealistic system of aid. These groups do not ask the displaced how they understand integration or how they conceptualize achieving full socioeconomic, cultural and political inclusion. For campesinos who have been displaced and are now resettled in the city, there needs to be understood the rural cultural and lifestyle, along with their subjective experience with displacement that results in a new awareness of the world—what I call Displaced Consciousness.

The role of the city plays a key factor in the context of reception since it creates spaces of segregation between the receiving society and the displaced. The city of Medellín, the new urban “miracle,” driven by neoliberal desires for innovation and progress, pushes for individual processes of transitional justice. Also, for the campesino, their job skills are not viewed as useful, and even perceived as backwards, since there are not spaces, or employment, for agricultural work in the city. This is problematic because the structure of resettlement misses two key factors that would benefit approaches to aid. First, government actors do not consider the power of social networks as a critical element for resettlement. Conceptualizing resettlement as an individual *and* collective process for achieving empowerment and control over one's life and future is important to consider for building programs of integration, for example, for developing dignified housing, or processing legal claims for groups who were collectively displaced from the same region. Second, collective work based on agricultural skills could benefit *barrios* in the peripheries of Medellín; slums that lack infrastructure would benefit greatly from the implementation of environmentally sustainable projects, led by *campesinos*, which would service the city and provide employment. In the Colombian case, integration and transitional justice goes hand-in-hand and moves beyond individual access to programs. For many rural communities, working as a collective is part of their culture and daily survival, thus collective justice *is* an indispensable part of their resettlement process.

Lastly, a key missing factor in the issue of resettlement policies for conflict-induced displacement in Colombia is that resettlement and transitional justice are

structured on approaches and programs that act as if the country is already in a post-conflict context. While a peace accord has been signed, and FARC soldiers are beginning to demobilize, there continues to be battles in the countryside. Thus, logistically, strategies and funding for policies to address the victims of the Colombian conflict are never enough since the flows of forced migrants throughout Colombia continue to occur. Also, as of 2014, key programs outlined by Victims Law were still not fully implemented. For example, the PAPSIVI, had just begun its pilot program for psycho-social aid in June 2014, three years into the 10-year plan. These mentioned issues, along with current tensions with how to integrate thousands of demobilized guerrillas into the cities of Colombia will test the country's capacity to sustain and offer opportunities of upward mobility to both victims and victimizers of the conflict.

Conclusion

Chapter Five examines the involuntary urban resettlement of rural persons in Medellín, Colombia, highlighting institutional responses and subjective perspectives of both state actors and peasants. The main actors who determine resettlement approaches are often institutions like the UNHCR, who work in collaboration with government administrators and politicians (Castles 2005). But, a sole focus on technical solutions misses out on how opinions and attitudes can be critical points of dissent that affect the resettlement and, further, integration. State-led projects of resettlement and integration are based on a power imbalance between the state and *campesinos*, which is highlighted in moments of crisis, like conflict. Already feeling

a lack of control over their lives, the displaced are resistant to programs that dictate a top-down state-monitored procedure for survival, a process that further exacerbate feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness, leaving the displaced feeling more marginalized in the host society. These sentiments, coupled with stigma and discrimination from state institutions and the receiving urban community, lack of durable solutions, and inability to participate in the formal urban labor markets, lead to downward social mobility and even life-long and generational impoverishment (Cernea), demonstrating differential or failed integration. These forms of inclusion through resettlement programs—on the basis of being a displaced peasant—and exclusion—also based on being a displaced peasant are reproduced daily, resulting in the experience of partial citizenship.

This chapter argues for a rethinking of approaches to involuntary resettlement within development that looks beyond material outcomes. What is missing in the development literature on displacement and involuntary resettlement is taking into serious consideration the displaced's own sense of belonging and justice for building strategies towards the next phase of the life-cycle of forced migration: integration. In the urban context, integration can involve insertion into society by obtaining training for sustainable employment in the city and living in racially and ethnically mixed neighborhoods--including areas resided by non-displacees or victims of the conflict. In addition, access to social and health services from clinics that give quick and thorough attention to clients, legal attention and protection, and inclusion in policies

and programs that address the needs of vulnerable groups, such as women, children, Afro-Colombians and indigenous groups.

Chapter 6

Phase Three of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Integration

Cristina: A Composite Figure of a Displaced Campesino

The *ranchitos* perched on the mountain sides surrounding the city are small, leaning shacks, made of thin planks of wood, material carried, one-by-one, up the vertical face. In one of these *ranchos* Cristina, a 42-year old mestiza woman, wakes up and begins getting dressed as the glow of daybreak begins to creep under the front door, casting shadows on the rust colored dirt floor. Displaced from countryside of northern Antioquia, Cristina has spent the last eight years rebuilding her home and life at the peri-urban edges of the city of Medellín. Though her husband survived displacement, she says he could not handle life in the city and returned to the countryside with her oldest son to find work. That was six years ago. Cristina is now the primary provider of the household. She wakes her children and they slowly prepare to go into the city center for the *rebusque* ('the hustle' or search). With five of her children, along with her sister who lives nearby, they start the walk down the mountain, loaded with backpacks, hoping that when they return at the end of the day these bags will be filled. The group begins the almost two hour walk to the city center as the sun begins to peer over the eastern mountain range, not too early that the dark might mask delinquent gangs hidden in the night, a sure and everyday reality and danger. Cristina's heart breaks once again when her youngest whispers, "Mama, I am thirsty." They do not have the luxury of access to potable water. "I know, *hija*," she says, hugging her, "I'm sorry, you will have to wait..." As they continue their journey, they pass other homes of people like them, displaced *campesinos*, structures that seem to trickle down to the creek that runs through the sector, a flow that takes with it waste and raw sewage which gets filtered into homemade water lines. The group's first stop is the Plaza Minorista, a large open market where Cristina has a deal with several vendors: she cleans their stalls and in return they pay her with fresh vegetables, rice, butter, and, if they are lucky, meat or fish. The sun is now fully risen and Cristina sees the city come alive as they enter the downtown area; the increase of cars, noise, and glares from people who pass them makes her anxious and she longs for her life in the country, now a distant memory. They finally arrive at the market and as they walk in, Cristina glances to the side of the market and see a large billboard that reads: "*Medellín, por la vida*" (Medellín, for the life). As she readjusts her focus to the task in front of her, she wonders whose life they are referring to.

Internal displacement poses a difficult question on how to resettle and integrate a country's own nationals after being forced to migrate due to civil conflict. This chapter on the integration of displaced peasants in Medellín, examines the after-life of internal displacement, that is, the years after the displacement event and immediate resettlement, to understand how displacement affects economic incorporation and feelings of belonging. As I discussed in Chapter Five, state-based policies and programs approach integration based on linear, temporal bound, models of resettlement (Muggah 2000), concentrating efforts on emergency aid and income-generating programs (Hanson 2012) that measure "success" by the number of persons served or participants in state-led projects of integration. These models of resettlement do not adequately take into account compensation that goes beyond material loss (Maldonado 2012; Muggah 2000). As described in the composite figure of Christina above, for rural internally displaced persons who resettle on the peripheries of Medellín, stagnation in the informal labor market and segregation on the peripheries result in the daily reliving of the material and subjective losses due to violence and displacement. The everyday reminders of the losses of displacement, and inability to participate in the formal urban labor economy, affect the psyche of the displaced, and create a new awareness for how they view themselves and the receiving community, and how they perceive that the receiving community sees them.

I argue that Medellín's torrid and violent narco-history has turned peripheral areas where the displaced resettle into combat zones (Roldán 1999; Hylton 2007) where the undesirable are exiled, a borderlands (Anzaldúa [1987] 1999) that

separates the city center and margins. The borders that mark *barrio*-dwellers as contamination and criminals (Roldan 1999) follow residents as they descend into the city center to work or seek subsistence and aid, creating limitations to their ability to insert themselves in the socio-economic fabric of Medellín. I use Heckmann and Bosswick (2005) definition of migration integration for this analysis. The authors define migrant integration as “a generations lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society. For the migrants, integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards the immigration society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society” (Pg. 36).

A key question the chapter addresses is how and why a group that has resettled in the city for five or more years, continue to see themselves as the displaced? I argue that continuing to identify as “displaced” and “*campesino*” is a result of protracted displacement which leads to differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003) and failed integration. I draw on the definition of protracted displacement, which mean prolonged states of displacement for more than five years. According to the Brookings Institute and Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, “These are situations where the process for finding durable solutions is stalled, and/or where IDPs are marginalized as a consequence of violations or a lack of protection of their human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights. Solutions are absent or

have failed and IDPs remain disadvantaged and unable to fully enjoy their rights” (Brookings and IDMC 2011: 4).

Through 70 in-depth interviews with long-term displaced residents, I found that the displaced were included through national resettlement programs due to their status as “victim.” But the displaced also experience multiple forms of exclusion, also based on their marginalized status. For example, exclusion from the informal labor market and segregation in peripheral neighborhoods. I argue that *campesinos* continue to identify as displaced as a consequence of differential inclusion, which negatively affects their sense and practice of citizenship, creating a form of segmented citizenship. Further, I assert that in order to understand the total losses that displaced peasants experience, state programs must factor in the consciousness, or the subjective experience, of the displaced and their perception of their situation and the receiving society. To address the subjective experience of displacement, I use the framework of consciousness to trace the understandings of marginalized communities as excluded subjects. I focus on the spatial-temporal dimensions of displacement to reflect on the identity formation of the “displaced,” which is based on the collective memories of the rural *and* the urban. Considering the processes involved in the “displaced” identity formation is a necessary for understanding sentiments and consequences of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state.

I define displaced consciousness—which is triggered during the phase of displacement— as a form of affective resistance, a new awareness that emerges from the experience of forced migration and subsequent exclusion. Displaced

consciousness is experienced as a waiting, nostalgia, and mourning for a utopic and haunted (Gordon 2008) “homeland” that cannot be returned to. I argue that state programs must consider the material *and* affective losses that displaced peasants, focusing on training and insertion of the displaced into the formal labor market, as well as the mental and emotional states of the displaced and their perception of their situation. The psycho-social consequences of war and trauma have negative and long-term effects on displaced citizens’ socio-economic integration post-displacement. In Chapter Five, findings reveal that displaced persons have negative perceptions of state actors, which include police, military, judges, and even aid and social workers. Feelings of mistrust of state actors, born out of fear and trauma during the phase of physical displacement, leave displacees unwilling to invest time and energy into participation in state-lead processes of resettlement. Participants in these programs continue to feel excluded and often, even after being resettled for years, do not experience upward mobility (Ibáñez and Moya 2007). Distrust of state actors, along with feeling stigmatized and mistreated by state actors and the urban society, results in daily re-victimization, confirming sentiments of apprehension towards a psychological investment in making Medellín “home.”

This chapter begins by discussing migrant incorporation as a multi-pronged process using Heckmann and Bosswick’s framework of integration. After, I focus on analyzing economic integration of internal forced migrants as a gendered state-led project. I then use ethnographic interviews with displaced men and women

to present the empirical finding, demonstrating the gendered shifts that occurs during post-displacement resettlement which affect economic conditions of forced migrant incorporation. To address the economic outcomes of protracted displacement, I then show how *campesinos* are restricted to the informal labor market, often with help from state-led income-generating programs. After, I discuss the lingering subjective losses of displacement, and how segregation in the peri-urban borderlands sustains the displaced consciousness, experienced as waiting, loss, and nostalgia. This chapter aims to show the material, social, and affective forms of integration, or lack thereof, as a method of exploring the long-term influence of displacement, and why *campesinos* continue to identify as “displaced” many years after displacement and urban resettlement.

Conceptualizing Integration of Forced Migrants

How and to what degree migrants incorporate into the host society is a major theme in migration studies in Sociology, which has primarily been studied through the framework of assimilation. Assimilation, the incorporation of immigrants into a host society by giving up “their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics” (Castles and Miller 2009: 247), is a process shaped not only by what immigrants bring with them—human, social and economic capital—but also by where people immigrate to, and how the receiving community welcomes or excluded them (Portes et al. 2009; Bloemraad 2006; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1990).

For the dissertation, I apply the principle of integration to refer to how internal

and forced migrants socially and economically incorporate into the city after being displaced from the countryside of Colombia. Integration can be defined as a gradual adaption process that requires “some degree of mutual accommodation” (Castles and Miller 2009: 247) between state structures and migrant agency. Assimilation differs from integration because, as discussed by Castles and Miller, it refers to the incorporation of immigrants as a “one-sided process of adaption” (2009: 247). The concept of integration is better to use when discussing the incorporation of internal migrants. These migrants do not cross borders, rather they stay within the boundaries of their nation-state and retain their national membership and identity as Colombian citizens. Rural internal displaced persons stay within the borders of Colombia, resettling in urban areas, hoping to receive aid and opportunities through the state to reconstruct their lives post-displacement.

Within the migration literature, integration is defined as a gradual adaption process "by which members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another" (Waters and Pineau 2015), requiring “some degree of mutual accommodation” (Castles and Miller 2009: 247) between state structures and migrant agency. Integration of migrant men and women has been measured by examining economic, political and social elements of incorporation into the host society overtime (Coutin 2016; Waters and Pineau 2015; Anderson 2013; Dahinden 2012; Nawyn et al. 2009; Curran et al. 2006; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Heckmann and Bosswick 2005; Goldring 2003; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Espiritu 2003; Jones-Correa 1998; Portes and Zhou;

DeWind and Kasinitz. 1997; Cernea 1997).

This chapter conceptualizes integration as "an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society" (Heckmann and Bosswick 2005) that centers on strategies of confidence building and the empowerment of the displaced community. I argue integration of internally displaced persons in Colombia is a political project of the state. Therefore, it is necessary to utilize a critical approach to incorporation in order to understand on whose terms the process of integration develops, who defines it, and who decides the character of migrant integration. In terms of the *incorporation regimes*, the main actors who determine how resettlement will be approached and operationalized are often policy makers and development specialists who work in collaboration with government administrators and politicians (Castles 2006; Freeman 2004; Muggah 2000; Cernea 1997). How these entities structure and implement resettlement policy results in failed integration. First, resettlement programs are focused on short-term solutions. Second, implementation of programs is based on strict time restrictions that do not correlate with the accompaniment needed for satisfactory aid. Lastly, implementation of policy at the municipal level is difficult with local agencies that do not have the proper training or capacity to adequately carry out their duties (Muggah 2000).

However, a sole focus on technical solutions—or failures—of post-displacement integration overlooks how subjective experiences of the displaced can be critical points of dissent that affect the integration process. State-led projects of resettlement are based on a power imbalance that is highlighted in moments of crisis

and conflict. Already feeling a lack of control over their lives, the displaced struggle to navigate resettlement programs. The timeline of aid programs assumes that the displaced should be integrated within a short amount of time—often under a year. I argue that to understand why the displaced continue to identify as displaced, we must understand integration as a multifaceted process.

To better understand the multifaceted long-term process of migration integration, I use Heckmann and Bosswick (2005), who offer a four-level framework of integration, to map differential forms of inclusion. This framework includes, Structural integration: insertion and pathways to positions in society's core institutions, like the economy, education, or political participation; Cultural integration, which hints at assimilation: the adaption of the norms, values, and behaviors of the receiving society, like religion or language; Interactive integration: primary membership to social groups and networking of the host society, like through integrated neighborhoods or intermarriage; and Identificative integration, the state of integration that deals with the "feelings of belonging to and identification" (Heckmann and Bosswick 2005:17). Identificative integration is the slowest level of integration, the degree to which differs per person and situation. Though people can experience economic integration, for example, they still may not identify with the principles of the state and may continue to feel unaccepted and excluded (Heckmann and Bosswick 2005). In the case of conflict-induced internal displacement, the process of resettlement, which sets the stage for integration, is facilitated by the state, centering national and local agencies as the primary means of achieving migrant

incorporation.

Heckmann and Bosswick (2005) show the different segments of society that migrants are incorporated into. However, it is necessary to understand the subjective to fully understand differential inclusion of internal migrants. Espiritu (2003) focuses on Filipino immigrants in San Diego, California as a method of demonstrating the process of migration, not solely as arrival and settlement, but as a beginning for home-making and possible return; home-making is considered as both "imagined and an actual geography; or more specifically, it is about how home is both connected to and disconnected from the physical space in which one lives" (Espiritu 2003: 2). Further, as Espiritu explains, "home is defined here both as a private domestic space and as a larger geographic where one belongs, such as one's community, village, city, and country. I am especially interested in understanding how immigrants use memory of homeland to construct their new lives in the country to which they have migrated" (Espiritu 2003: 2). In line with Espiritu, I am interested in the ways that citizens are unable to (re)make home post-displacement, which result in feelings of exclusion in their own county.

Heckmann and Bosswick's (2005) framework of integration address economic, social, and political elements of incorporation, but I add two important extensions for understanding the particular experience of conflict-induced internal displacement. First, I highlight the role of gender as a power dynamic that determines how and to what degree men and women integrate. Second, and most importantly, I add to the literature on integration by emphasizing the subjective to demonstrate how

add to the literature on integration by emphasizing the subjective to demonstrate how people can be differentially integrated into some segments of society but feel excluded in others. Further, I assert that to understand why the displaced continue to identify as displaced, we must understand integration as a multifaceted process that includes economic, political, social, and subjective elements of migrant incorporation. Full integration of a marginalized group is important because it results in stability for the receiving community as well.

The next sections, first, discuss differential economic integration as a state project. After, I demonstrate the gendered experiences of economic integration of the displaced in the city. The second half of the chapter extends Heckmann and Bosswick's (2005) framework but adding the subjective experience of the displaced as a key element for understanding failed integration of displaced peasants in Medellín.

Differential Economic Integration as a State Project

Portes and Zhou's (1993) theory of segmented assimilation highlights the differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003) of immigrants to the United States, focusing on the context of reception to understand the modes of incorporation: "modes of incorporation consist of the complex formed by the policies of the host government; the values and prejudices of the receiving society; and the characteristics of the coethnic community" (p. 83). The social context of the receiving community plays a direct role in creating vulnerability of settling migrants due to three factors: (1) color, or race/ethnicity of migrant groups; (2) location: where migrants settle; and (3)

absence of mobility ladders (Portes and Zhou's 1993). While the issue of political incorporation was addressed during field work, I found that restriction to the informal labor market was the primary factor that resulted in failed and segmented economic integration of the displaced over time. In this context, economic integration is having control over one's economic conditions and lives.

In the case of internally displaced peasants in Medellín, I found that displacees are treated by the city society and state actors as a separate ethnic group; seen as unassimilable urban citizens due to their places of origin and relationship to the conflict. While Afro-Colombians and Indigenous people experience blatant racist discrimination on the basis of their race, ethnicity and/or phenotype, mestizo *campesinos* also experienced prejudice due to their perceived Otherness in comparison to urban residents. The concentration of different groups in the city put the displaced in close contact with the host society and state, and vice versa. The segregation of the displaced in the peripheral areas of the city, expose forced migrants to situations of marginalization due to lack of resources, distance of city center, inter-group conflict due to gangs, and prevalence of precarious housing. Lastly, and most critical to displaced *campesinos*' economic integration, is the lack of employment mobility via jobs and stagnation in the informal labor market. Integration is often associated with socio-economic and cultural incorporation, and relationships to the state, as Espiritu's (2003) work demonstrates, highlighting the context of migration and reception, which has differing outcomes for migrant incorporation over and between generations.

Examining segmented assimilation as a form of differential inclusion shows the importance of analyzing *what* segments of society migrants are integrating into and the role of the state. I contribute to the work on segmented assimilation by looking at the political nature of the integration through the lens of internal displacement by showing how the state funnels the displaced into precarious informal economic conditions. Using the case of conflict-induced internal displacement in Colombia, we see the role of the Colombia state as it facilitates the resettlement and integration of its displaced citizens. In spite of government programs of integration and transitional justice, research on internal displacement and resettlement overwhelmingly shows that displaced persons are excluded from the formal labor market and confined to informal work (Fontanini 2012; Hanson 2012; Bello A.2006; Brookings Institute and IDMC 2011; Carrillo 2009; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007; Muggah 2000; Cernea 1997). While informal work is not necessarily a “bad” job, it does result in higher rates of poverty, particularly for women (Chen et al. 2004). For example, while displaced women have an easier time of finding work, due to personal networks usually comprised of other women, the quality, quantity, and gendered aspect of the type of work—usually domestic or sex work—place women at a disadvantage for upward mobility. Chen et al.’s (2004) work on informal employment discusses the role of informality in global poverty patterns. The authors show how most workers of the world survive via informal work arguing that informal work is not unemployment, but a type of employment that is intricately linked to the formal labor economy which contributes to inequality and

poverty within the global capitalist system (Chen et al. 2004).

In terms of the role of the state in integration of displaced persons, even state-led income-generating programs are based on mainstreaming migrants into informal employment (Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007). However, informal work does not have regulations, protections or benefits for the informal workers (Chen et al. 2004). In addition, the displaced enter the city with little to no human capital, assets, resources, and networks therefore it is difficult for them to get to a baseline of economic stability (Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007).

Being uprooted from the rural and the inability to contribute to the urban due to stigma and lack of formal education and skills, makes it difficult, if not impossible, for upward mobility. Drawing from Anderson (2013), the displaced are no longer the Good Campesino Citizen, self-sufficient and productive, rather they have become the Failed Urban Citizen. A Good Urban Citizen is one that works in the formal labor market, contributing to the Medellín economy. Segregation in the informal sector and dependence on the government is not seen as a contribution to the global city of Medellín. The displaced are not perceived as suitable even for service work in the tourist and elite sectors of the city. While the displaced are not fully excluded from the labor market, their position as workers and citizens is partial. Considering Heckmann and Bosswick's (2005) multipronged definition of migrant integration, the displaced are incorporated in some ways—as displaced subjects—giving them access to a particular set of rights as “victims.” However, the displaced are not fully

integrated since, while a part of the economy, their position in the labor market is limited and subordinated. While one could argue that informal employment does contribute to the city's economy, informality is still precarious which leave the displaced unprotected, without benefits, susceptible to exploitation, and at a high risk of lifelong impoverishment (Cernea 1997). I contend that, in the case of internal migration, integration is a political project of the state since the state is the most impactful mediator of the types of jobs and opportunities the displaced can participate in for post-displacement recovery. State-led resettlement income-generating programs highlight this point, since these programs funnel people into areas of the economy where the displaced stay subordinated. Exclusion from the formal labor market and segregation in the informal market of Medellín are the key processes of economic integration that do not treat displaced campesinos as full urban residents or full workers, rendering them partial citizens.

Economic Integration as a State Project: Income-Generating Programs

Income-generating programs for the displaced community provide labor training, small business management, and “start up” funds to build micro-businesses. These state-led programs are geared towards inserting the displaced into core institutions like the economy and labor market, yet participants in these programs continue to feel excluded and often, even after being resettled for years, do not lead to upward mobility (Ibáñez and Moya 2007). I conducted 17 interviews with displaced persons who participated in government-sponsored income-generating program,

which in 2011 was called the *Proceso de Fortalecimiento de negocios y ciudadanía* (Process of Strengthening business and citizenship), and administered by the Secretaria de Bienestar Social's Unidad de Desplazamiento Forzado (Secretary of the Welfare Unit of Forced Displacement). This program provided labor and business management training, and seed money for the displaced to begin micro-businesses. To participate in the program the participants had to 1) have already declared and be recognized as displaced; 2) have been registered in the welfare system and complete requirements, like obtaining identification cards, completing adult literacy programs, and staying in compliance with welfare programs; and 3) agree to fulfill all program requirements. Businesses funded were for home-based operations in the informal market, like laundry mats, beauty salons, or store-fronts out of homes. The program financed the buying of food and beverage products, like snacks and soda, for sales, or machinery, like washing machines or sinks, needed to run informal businesses.

Mandatory attendance in workshops, called *Reconocimiento, Derechos y Desarrollo* (Recognition, Rights and Development), was one of the requirements to participate in the program. Workshops ran for four weeks, for five hours each session, and each week dealt with a psycho-social aspect of dealing and healing from trauma. Some of the topics covered: the body, memory, trauma, and human and civil rights. The aim of the workshops, as one social worker explained, was to ensure that people were healing from trauma so that their business could be successful. As the group facilitator said, “We need to recuperate in order to get ahead.” A psychologist

who work for the Victim's Unit, who is also prominent activist in Medellín, leading workshops discusses in detail why she feels these workshops are important:

I lead four workshops a week, 20 hours in total, to talk about the body, the psycho-social, group work so that people can discuss and ask about survival in this city, especially when it comes to the body as a fundamental location of autonomy so that they can gain trust, because through the process [of displacement] you lose trust, so we work to help them to build [trust] with their communities and with themselves. We also work with other terms, such as letting them know that there are guarantees by the State, and make them know who is responsible, which is the State. We don't just focus on victimization but also on survival and rescuing their capacity to keep on going, and not just because the State guarantees it but because they are human beings with an admirable capability to overcome that damage, and maybe they can't find the capacity and the motivation in themselves but maybe in their children, so it is also about recuperating the motivation to go on. We also talk about the concept of memory, right? Because these stories, their story in saying, this happened to me, this memory is something that has happened to the country, right? It is something that in these moments does not want to be heard in their entirety nor in their originality, yet these things have an importance that, well, in this country that is in the middle of a political negotiation with the victims [of the armed conflict] and they need to be heard using their own words and their voices.

I attended and participated in six of these day-long workshops, a total of thirty hours over the course of two months in 2011 and conducted 17 interviews with displaced participants from these workshops. Many of the program participants were also community leaders in their *barrios*, and had basic literacy skills. The city runs certificate programs for people to become community leaders, which gives participants access to other programs, like adult literacy and stipends for utilities.

In 2014, I spoke with people who participated in this income-generating program, most with stores in the front of their homes that sold candy, soda, and other food products. However, as in the case of Monica, since the majority of people in the

program invested in store-front businesses that were located in the settlements, they did not make money since most residents were poor and owners ended up competing with their neighbors for customers. Monica's neighbor sold cigarettes (which was an "illegal" product to sell) and sold sodas at a much cheaper price than she could afford. People would walk through the front of her yard to buy from her neighbor, who according to her, was doing something shady to sell his products for so cheap. In the four hours I spent at her home talking with her, only two customers, children, came to buy candy. In spite of the trauma she has lived, Monica is a positive person but said there were times that she felt desperate about the future of her children.

Feelings of desperation were especially strong amongst single-mother head-of-households. Celia, an Afro-Colombian woman who lives in San Javier, a Comuna of Medellín well-known for its violence and gangs traced back to the era of Pablo Escobar. She expressed a sense of hopelessness when discussing her and her sons' future:

Celia: We came from Chóco, I don't want to return where we came from, even if the father of my son is there. It's impossible to survive there. If we are already barely surviving here in Medellín and I am telling you that it is worse there, well, just imagine how it is over there. We were forced to come here, to leave everything...my mom went and declared to the government and with that money [from income-generating projects] we were able to buy some candies, make *arepas*, sell them in the street. Soon we had enough to invest in other things, like Avon, now I sell Avon. They won't give me work [Celia is disabled] and my mother either since she has to be with me to take me to my therapies.

Interviewer: And what do you see in your future?

Celia: Future? Here? I can barely see that because I know in the Chóco they know me and there they would give me a little job, something, I wouldn't earn

much but, but here, no one will employ me so I don't see a future for me or for [my] boy...

Celia has a store front where she sells soda, chips, clothing and makeup, all goods bought with the seed capital from the income-generating projects her and her mother participate in. Even still, Celia does not feel that she belongs or is accepted in Medellín, even though she has lived in different parts of the city for almost 8 years. By state standards, Celia is as an example of “successful” integration since she has her own business and has lived in an established *barrio* for many years. Yet the reality tells a different story. The store that Celia runs barely has any business and competes with other similar stores within the same block. In addition, she fights against extortion and threats from the local gangs, and has had to dodge bullets going through the walls of her home—which she showed me—due to turf wars, causing her worry that her 6-year old son will one day be drawn into gang life or violence.

Celia's case also highlights another fundamental marker for migrant incorporation: the integration of the 2nd generation. As Heckmann and Bosswick (2005) assert, "Integration of different generations is particularly important for judging whether the integration process of a group in a particular society is progressing or not" (Pp. 13). While not the focus of this research, future research on the intergenerational effects of displacement will contribute to the studies of integration of forced migrants overtime.

The above sections on economic integration demonstrate that a sole focus on the material misses the importance of considering migrant's positionality. The next section examines gender and integration by extending Heckmann and Bosswick's framework to add to the discussion on differential inclusion.

Gender and Integration

Research on gender and migration has revealed the necessity to examine human movement within and across borders through a gendered lens, centering gender as an axis of power that shapes and influences social relationships, choices, perspectives, and politics (Curran et al. 2006; Donato et al. 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Kanaiaupuni 2000). In the context of migration, gender is understood as an element that “organizes a number of immigrant practices, beliefs, and institutions” (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003: 9) throughout the migration process, reproducing and reconfiguring gendered relationships that influence the decision-making processes of migrant men and women. How people negotiate and construct gender between different places and spaces is the focus of work on gender and migrant incorporation. For example, Smith (2006) examines role of gender in the lives of transmigrants between Ticuani, Mexico and New York, showing the gender strategies employed by migrants to navigate the changing boundaries of gender performance. These gender strategies are not static but change and evolve overtime, within different social and geographic contexts, and between generations (Smith 2006). These strategies are used as a way to facilitate social relationships between men and women, and within migrants’ own lives as a form of coping with their relationships, labor, political engagement, and pulls between home and host countries. By showing that gender relations influence micro-and macro- forces, Kanaiaupuni (2000) demonstrates that gender influences not only the migrant, their household, and inter-personal

relationships, but also policies and laws in the sending and receiving states, and the socioeconomic structures, which in turn influences who migrates, how they migrate, and where they migrate to.

For Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003), “Gender informs different sets of social relations that organize immigration and social institutions (e.g., family, labor markets) in both immigrants’ place of origin and place of destination” (p. 6). Hondagneu-Sotelo’s (1994) work on the immigration and settlement of Mexican men and women to the California Bay Area highlights the drawbacks and benefits of using households as a unit of analysis; while studying the household as one unit of analysis has been found to be problematic due to differing opinions, interests, and intentions of the various household members, using this site for examining migrant integration allows for an analysis of the tensions in migrant decision-making (Choi 2016; Nawyn 2010; Dreby 2006), particularly as women-led households rebuild family, kinship and community networks while learning to navigate and access resources in a new society. While scholars on South to North migration have found that migration opens up more egalitarian gender relations in the labor market, personal networks, and household (Menjívar 2003; Hirsch 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994), this may not always be the case for migrants who would rather not migrate but are forced into the international labor market due to limited economic and employment opportunities in their native country (Parreñas 2001). Parreñas’ (2008; 2001) study on Filipina domestic workers on the global labor market found that migrant women exercise agency but within the context of structural inequalities at different state and non-state

scales which affect decision-making during migration processes.

The character of internal conflict-induced displacement is a distinct migratory process that is based on armed actors severely restricting agency through violent coercion which leaves *campesinos* with fewer options other than migration (Muggah 2000). But migrants stay within the context of their nation-state thus the political structure and their rights as citizens remains the same. As discussed in Chapters Four and Five, the process of displacement is gendered since armed actor target men and women differently, and urban resettlement creates differential barriers and opportunities to men and women. However, what I found is that for both men and women, displacement and resettlement heightens the risk of impoverishment (Muggah 2000; Cernea 1997) by leaving many displaced peasants out of the formal urban job market, changing the gender division of labor in the household, and overburdening women since they take on the primary role of provider and legal advocate, in addition to their domestic and child care duties. The risk of impoverishment post-displacement is high, with ninety-two percent of internally displaced persons in Colombia living below the poverty line, and thirty-three percent living in extreme poverty (IDMC 2015).

The next section discusses empirical findings that demonstrate the gendered consequences of forced migration on internally displaced peasant women and men's long-term integration, and the shifts that occur during conflict-induced displacement that shape and inform their decision-making processes for economic integration.

Gendered Shifts and Economic Integration

Research on gender and displacement in Colombia finds that gender highlights key power differentials between men and women during conflict-induced internal displacement (Sánchez et al. 2011; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996). Drawing from 70 interview, 102 surveys, and participant observation with displaced *campesino* men and women, I argue the phases of the life-cycle of forced migration, displacement and resettlement, generate three distinct shifts for internally displaced *campesinos'* identity and decision-making processes that affect their economic integration: (1) from citizen to displaced citizen; (2) from *campesino* to resettled urban resident; and (3) for women, from domestic-only to private-public spatial mobility, and for men, from public to domestic-stagnation. I argue that these place-based shifts create opportunities and limitations for displaced women and men to control their economic conditions.

First, rural women and men transition from citizen to displaced citizen, a new stigmatized position that associates migrants with the conflict. Conflict-induced internal displacement in Colombia has gendered consequences, which are highlighted during the phases of displacement and resettlement (Meertens and Escobar 1996). As discussed in Chapter Four, during the phase of displacement men are targeted for assassination, forced recruitment and disappearance, and kidnapping due to their position as head of the household and owner of the house and property (Bello A. 2006; Meertens and Segura-Escobar 1996). Women are targeted for sexual crimes, as Sánchez et al. (2011) show in their study of women in the Colombian conflict;

women are raped as a war strategy (Falcón 2001; Lindsey 2000).

The second shift for displaced rural women and men occurs during the transition from life as a *campesino* to a *resettled urban resident*. For *campesinos*, whose values, culture and lifestyle are based on their relationship with the land, relocation to the city uproots their whole sense of self. In her work on race and land claims of displaced women and men in Cartagena, Colombia, Cohen (2010) explores how the displacement of *campesinos* results in a fragmentation of social and economic networks, community, and kin groups, in addition to a separation from the land and nature, which for them represents a break with epistemological understandings of labor, self, and the future. Once in the city, low levels of literacy, lack of job skills in the urban labor market, and segregation in neighborhoods in crime-ridden urban settlements, pose further challenges to integration (Carrillo 2009; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007; Meertens and Stoller 2001).

Lastly, shifts occur in displaced men and women's spatial mobility. Due to a lack of employment for displaced *campesinas* in the gendered labor sector and stigmatized position as "displaced," women have few options but to depend on government or NGO aid (Hanson 2012), their *rebusque*—the search for handouts, like, food and clothes, in the downtown area markets—and/or reliance on informal labor like selling food goods, like arepas,⁸ handmade soap, washing clothes, beauty work, or sex work (Carrillo 2009; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007). As discussed in Chapter Five, women have an easier time moving between

⁸ A type of Colombian bread or pastry.

private and public sphere to ask for help or work because they are perceived with more empathy than men, while at the same time women are more vulnerable to exploitation or sexual assault. Here, Silvia, director of an organization that works with conflict-affected women, talks about how post-displacement urban survival is placed on the shoulders of women, which is based on increased private-public mobility:

Recorrido, this means that a group of around fifteen women go to the hills and they find a piece of land and they build house of bit of woods, of cardboard, and they try to build it in the mountains, and what does the *recorridos* signify in the *barrios* of the city? The women then go and beg for food, for something, and it, sadly, is not the responsibility of the people but of the state and the only way these women are surviving is in solidarity. Women and men, in particular women, that when a displaced woman arrives she says, I am looking for my *rebusque* and they know that she is looking for her way to survive. The majority of women like that are alone, the majority, or their partner abandoned them or because he was assassinated or he was disappeared. And her alone with her sons and daughters, so the survival is on the head of the women, that can become another problem.

The survival of women-headed households were based on creating solidarity networks that divided the work of finding food and subsistence as a group effort. For example, a group of women will walk to the downtown area and go to a large market where they will split into groups to beg at different stalls. They meet afterwards and divide what they acquired, even cooking together so that they can collectively feed their families. Children are also brought on these missions. In the case of Flor, a mestiza woman who takes care of ten children and grandchildren, her sister and her take their children to the downtown with large backpacks to maximize their efforts. She proudly shows off a newspaper clipping taped to the wall that features her sister and her with a few of their children, their faces blurred, doing their *rebusque* through

the markets in the center of the Medellín. While a few of the children are able to go to school, the younger ones stay at the home while the older children come with the mothers to work.

Due to increased movement in public spaces, by default, displaced women become the primary decision-maker in the household, adding the burden and pressure for them to work on both the private sector—as homemaker and nurturer—and the public sector—as main household provider. The displaced women must then take on multiple shifts in the household, that while informal, is critical to the economic and social (re) production of the household (Federici 2004; Markusen 1981). Men, on the other hand, experience a shift in their spatial mobility from the public sphere—associated with provider-ship and agricultural labor—to domestic stagnation. As I found that men, especially men ages 50 and over, have a hard time finding work when they arrive to the city. As Javier, a 55-year old man, said, “I still have life! I can work but they say I am too old but I have plenty of life in me still.” However, not all men are excluded from the wage work. I found that five male campesino respondents reported that they received formal wages in jobs like gardening and construction. These men were between the ages of 27 and 41-years old, and had been able to secure the job through a family member or friend who was already in the job. Interestingly, while they received regular taxable income, all were contracted laborers and had to find another contract once the present job was completed.

Spatial mobility of men can be dangerous, especially in neighborhoods where the gangs are comprised of demobilized paramilitaries. Another stigma of being

displaced is the assumption that they are guerrillas in hiding or sympathizers. Men are perceived as a threat and the reality of the *fronteras invisibles* (invisible borders) of gang territory means that crossing the lines or not adhering to gang rules is deadly. Monica, is a 48-year woman with three children, living in Barrio La Fé for almost two decades. Her mother and father were also displaced, though at different times, and they live within a block of each other. She arrived to Medellín and settled in the area when it was starting to be constructed. Her husband would go into the downtown and sell fruit at a main stop light. She did not know that gang members had approached him on multiple occasions to stop selling there. Her younger son would accompany his father to sell fruit and saw the men threaten his father, but Monica's husband refused to leave the corner, saying that he was not doing anything illegal, that as a displaced *campesino* he just wanted to take care of his family:

My husband had told my son to not tell me, he knew I would worry. The day he disappeared, he woke me up and said he was leaving early to buy fruit at the *Minorista* (market) and had something to take care of, or something like that. Now thinking, he was distracted, worried. He didn't take my son that morning. When my son woke up later, oh, he was desperate, "mama, no! He didn't go alone! Mama, I know something has happened to my father!" I thought he had a bad dream and comforted him, it's going to be okay. He told me that there were men who had threatened his papa for selling there at the light, but that my husband had refused. He never came home. At the hour he was supposed to return, nothing... Then it got dark and I began to get frantic. I went to neighbors, nothing, I called a friend of his and he said he had not heard from him... the next day I went and looked for him in the local hospital, I reported to the police, called everyone... Every time I heard something, I ran to the door praying it was him... seven days later I received a call from the police. They had found him... He had been tortured, his nails had been ripped out, he was tied, hands back here (putting her hands behind her back), they had cut his throat. You know what else they did? They cut off his penis. Do you think they did that while he was alive? I mean, they did it while he was alive, yes? Why would they do that?

Monica's husband had breached the street rules of the invisible borders of gang territory that is strong in the peripheral neighborhood settlements. Her husband's male presence was as a threat to the social order of the streets and his direct disobedience of orders cost him his life. Gangs' "technology of terror" of cutting off the penis can be understood as a symbolic way of severing the male threat and to show the community that the consequences of challenging the gang's control of space (Uribe 2004). Lack of work and public danger, resulted in stagnation in the domestic sphere, where men neither participated in economic or social (re)production. I often found the men at home, watching TV or sitting in the front of the home, watching the outside world. This caused issues in the household with women interviewees talking about how their men did nothing, not even helping with the kids or cleaning the house.

The three shifts discussed above are a framework for understanding the long-term effects of displacement, over the life-cycle of forced migration, on the decision-making process and economic integration of internally displaced *campesinos* in Colombia. I argue that due to exclusion from formal markets, people stay segregated in the informal markets, which are gendered. These shifts create gendered segmented economic integration. Below again, Silvia talks about the different experiences of displacement men and women:

Look, I think for both it is very hard. I have had the opportunity to accompany many people in the displaced community and both women and men suffer a lot. They suffer the loss of their, suffer the loss of their connections, they suffer the loss of the morals and materials of their lives, suffer they loss of their home, they suffer the loss of the form and dynamic of

their families and society, but for women it is particularly heavy. Look, many of the women who are displaced express things that men cannot express. For example, when they are displaced and they can leave with the complete nuclear family, they arrive to a place and the man does not have the possibility to work. So, since it is the women who, cultural, has the role of caretaker, it becomes her job to take care of the children. Obviously, caretaking implies what? Feeding, education, recreation, and that, the man, who is not in charge with caretaking, does not compensate. He worries about providing the material and because he does not have access to a form of providing—food, health, education—the woman takes on that charge too. So, they tell us, look since he cannot work, I am the one who goes to the street to look for it. She goes to homes and says, I will wash your clothes, I will clean your house, I will pick up the garbage, I will iron your clothes, and you give me food for my children. And then, the charge of providing food is her responsibility. When this dynamic begins to shift, constantly and frequently, other risks begin. The women will tell us, because they are girls and boys, or because they are adolescent girls, I do not leave them at home because it is a complicated *barrio* or because I live in a room or house where there also lives other people I don't know so I take her with me. So, these are girls and boys who don't go to school, don't study, that spend all day in the streets with their mothers running around everywhere looking for employment, well, it's not really employment, its sub-employment, it is an economic activity for hours, for moments, so as long as they are going this, they are facing more risks, they call it *rebuscando* (searching). They run around the stores of the *barrio*, the shopping centers, begging. So, they give them some food, clothes, and many of the owners tell them, "Leave your daughter for a few hours and I will give you groceries." It is for sexual violation. So, everything becomes another responsibility for the woman. On the other hand, many of those women, in the displaced situation, look at the selling of their body as an opportunity. There is a lot of sexual exploitation, and the strength of the networks of prostitution came from there. They are displaced women, without the access to education, without the possibility to dignified access to materials, who say, right here I have the option to find food, to find how I can pay the housing of my kids and mine so they go to prostitution. Things that men do not do. Many times, men have greater risks of going out there. Many times, it is the women who ends up providing materially and economically for the family, and supporting all the conditions that are cultural and social. On the other hand, men have showed that they have a tendency to adjust easier to, well, if the woman stayed, if she left me, if she had to be displaced, I will stay. So, he remakes another new family while she goes with her kids, and since she is a woman she has the social stigma, and if she is a woman they say she can't get together with other men like a bad woman, like a *puta* (whore). So, she has the cultural and social weight of all these types of matters. For her, that social weight, is worse.

The above experiences occur due to a lack of state intervention for assisting in economic integration. As discussed in Chapter Five, state aid is focused on emergency aid, which is short term, is distributed late and is not enough to sustain a household overtime. Since the displaced are excluded from the formal labor market due to stigma and lack of urban labor skills and formal education, people depend on informal work to survive. The State does have income-generating programs for victims of the conflict, however these programs still funnel the displaced into informal markets, with a lack of protections and benefits, and have not led to upward mobility (Ibáñez and Moya 2007).

The above sections operationalize Espiritu's differential inclusion by using Heckmann and Bosswick's (2005) framework on integration to demonstrate the ways that displaced peasants are included into certain types of segments of society by the state. I highlighted the gendered forms of integration that show the outcomes of the intersection between gender, class, and place/space. However, to better understand integration that go beyond the material, social, and political, the next section will discuss how the subjective experience of displacement is also a key factor in the social integration of displaced persons, especially as it relates to their segregation in the peripheral settlements of the city, which helps sustain the "displaced" identity years after arrival to Medellín.

The Subjective Outcomes of Integration on the Borderlands

"The city says it is modern, an innovator, that is what they say. No, well, um, that is what they say, but around here, because us, the poor, will go to the

poorest *comunas*, in the most *caliente* [dangerous] areas that there are in this city, well, we do not see innovation.”
(Sofia, a 31-year old displaced mestiza woman)

Medellín’s landscape is split into two worlds; the city center and the peripheral *barrios* that cling to the vertical mountain ridges that rise above the city. This division is not solely geographic. Since the era of *La Violencia*, a civil war between 1948 and 1966, displaced peasants have resettled in the peri-urban edges of Medellín (Roldán 2002). The mountain sides made available virgin land lots that the displaced use to build shelters and homes. These neighborhoods are considered “invasions” by the city because these areas were constructed and squatted on by displaced persons without the prior approval of the city. However, over decades, many of these neighborhoods have grown with the increased flow of displaced persons and some sectors, though not all, have been able to campaign for the city to “normalize” and recognize the area, obligating the mayor’s office to implement formal infrastructure in the neighborhood. I address the process of “normalization” and barrio-building in Chapter Seven. Interviews and surveys with displaced women and men were conducted in these communities in the peripheries, segregated areas known by city residents as “*los barrios*,” synonymous with poverty, crime, violence and exclusion (Hylton 2007; Roldán 1999).

While there were many barrios constructed by informal development the edges of the Medellín River that runs through the middle of the city, over time, due to formal urban development, settling and auto-construction of barrios in these areas persons became impossible and some neighborhoods have been demolished for large

projects, like the Madre Laura Bridge (Personería 2015). However, the peripheries are where the present research is focused, highlighting the importance of landscape and place for understanding the lingering affective outcomes of displacement on the social inclusion of displaced peasants living on the city's borders.

I refer to the split between the center and the peripheries of the city as a Borderlands, located at the peri-urban margins of the city, a geo-political and psychological “space” where the rural expelled and excluded inhabit (Anzaldúa 1987]1999). Anzaldúa (2007) uses the concept of a “borderlands” to explain the experience of marginalized individuals who find themselves straddling two worlds. The “borderlands” represents a geo-political space—the area on both sides of the Mexico-U.S. border—but Anzaldúa also presents the “borderlands” as “a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants” (2007: 25). According to Zavella, “Borderlands are constructed through the process of displacement through migration of the segregation of social life in which each social milieu has its own system of meaning, values, and practice, that is, power relations that produce normative hierarchies of meaning regarding the social order as well as the material structures that shape identity...Further, the emotions (especially the pain) that come from contradictions may be sources of creativity and critical consciousness as subjects reflect on or act, especially if in concert with others, so as to claim their agency” (2011: 9).

Falcón (2008) argues for a shift in thinking about where the borderlands are

located geo-politically. For example, moving beyond the Mexico-U.S. border and thinking about the borderlands between the Global North and the Global South. In a similar fashion, I argue that shifting the borderlands to represent the urban and rural borders in the Global South, where the relations between the city and the countryside play a central and overlapping part on the lives of rural displacees, pre-and post-displacement, is necessary to be able to understand the role of place and subjectivity in the integration of exiled communities.

The peripheries of Medellín have lasting effects on how identities are re-created, formulated, perceived and internalized in these spaces. Antioquia's narco-history has turned these areas into forbidden zones; combat zones where the undesirable are exiled. Roldán (1999) describes the relationship between the center and the peripheries, or *comunas*:

While comuna dwellers perceived the city as a place where the centrally settled, better-off inhabitants threatened to devour and extinguish them, the latter perceived the *comuneros* as the source and embodiment of violence in Medellín. Comuna dwellers were melded with *sicarios* (assassins), *milicianos* (militia members), and *pandilleros* (gang members)—predators who undermined the integrity and boundaries of propriety and social place. Stallybrass and White note how the bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century London imagined slums as filthy lungs, sewers, and wounds that opened up to emit thieves and prostitutes, dangerous elements that penetrated bourgeois suburbs and infected these. In a similar vein, Medellín's wealthier inhabitants invoked tropes of invasion and contamination to describe their sense of being besieged by a ring of slum dwellers who increasingly transgressed the ideological and physical space separating civilization from barbarism (p. 173).

The borders that mark the barrio-dwellers as contamination and criminals follow residents beyond the borderlands as they descend into the city center to work or seek

subsistence and aid. Displaced peasants' poverty and foreign-ness is worn on their clothing, which assumes fragility and backwardness, and displacees who are indigenous and Afro-Colombian are phenotypically marked as outsiders, must to deal with racist assumptions about their ability to assimilate into the [white] urban community.

The next section discusses the subjective losses of displacement, as related to feelings of non-belonging, by thinking about the rural internally displaced as an exile community with diasporic dimensions. By using Safran's (1991) typology of diasporas, I aim to demonstrate the link between place, memory, and the continued identity of "displaced" to understand displaced consciousness as an affective consequence of displacement that affects peasants' integration and feelings of belonging in Medellín.

Rural Internally Displaced as Exile Communities with Diasporic Dimensions

To understand the lingering subjective experience of displacement and how this influences integration and feelings of belonging, I draw from Safran's (1991) typology of diasporas and Clifford's (1994) discussing on diasporas to think though rural internally displaced as an exile community with diasporic dimensions. Safran's typography of diasporas outlines five distinct features of a diaspora. Though this categorization has its limits, I would argue that rural displacees in Medellín fulfill many features of a diaspora which helps us understand the role of place, displacement

and memory of a group in exile. I agree with Clifford (1994) that there is no perfect classification of diaspora, yet there can be exile communities that may fulfill three or more elements. As such, I use Safran's categorizations of a diaspora to argue that the rural displaced resettled in urban peripheries like Medellín are exile communities with diasporic dimensions (Clifford 1994): 1) These groups are displaced from the countryside to the city, and now facing a “double- displacement” due urban development.; 2) rural displaced persons, though not from the same areas or regions, share a collective memory about the countryside and their lives as *campesinos*; 3) as displaced *campesinos* living in the peripheries, they are viewed by the host society as naive, backwards and uncivilized. In addition, the displaced are further racialized and gendered since many are indigenous or Afro-Colombians, and women, and *campesinos* are treated as a separate ethnic group; and 4) their identity as displaced *campesinos* becomes a primary self- identification that persists no matter how long they have lived in the city, an identity firmly rooted to their connection to the rural “homeland. The rural displaced have been displaced from not only their rural “homeland” to the city, but, in the case of Medellín, they have also been displaced to the edges of the city.

Due to the stigma that comes with being displaced, and being segregated in the borderlands, the displaced are not seen as part of the city, especially a part of the Medellín Miracle. Coupled with the stigma of being displaced, lack of work and downward mobility, impoverishment is a reality for displacees (Cernea 1997). Resettling in the peripheries of the city, places the displaced in a further stigmatized

position of living in the borderlands which affects socio-economic opportunities. The shared experience of displacement, resettlement and urban incorporation, whether from the same place of origin, creates a collective memory of expulsion and social exclusion. The identity of being a “displaced *campesino*” was a key point of unity for the displaced as a group in exile, whether or not from the same region. As Clifford states, “The empowering paradox of diaspora is that dwelling *here* assumes a solidarity and connection *there*. But *there* is not necessarily a single place or an exclusivist nation” (1994: 322)

Thinking of the displaced as having diasporic dimensions disrupts national discourses about citizenship and belonging. The internally displaced do not cross international borders thus they are still members of the same political community. Scholars like Tubb (2006) challenge Arendt’s theories, arguing that though still legally citizens, the displaced can be deemed state-less since the state does not recognize and guarantee their rights as Colombian citizens and displaced persons.

Protracted states of displacement resulted in all my displaced interviewees, no matter how long they had resettled in Medellín, to still stubbornly hold on to the identities of *campesino* and displaced as primary identities, even for those who had some “success” in upward mobility post-displacement. As Clifford says, “People whose sense of identity is centrally defined by the collective histories of displacement and violent loss cannot be “cured” by merging into a new national community. This is especially true for when they are the victims of ongoing, structural prejudice” (p. 307). For displaced campesinos, they are frozen in the temporality of the past,

connected to the place-based memories of the displacement event, which, I argue, disallows them from psychologically viewing the future in the city as something to invest in.

The occupation of the peripheral Borderlands of Medellín creates the need to acquire a new consciousness, which I argue must be considered to fully understand why integration fails in Colombia. Following a feminist tradition of analyzing consciousness and everyday practice through ethnography (Smith 1987), the empirical findings of this study highlight the subjective experiences of displaced peasant women and men as valuable knowledge. This insight contributes to the scholarship on displacement, which is often examined through the lens of development programs and policy. In terms of understanding involuntary resettlement, recognizing the role of the affective outcomes of displacement, as related to the actions and reactions of displacees to the violence and trauma of war and expulsion, is critical for building approaches that will address the long-term effects of conflict induced displacement on migrant integration.

Displaced Consciousness

Drawing from W.E.B. Du Bois' (1903) *double consciousness* and Gloria Anzaldúa's *mestiza consciousness*, I develop the concept of *displaced consciousness*, to highlight the subjective consequences of war and displacement on the psyche of the displaced, who develop a new awareness of the world around them and how they see society perceive them. Displaced consciousness is experienced in three forms:

loss, nostalgia, and waiting. These elements of displaced consciousness are anchored on temporal and place-based memories of the rural past—of the *territorio*— that have a direct influence on the shifts in men and women’s identities from Good Campesino Citizens (belonging) to Failed Displaced Citizens (excluded).

The rest of the chapter will discuss how displaced consciousness is experienced by displaced campesinos in Medellín. I show how the displaced develop a double-consciousness, as campesinos and displaced, and citizen and partial citizens, who recognize that they are not accepted into the social fabric of the city.

Losses of the Soul

I met Rosana at another displaced woman’s home. She sleeps on the floor of her ex-husband’s aunt’s house with her two children, crowded into a two room apartment with ten other people. Rosana was displaced in 2008 by armed actors but she does not know exactly which groups they were from. She arrived to Medellín with her husband and two kid, not knowing anyone. They were able to find a room in a shelter for the first couple months and later they moved into his cousin's home. Rosana says she was too scared to register with the government as displaced, fearing that those who displaced her might find them in Medellín. This was a similar fear was expressed by other women. After six months in this situation, she found out that her husband was cheating on her and when she confronted him, he left her: “He had a whole other hidden family and he left us to deal with this life ourselves. For the past six years I have been staying with people, where I can, I can’t find my own housing since I don’t have any money.” Rosana relies on her ex’s aunt’s *rebusque*

and handouts to survive. Her children, daughters ages 9 and 14, have not been to school in over a year and a half. Rosana says it's hard to put them in school since their living situation changes frequently. Throughout the eight months that I visited the apartment, I always found Rosana at the house watching TV with her children, their lives on perpetual pause.

Displacement is violent and traumatic moment that ruptures a person's life "as it was," creating, what I argue is a "freeze" in time at the moment of violence and expulsion; this moment now structures the future trajectory of women and men's lives. Arrival and resettlement in the city is a daily reminder of their past since their reason for being in the urban is due to expulsion from the rural. As a displaced leader told me: "We did not chose to be here. We are here because we had no other choice." In addition to the material losses, the subjective losses also encompass a loss in control of their present and future. Displaced persons experience a sense of loss due to an affective rupture with place—the territory and land— that uproots their understanding of "home" and their connection to the nation-state.

Interviews revealed that women went through an initial mourning period when they arrive to the city, an anguish at feeling like a stranger and being looked at by others in society. Lorena, a 52-year old Afro-Colombian woman, explains how she felt after arriving to Medellin:

How do we re-root? Return to know again? You feel like a permanent stranger. Who can you talk to? Who can I trust? Who is my enemy? Can I re-establish relations in order to re-root? How do people see me when they know I am displaced?

Lorena's remarks highlight the multiple losses she experienced as she transitioned from rural citizen to displaced subject. Her comments show her struggle over understanding her new position in the world, of her identity and epistemology, of her loss of community and security, and revealing her anxiety over how people view her as a displaced person.

Displaced persons expressed feeling insecure living in the peripheries that have been, and continue to be, sites of urban conflict between gangs. This resulted in feeling a loss of security where they live which entailed a delicate maneuvering of the neighborhood when the violence increases:

Do I feel secure in this neighborhood? One does not feel secure anywhere, *hija*, only in death (laughs). About a year and a half ago, after 6pm you could not go outside, the violence was bad, but now it has relaxed a bit, it has changed.

Criminal gangs, many composed of demobilized paramilitaries, are the main source of inter-urban displacement, extortion, and crime in Medellín. The violence ebbs and flows. For example, in 2011 the barrios were particularly violent and I could not enter the area due to safety reasons, when I return in 2014, the gangs, or "combos," had made a peace pact and violence was down. However, when I returned to the field in the summer of 2016, the combos were at war and, again, I could not enter the Comuna 3 or 8.

Displaced peasants also expressed a loss of belonging to the nation. Stigma and discrimination from the receiving society, especially for Afro-Colombian women,

made socioeconomic integration difficult:

So, then at least sometimes you go to job...well, to look around for a job and something due to being *moreno* (black), they will not give you a job. Because *morenos* are this and that, no. Because the bad people are white...but when there is racism, you are not going to look the character of others, no, you look at the color to put them as less than you (Mari, 34 years old).

Mari's interview reveals that Medellín society views her, as an Afro-Colombian displaced women, as a problem (De Bois [1903] 2014). For other women, resettlement is difficult because the same agencies that are supposed to aid them are treat them with suspicion and women feel like social workers victim-blame them for their socio-economic situation:

Here the people who attend you they should tell you things well! They need to attend you well. The thing is the Victim's Unit is, well, the things of, of the government are very corrupt. They treat you very badly and what, you can't do anything. Look, when I arrived they sent me to the Red Cross because they said they would help with emergency aid. I arrived there and they began to investigate a bunch of things, a bunch of questions and the ladies that entered the office, well one came out and said, no, that I was not displaced, that I was not a displaced person and they didn't give me anything.

Women and men expressed a feeling of loss of belonging, as both farmers and citizens, and lamented that they could not return to their rural homeland.

Nostalgia and Longing

All displaced persons interviewed, though not from the same region or area, held a collective memory of their lives in the countryside, a longing for a simpler time based on an imaginary that frames their memory of the countryside, pre-displacement, as utopic. Interviews with displaced person revealed that they longed for their past life, a life they now equated with abundance, safety, and self-

sufficiency. Interviews revealed that women and men yearned for the rural past and their lives as farmers. Here Pedro expresses feeling of nostalgia due to not be able to return: “Well, yes, because that is very hard, having to come, well, from your land where you had it all and to lose all of that, supposedly. We made the intent to return, but no one could enter. Supposedly, those who left could not return, so there it is.” I found that nostalgia and longing were made stronger by the prospect of not being able to return. However, this did not loosen the connection that people held to displaced and campesino as their primary identities. While perhaps seen as limiting in the urban, and unable to full practice agricultural skills like in the countryside, the campesino identity was one of pride for interviewees. Yet, this identity also sustains the displaced’s nostalgia for the rural past, even after more than a decade. Below Carlos, who was displaced 12 years ago express this sentiment:

Interviewer: Tell me about your years resettling in Medellín?

Carlos: Let’s say that hard, you come from the countryside to the city, the truth is that you miss it a lot and it is hard for one who was a campesino, or that is a campesino. It’s hard, yes, for one to adapt to the city, and that is counting all the time we have been here already.

Waiting

The third element of displaced consciousness is waiting, the experience of living in a perpetual “pause.” After explaining the concept of displaced consciousness to Mayra, I asked her about what she thought it felt like:

Waiting, for reparation of life, of feelings, beyond the material. It is a psychological waiting, I can’t get the conditions to help my children and family, who will help me?

Waiting is associated with a prolonged period of anticipation and disillusionment of receiving aid or help to better an individual's or household's social-economic conditions. Waiting is feeling stuck in an "in-betweenness," between the daily remembering of the past and the unsure future. Waiting is also related to work, or lack thereof, and inability to contribute through valued, and sustainable, labor, which differs between men and women.

I found that the psychological "pause" is gendered, experienced differently for men and women as related to their ability to contribute and provide to the household. Women experience an Active Waiting, and men a Stagnated Waiting. Women's increased spatial mobility between the private and public spheres allows more chances for interactions with other displaced persons in the community or at aid agencies, with state actors, and the urban society. These interactions bring more potential opportunities for creating networks, receiving resources, and/or knowledge for household subsistence. Because the household depends on the displaced woman, while she waits for the "reparations of life," she has to actively be working her *rebusque* for family survival. Men experience a Stagnated Waiting, which means that how they respond to the prolonged socio-economic stalling, is by becoming passive—do not attempt to seek work—since they feel disillusioned to not be able to work. This is also related to their inability to use their agricultural skills and their exclusion of the formal labor market, that makes them dependent on a female partner. Many men I encountered during field work in the informal settlements stayed at home, but they did not help with domestic or care work for the family. In addition, men also

depended on the woman to seek aid. For example, during surveys, I asked participants if they had applied and/or received aid, and what the process of aid was like. The majority of men would say that they did not know because their wife or female partner did the rounds.

Even in household where the family had been favored by aid programs, and had experienced some degree of upward socio-economic mobility, did I find the same gendered experience of Waiting. For example, an older couple in their 60s, displaced 15 years ago, were lucky enough to arrive to Medellín and find a lady at the United Nations office who took them in. Luis David, the husband, told me that the woman was very kind and helped them with clothes, food, and a place to stay. She even found him a job assisting a gardener. From the interviews, this type of reception to the city was rare and a huge benefit for Luis David and his wife, Celmira. The couple did not have debts due to the help with their basic needs and access to some sort of employment opportunities so when their son arrived to Medellín, the family was able to give him a job connection and together they saved to rent an apartment.

Overtime, the barrio has been “normalized” and the shacks have been developed into 2-3 story concrete houses. Luis David and his wife are a part of an income-generating program and they show me a room in their home where they are storing the state-bought refrigerators, stoves, and ice machine for the store they want to run. When I visited the house, I sat with Luis David on the 2nd story terrace, looking over the street. He was happy to have been favored in the system to receive a subsidized apartment as a victim of the conflict, but he was groaning over the fact that

he knew that in the new housing project he could not sell from the apartment and survive since it was located in a poor and isolated neighborhood. He was looking for the possibility of someone helping them for rent on a bodega downtown. He kept asking, “Do you know someone in the mayor’s office? Maybe you can ask, if you know someone...” I asked what he did while he was waiting to see what the next step of his business was and he said that he was just seeing what would happen and hopefully someone would call him soon. About an hour later, his wife, Celmira came in. She was out of breath and said she had walked from downtown, which was about an hour walk. “Here she comes!” Luis David said, “She just came from her *rebusque*” he said both solemnly and with pride. Celmira emptied the pockets of her skirt and she handed me a *uchuva* fruit. She tells me about her daily hustle between the different markets downtown to ask for food or work. Sometimes she babysits for the neighbors. Since Celmira was the one who declared, applied, and has advocated for the household, I ask her about her interactions with state programs. She talks happily about being favored for housing but also is concerned about where their business can flourish best. She too is waiting to see what the next step will be, “*Vamos a Ver*; We will see.”

Conclusion

Chapter Six addresses both the economic and affective conditions or losses of displacement, and how they affect the long-term economic and social integration of internally displaced campesinos living on the peripheries of Medellín. I use Heckmann and Bosswick’s (2005) framework of integration to address economic,

social, and political elements of incorporation. Heckmann and Bosswick (2005) define migrant integration as “a generations lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society. For the migrants, integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards the immigration society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society” (Pg. 36).

I add two important extensions for understanding the particular experience of conflict-induced internal displacement. First, I highlight the role of gender as a power dynamic that determines how and to what degree men and women integrate. Second, and most importantly, I add to the literature on integration by emphasizing the subjective to demonstrate how people can be differentially integrated into some segments of society but feel excluded in others. Further, I assert that to understand why the displaced continue to identify as displaced, we must understand integration as a multifaceted process that includes economic, political, social, and subjective elements of migrant incorporation. Full integration of a marginalized group is important because it results in stability for the receiving community as well.

A key question the chapter addresses is how and why a group that has resettled in the city for five or more years, continue to see themselves as the displaced? I argue that continuing to identify as “displaced” and “*campesino*” is a result of protracted displacement which leads to differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003)

and failed integration. Displaced citizens' ability to make claims and contributions as political members are limited due to their place of origin, relationship to the conflict, agricultural labor skills and knowledge, lack of human capital, as well as gender and age. These factors directly affected displaced campesinos' opportunities for insertion in the socio-economic fabric of the city. Low levels of literacy, lack of job skills in the urban labor market, and segregation in neighborhoods in crime-ridden urban slums, pose further challenges to integration.

In the urban context, integration can involve insertion into society by obtaining training for sustainable employment in the city, living in racially and ethnically mixed neighborhoods—including areas resided by non-displacees or victims of the conflict—access to social and health services from clinics that give quick and thorough attention to clients, legal attention and protection, and inclusion in policies and programs that address the needs of vulnerable groups, such as women, children, Afro-Colombians and indigenous groups. Reception of the displaced is a crucial factor for long-term integration of the internally displaced since displacement and resettlement are associated with high risk of impoverishment (Muggah 2000; Cernea 1997).

State-based policies and programs approach integration based on linear, temporal bound, models of resettlement (Muggah 2000), concentrating efforts on emergency aid and income-generating programs (Hanson 2005) that measure “success” by the number of persons served or participants in state-led projects of integration, but funnel displacees into stagnated informal markets. These models of

resettlement do not adequately to consider programs that will train and insert the displaced into the formal labor economy and compensation that goes beyond material loss. For rural internally displaced women and men who resettle on the peripheries of Medellín, often alone, losses of family, livelihood, and networks, affect the psyche and create a new consciousness for how the displaced view themselves and the receiving community.

This chapter also explores the affective outcomes of expulsion and resettlement of displaced *campesinos* in Medellín, what I call *displaced consciousness*. I define displaced consciousness as a form of affective resistance that emerges from the experience of forced migration and subsequent exclusion, as a waiting, nostalgia, and mourning for a rural “homeland.” I contend that in order to understand the material *and* affective outcomes of displacement that displaced peasant women and men experience, resettlement programs must factor in the consciousness of the displaced and their perception of their situation. These programs are geared towards inserting the displaced into informal labor market, yet participants in these programs continue to feel excluded and often, even after being resettled for years, do not experience upward mobility (Ibáñez and Moya 2007). Distrust of state actors, stagnation in the informal market, and segregation in the peripheries of the city, along with feeling stigmatized and mistreated by state actors and the urban society, results in daily re-victimization, confirming sentiments of apprehension towards a psychological investment in making Medellín “home.”

I contend that examining protracted displacement and migrant integration helps us understand the particular socio-historical and geopolitical context of forced migration, and the role of the state, revealing the structures of power embedded in the process of migrant incorporation as a state-led project. War and displacement affects campesinos' ability to incorporate as a Good Urban Citizens of Medellín and they continue to identify as "displaced," even after years in the city, a signal of their status as partial citizen.

Chapter 7

Phase Four of the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration: Community-Building

I sit in a workshop of the *escuela interbarrial popular* (popular inter-neighborhood school), listening to a woman leader from the displaced community talk to a group of community leaders from different *barrios* across Medellín about the right for them to stay in their neighborhoods and resist eviction due to the planned implementation of urban development projects: “We, as *campesinos*, did not chose to be here. Our lives were in the countryside, where we worked with our hands, with the land and didn't have to beg the state to feed us. Now, after we have worked so hard for years to build this *barrio*, our homes, our community garden, they want to displace us again. They think we are stupid, but we are not. We are learning our rights and we must stand together.” The room, full of 50 or more people, most survivors of the conflict, rise to their feet, applauding in agreement...

Chapter Seven examines the last phase of the “life-cycle of forced migration,” highlighting what I call community-building, or political activism of the displaced as a collective form of integration to contest *double-displacement*; displacement first from conflict and now from urban development projects in Medellín that will eliminate “displaced” neighborhoods in the peripheries of the city. In previous chapters I have argued that the phases of the life-cycle of forced migration—namely displacement, resettlement, and integration—have resulted in displaced *campesinos*, living in protracted states of displacement. This is due to differential inclusion (Espiritu 2003) or failed integration, which has negatively affected the displaced’s sense and practice of citizenship (Oosterom 2016), a form of segmented citizenship. I found that integration fails because resettlement programs and policies in Colombia focus on short-term, individualistic, and monetary-based approaches rather than on long term solutions that would allow for people to find work in the formal urban

labor market. In addition, the displaced's own subjective experience with violence and expulsion, coupled with stigmatization by state actors and the receiving community, have resulted in the enduring identity of "displaced."

However, segmented citizenship has also spawned a resistance movement, pointed at state, and based on the displaced consciousness, which is an awareness that is the subjective outcome of expulsion—experienced as a prolonged state of exile, nostalgia, and loss. By focusing on a group of displaced community leaders who were key founders of *barrios* in the peripheries of Medellín, this chapter shows how displaced consciousness is utilized as a strategy—a type of oppositional consciousness (Talcott 2014)—by displaced leaders to build solidarity with other displaced persons to contest further expulsion from the nation.

I find that the process of founding a neighborhood teaches the displaced how to collectively organize, make claims to the state, and how to navigate the system of accessing aid. As more displaced persons settled in the area, the neighborhood grew and the founders acted as the receiving community. This process facilitated leadership skills as founders became experts in assisting arriving displaced persons with housing, food, and connections through established social networks. In addition, since the majority of leaders are women, not just in this research sample, but in grassroots social movements in Medellín as well, I draw from interviews with displaced women leaders to discuss the gendered aspects of community work, demonstrating both the benefits and limitations of this type of political activism on their decision-making processes.

Settlements represent how the displaced have rebuilt the territory, in community, on their terms, a form of grassroots development that highlights

campesinos' rural capital for urban resettlement. Using their identities as "displaced" allows peasants to signal their positionality as partial citizen while also demanding rights as victims of the conflict *and* Colombians. Their identity as "displaced *campesino*" also links them to the spatial and social context of the land as a means to claim the Right to the Territory.

I begin Chapter Seven by discussing double-displacement in the context of the Medellín, and how urban development projects will evict and eliminate neighborhoods of displaced communities. I then discuss the literature on the Right to the City to situate my argument that the Right to the Territory is a better approach to understanding the particular needs of territorial movements in the peripheries that are led by the displaced *campesinos* in Medellín. The next section discusses the empirical findings related to barrio-building and territory-building, and how these co-constitutive processes develop founder's leadership skills that, later, are used for political activism for defending the territory and making claims to the state. Next, I show how displaced consciousness is applied for coalition-building, fore-fronting the work of *La Mesa Interbarrial de Desconectados (MID)* or the Inter-Neighborhood Committee of the Disconnected, a network of various individuals and organizations, both on neighborhood and city-wide levels, that have displaced persons as key leaders and members. I conclude by discussing *MID*'s hosting of yearly popular school of political formation that centers the workshops on the premise that to defend the territory, one must know the territory. This chapter will demonstrate that while displacement does affect people's integration and sense of belonging to Colombia,

displaced community leaders utilize their new political awareness as partial citizens as a tool for asserting their new sense and practice of citizenship to resist double-displacement.

Double-Displacement

First it was the guerrillas and now we come up here with the illusion that we make our settlements, but they wouldn't let us because they are going to put in the green belt, a walkway, or whatever else, and the ten years we have worked there, what? So, it's a second displacement!
(Flor, displaced woman leader, Comuna 3)

During 2014, the displaced communities of Medellín were debating with the mayor's office and city council over the absence of proposals from the residents in the peripheral areas—sectors known to be inhabited by survivors of the conflict—for the new *Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial* (POT) or Territorial Ordinance Plan. The POT is a renewing municipal-wide plan which outlines and budgets the urban development projects in the city for the next 15 years (POT 2014). POT projects include *Parques del Río*, the development of parks along the length of the Medellín River, which runs through the middle of the city; an extension of the “metro cable” system; and *Jardín Circunvalar*, a green belt that runs across the eastern mountain range, on the *Pan de Azúcar* hill, above the city (Personería 2015). Two sectors of the city, the Comuna 3 and Comuna 8, sectors with the greatest populations of survivors of the conflict, was especially targeted for eviction due to the building of the green belt, and some residents had already been forcefully removed or were being threatened for refusing to leave the area on their own accord. Therefore, the trauma of displacement is relived once again, but under the guise of development.

The year 2014 was a strategic period for organizers to mobilize at multiple local and city-wide scales, especially because the World Urban Forum—held in Medellín that year—gave organizers an international platform to show the other side of Medellín as a “model” city. According to the Gini coefficient, which measures the income or wealth inequality of a nation, Colombia has one of the highest Gini in the Southern America region, and the city of Medellín has the highest in the country, even superseding the country of Colombia rates of inequity (El Tiempo 2015). As one of the richest cities in the region, winning prizes for innovation and sustainability, having such wide gaps of inequality show the contradictions of this “model” city.

Rebranding a Homicide Capital

Field Notes: April 4th, 2014

I sit with German gazing over Medellín from atop the Santa Elena mountain range to the east of the city, interviewing him about his experience being displaced by the Colombian conflict and now fighting against being evicted from his neighborhood due to urban development. “Who is in control of the city’s renovation that is going on,” I ask. “Capital,” he says, rubbing his fingers together to signal he is talking about money. “Capital, *capitalismo*,” he continues as he points to the city below...

Over the last seven years, entities like ProAntioquia, a private foundation of city boosters from the corporate sector, have worked closely with the government in Antioquia to rebrand Medellín by investing millions of tax dollars into greening projects and aggressively inviting new foreign entrepreneurs and developers to the city. The re-branding of this once homicide capital was key to address the development needs of Colombia. The city is a site of economic growth and

globalization, influenced by migration flows, which urges us to look at the subnational as a national project (Greenberg 2008; Brenner and Theodore 2002). Medellín as a new global city attracts foreign investment as a major mode of re-development via urban greening and transportation projects, a strategy of global competition. As capital is more mobile, development gets defined as participation in global economy. Therefore, the rebranding the crisis city of Medellín to modern urban “miracle” is a process of boosting investment for economic growth, not just for the region but for the country (Greenberg 2008; Brenner and Theodore 2002). However, the accumulation of capital by those in the corporate, finance, technology, and real estate sectors in Medellín has occurred at the expense of further displacements via housing and public space reforms (Harvey 2004; Brenner and Theodore 2002).

Production of Space in the Borderlands

Chapter Seven draws from two theoretical approaches, Lefebvre’s (1991) *Production of Space* and Anzaldúa’s (2007) *Borderlands*, to think about community-building as a collective process of integration that is connected, mediated and understood through constructing and defending of what the displaced leaders in Medellín call “The Territory.” I apply the concept of the production of space to the borderlands to demonstrate how place and landscape influence subjectivity—both in the countryside and the city. The approach of the production of space helps ground my analysis of political activism of the displaced as a response to segmented

citizenship by understanding the territory as an ongoing material and social production and reproduction of place and space. As I argued in Chapter Six, the areas of the peripheries of Medellín represents as a borderland, both geo-political and psychological, as Anzaldúa (2007) describes, a place where the prohibited and exiled inhabit. However, I argue the here, in the Borderlands, is where displaced consciousness develops as a form of possibility. I draw from W.E.B. DuBois' double consciousness, Gloria Anzaldúa's (2007) mestiza consciousness, and Jim Clifford's (1994) discussion on diasporas as a borderlands' methodology (Segura and Zavella 2008) for understanding how displaced *campesinos* make connections between *there* (the rural "homeland") and *here* (the peri-urban borderlands of Medellín) as a strategy for coalition-building and producing space to resist erasure in the city.

The Right to the Territory

David Harvey's work takes a critical look at the accumulation of capital in constructing and transforming the city, and how the rise of the neoliberal state has led to the dispossession of those that live on the peripheries of the city, both physically and socioeconomically (Harvey 2004). While Harvey (2008) has called for the Right to the City for the inclusion of marginalized communities in the city, this approach does not fully explain the historical, spatial, and social relationship of internally displaced *campesinos* to the urban. The Right to the City assumes that urban residents are already feel and want to be a part of the city and are struggling to stay. What this approach assumes are static understandings of who comprises the urban citizen. This

assumption is problematic since it does not take into account the modes of differential citizenship (Holston 2008) and inclusion (Espiritu 2006) that shape who is and who is not perceived as an acceptable urban citizen by the receiving Medellín community. Rural forced migrants in Colombia have a distinct relationship to the city itself. They live in the urban but within a different context and connection, and with distinct relationships, opportunities, and limitations, that have been influenced by the processes of displacement, processes that affect place and the (re)making of individual and collective identities of national belonging. I assert that theories of the Right to the City does not go far enough for understanding the social and affective outcomes of these spatial interactions for displaced subjects. Rather, a perspective that takes seriously the Right to the Territory—understood as interrelated spatial and social relations built from the land— serves as a better approach for understanding the geographic and temporal dimensions of displacement for an analysis of the formulation of identities based the rural *and* urban. These identities, of “displaced,” are formulated and connected to the destruction and production of place and territory—a necessary approach for understanding displaced *campesinos*’ sentiments of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state. To this aim, an analysis of displaced persons in Medellín and the role of the urban in the integration process must include the presence of the countryside by de-centering the city in order to fully understand the city itself (Krause 2013; Merryfield 2011).

My analysis of migrant integration and political activism of displaced *campesinos* draws from both the rural and urban, centering the intersection and

overlap of the countryside and city as my site of analysis (Angelo 2016; Merryfield 2011). The territorial movements led by displaced *campesinos* in Medellín are neither rural or urban movements, rather, by using the concept of “territory” and the identity of “displaced,” leaders draw from the spatial-temporal moment of the phase of rural displacement—the onset of Displaced Consciousness—as a strategy of contesting double-displacement in the Medellín.

In this urban context, how do people challenge institutional forms of development, while creating alternative claims to citizenship to contest displacement? The site of the city creates a backdrop for a new urban citizenship that urges alternative practices for making claims for collective rights to territory through building the *barrio*. As Holston (2008) states in his discussion of insurgent citizenship of *favela* dwellers in Brazil, “The development of the auto-constructed urban peripheries [has] thus produced a confrontation between two citizenships, one insurgent and the other entrenched” (p. 6). Utilizing the dual strategy of making claims as victims of the conflict and Colombian citizens, leaders demand that they be included in defending the barrios they founded while also push forth new proposals for urban development in their sector.

Displaced Community Leader

This chapter focuses on the research conducted with rural displaced leaders in three different areas of Medellín; Comuna 3, Comuna 8, and Ciudadela del Occidente—a city-subsidized housing project for displaced persons, some who were

evicted from their barrios as well. Within these comunas I focused on the barrios in the peripheries to examine the resettlement and integration of rural displacees. Research in these areas is important because 1) these areas have not been thoroughly researched since they are informal, have just been “recognized” by the city, and/or have a majority population of the displaced; 2) these barrios are located in the peripheries of the city in communities of displaced peasants; 3) residents in these areas are battling a “double” displacement—being displaced from the countryside to the city, and now facing eviction due to development projects; and 4) in spite of multiple challenges, there is an understudied grassroots movement by displaced persons in these neighborhoods who are resisting forced evictions. As I argued in Chapter Six, these *barrios* on the edges of the city are borderlands, both geographically and psychologically, inhabited by communities in exile. Displaced leaders, the majority of whom are women, that populate these areas have applied a displaced consciousness as a manner of connecting with other displaced *campesinos* to claim “space” and their right to the territory in the city.

Drawing from interviews and participation observation with a variety of local and comuna-level leaders, groups, and organizations, I argue that rural displaced leaders and members of grassroots urban social movements in Medellín have incorporated a displaced consciousness, one that is hinged on their experience as being displaced and being a *campesino*. Further, since these peasants occupy a borderlands, they have constructed a new consciousness as a survival strategy and as a way to build community. Displaced leaders utilize a collective memory and trauma of displacement from the countryside, and their shared experiences of exile and

exclusion, and connect their subjective experiences to global processes and phenomena: policy, like Plan Colombia and Victim's Law, and the effects of the rise of the neoliberal state, which has privatized resources, like water, and opened the door to waves of foreign investment and companies, such as in real estate and technologies, altering the layout and culture of Medellín. Making these links make possible cross- *barrio* solidarity with other displaced communities, and using their expertise—as fellow displaced peasants—to teach each other about the territory—a set of relations and representations—in order to fight for their right to the territory. For these displaced leaders, knowing the territory *is* resistance to re-victimization, eviction, stigma, loss, exclusion and segmented citizenship.

During 2011 fieldwork I met a group of displaced leaders who I stayed in contact till I returned to Colombia in 2014. Of my total sample of fifty-eight displaced participants, I interviewed twelve displaced community leaders, eight women and four men. This group emerged through interviews with displaced persons in Medellín, and I noticed that there were strong social movements and political activism from within the displaced community. I realized that experience of integration of community leaders was unique. Though there were other people interviewed and surveyed who had participated, now or in the past, in organizations, I highlight these twelve respondents because they had founded *barrios* in Medellín, were involved full time in community work, widely known for their leadership, and involved at local, city-wide and even national-level organizations and groups. The experience of women leaders is particularly interesting because, except for one woman whose family were community leaders in the rural place of origin, women in

this sample did not become civically involved until after displacement.

The following sections on barrio and territory-building demonstrate how these collective processes of producing place during resettlement via settlements, results in the development of key leadership skills for displaced to (re-create “space” or territory in the city as a community of partial citizens. Additionally, I found that community engagement during resettlement, like through founding a neighborhood, often results in higher probability of political participation at larger scales, which facilitates, strengthens, and sustains the displaced’s social networks, personal investment, and integration, in the receiving community.

Barrio-Building

Since the era of *La Violencia*, a civil war between 1946-1966 (Roldán 2002)—considered the beginning of the current Colombian conflict (Palacios 2006; Roldán 2002)—displaced peasants began resettling in the peripheral areas of the mountain ranges above Medellín, the driving force behind the informal development of the city since this period (Hylton 2007). Juan, a 65-year old mestizo leader, who resettled in Medellín twenty years ago, is part of that force that helped found Barrio La Fé, a more established neighborhood in the Comuna 8. Neighbors call him, *El Alcalde* (the Mayor), which they joke about behind his back. However, Juan takes pride in this title since he knows that people come to him for advice and guidance for navigating city hall with claims or demands since they know he is part of the JAC. Juan gives me a tour of the barrio, walking me up and down the steep steps that run vertically up the mountain range to meet neighbors. Juan tells me about how he

become the founder of a settlement:

Everything started when we began the process of petitioning our status as displaced. There was a group of us who met at the United Nations, and we began saying, why don't we begin a settlement, a neighborhood. Some people said, what, up there? No way! A leader came out and said, "It's that I live there in that barrio and there is a very large terrain, come on! We are going to take over that land." Everyone said, yes! And that's when it started. With ten families from different places that we found each other through the process of going to the United Nations. As we ran into people [making rounds for aid] we told them, hey, come make your shack up there! And from there we started building, started building...and now we are a settlement with like, 1000 families, or more!

Juan's quote highlights the importance of social networks, of "finding each other," as a new community. It represents a moment of collective agency in the process of resettlement that does not have to rely on the state. As informal settlements grow and the population rises, the *barrio* can, if approved by city, begin a process of "normalization," or a formalization process of developing the area to become a city-recognized neighborhood. Normalization of the neighborhood means that the residents and city agree to work together to create infrastructure, such as roads and sewers, and providing services like water and electricity, and begin a dialogue for civic participation of the community. However not all *barrios* are eligible to be normalized. Neighborhoods, such as La Llegada in the Comuna 3 or El Oriente in the Comuna 8, are considered "invasions" in "high risk" zone—that is, areas on vertical mountain ranges that might be susceptible to landslides—they are not recognized by the city, thus the city is not obligated to connect services or help with the building of infrastructure in these area.

To begin the process of normalization, the residents need to first assemble a neighborhood committee, called a JAC or *Junta de Acción Comunal* (Community

Action Committee), choosing leaders⁹ to act as intermediaries between the neighborhood and the city council and other government agencies. The JAC becomes a part of the municipal city program called *Presupuesto Participativo (PP)* or Participatory Budget which sponsors town-hall meetings between the city council and the community allowing for residents to interact, ask questions, and put forth proposals in front of government officials. The PP also sponsors and accompanies neighborhood committees, offering community support for resources during the neighborhood formalization process and beyond. Susana, a 54-year old woman, who with her husband were key founders of Barrio La Fé, discusses the development of the barrio since it was founded 18 years ago, in particular the process of barrio-building in creating community for arriving displaced persons:

Interviewer: So, everyone in your community is displaced?

Susana: We have everyone, everyone is displaced. It is a community of the displaced. It just has changed a lot over the years, it has developed a lot, it has advanced, and some people are more advanced than others...some people are good, some people are still really struggling, this guy has a new roof, this guy doesn't, but we have all evolved. When we first started, we were like 300 families with shacks of wood with plastic on top and now we all have our houses of brick, with kiosks and everything. But there we still are the same known people of the neighborhood, when you are passing, "Hey neighbor, hey friend, how are you doing?" Because we are always there, there, there, the same neighbors for the last 18 years. This helps a lot, being there, is that trust, that knowledge of who is around you, who you can depend on.

This sense of community, built through the founding of the neighborhood, has facilitated the building of the territory.

⁹ The term leader, or *lider*, is used by the community in Medellín to distinguish people who are involved full-time as organizers in community and political organizations and social movements in the neighborhood and/or city.

Territory-Building

Barrio-building and territory-building go hand in hand and are co-produced yet are distinct processes. While building the *barrio* refers to the material production of place, that is, the development of the land, neighborhood, homes, etc., territory-building means the production of spatial and social relations that also shape cultural, economic, environment, and support relations and representations built from the land. Maria Elena is a 39-year old mestiza woman who was displaced by guerrillas from a region two hours from Medellín. She has become a local celebrity in the activist community in Medellín for mobilizing her *comuna* to demand that the displaced sit at the table with urban activists and city developers. Maria Elena has organized aggressively against the implementation of the POT, demanding that her community stay in the territory as part of their rights as displaced citizens. Here Maria Elena discusses how she helped with the process of barrio-building but was not so concerned with territory-building, or leadership work initially:

I arrived to the barrio and I started to build my house. In that time, my focus wasn't doing leadership work, well, I mean, I was working on building the territory but that wasn't my focus. My focus was on my family, and the kids, now, after a time, due to contesting the politics of the city and administrations that were trying to evict people from the barrio, using the police and ISMAD, it hit me, like, hey we need to organize ourselves to fight this. After we were forced to move to Medellin, due to the conflict that we had to because the government doesn't care about our security and now, here, we have the chance to even lift up four sticks with plastics to live in with our children, well, it's better this than living under a bridge.

Here Maria Elena talks about how through the material-construction of place she, in

avertedly built the territory.

Next, Marla Elena discusses how the founders became more politicized, moving from solely focused on settlement-building to demanding collective rights as both displaced and citizens and to develop and protect the territory:

...we started with a small group, a small group of people from our sector, and we made the Junta de Acción Comunal, and it went growing, growing, until we became a part of the comuna, and we said, hey, we need to think about residents who are victims. We are here not because we want to be. We are here because we had to, and due to that, we need to position ourselves as a group that have rights and we need to demand them as a group. We have rights but we have to defend them, and after we defend them we have to have them recognize them and guarantee them. From there we began organizing, not only with the neighborhood JAC, but with others on the local development committee to construct the development from our community, “how do I dream my neighborhood to be, how do I dream my comuna will be, how do I dream as a victim living in this city.”

Maria Elena also makes the connection between making claims as a Colombian and their rights as citizens *and* victims of the conflict:

We are Colombians and under the constitution we have the right to three things, housing, food, and the political process. I am Colombian but with the thing that I am a victim so I need to have a different focus so that they will attend me and have preference.

Maria Elena is aware that her national membership, due to being displaced, has a new meaning. Her sense and practice of citizenship are now entwined with her victimhood, limiting her ability to exercise her full rights as a Colombian, but also opening new rights on the basis of her subordinated social status of “displaced.”

Benefits of Leader Work

Since leaders understand what it means to be a displaced peasant, founders took in people, and the process helped leaders develop leadership skills for building

the territory, and later defending it. Susana feels pride for being able act as an intermediary between the community and city hall: “I go to city hall, I go to the meetings, I bring back information to the neighborhood, I take people there and here.” She now takes part in the PP where the “leaders are given spaces in city hall to listen, make proposals, listen to proposals, interchange with people from city hall, with other companions, carrying out projects, and they discuss and debate them and there they take them to the neighborhood.” Susana says that this process does help and it is the only space where displaced persons have a space in city hall to debate and push forth proposals from the community. It is the only thing that she sees, as a leader, where, in her opinion, that a displaced person can contribute to the community. In the barrio where she is a main organizer, she says there is a specific platform that they have, which was formed through thinking about the approximately 5,500 families, that are victims of the conflict and live in the comuna:

Our platform has three specific lines, three lines, like I was telling you, that the government must follow through with, victims or not. The three lines are housing, generation of food security, and generation of income. Those three lines are accompanied with other activities, other projects, other strategies. We had to think through, how did each line connect with each other? So, thinking, ok, how many homes do we want to build? How many homes are going to be for victims? How many need to be renovated? How many need to be legalized?”

Susana also critiques the income generating programs that focus on informal rather than local, formal sustainable employment: “In terms of generating income, how can you count the measly pesos made by being a street vendor? No! Let’s not talk about making new street vendors but about how we can generate income, sustainable, within our communities.” Working on the project of contesting and offering new proposals for the POT while making connection to human development is important

because these lines connect the community and the government. In the group, working with the committee of victims, housing, and local development, they are able to use their position as victims of the conflict and citizens to state their needs and push forth proposals from the perspective of the displaced community.

However, Susana also acknowledges that some people see PP and community work as helpful, some people don't. She says that people become jealous when they can't be a part of projects and opportunities so they attack you. But the good outweighs the bad, in her opinion:

...you feel the negativity from people, just like you (pointing to me) who said, great job, *vecina*! You feel good! I feel there is community and that there is people who treat me with dignity. People are energies, we feel that negative and bad but we feel the positive too. Like with you, I felt the positive energy went I met you!

Lastly, Maria Elena discusses why they have a right to the territory, particularly for building a community and place of belonging for displaced *campesinos*:

We, as victims, when we arrived to the [*barrios*] identified, eh, that this can be a way to return to the countryside, reintegrate ourselves to a new society, a community, which is what one loses when you have to leave the territory...and we defend this territory because we feel it like it is part of us. We feel that this territory, opened its doors to us when the city closed them to us....so while this is happening the community grabs [the displaced] and says you count and embrace them as part of us, the countryside, the land, the pure air (laughing) unfortunately, the air isn't 100% pure, but we find a space to breathe. That has been something very beautiful because when you look up at the peripheries you know that the residents are victims, and who do you see? Trees, mountains, and who is up there? Us.

In this context we see how leaders like Maria Elena perceive their sense of belonging to the nation, and how it has resulted in a new political awareness that they use to contest segmented citizenship, via rebuilding and defending the territory, which has served to build their own spaces of inclusion at the margins of Medellín.

In the next section I discuss the experience of displaced women leaders, who are the majority of leaders in the territorial movements in the peripheries. I demonstrate the benefits and limitations of territorial activism, which affects women's decision-making processes at personal, household, community, and societal levels.

Gender and Civic/Political Participation

Sandra and I sit on her brick-covered terrace above her concrete house, looking over the Medellín, talking about being displaced and the development of the neighborhood where she lives. She is an Afro-Colombian woman from Turbo, Antioquia, 37 years old, single mother with two teenage children. She was displaced from northern Antioquia after her husband escaped a massacre by paramilitaries, coming to Medellín eighteen years ago. Sandra invites me up to her neighborhood, Barrio La Fé, to show me the neighborhood she helped found, which has been formalized and now has paved roads, concrete homes and brick buildings, small corner stores, and a school. She proudly tells me that they have all the services, electricity, water, and even internet, the only service they do not have is a formal city-run sewer system. I ask her how she became a leader and she tells me that she was not always "outgoing, motivated, driven." Sandra says that in the past, if her now ex-husband would have told her to sit in a chair and not move, she would not move. But she says that although her husband became abusive after displacement, she learned how to be a leader by watching him:

My husband became a leader in the JAC, I became the first lady, apparently (laughing), and through that whole juridical, neighborhood, and leadership,

there was so many things learned, that now, with all those things learned, and everything that has happened with the father of my children, now, well, that which is learned cannot be hidden...you learn, you see, and you can no longer stay quiet. I watched over the years how my husband was a community leader, how he led, his gestures, how he talked...that neighborhood started from nothing, and now it is elegant!

Though they ended their relationship ten years ago, Sandra says she learned from her husband's leadership in this process in founding Barrio La Fé and was later able to participate as a leader herself. Sandra attributes her current community engagement and leadership in the Medellín Afro-Colombian community to the process of *barrio* building, which aside from teaching her leadership skills, gave her the opportunity to participate in government workshops on psychosocial topics related to her rights as a human, woman, displaced *campesina*, and Colombian citizen.

Leadership and knowledge of rights acts as a tool of empowerment for displaced women to be active agents in their lives, influencing how they perceive their situation as forced migrants. Celia is a 39-year old mestiza women from Uraba who arrived to Medellín after being displaced, kidnapped, sexually violated, and losing her husband. When she arrived to the city she sought aid at the United Nations and met other women from her area who had been displaced. Through these connections she met a woman who was involved with an organization of women who had suffered violences due to the conflict. Celia, is now one of the most active women leaders in local and city-wide organizations in Medellín, some with national and international networks. I ask her how her community activism has helped her resettle in Medellín:

Because it is like a tool, because everything that we had to live through and still having to keep pushing ahead and have resistance until the end! Having this tool like a foundation and it serves us a lot because we already learned what are our rights and we have learned to demand them like victims, like women...for us it serves as therapy, a therapy for what happened to us and what we share through our stories helps us...and why does it help us? Because one says that you need to tell everything so that other people find out the real truth behind our purpose.

Though Celia, her mother, and 5-year old daughter continue to live in an “invasion,” often times with barely enough money for bus transportation between meetings, her role as a leader has opened up other non-material benefits. Celia says she dreams of someday becoming a social worker, using her own life experience being displaced and her extensive community work, to work with other displaced women. She credits the organizations she has worked with for training her and laying the foundation for her current involvement as a leader which gave her the opportunity to complete her high school degree. In a follow-up interview in 2016, Celia says that she has been offered enrollment at the University of Antioquia, a prestigious institution in Medellín, to further her career goals. She told me that her home had been recently robbed of everything from the refrigerator to her important documents, including the high school transcripts she needs to register for classes. Celia remains undeterred: “I will get my bachelors, this is hard but I know this is my path.”

Though women leaders find more spaces to exercise their political agency through community work, they continue to be discriminated against due to being displaced *and* peasants. For indigenous women, who often self-settle with other community members, the process of integration post-displacement creates a break

from their cultural and traditional values, epistemologies, cosmologies, and livelihood. Sonia, a displaced indigenous leader from the eastern region of the country, talks about the discrimination indigenous people face in the city:

They think we are backwards, I, dumb because some of us don't speak Spanish, they throw rocks at us when we beg in the street, when we try to take the bus...When the city received us, they treated us as something temporary, feed us temporarily, while the national government is in charge to tell us, you are a victim, you are not a victim.

In order to receive government and humanitarian aid the Colombian government must first officially recognize you as a displaced. Once you have been recognized as displaced, you are registered in the system as “victim.” This label, I found, was problematic since “victim” became a primary element of their urban identity. In addition, women who participated in income-generating programs were segregated into jobs that were gendered, like making soap or secretary work. Though women may have strong ties and memberships to the community, they may not integrate into the economic or labor sectors, keeping them impoverished permanently and even generationally.

Challenging Gendered Household Politics

Women's relationship to the household often changes during resettlement due to their increased spatial mobility to carry out their duties of provider-ship and civic work. For the displaced women leaders interviewed, their roles as community leaders place them in positions where other displaced persons seek them out for advice and legal accompaniment, and their work requires them to be out of the house for much of

the day. This might lead to issues in the household, particularly if male partners or family members do not approve of the women's full time involvement and increasing popularity. This was the case in Luz Maria's household where her husband, son, and mother-in-law did not approve of her community work. She was in meetings every day, even traveling to Bogota on one occasion, and her husband, who sat at the table with us during our first interview in their apartment in 2011, was firmly against her role as community leader. "She should be here taking care of the house, taking care of me!" he exclaimed. Luz Maria smirked, waving her hand dismissively in his direction. She leaned into me, "I was not who you see now. I just took care of the home, kids, him, very submissive, quiet. I did not know my capacity till I was displaced."

Though Luz Maria's community work finds her absent from the home, her husband stays home taking care of the snack store that they run out of their subsidized apartment. Luz Maria's work on the municipal committee of the displaced gave her priority for government-sponsored housing, renovating the apartment, and later training and start-up funds as part of her participation in income-generating programs. Her husband was so traumatized after displacement, which killed their eldest son, that he was not able to leave the house for six months after arriving to Medellín. Determined to not let her family starve, Luz Maria searched for help through government programs and NGOS, meeting other displaced women in her same position, and becoming actively involved in legal advocacy, aware of how crucial it was for a *campesina* to have assistance navigating the bureaucracy of

applying for humanitarian aid and transitional justice programs. Since it has been Luz Maria who has ensured the survival of the household, and her community work has opened up opportunities for some degree of upward mobility, her husband, son, and mother-in-law may complain but they do not stop her.¹⁰

While women's spatial mobility and interactions between private and public spheres increases, women take on more duties for the survival of the household. As Maria Elena argues:

Las mujeres somos muy beracas! We women are remarkable! (laughing) We are remarkable because in the conflict, you start to do research, who carries the weight of the man? The woman. Who has to take care of the responsibilities of the household? The woman. Who is forced to leave their territory? For the women, she must take on these three roles, be mother, be father, find the food, find housing, services, everything, so us, as women, we must do this work every day, every day. What can I give, what can I do to find a solution to the immediate problem that I have now, like the issue of finding food, the issue of healthcare, the issue of education, the issue of immediate attention for her children...

Though civic participation adds another layer of responsibilities, women are dedicated to their work formulate strategies for navigating their absence at home. For example, Luz Maria will get up early and make food for the whole day, prepping the night before, and Sandra will leave her daughter with a neighbor so that her boyfriend does not complain, slipping him money for a beer when she leaves. For couples who do resettle in urban areas together, I found that there is a high rate of men who abandon the family post-displacement. This might be a result of feeling a loss of

¹⁰ Sadly, in 2014 when I visited Luz Maria, her son had been assassinated by the local gangs. Devastated, Luz Maria had stepped back from her community work, telling me that she had lost hope in her situation and future.

power as primary provider which is at the core of his masculine *campesino* identity (Escobar 2000). Male partners or family members do not stop women from their civic participation, but this is not a result of more egalitarian gender relations in the household. Rather, to ease any tensions that might arise due to their absence from the home, women leaders create new strategies—an added burden—to navigate the gender division of labor in the household and their community involvement.

Grassroots community support

Marta and Susana sit on the wooden front steps of Marta's home perched on the mountain side peering over the city, talking about the neighborhood they both helped found. The process of *barrio*-building is the resettlement process for these displaced women and founding a neighborhood opened up opportunities for them to help newly arrived displaced *campesinos*, giving Marta and Susana the chance to practice their leadership skills. Leaders learn to navigate the different agencies and departments of the government, identifying who to talk to, what forms and documents are required, and how much time the process might take. In addition, women become experts in where and how to access emergency and humanitarian aid since they are given priority in resettlement and transitional justice programs. Susana talks about the necessity of helping resettle new displaced *campesinos*:

Like I told her (pointing to md) when I invited her, this is a community of the displaced. We started with a number of families and over time more and more came...us being the first here we were able to help a lot because a person, when they are displaced, it is something really worrisome to know that a person was in the countryside, like we were in Urrao, that you were in your country home, your farm, your animals, your beautiful home...for a person to arrive, huddled with four or five families, without knowing how you are going

to live, what you are going to eat...so in this scenario it was something beautiful to be able to offer your home to arriving families while they resettled, to show them around, to give them a blanket.

By accompanying arriving displaced families, Susana and Marta found an empowering role that challenges assumptions of displaced women as solely “victims.” Women leaders use their institutional knowledge to help guide people to government aid agencies, fill out paperwork, in addition, to offering a place to stay, food, clothing and other necessities to arriving displaced *campesinos*. Barrio-building often resulted in women becoming active politically since they felt responsible for protecting their family, homes and neighborhoods from evictions and demolition by the city due to illegality or development projects.

However, the asymmetrical gender dynamics within the activist community of Medellín impede the participation of displaced women on a larger scale. Though women may be very involved in their local grassroots organizations, they rarely have a political voice on a formal city-wide stage, like in unions or political parties. This means that political participation does not lead to formal political participation, like in government politics. Local and grassroots organizations give women the opportunities for taking leadership roles, but due to not being strong institutional spaces, their proposals as displaced peasant women, often have low-impact on politics.

Society-level interventions.

Maria Elena talks about how the process of being a leader has helped her make demands of the Colombian government:

Just the fact of being alive, of surviving, to be a survivor, and when someone has to live the conflict, we [women] live it more, us, and damn, you notice that they uproot many things. You look around and when you arrive it takes a lot of time to come down to earth, a lot of time, but you eventually land and we learn much more about life, including learning to defend yourself with more force, especially in front of the government because the conflict is the responsibility of the government. So, for me, it gave me that strength, like, I have this right...the man that I put to govern us must guarantee this right, and if he is over there because the people chose him, it's because the people said, you swore to protect the integral security of all Colombians.

Maria Elena's leadership gave her the training and knowledge to demand her right to stay in her neighborhood that her community had built. As she repeatedly told me throughout the interview, *campesinos* do not want to be in the city, but due to the conflict—a problem of the state—they are present in urban areas; it is now the responsibility of the state to accompany a process, led by the displaced, to take care of its war affected citizens. The experience and survival of displacement serves as a moment of self-discovery, where women's capacities are expanded due to the urgency to provide for the household under traumatic circumstances. Taking on leadership roles and learning their rights operated as a mechanism for women to exercise political agency and become self-empowered in the process. These findings demonstrate that the context of reception is a crucial determinant factor in the resettlement process, influencing long-term integration.

The most serious backlash that women's leadership and activism has is on their safety. For example, Sonia's political work in indigenous councils, along with her father's and husband's, led to the assassination of both men and forced her to seek asylum in another country for many years. Maria Elena's work in the *barrios* became known on the city-wide and national levels when her rousing speech at a town hall

meeting to protest the POT was broadcasted on national news stations. Immediately after, she received death threats by criminal gangs for blocking the mega-projects set to be implemented in her comuna. These types of threats are not to be taken lightly: the systematic assassination of human rights defenders in Colombia is a known danger to these activists. TeleSur, a Latin American-based news network, reported that in the first half of 2015, one human rights defender was being killed every five days in Colombia (Telesur 2015). In spite of this real danger, displaced *campesinas* are overwhelming the majority of leaders in right to the territory movements in Medellín. The benefits of civic participation have healing benefits. Women have found spaces of belonging, a new purpose in life, and an opportunity to use their traumatic experience as a catalyst for personal rehabilitation. As Celia asserts,

A (female) companion told me that until the end, friend, until the end that it might cost me my life...because we have to denounce and not stay quiet due to the fear, that we remember, leaving the fear behind...you are a survivor, with wants and desires. I feel like this work is an opportunity that God gave us in this life.

She goes on: “In spite of everything, we have survived, displaced from everything...”

Interviews with displaced *campesinas* reveal that women experience some degree of change in their decision-making processes at the subjective, household, community, and societal level. Findings show that displaced women in Medellín have carved a political space for themselves to facilitate their resettlement, hone leadership skills, learn their rights as citizens and advocate for their needs and those of the displaced community. However, though these findings show that community engagement and political participation has been vital for building women’s interactive

ties to the receiving community, the civic participation of displaced *campesinas* is limited to particular political spaces that do not lead to structural transformation of gender relations at the household, community and societal scales. In addition, displaced *campesinas*' integration is shaped by the gender dynamics of the receiving urban community that have unintentionally promote the dependency of the household on the woman. Since resettlement programs prioritize women and children, this group is saddled with the extra burden of navigating government programs. Aside from lack of socioeconomic status and human capital, the stigma of displacement and gender-based discrimination intersect in negative ways that leave resettled rural women out of the economic and labor sectors, putting them at risk of lifelong and even generational poverty.

While women do experience limits to their agency during the process of conflict-influenced displacement, I found that community engagement and political participation establishes crucial networks for displaced *campesinas*' resettlement and interactive ties to the receiving community. Participation, membership, and leadership in civic organizations expands opportunities for women to exercise political agency by advocating on behalf of their community, that is, defending the territory. This process builds self-confidence, challenging assumptions about their "victimhood," and building their political capacity as a displaced, or partial, citizens. In addition, women leader's increased interaction with city programs and local government spaces make them known on a first name basis with city official, giving

them the chance to access additional benefits for their families, and make their claims to the Right to the Territory.

In the next section, I discuss the popular school of political formation of *La Mesa Interbarrial* who engage with cross-barrio community networks as a strategy of learning the territory. In addition, the organization uses these spaces to connect their experiences as an exile community in the borderlands as a form of applying the displaced consciousness for coalition-building.

Displaced Consciousness for Coalition-Building

Through my interviews with displaced leaders, I discovered that founding and building neighborhoods builds leadership skills and confidence that helped motivate their political activism and coalition-building with other displaced persons who were facing double-displacement. I argue that while displaced consciousness is experienced as loss, nostalgia and waiting, it also represents possibility. The shared experience of displacement, whether from the same place of origin or not, leads to a collective memory of being expelled from the rural, and thus a shared place-specific experience of expulsion and exclusion, a subjective awareness used by displaced community leaders as a point of unification. The peripheries where I conducted research are now facing a *double displacement*: first, due to conflict, and now due to urban development projects. The implementation of a “green belt” and extension of the metro cable system will evict residents in these areas, causing them to be dislocated once again. Facing another upheaval, and equipped with the tools for understanding the structural forces that have led to their precarious situation, these

leaders are utilizing a displaced consciousness by way of their collective memory of displacement and the rural “homeland” as points of unity with others who have also faced similar experiences as a method of defending the territory.

Leaders utilize collective memory and trauma to understand their shared experiences of exile and exclusion, using spaces like popular schools of political formation, to connect their personal lives to global processes. For MID, holding annual “*escuelas de formación política*” (schools of political formation) is key to ensuring that survivors of conflict can make the connections between the 50 plus year conflict, U.S. policy in Colombia, the rise of the neoliberal state, and their own situation. Understanding that the production of space is a product of social relations through the material production of place, I argue that the rural internally displaced community leaders, living in the barrios at the edges of the city of Medellín incorporate a displaced consciousness as both a survival strategy and form of coalition building among other rural displaced persons across Medellín.

Knowing the Territory: Escuelas de Formación

Starting in 2012, *La Mesa Interbarrial de Desconectados* began holding annual *escuelas* (schools) to develop and strengthen the political formation of its members. Many, if not most, of its members are survivors of conflict and live in popular *barrios* in the peripheries of Medellín. MID acts as a cross-city network between various individuals and organizations, both on the neighborhood and municipal scale. Most members are already considered leaders in their communities and use the MID as a place to strengthen the work they are already doing on urban

issues such as the right to water, electricity, sewers, and against forced eviction. The MID base their organizing on five approaches: 1) legal measures, such as lawsuits, petitions, and voting processes, and even submitting declarations to the United Nations to call attention to these local struggles as violations of human rights; 2) collaboration with other organizations that also work on issues that affect the marginalized communities in Medellín. This include NGOS, activists, artists, and professors and students from the local universities to collectively organize events, write proposals and reports, share the work and ideas; 3) direct action: marches, demonstrations, street art and theater, and other tactics like collectively organized squatting to protest eviction; 4) use of media and alternative network for circulating information into wider spaces. For example, one of the members is part of an alternative media group, a group that attends all events, taking pictures and filming events, along with interviewing event participants and community members. They also create interactive websites and bimonthly magazines and newspapers; and 5) organizing annual schools, or *escuelas*, focused on building leadership of its members so that they can strengthen their political formation and take the information back to their *barrios* and replicate the same work in their communities. This last point, the *escuelas* of political formation, is what I will discuss in the rest of the chapter.

According to *La Mesa*, in order to defend the to defend the territory, people need to know the territory. In this similar vein, the *Escuela Interbarrial por la Defensa de Nuestros Territorios* (The Inter-Neighborhood School for the Defense of our Territories) was founded. The purpose of the *escuela* is to facilitate a “socio-educational process to understand the dynamics of the territorial planning of the city, of housing and public services, looking for tools to understand the lived reality by

way of theoretical elements and practices that favor the construction of alternative solutions to dignify the lives of inhabitants, especially in popular sectors” (MID 2012, author’s translation). In 2014, the school of formation had four themes which related to the evictions and displacement due to urban development projects: 1) Spatial Planning; 2) Decent Housing; 3) Public Services and Utilities; and 4) Advocacy. Under each theme were sub-themes which were the topics of discussion for each of the eight-week long school: Session 1: Risk Mitigation; Session 2: Comprehensive Neighborhood Improvement; Session 3: Resettlement; Session 4: Evictions; Session 5: Aqueducts; Session 6: Sewers; Session 7: Mobilization and Art in Resistance; and Session 8: How to create political impact.

The *escuelas* were hosted each week for five weeks, organized in a different popular barrio, most in barrios in the peripheries of Medellín. Each session has the same format: a presentation by a grassroots organization or group that work on the theme being discussed that day, such as sewers, followed by a workshop by MID led by organizers, sometimes with professors, lawyers or researchers, who present key concepts and theories, making connections between the struggles and activism being done in the particular *barrio* and the structural factors that have resulted in their precarious situation.

After the presentations and workshop, the group takes a walking tour of the neighborhood, where the residents themselves lead the group, showing participants the area as a process of knowing the territory. An example: in Session 4, Resettlement, the *escuela* was held in a peripheral area far to the east of the city, an area that has been developed with state-built housing projects to resettle eligible

people who have been displaced due to conflict and development projects. These areas are sought after by displaced persons who qualify for government subsidized housing. Unfortunately, those who have been forced to involuntarily resettle from peripheral “displaced” neighborhoods, they continue to live in states of vulnerability. The presentations began with a rural displaced woman who lives in the housing projects and is part of an organization that is fighting for dignified housing. She told the audience of the reality of living in these housing projects, showing pictures of the housing units themselves, displaying shoddy workmanship; corroded pipes that continually leaked water and feces to the bottom floors; dangerous stairwells unlit and without handrails; and a lack of elevators and public spaces for children to play between concrete housing blocks. The woman said, “They have moved us from ‘illegal’ to illegal.” She meant that the city has evicted people from barrios in the peripheries deemed “illegal” by the city, to housing that are illegal by human rights standards. An added issue was the disconnection from the land that these housing units represented for *campesinos*.

In my interviews with rural displaced persons, I asked what did kind of help they need and wanted. Every single one of my respondents said housing. As I listened to the presentations at the *escuela*, seeing the pictures, then touring the housing projects myself, what stood out to me was hearing a woman say: “This is not a life. I can't even grow my tomatoes here.” For this woman, and many of the others in the group who had been displaced from the countryside and now in the city, existing in these housing projects, on the 10th floor, so disconnected from the land, from the territory, was another violence. This point is not understood by city planners who perceive these housing units as “progress” for *campesinos*. The peasant’s connection

to the countryside, to a life where they could produce their own food, have their animals, dictate their own labor process, was a continually longing that ran throughout my interviews with displaced persons. It was the mourning of this loss that I heard over and over from displaced *campesinos*, thus they shunned relocation to these housing units since it further exiled them from their ability to exercise rural practices and stay rooted in the territory they had produced. These workshops gave leaders the language to think through and comprehend what had happened to them, and what connected them as *campesinos*, across barrios. This form of knowledge-building was at the crux of the application of their displaced consciousness as a strategy of coalition-building.

After the tour of the housing projects, a group of older women, prominent leaders from the displaced community, and I stood overlooking the city, looking down into the downtown: “Yo no me voy a dejar!” said, Lidia, an older Afro-Colombia leader from Urabá, Antioquia. She lives in La Tomada, a barrio in the Comuna 3, that is currently in risk of eviction due to the Jardín Circunvalar, a green belt walkway being built on the western range of Medellín. The city has given her the eviction notice and have offered her a new place, but she lives with six dogs and cats, dear family members, and has chickens and a small garden that she uses for food or bartering. All the women in the group nod in agreement. Lidia continues: “They can't just give us *sopita*¹¹ and think we are okay with that. We are *campesinos*, we need the land...” Lidia's comments demonstrate that her refusal to be evicted from her barrio relates to her refusal to be displaced from her networks, mode of production, social,

¹¹ Medellín Solidaria used to distribute dry-packaged soup to families, and people refer to it as *la sopita*, or the little soup.

familial, and affective which are intimately tied to the land and her ability to continue living in the territory that she has produced. The other women in the group, who were not all from the same towns or regions, could relate to Lidia's comments, based on their shared diasporic-type identity as displaced *campesinos*. As Clifford says, “A shared, ongoing history of displacement, suffering, adaption, or resistance may be as important as the projection of a specific origin” (1994: 306). Facing another upheaval and expulsion, and with the tools of understanding the structural forces that have led to their precarious situation, these women are building a *desplazado*, or displaced, consciousness; a new political awareness as a survival strategy for resisting domination, exploitation, and further expulsion via forms of non-citizenship. Based on this, leaders are showing themselves as self-empowered agents, using their collective memory and traumas as points of unity with others who have also faced similar experiences. In this way, displaced leaders are applying a displaced consciousness, as partial citizens, to contest failed integration and to claim the territory in the city

The MID's approaches to territorial organizing, specifically, the school of political formation is a space where theoretical engagement with and for the marginalized displaced communities of Medellín can be used as a basis for social-justice centered praxis for defending the territory through knowing the territory. The ability to have spaces, like the *escuelas*, is an important and key theoretical exercise for the developing a critical consciousness for building alternatives to the current structures and epistemologies, and the possibility for healing, for those who continue to live in protracted states of displacement. As Said states, collective theorizing “makes it possible for the mind to know itself as subject not as a lifeless object, then

go beyond empirical reality into a putative realm of possibility (1983: 232).

Searching the realm of possibility is what comes to mind when I asked Lidia why, after being displaced, was she dedicate to community and political organizing:

[I am] trying to heal the losses of the soul, fighting for something that is the impossible but you cannot desist. It is a searching, constant, to be able to find possibilities, to be able to live with dignity.

Conclusion

This chapter draws from two theoretical approaches, Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space* and Anzaldua's (2007) *Borderlands*, to think about community-building as a collective process of integration that is connected, mediated and understood through constructing and defending of what the displaced leaders in Medellín call "The Territory. I use the concept of *displaced consciousness* as a borderlands' methodology (Segura and Zavella 2008) to emphasize how rural displaced persons make connections between "there" (the rural "homeland") and "here" (the borderlands of the peripheries) which has differential outcomes for community engagement through the construction of the barrios and the defense of the territory as a mode of community-building.

This chapter engages with the framework of displaced consciousness to trace the subjective understandings of marginalized communities as excluded subjects and how they navigate and resist their status of partial citizen in everyday life. What I add to typologies of consciousness is an analysis of the spatial-temporal dimensions of displacement, taking into account the formulation of identities based the rural *and* urban—an outcome of destruction and production of place and territory—as

necessary components for understanding displaced *campesinos*' sentiments of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state.

Displaced consciousness highlights both the losses of displacement *and* a new awareness of possibility. Based on a collective memory of displacement from a rural homeland, displaced consciousness represents a potentiality, an opening for exercising their rights as displaced citizens of Colombia. I highlight women leader's perspectives as a necessary feminist intervention to demonstrate the benefits and limits of political activism on women's decision-making process and long-term integration.

Thinking of the internally displaced as an exile group with diasporic dimensions (Clifford 1994) disrupts national discourses about belonging, demonstrating the fragility of national citizenship when dismembered by war, displacement, and state policy (Coutin 2016). The internally displaced do not cross international and geographic borders, and they are still members of the same political community, yet due to their continued exclusion from urban life, many feel like they have become non-citizens. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the status of partial citizen and the political awareness of displaced consciousness is strategically utilized by displaced *campesinos* to contest failed integration and to claim space as expelled subjects *and* Colombian citizens.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The dissertation examines the failed integration of internally displaced persons in Medellín, Colombia, and how the displaced contest their status as partial citizens. I address the primary puzzle of this case, which asks, how do internally displaced persons end up resembling international refugees in their own country? To address this puzzle, the research asked two specific questions: 1) Why is integration failing in Colombia?; and 2) How are displaced peasants contesting failed integration? I find that integration fails because of inadequate state aid and attention, stigma and discrimination from the state and receiving community, stagnation in the informal labor market, segregation in precarious informal settlements, and the displaced's own subjective experiences with violence and trauma.

Life-Cycle of Forced Migration

My project analyzes the influence of displacement on integration and citizenship in Colombia through what I call the *life-cycle of forced migration*. The dissertation uses the life-cycle of forced migration as an analytical approach to examine processes related to displacement overtime. It also offers a framework for analyzing displacement beyond a single event. Instead, I examine internal displacement as a life-long process that links displacement, resettlement, integration, and community-building, providing a multistage understanding of the processes of

citizenship and belonging, from the perspective of the state *and* the displaced. Theoretically looking at incorporation like a life-cycle allows us to examine the processes *inside* incorporation related to belonging and citizenship, specifically, the layers of socio-economic and political integration as mediated by the state. By employing this framework, the thesis shows how, over the phases of the forced migration life-cycle, displacement negatively affects peasants' sense and practice of citizenship (Oosterom 2016) which has adverse outcomes on their long-term integration. In addition, examining displacement as a life-cycle reveals the processes related to war and expulsion that influence feelings of belonging to and exclusion from the Colombian nation.

Differential Inclusion

Drawing from Espiritu (2003), I argue that former peasants continue to identify as displaced as a consequence of differential inclusion. The framework of *differential inclusion* addresses migrants' experiences of incorporation that are neither fully integrated nor fully excluded. For example, in the case of internal migrants, a major way that peasants are included into cities of Colombia is through a process of resettlement that gives them monetary aid as a form of securing the safety of its citizens *and* the country. Therefore, the state-led resettlement of internally displaced persons is integral the security of Colombia. Being recognized by the state as a "victim" is used by the displaced to secure aid by signaling a subordinated social status.

However, I found that migrant inclusion through resettlement programs—on

the basis of being a displaced peasant—and exclusion—also based on being a displaced peasant—are reproduced daily through the lack of durable solution, stagnation in the informal labor market, segregation in peripheral neighborhoods, and lack of civic and political participation, forming a collective identity of “displaced” that endures for years after resettlement.

Segmented Citizenship

I argue that *campesinos* continue to identify as displaced as a consequence of differential inclusion, which negatively affects their sense and practice of citizenship, a form of segmented citizenship. I define *segmented citizenship* as a new social status, within a spectrum of non-belonging, that is both inclusionary and exclusionary, where one has claims to formal rights, yet is limited from practicing these rights fully. Segmented citizenship changes displaced peasants into *partial citizens*, which is experienced differently by citizens due to context of expulsion and reception, demonstrating the ways that citizen’s rights are both gained and lost over the life-cycle of forced migration. Examining segmented assimilation as a form of differential inclusion shows the importance of analyzing *what* segments of society migrants are integrating into and the role of the state.

I contribute to the work on segmented assimilation by looking at the political nature of the integration through the lens of internal displacement by showing how the state funnels the displaced into precarious informal economic conditions. Using the case of conflict-induced internal displacement in Colombia, we see the role of the Colombia state as it facilitates the resettlement and integration of its displacement

citizens. In spite of government programs of integration and transitional justice, research on internal displacement and resettlement overwhelmingly shows that displaced persons are excluded from the formal labor market and stagnated in informal work (Fontanini 2012; Hanson 2012; Bello A.2006; Brookings Institute and IDMC 2011; Carrillo 2009; Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007; Muggah 2000; Cernea 1997). While informal work is not necessarily a “bad” job, it does result in higher rates of poverty, particularly for women (Chen et al. 2004). For example, while displaced women have an easier time of finding work, due to personal networks usually comprised of other women, the quality, quantity, and gendered aspect of the type of work—usually domestic or sex work—place women at a disadvantage for upward mobility. Chen et al.’s (2004) work on informal employment discusses the role of informality in global poverty patterns. The authors show how most workers of the world survive via informal work arguing that informal work is not unemployment, but a type of employment that is intricately linked to the formal labor economy which contributes to inequality and poverty within the global capitalist system (Chen et al. 2004).

In terms of the role of the state in integration of displaced persons, even state-led income-generating programs are based on mainstreaming migrants into informal employment (Ibáñez and Velásquez 2008; Ibáñez and Moya 2007). However, informal work does not have regulations, protections or benefits for the informal workers (Chen et al. 2004). In addition, the displaced enter the city with little to no human capital, assets, resources, and networks therefore it is difficult for them to get

to a baseline of economic stability. For instance, when a displaced family arrives to Medellín, while displacees wait for government aid, if they apply, I found that people became indebted for costs associated with food, rent, bus fare, and other necessities like clothes or resources for their children. When the aid money does finally arrive, most if not all the money goes to pay debts. Since informal labor, for most people, barely covers the daily needs of the household, the displaced cannot get out of poverty. Resettlement programs are focused on emergency stipends and insertion into informal sectors. I argue that the displaced do not have access to sustainable formal jobs due to the absence of mobility ladders (Portes and Zhou 1993) in the cities where they resettle. These mobility ladder should be a part of state-led programs of resettlement and integration, and, due to their absence, *campesinos* are differentially included into the city.

Displaced Consciousness

Further, I assert that in order to understand the total losses that displaced peasants experience, state programs must factor the subjective experience of the displaced and their perception of their situation and the receiving society. To address the subjective experience of displacement, I engage with the framework of consciousness to trace the long-term psycho-emotional effects of forced migration. I focus on the spatial-temporal dimensions of displacement to reflect on the identity formation of the “displaced” based the collective memories of the rural *and* the urban as necessary components for understanding sentiments of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state.

Drawing from W.E.B. Du Bois' (1903) *double consciousness* and Gloria Anzaldúa's *mestiza consciousness*, I develop the concept of *displaced consciousness*, to highlight the subjective consequences of war and displacement on the psyche of the displaced. Displaced Consciousness is a new affective awareness which results from loss and trauma during the phase of displacement. This new consciousness changes the way that the displaced perceive the world around them and how they see society perceive them. The research shows that throughout the Life-Cycle of Forced Migration, the Displaced Consciousness endures in the phases resettlement and integration due to peasant's status as partial citizen. Displaced Consciousness highlights the psychological outcomes of war and forced migration, influencing how people will respond to their precarious situation. In addition, understanding the subjective experience of displacement helps us answers why people continue to identify as "displaced—even two decades after resettlement—and why they feel like refugees in their own country.

I argue that while displaced consciousness is experienced as loss, nostalgia and waiting, it also represents possibility. The shared experience of displacement, whether from the same place of origin or not, leads to a collective memory of being expelled from the rural. Further, the shared experience of expulsion and exclusion are utilized as a tool by displaced community leaders during the phase of community-building to build solidarity with other displaced persons.

Displaced community leaders utilize collective memory and trauma to understand their shared experiences of exile. Understanding that the production of

space is a product of social relations through the material production of place (Lefebvre's 1991), I argue that the rural internally displaced community leaders, living in the *barrios* at the edges of the city of Medellín incorporate a displaced consciousness as both a survival strategy and form of coalition building among other rural displaced persons across Medellín.

Displaced consciousness highlights both the losses of displacement *and* a new awareness of possibility. Based on a collective memory of displacement from a rural homeland, displaced consciousness represents a potentiality, an opening for exercising their rights as displaced *and* citizens of Colombia. I highlight women leader's perspectives—the majority of community organizers— as a necessary feminist intervention to demonstrate the benefits and limits of political activism on women's decision-making process and long-term integration.

I argue that state programs must consider the material *and* affective losses that displaced peasants experience, focusing on training and insertion of the displaced into the formal labor market, as well as the mental and emotional states of the displaced and their perception of their situation. In Chapter Five, findings reveal that displaced persons have negative perceptions of state actors, which include police, military, judges, and even aid and social workers. Feelings of mistrust of state actors, born out of fear and trauma during the phase of physical displacement, leave displacees unwilling to invest time and energy into participation in state-lead processes of resettlement. Participants in these programs continue to feel excluded and often, even after being resettled for years, do not experience upward mobility

(Ibáñez and Moya 2007). Distrust of state actors, along with feeling stigmatized and mistreated by state actors and the urban society, results in daily re-victimization, confirming sentiments of apprehension towards a psychological investment in making Medellín “home.”

However, segmented citizenship has also spawned a resistance movement, directed at the Colombian state, and based on a collective political awareness called Displaced Consciousness in order to contest double-displacement. Using their collective identities as “displaced” allows the displaced to signal their positionality as partial citizen while also demanding rights as victims of the conflict. This identity also links them to the social and material context of the land as a way to claim the Right to the Territory. In this context, the territory is defined as a set of relations and representations built from the land (Fajardo, Darío, 2002 in Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular 2009).

While Harvey (2008) has called for the Right to the City for the inclusion of marginalized communities in the city, this approach does not fully explain the historical, spatial, and social relationship of internally displaced *campesinos* to the urban. The Right to the City assumes that urban residents already feel and want to be a part of the city and are struggling to stay. What this approach assumes are static understandings of who comprises the urban citizen. This assumption is problematic since it does not take into account the modes of differential citizenship (Holston 2008) and inclusion (Espíritu 2006) that shape who is and who is not perceived as an acceptable urban citizen by the receiving Medellín community. Rural forced migrants

in Colombia have a distinct relationship to the city itself. They live in the urban but within a different context and connection, and with distinct relationships, opportunities, and limitations, that have been influenced by the processes of displacement. These processes affect place and the (re)making of individual and collective identities of national belonging. I assert that theories of the Right to the City does not go far enough for understanding the social and affective outcomes of these spatial interactions for displaced subjects. Rather, a perspective that takes seriously the Right to the Territory—understood as interrelated spatial and social relations built from the land— serves as a better approach for understanding the geographic and temporal dimensions of displacement for an analysis of the formulation of identities based the rural *and* urban. These identities, of “displaced,” are formulated and connected to the destruction and production of place and territory—a necessary approach for understanding displaced *campesinos*’ sentiments of belonging to and exclusion from the nation-state.

My analysis of migrant integration and political activism of displaced *campesinos* draws from both the rural and urban, centering the intersection and overlap of the countryside and city as my site of analysis (Angelo 2016; Merryfield 2011). The territorial movements led by displaced *campesinos* in Medellín are neither rural or urban movements, rather, by using the concept of “territory” and the identity of “displaced,” leaders draw from the spatial-temporal moment of rural displacement—the onset of Displaced Consciousness—as a strategy of contesting double-displacement in the Medellín “Miracle.”

Theoretical Implications

This dissertation uses the case of internal and forced migration in Colombia—the country with the largest population of internally displaced persons in the world (IDMC 2017)—to address three key gaps in migration studies. First, contemporary research on migration tends to focus primarily on international immigration, highlighting cases of poor populations moving from the Global South to the Global North (Coutin 2016; Chávez 2016; Anderson 2013; Menjívar and Abrego 2012; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Yet, internal migration occurs more often than international migration—with approximately 381 million people estimated to have moved within their country between 2008-2013 (Esipova, et al. 2013).

Second, migration studies tend to focus on voluntary or economic migration (Castles and Miller 2009; Portes et al. 2009; Telles and Ortiz 2008; Goldring 2003; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Meyers 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1990). In spite of hitting unprecedented numbers—with 65.3 million people—or 1 in 113 people—displaced in 2015 alone due to persecution and conflict (Edwards 2016)—the issue of internal and forced migration remains understudied.

Third, taking internal displacement seriously, we touch on another important issue in migration studies which is the relationship between integration and citizenship. Again, these studies on migrant incorporation—as a process of citizen-making—is centered on the social, economic, political, and cultural incorporation of an international immigrant in a new country. Within citizenship studies, research on

migration examines the formal citizen-noncitizen division which is based on comparing native-born citizens and incoming international non-citizens (De Genova 2007; Joppke 2007). Yet, these perspectives, first, neglect the forms of inclusion and exclusion that are not based on state-centric binary of membership (Anderson 2013; Somers 2008); second, assume that citizenship is experienced equally—and fully—among all formal citizens of a sovereign nation (Benhabib 2004; Yuval-Davis 1997); and third, that national identity is homogenous and that citizens always feel like they belong to the nation-state (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016). The research shows the limits of integration and national citizenship, in spite of the political membership. To analyze the outcomes of differential inclusion, I develop two concepts: Spectrum of Non-Belonging and Segmented Citizenship. Using the Spectrum of Non-Belonging offers dimension to the idea of non-citizenship beyond the category of citizen/not-a-citizen (Tonkiss and Bloom 2016). In this vein, I aim to show that formal conceptions of citizenship and non-citizenship are one-dimensional and do not address the multiple forms of non-belonging based on both *de jure* and *de facto* rights (Somers 2008).

To address the above-mentioned gaps in the migration literature the thesis argues that a sole focus on cross-border and voluntary mobility in migration studies neglects a majority of migrants and, thus, results in under theorizing about human mobility generally. Second, since the internally displaced in Colombia do not leave the boundaries of the nation-state, and retain political membership, war, displacement and policy create limits to citizens' ability to exercise their citizenship rights fully.

Therefore, this case of internal displacement asserts that there is a great urgency to develop theories about migration that include a discussion about forced migration as global processes that reveal the tensions and limits of national citizenship.

Ultimately, I contend that this research demonstrates the limits of the processes of integration and national citizenship, offering a more nuanced lens for examining citizenship as a spectrum, pushing us to examine belonging beyond a binary category of citizen/non-citizen; included and excluded.

Limitations of Study

The research has a few limitations. First, the surveyed sample of internally displaced persons in Medellín does claim to not represent the population and experience of all Colombian displaced persons. As the chapters discuss, resettlement in Medellín is distinct due to its specific location in the country, its history, resettlement programs, and geography. In addition, due to my personal networks, the sample included more community leaders than would be in a representative sample of displaced people. The sample surveyed focuses on people who have lived for five or more years in the city, so this research does not address recent arrivals to the city, or people who are in the process of receiving emergency aid. Lastly, while I completed surveys, I was not able to fully discuss the findings in the dissertation. These findings were not representative but did serve as descriptive statistics of a hard to reach population.

Future Directions

From the project, additional questions emerged concerning the longitudinal effects of displacement on the children of the displaced. I interviewed and surveyed people who were children when they were displaced, and have no memory of the displacement event or resettling in Medellín, but who still strongly identified as “displaced.” One of my questions addresses how feelings and experiences of *intergenerational non-citizenship*, or how displacement is “handed down,” shapes feelings of national belonging that might motivate community and political engagement, or lack thereof. For example, from my interviews and participant observation with displaced persons and community leaders, I found that while parents would be involved in neighborhood or community organizations, there were little to no youth or young adults involved in this type of civic participation. Adult children also lack formal education and job opportunities like their parents, but were less likely in a *rebusque* in the downtown area. This meant that there were adults who had never left their barrios in the peripheries. In addition, this group also faced increased incidences of violence due to the criminal gangs in the area, and women were more apt to turn to sex work. While the children of the displaced lacked a memory of displacement from the countryside, they still experienced the conflict. The prominence of paramilitaries and criminal groups in the city is a consequence of the war and the failed “demobilization” of paramilitary groups under President Alvaro Uribe in 2006. These groups are the non-state actors who have filled the power vacuum of Medellín due to an absence of state power in the “displaced”

Barrios. These groups actively recruit the youth that come from displaced families—as Pablo Escobar once did—since gangs know that the potential to acquire power and money will easily sway children of the displaced.

Future research on this topic would offer an empirical contribution as the first study to explore the lives of the children of internally displaced peasants in Medellín. This topic is especially timely as Colombia is now in 2017 confronting the task to follow through with implementing a peace agreement that will integrate thousands of demobilized guerrilla soldiers and, more importantly, how to encourage the younger generations of Colombians to support a post-conflict agenda.

To conclude, how can we apply this concept of segmented citizenship outside of the context of internal forced migration in Colombia? We are living in a distinct time in history where forced migration is a global phenomenon, hitting unprecedented numbers, and the categories of partial citizens grow as the gap between formal rights and ability to exercise these rights become wider. According to the United Nations, there are currently a little over 64 million forced migrants in the world, roughly the population of France (UNCHR 2017). This is due not only to war, but also to globalization as it drives displacement due to development, economic and labor markets, climate change, and even, in urban centers on the global stage, gentrification. Due to this, there is a greater urgency to develop theories about internal migration and forced migration as global processes, while also highlighting how people contest these expulsions.

References

- Agencia Colombiana para La Reintegración (ACR). 2016. "Sin campo no hay ciudad, y sin campo no hay paz": Presidente Santos." 6 of January. Accessed April 11, 2017. (<http://www.reintegracion.gov.co/es/sala-de-prensa/noticias/Paginas/2016/06/01062016.aspx>).
- Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Alba, Richard D., John R. Logan, Brian J. Stults, Gilbert Marzan and Wenquan Zhang. 1999. "Immigrant Groups in the Suburbs: A Reexamination of Suburbanization and Spatial Assimilation." *American Sociological Review* 64 (3): 446-460.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, Bridget. 2013. *Us and Them?: The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andreas, Peter R., Eva C. Bertram, Morris J. Blachman, and Kenneth E. Sharpe. 1991. "Dead-End Drug Wars." *Foreign Policy* 85: 106-128.
- Angela, Hillary. 2016. "From the City Lens Toward Urbanisation as a Way of Seeing: Country/City Binaries on an Urbanising Planet." *Urban Studies* 54(1): 158-178.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. [1987]1999. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 2nd Ed. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
- Arce, Alberto and Norman Long. 1987. "The Dynamics of Knowledge Interfaces Between Mexican Agricultural Bureaucrats and Peasants: A Case Study from Jalisco." *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* No. 43: 5-30.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1968. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Sam Diego, CA: Harvest Harcourt.
- Aviles, William. 2001. "Institutions, Military Policy, and Human Rights in Colombia." *Latin American Perspectives* 28 (1), Colombia: The Forgotten War, 31-55.

- Baban, Feyzi, Suzan Ilcan, and Kim Rygiel. 2017. "Syrian refugees in Turkey: pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(1): 41-57.
- Bada, Xóchitl, Jonathan Fox, Robert Donnelly and Andrew Selee. 2010. *Context Matters: Latino Civic Engagement in Nine US Cities*. Reports on Latino Immigrant Civic Engagement, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Mexico Institute.
- Barbero, Alicia. 2009. *Informe Sobre el Avance del Cumplimiento del Auto 092: Protección Mujeres Víctimas de Violencia Sexual en Situación de Desplazamiento (Programas y Presunciones)*. Consultoría para Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (CODHES).
- Barrows, Lissa, Lingjun Bu, Ellis Calvin, Anne Krassner, Natalie Quinn, Jet Richardson, Gillian Sollenberger, Clara Irazábal, and Nicole Buchholz. 2013. *Growth Management in Medellín, Colombia*. Report by the Urban Planning Studio at the Columbia University, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation.
- Bedolla, Lisa García. 2014. *Latino Politics*, 2nd edition. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Bejarano, Ana María, and Eduardo Pizarro. 2005. "From 'Restricted' to 'Besieged': The Changing Nature of the Limits to Democracy in Colombia," in *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* Pp. 235-260, edited by F. Hagopian and S.P. Mainwaring. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bello A., Martha Nubia. 2006. "El Desplazamiento Forzado en Colombia: Acumulación de Capital y Exclusión Social" Pp. 381-395 in *Colombia: Migraciones, Transnacionalismo y Desplazamiento*, edited by G. Ardila. Universidad Nacional de Colombia.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bloemraad, Irene. 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Boano, Camillo, Axel Rottlaender, Alberto Sanchez-Bayo, and Francesca Viliani. 2003. "Bridging the Gap, Involuntary Population Movement and Reconstruction Strategy." *Centro Regionale di Intervento per la Cooperazione (CRIC), Université d'Oxford Brookes*.

- Bosniak, Linda. 2006. *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bouvier, Virginia M. 2005. *A Policy Report from the IRC Americas Program: Evaluating U.S. Policy in Colombia*. IRC Americas.
- Brenner, Neil and Nik Theodore. 2002. "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism.'" *Antipode* 34(3): 349-379.
- Brodzinsky, Sibylla. 2014. "From Murder Capital to Model City: Is Medellín's Miracle Show or Substance?" *The Guardian*, April 17. Retrieved June 5, 2015. (<http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/apr/17/medellin-murder-capital-to-model-city-miracle-un-world-urban-forum>).
- Brookings Institute and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2011. *IDPs in Protracted Displacement: Is Local Integration a Solution?* Report from the Second Expert Seminar on Protracted Internal Displacement, 19-20 January 2011, Geneva. The Brookings Bern Project on Internal Displacement, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) of the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).
- Carrillo, Angela Consuelo. 2009. "Internal Displacement in Colombia: Humanitarian, Economic and Social Consequences in Urban Setting and Current Challenges." *International Review of the Red Cross* 91(875): 527-546.
- Castles, Stephen. 2006. "Global Perspectives on Forced Migration." *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* 15(1): 7-51.
- Castles, Stephen. 2005. "Nation and Empire: Hierarchies of Citizenship in the Global Order." *International Politics* 42: 203-224.
- Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. 2009. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. 4th ed. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP). 2009. "Derecho a la Tierra y Territorio. *Derechos Humanos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales, Bogotá (DHESC)*. DOCUMENTOS DHESC N.4. Assessed 8 of April, 2014: http://americalatina.landcoalition.org/sites/default/files/CINEP_DerechoalaTierrayTerritorio.pdf
- Cernea, Michael. 1997. "Reconstruction and Risk." *World Development* 25(10):1569-1587.

- Chávez, Sergio. 2016. *Border Lives: Fronterizos, Transnational Migrants, and Commuters in Tijuana*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Chen, Martha Alter, Joann Vanek and Marilyn Carr. 2004. *Mainstreaming Informal Employment and Gender in Poverty Reduction: A Handbook for Policy-makers and Other Stakeholders*. Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). Gender Section Social Transformation Programmes Division Commonwealth Secretariat Marlborough House.
- Choi, Susanne Y. P. 2016. "Gendered Pragmatism and Subaltern Masculinity in China: Peasant Men's Responses to Their Wives' Labor Migration." *American Behavioral Scientist* 60(5-6): 565-582.
- Clifford, James. 1994. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3), Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future, pp. 302-338.
- Cohen, Roseann A. 2010. "Rebuilding Relations Between People, Plants and Land in Times of Ongoing Dispossession at the Urban Fringe of Uprooted Ecologies: Cartagena, Colombia." PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Coll, Kathleen M. 2010. *Remaking Citizenship: Latina Immigrants and New American Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Collin, Patricia Hills. 2009. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 2nd Edition. New York: Routledge.
- Colombian Constitution of 1991. *Constituteproject.org*. Translated by Marcia W. Coward, Peter B. Heller, Anna I. Vellve Torras, and Max Planck Institute. Oxford University Press:
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Colombia_2005.pdf.
- Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2016. *Exiled Home: Salvadoran Transnational Youth in the Aftermath of Violence*.
- Curran, Sara R., Steven Shafer, Katharine M. Donato and Filiz Garip. 2006. 'Mapping Gender and Migration in Sociological Scholarship: Is it Segregation or Integration?' *International Migration Review* 40: 199–223.
- Dahinden, Janine. 2012. "Transnational Belonging, Non-ethnic Forms of Identification and Diverse Mobilites: Rethinking Migrant Integration?" Pp. 117-128 in *Migrations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Edited by M. Messer, R. Schroeder, and R. Wodak. Vienna, Austria: Springer Vienna.

- De Genova, Nicholas. 2010. "Migration and Race in Europe: The Trans-Atlantic Metastases of a Post-Colonial Cancer." *European Journal of Social Theory* 13(3): 405-419.
- De Genova, Nicholas. 2007. "The Production of Culprits: From Deportability to Detainability in the Aftermath of 'Homeland Security.'" *Citizenship Studies* 11(5): 421-448.
- Departamento Administrativo de Planeación. 2011. *Perfiles Demográficos por Comunas 2005-2015*. Alcaldía de Medellín.
- DeWind, Josh and Philip Kasinitz. 1997. "Everything Old is New Again? Processes and Theories of Immigrant Incorporation." *International Migration Review* 31(4), Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans, p. 1096-1111.
- Dix, Robert H. 1987. *The Politics of Colombia*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Domínguez, Juan Carlos. 2014. "Un convencido de que 'sin el campo no hay ciudad.'" *El Tiempo*, 19th of December. Accessed April 11, 2017. (<http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-14999958>)
- Donato, Katharine M., Donna Gabaccia, Jennifer Holdaway, Martin Manalansan, IV, and Patricia R. Pessar. 2006. "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* 40(1): 3-26.
- Dreby, Joanna. 2006. "Honor and Virtue: Mexican Parenting in the Transnational Context." *Gender & Society* 20: 32-60.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. [1903] 2014. *The Souls of Black Folks*. South Kingstown, RI: Millennium Publications.
- El Congreso de la República Colombiana (ECRC). *Ley de Víctimas*. Ley 1448 (2012).
- Elden, Stuart. 2013. "The Significance of Territory." *Geographica Helvetica* 68: 65-68.
- Elden, Stuart. 2010. "Land, Terrain, Territory." *Progress in Human Geography* 34(6): 799-817.
- Elden, Stuart. 2007. "There is a Politics of Space because Space is Political: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space." *Radical Philosophy Review* 10(2): 101-116.

- Elder, Glen H. 1998. "The Life Course as Developmental Theory." *Child Development* 69(1): 1-12.
- El Tiempo. 2015. "Falta Transparencia en la Inversión Pública de Medellín." August 28. Accessed August 30, 2015.
- Escobar, Arturo and Wendy Harcourt. 2005. "Practices of Difference: Introducing Women and the Politics of Place." In *Women and the Politics of Place*, eds. Wendy Harcourt and Arturo Escobar, 1-17. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Escobar, Nora Segura. 2000. "Colombia: A New Century, an Old War, and More Internal Displacement." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 14 (1), Colombia: A Nation and Its Crisis: 107-127.
- Espiritu, Yen Le. 2003. *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Falcón, Sylvanna M. 2008. "Mestiza Double Consciousness: The Voices of Afro-Peruvian Women on Gendered Racism." *Gender & Society* 22(5): 660-680.
- Falcón, Sylvanna M. 2001. "Rape as a Weapon of War: Advancing Human Rights for Women at the U.S.-Mexico Border." *Social Justice* 28 (2), Criminal Justice Periodicals: 31-50.
- Fajardo, Darío. 2002. "Tierra, Poder Político y Reformas Agraria y Rural." *Cuadernos Tierra y Justicia*, Bogotá. ILSA, p. 21.
- Federici, Silvia. 2004. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, The Body and Primitive Accumulation*. Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia.
- Feliciano, Cynthia, Rennie Lee, and Belinda Robnett. 2011. "Racial Boundaries among Latinos: Evidence from Internet Daters' Racial Preferences." *Social Problems* 58:189-212.
- Fellowship of Reconciliation. 2010. *Military Assistance and Human Rights: Colombia, U.S. Accountability, and Global Implications*.
- Fontanini, Francesca. 2012. "UNHCR Supports Project to Help Displaced Colombians in Medellín." *United Nations High Commissioner's of Refugees: The UN Refugee Agency*, April 10. Retrieved May 9, 2012 (www.unhcr.org/4f8449076.html).

- Fox, Jonathan and Xóchitl Bada. 2011. "Migrant Civic Engagement," in *Rallying for Immigrant Rights*, edited by K. Voss and I. Bloemraad. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Fox, Jonathan and William Gois. 2010. "La Sociedad Civil Migrante: Diez Tesis para el Debate." *Migración y Desarrollo* 7(15):81-128.
- Gibbs, Stephen. 2009. "Mexican 'Drug Lord' on Rich List." *BBC News*, March 12. Retrieved January 20, 2012. (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7938904.stm>).
- Gilbert, Melissa R. 1998. "'Race,' Space, and Power: The Survival Strategies of Working Poor Women." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 88(4): 595-621.
- Goldring, Luin. 2003. "Gender, Status, and the State in Transnational Spaces: The Gendering of Political Participation and Mexican Hometown Associations." Pp. 341-358 in *Gender and U.S. Immigration: Contemporary Trends*, edited by P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Gordon, Avery F. 2008. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, 2nd Edition. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gordon, Milton. 1964. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gotham, Kevin Fox and Miriam Greenberg. 2014. *Crisis Cities: Disaster and Redevelopment in New York and New Orleans*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gottmann, Jean. 1973. *The Significance of Territory*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Greenberg, Miriam. 2008. *Branding New York: How a City in Crisis was Sold to the World*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Grueso, Libia and Leyla Andrea Arroyo. 2005. "Women and the Defense of Place in Colombian Black Movement Struggles." Pp. 100-114 In *Women and the Politics of Place*, eds. W. Harcourt and A. Escobar. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Guarnizo, Luis Eduardo, Alejandro Portes and William Haller. 2003. "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(6): 1211-48.

- Guarnizo, Luis Eduardo and Luz Marina Díaz. 1999. "Transnational Migration: A View from Colombia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(2): 398-421.
- Guía de Viajes Oficial de Medellín [Official Travel Guide of Medellín]. 2012. "General Information." Alcaldía de Medellín [Mayor's Office of Medellín], Fundación Medellín Convention & Visitors Bureau. Retrieved May 9, 2012 (<http://www.medellin.travel/en/practical-information/about-medellin/general-information>).
- Hanson, Marc. 2012. "Colombia: Transformational Change Must Include Urban IDPS." *Refugees International*, September Field Report.
- Harcourt, Wendy and Arturo Escobar (eds.). 2005. *Women and the Politics of Place*, Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Harvey, David. 2013. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London: Verso.
- Harvey, David. 2008. "The Right to the City." *New Left Review* 53: 23–40.
- Harvey, David. 2004. "The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession." *Socialist Register*, Pp. 63-87.
- Heckmann, Friedrich, and W. Bosswick. 2005. "Integration and Integration policies." *Bamberg: European Forum for Migration Studies*. University of Bamberg.
- Hirsch, Jennifer. 2003. *A Courtship After Marriage: Sexuality and Love in Mexican Transnational Families*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Holston, James. 2008. *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2003. "Gender and Immigration: A Retrospective and Introduction," Pp. 3-19 in *Gender and U.S Immigration: Contemporary Trend*. Edited by P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1994. *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Human Rights Watch. 2012. *World Report 2012: Events of 2011*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

- Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign Policy* March/April 30-45.
- Hylton, Forrest. 2007. "Medellín's Makeover." *New Left Review* 44, Metropolitan Disorders, pp. 71-89.
- Ibáñez, Ana María and Andrea Velásquez. 2008. "El Impacto del Desplazamiento Forzoso en Colombia: Condiciones Socioeconómicas de la Población Desplazada, Vinculación a los Mercados Laborales y Políticas Públicas." *División de Desarrollo Social de la Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL)*, Políticas Sociales Serie 145.
- Ibáñez, Ana María and Andrés Moya. 2007. "Do Conflicts Create Poverty Traps? Asset Losses and Recovery for Displaced Households in Colombia." Pp. 137-172 in *The Economics of Crime: Lessons for and from Latin America*. Edited by R. Di Tella, S. Edwards, and E. Schargrotsky. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Iceland, John and Kyle Anne Nelson. 2008. "Hispanic Segregation in Metropolitan America: Exploring the Multiple Forms of Spatial Assimilation." *American Sociological Review* 73(5):741-765.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2016. *Global Report on Internal Displacement 2015*, Edited by J. Lennard. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2015. *Global Overview 2014: People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence*, edited by J. Lennard. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2014. *Global Overview 2013: People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence*, edited by J. Lennard. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2012. *Global Overview 2011: People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence*, edited by N. M. Birkeland, E. Jennings and E. J. Rushing. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council.
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. 2011. *Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010*, edited by N. M., Birkeland and E. Jennings. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Norwegian Refugee Council.

- Jaramillo, Sergio. 2012. "La Paz Territorial." *Alto Comisionado para la Paz*. Oficina del Presidente de la República Colombiana.
- Jiménez, Tomás. 2008. "Mexican-Immigrant Replenishment and the Continuing Significance of Ethnicity and Race." *American Journal of Sociology* 113(6):1527-1567.
- Jones-Correa, Michael. 1998. "Different Paths: Gender, Immigration and Political Participation." *The International Migration Review* 32(2): 326-349.
- Kanaiaupuni, Shawn Malia. 2000. "Reframing the Migration Question: An Analysis of Men, Women, and Gender in Mexico." *Social Forces* 78:1311-47.
- Kasinitz, Phillip, John H Mollenhkopf, Mary C Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway. 2008. *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Kirişci, Kemal. 2014. *Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality*. The Brookings Institution.
- Krause, Monika. 2013. "The Ruralization of the World." *Public Culture, The Urban and the Rural: Essay*, 25(2): 233-248.
- Law 70 of Colombia of 1993. Translated by Norma Lozano and Peter Jackson. (<https://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/downloadable/Andes/Colombia/past/law%2070.pdf>).
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Lindsey, Charlotte. 2000. "Women and War." *International Review of the Red Cross* 82(839):561-580.
- Long, Norman. 2004. "Actors, Interfaces and Development Intervention: Meanings Purposes and Powers" Pp. 14-36 in *Development Intervention: Actor and Activity Perspectives*. Edited by T. Kontinen. University of Helsinki, Center for Activity Theory and Developmental Work Research and Institute for Development Studies.
- López, María F. Sandoval, Andrea Robertsdotter, and Myriam Paredes. 2017. "Space, Power, and Locality: The Contemporary Use of *Territorio* in Latin American Geography." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 16(1): 43-67.
- Lowenthal, Abraham F. and Pablo Rojas Mejía. 2010. "Medellín: Front Line of Colombia's Challenges." *Americas Quarterly*, Special Issue: Voices from the

- New Generation, Winter 2010. Retrieved January 1, 2016
(<http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1310>).
- Luibhéid, Eithne. 2002. *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mahler, Sarah J. and Patricia R. Pessar. 2006. "Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery Toward the Core of Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* 40: 27-63.
- Maldonado, Julie Koppel. 2012. "A New Path Forward: Reaching and Reflecting on Forced Displacement and Resettlement." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Report on the International Resettlement Conference: Economics, Social Justice, and Ethics in Development-Caused Involuntary Migration, The Hague, 4-8 October 2010, Pp. 1-26.
- Marko, Tamera. 2012. "Disrupting Doble Desplazamiento in Conflict Zones: Alternative Feminist Stories Crossing the Colombian-U.S. Border." *Reflections* 12 (1): 9-53.
- Markusen, Ann R. 1981. "City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work, and National Urban Policy." *Signs* S23-43.
- Marshall, Thomas H. [1950] 1992. *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Press.
- Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press and Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Massey, Douglas S. 1999. "Why Does Immigration Occur?: A Theoretical Synthesis." Pp. 34-52 in *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, edited by C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. DeWind. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1987. "Source Trends in the Residential Segregation of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians: 1970-1980. *American Sociological Review* 52(6): 802-825.
- Medellín Como Vamos (MCV). 2016. "Medellín." Assessed January 12, 2017.
(<http://www.medellincomovamos.org/la-ciudad>).
- Medellín Cómo Vamos (MCV). 2014. *Informe de Calidad de Vida de Medellín 2013*. ProAntioquia.

- Meertens, Donny. 2010. "Forced Displacement and Women's Security in Colombia." *Disasters* 34(2): 147-164.
- Meertens, Donny and Nora Segura-Escobar. 1996. "Uprooted Lives: Gender, Violence and Displacement in Colombia." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 17(2): 165-178.
- Meertens, Donny and Richard Stoller. 2001. "Facing Destruction, Rebuilding Life: Gender and the Internally Displaced in Colombia." *Latin American Perspectives* 28 (1), Colombia: The Forgotten War: 132-148.
- Menjívar, Cecilia. 2006. "Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrant's Lives in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(4): 999-1037.
- Menjívar, Cecilia. 2003. "The Intersection of Work and Gender," Pp. 101-126 in *Gender and U.S. immigration: Contemporary trends*, edited by P. Hondagneu-Sotelo. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Menjívar, Cecilia, and Leisy Abrego. 2012. "Legal Violence: Immigration Law and the Lives of Central American Immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology* 117 (5) 1380-1421.
- Merrifield, Andy. 2011. "The Right to the City and Beyond." *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action* 15 (3-4): 473-481.
- Mesa Interbarrial de Desconectados. 2014. "Pronunciamiento Público a Propósito del Nuevo PEOTE." Retrieved May 8, 2015.
(<http://mesainterbarrialdedesconectados.blogspot.com/2014/09/pronunciamiento-publico-proposito-del.html?spref=fb>).
- Mesa Interbarrial de Desconectadas. 2012. "Escuela Interbarrial en Vivienda Digna, Servicios Públicos Domiciliarios y Ordenamiento Territorial." Retrieved June 2, 2015.
(<http://mesainterbarrialdedesconectados.blogspot.com/2012/04/escuela-interbarrial-en-vivienda-digna.html>).
- Meyers, Eytan. 2000. "Theories of International Immigration Policy-A Comparative Analysis." *International Migration Review* 34(4): 1245-1282.
- Mignolo, Walter. 2000. *Local Histories/Global Designs*. Chichester, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Migration Policy Institute. 2015. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Destination and Origin. United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2015. Retrieved June 24, 2017. (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/international-migrants-country-destination-1960-2015?width=1000&height=850&iframe=true>).
- Milkman, Ruth and Veronica Terriquez. 2012. "'We Are the Ones Who Are Out in Front': Women's Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement." *Feminist Studies* 38 (3): 723-752.
- Moch, Leslie Page. 2012. *The Pariahs of Yesterday: Brenton Migrants in Paris*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Moreno, Carolina. 2013. "Medellin, Colombia Named 'Innovative City of The Year' In WSJ And Citi Global Competition." *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved June 10, 2015. (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/03/02/medellin-named-innovative-city-of-the-year_n_2794425.html).
- Muggah, Robert. 2003. "A Pressing Humanitarian and Development Issue: Reflections on Internal Displacement and Resettlement." *GSC Quarterly* 9.
- Muggah, Robert. 2000. "Through the Developmentalist's Looking Glass: Conflict-Induced Displacement and Involuntary Resettlement in Colombia." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 13 (2): 133-164.
- Ngai, Mae M. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and The Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nawyn, Stephanie J. 2010. "Gender and Migration: Integrating Feminist Theory Into Migration Studies." *Sociology Compass* 4(9): 749-765.
- Nawyn, Stephanie J., Anna Reosti and Linda Gjokaj 2009. 'Gender in Motion: How Gender Precipitates International Migration.' Pp. 177–204 in *Perceiving Gender Locally, Globally, and Intersectionally: Advances in Gender Research*, Vol. 13, edited by V. Demos and M. T. Segal. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Ng'weno, Bettina. 2007. *Turf Wars: Territory and Citizenship in the Contemporary State*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ochoa, Marcia. 2014. *Queen for a Day: Transformistas, Beauty Queens, and the Performance of Femininity in Venezuela*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Oosterom, Marjoke A. 2016. "The Effects of Protracted Conflict and Displacement on Citizen Engagement in Northern Uganda." *Conflict, Security, & Development* 16(1): 75-101.
- Painter, J. 2010. "Rethinking Territory." *Antipode* 42(5): 1090-1118.
- Palacios, Marco. 2006. *Between Legitimacy and Violence: A History of Colombia, 1875-2002*. Translated by Richard Stoller. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Palou, Juan Carlos, Gerson Arias, Carol Barajas, Miguel Ortega, Juan Pablo Liévano, and Carlos Otálora. 2011. "Balance de la Política Nacional de Consolidación Territorial." *Fundación Ideas para la Paz (FIP)*, Series Informes FIP # 14.
- Park, Robert E. 1930. "Assimilation, Social." Pp. 281–3 in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by E. R. A. Seligman, A. Johnson. New York: Macmillan.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar. 2015. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, 2nd ed. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar. 2008. *The Force of Domesticity: Filipina Migrants and Globalization*. New York: New York University Press.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar. 2001. *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, 1st ed. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Parreñas, Rhacel Salazar. 2001. "Transgressing the Nation-State: The Partial Citizenship and 'Imagined (Global) Community' of Migrant Filipinas Domestic Workers." *Signs* 26(4): 1129-1312.
- Park, Robert E. 1930. "Assimilation, Social." Pp. 281–3 in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by E. R. A. Seligman, A. Johnson. New York: Macmillan.
- Personería de Medellín. 2015. "Observatorio de Reasentamientos y Movimientos de Población del Municipio de Medellín." Etapa 1: Fase de Implementación. Formación de Investigadores Comunitarios y Diagnostico de Sitio.
- Piore, Michael. 1979. *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) de Medellín. 2014. Acuerdo 48 de 2014. Alcaldía de Medellín.
(<https://www.medellin.gov.co/irj/portal/medellin?NavigationTarget=navurl://0d6e1cabff217197f515823e5bb58bb6>).

- Portes, Alejandro, Patricia Fernández-Kelly and William Haller. 2009. "The Adaption of the Immigrant Second Generation in America: A Theoretical Overview and Recent Evidence." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(7): 1077-1104.
- Portes, Alejandro and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 1990. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530, Interminority Affairs in the U. S.: Pluralism at the Crossroads: 74-96
- Ramírez, Socorro and Coletta Youngers. 2011. *Drug Policy in the Andes: Seeking Humane and Effective Alternatives*. The Carter Center, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Red Nacional de Información. 2015. "Desplazamiento-Personas, Territorial Antioquia." Registro Único de Víctimas (RUV), September 1. Retrieved September 20, 2015. (<http://rni.unidadvictimas.gov.co/?q=node/107>).
- Restrepo, E. and A. Rojas. (Eds). 2004. *Conflicto e (In)visibilidad Retos en los Estudios de la Gente Negra en Colombia*. Cali: Ed. Universidad del Cauca.
- Riaño-Alcalá, Pilar. 2008. "Journeys and Landscapes of Forced Migration: Memorializing Fear Among Refugees and Internally Displaced Colombians." *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 16: 11–18.
- Riaño-Alcalá, Pilar and Marta Villa (eds). 2008. *Poniendo Tierra de Por Medio: Migración Forzada de Colombianos en Colombia, Ecuador y Canadá*. Corporación Región. Centro Internacional de Investigación para el Desarrollo –CIID–y Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canadá – SSHRC.
- Roldán, Mary. 2002. *Blood and Fire: La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia, 1946-1953*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Roldán, Mary. 1999. "Cocaine and the Miracle of Modernity in Medellin," in *Cocaine: Global Histories* Pp. 165-182, edited by P. Gootenberg. London and New York: Routledge.
- Rosser, Emma. 2015. "600 Colombian officials in jail over ties to 'Urabeños.'" *Colombia Reports*. Accessed August 10, 2015.

(<http://colombiareports.com/600-colombian-officials-in-jail-over-ties-to-urabenos/>).

- Roychowdhury, Poulami. 2015. "Victims to Saviors: Governmentality and the Regendering of Citizenship in India." *Gender & Society* 29(6): 792-816.
- Safran, William. 1991. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1(1): 83-99.
- Said, Edward. 1983. "Traveling Theory" in *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sánchez Mojica, Beatriz Eugenia. 2013. "A City Torn Apart: Forced Displacement in Medellín, Colombia." *International Law: Review Colombia*. Derecho International. Bogota, Colombia, 22: 179-210.
- Sánchez, Olga Amparo, Jose Nicolas Lopez Vivas, Diana Rubriche Cardenas, and Maria Del Pilar Rengifo Cano. 2011. *Executive Summary: First Survey on the Prevalence of Sexual Violence against Women in in the Context of the Colombian Armed Conflict, 2001-2009*. Casa de la Mujer, Campaign Rape and Other Violence: Leave my Body Out of the War. Bogotá, Colombia.
- Sassen, Sakia. 2014. *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Segura, Denise A. and Patricia Zavella. 2008. "Introduction: Gendered Borderlands." *Gender & Society* 22(5): 537-544.
- Schejtman, Alexander and Julio A. Berdegué Marzo. 2004. "Desarrollo Territorial Rural." *Rimisp-Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural*, Debates y Temas Rurales N°1.
- Smith, Dorothy E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith, Robert Courtney. 2006. *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Somers, Margaret R. 2008. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Stateless, and the Right to Have Rights*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- South, Scott J., Kyle Crowder, and Erick Chavez. 2005. "Migration and Spatial Assimilation Among U.S. Latinos: Classical Versus Segmented Trajectories." *Demography* 42(3): 497-521.

- Summers, Nicole. 2012. "Colombia's Victim's Law: Transitional Justice in a time of Violent Conflict?" *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 25: 219-235.
- Sweig, Julia E. 2002. "What Kind of War for Colombia?" *Foreign Affairs* 81(5): 122-141.
- Talcott, Molly. 2014. "'Together We Have Power': Personal Traumas and Political Responses among Activist Oaxaqueñas." *Latin American Perspectives* 194 (1), Vol. 41. Pp. 72-88.
- Talcott, Molly. 2003. "Gendered Webs of Development and Resistance: Women, Children, and Flowers in Bogotá." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29 (2): 465-489.
- Telles, Edward E. and Vilma Ortiz. 2008. *Generations of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Terriquez, Veronica. 2014. "Trapped in the Working Class? Prospects for the Intergenerational (Im) mobility of Latino Youth." *Sociological Inquiry* 84(3):382-411.
- Thompson, David P. 1996. "Pablo Escobar, Drug Baron: His Surrender, Imprisonment, and Escape." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 19: 55-91.
- Thong, Kristie. 2016. "Medellín wins the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize." *Eco-Business*. Accessed March 19, 2017. (<http://www.ecobusiness.com/videos/medellin-wins-the-lee-kuan-yew-world-city-prize>).
- Thoumi, Francisco E. 2002. "Illegal Drugs in Colombia: From Illegal Economic Boom to Social Crisis." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 582, Cross-National Drug Policy, pp. 102-116.
- Tilly, Charles. 1995. "To Explain Political Processes." *The American Journal of Sociology* 100 (6): 1594-1610.
- Tonkiss, Katherine and Tendayl Bloom. 2016. "Theorising Noncitizenship: Concepts, Debates and Challenges." *Citizenship Studies* 19(8): 837-852.
- Torres, Anastasia Bermúdez. 2006. Colombian Migration to Europe: Political Transnationalism in the Middle of Conflict." *COMPAS: Centre on Migration, Policy and Society*, Working Paper No. 39, University of Oxford.
- Tubb, David. 2006. Statelessness and Colombia: Hannah Arendt and the Failure of

- Human Rights.” *Undercurrent* 3(2): 39-51.
- UNHCR. 1997. *The State of the World's Refugees 1997-98: A Humanitarian Agenda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- Uribe, María Victoria. 2004. “Dismembering and Expelling: Semantics of Political Terror in Colombia.” *Public Culture* 16 (1): 79-95.
- Urban Redevelopment Authority. 2016. “2016 Prize Laureate: Medellín.” Assessed March 1, 2017.
(https://www.leekuanyewworldcityprize.com.sg/laureate_medellin.htm).
- Villamizar, Rodrigo. 2003. The Good, the Bad, the Ugly, and the Colombian Peace Plan.” *Crime, Law & Social Change* 40:25-31.
- Volpp, Leti. 2004. “Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and Alien Citizens. *Michigan Law Review* 103: 1595-1630.
- Waters, Mary C. and Marisa Gerstein Pineau, eds. 2015. *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society*. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.
- Wing Chang, Kam and Li Zhang. 1999. "The Hukou System and Rural-Urban Migration in China: Processes and Changes." *The China Quarterly* 160: 818-855.
- Woolcock, Michael. 2010. “The Rise and Routinization of Social Capital, 1988-2008.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 469-487.
- World Urban Forum (WUF). 2014. “WUF7 Medellín.” Assessed March 19, 2017.
(<http://wuf7.unhabitat.org/wuf7medellin>).
- Youngers, Coletta A. and Eileen Rosin. 2004. “Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy.” *Washington Office on Latin America: A WOLA Special Report* 3(4): 1-15.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2007. “Intersectionality, Citizenship and Contemporary Politics of Belonging.” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 10(4): 561-574.
- Zapata, Juan Fernando. 2015. *Medellín, Territorio para la Paz o Terreno para Reproducir y Agravar el Conflicto Social?: Conflicto por el Suelo Vs Construcción de Paz Territorial*. Informe: Mirando la Ciudad Desde Manrique. Observatorio Derecho a la Ciudad y Fundación SUMAPAZ.

Zavella, Patricia. 2011. *I'm Neither Here nor There: Mexicans' Quotidian Struggles with Migration and Poverty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.