Internal displacement and host communities, Tensions and local integration

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Abstract

This thesis is dedicated to investigate what tensions and conflicts arise between IDPs and their host communities in general but specifically in the case of Bogota, Colombia. In addition this thesis investigated whether local integration of IDPs in their host communities might prove to be an effective and desirable solution for these tensions between IDPs and their host communities and what good practises and lessons learned from NGOs, the government and other institutions for integrating IDPs can be distinguished in Bogota, Colombia.

During the course of this investigation it became clear that the competition for resources, facilities, employment and humanitarian assistance major causes of conflict and tensions between IDPs and members of their host community. These tensions are aggravated by the persistent stigmas and negative perceptions of IDPs by members of their host community. These tensions often manifest in the form of threats, abuse and violence against IDPs. There is thus a clear need for resolving or minimizing these tensions as it leads to an increasing discrimination and marginalization of IDPs in urban Colombia and may even lead to further or re-displacement of IDPs.

Local integration in this context is defined as the full inclusion of IDPs in all aspects (cultural, economical etc.) of daily live in the community and also implies that the local population recognize and accept IDPs as participating members of their society.

Local integration is likely to be a viable solution in reducing these tensions because it allows IDPs to fully participate in the local labour market and economy, which makes them (less) dependent on humanitarian assistance and provides them with a chance for a sustainable livelihood. Additionally, integration and assimilation leads to closer interaction between IDPs and members of host communities, which expectantly leads to greater understanding and trust, which in turn reduces stigmas and negative perceptions. It is expected that local integration will have a profound impact on these tensions in Colombia if it goes hand in hand with structural reforms from the government in the labour market, availability of facilities and housing.
Local integration is a particularly effective solution in the case of Colombia due to the fact that Colombia is in a state of protracted displacement and it is therefore unlikely that the IDPs are able to return to their place of origin. Moreover, the vast majority of the IDPs in Colombia do not express the desire to return their place of origin.

A crucial factor for successful local integration is the ability of IDPs to find employment. Good practises that prove to be of great help in integrating IDPs aim to help them find jobs and (re) educate them to better fit the skills and knowledge required for employment in urban areas.
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<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CODHES</td>
<td>Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento / Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDMC</td>
<td>Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons / People</td>
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<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
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<td>OCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<td>UAO</td>
<td>Unidad de Atención al Desplazado / Displaced Care Unit</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
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Introduction

Since the end of the Second World War the majority of wars are fought within nations rather than between nations (Collier, et al. 2005). This means that wars nowadays are often fought directly in the living space of civilians. Thus the focus of warfare has changed, it is not solely about armed combatants anymore but nowadays-whole populations get caught up in wars. This has the potential to be disastrous on human lives and populations. Therefore it is not surprisingly that this change in focus of warfare went hand in hand with an increase of people who are forced to flee their homes (Fleming, 2014 & Sherwood. 2014). These people not only flee outside of the nations borders but also within the country itself. Refugees who are forced to flee from their homes but remain within the borders of their home state are called internally displaced persons/people (IDPs) (Mooney. 2005). These internally displaced people reside both in specially assigned camps and in host communities with family, friends, churches who are willing to help, or on their own often residing in slumps or in the outskirts of bigger cities (OCHA. 2014).

In comparison of what is known about IDPs residing in national camps of refuge, little is known about IDPs and refugees living in so called host communities. This is rather peculiar because according to statistics of the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) of the nearly 14,7 million IDPs they assist, an estimated 52 per cent live outside camps in both rural but mainly urban areas (Davies. 2012). The problems in terms of human rights concerns and needs of IDPs do not necessarily falter when a conflict or natural disaster ends, nor is this the case when IDPs find (temporary) shelter in a host community. Generally they require assistance until a durable/sustainable solution for their displacement is achieved (The Brooking Institution. 2010). Furthermore, it is not uncommon that problems arise when IDPs settle in a host community due to competition of resources, facilities and aid and or negative perceptions of IDPs by local community members; this is especially the case when the host community is poor as well (ICRC. 2011).
This thesis aims to investigate these problems that arise between IDPs and members of their host community and whether local integration in these communities is a fitting and desirable solution for the community as a whole. Hence, central in this thesis is the research question:

“To what extent is local integration of IDPs an effective and desirable solution for resolving the tensions that arise between internally displaced people and their host communities in Bogota, Colombia and what good practises and lesson learned can be distinguished for locally integrating these IDPs?”

To answer this research question the investigation is divided into several sub questions. First this thesis will briefly discuss the question of what are the main causes of displacement and what are the demographical characteristics of the IDP population in Colombia? The next chapter will deal with the sub question: what kind of tensions arise between IDPs and their host communities in Colombia and especially in the case of Bogota and why is there a need to resolve these tensions? The fourth chapter will investigate how locally integrating IDPs can reduce tension and conflict between IDPs and their host communities and to what extent this is a particularly fitting and desirable solution for IDPs in the context of Bogota, Colombia. The next chapter will be dedicated to answer the sub question: If local integration means the full inclusion of IDPs in daily life of society, what good practises and lessons learned can be distinguished to help IDPs with their integration in Bogota?
This research is highly relevant because as of January 2014, according to the IDMC (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre) there are 33.3 million people displaced by violence and this does not include those you were forced to flee because of natural disasters (IDMC. 2014). In the foreseeable future with all the (internal) wars going on in and among others Syria, Iraq, Sudan and unrest in Congo this number is unlike to decrease. Thus IDPs remain an important concern on the humanitarian agenda (World Watch Institute. 2014).

Furthermore, while it is well know that IDPs face a lot of problems due to the loss of income and land etc. there is not much research done on the strain that moving to another area has on the community that is already living there and the tensions that arise from this between IDPs and the members of their host community. This is somewhat strange because in the academic literature there is a lot published about the problems that arise with influxes of refugees in established communities. There thus seems to be a gap in academic knowledge of this problem on a national level. Research on this subject helps understand these tensions and might contribute to good practises that can minimize or resolve these tensions.

In addition to the previous gap there seems to be relatively little research done on local integration as a viable and durable solution for IDPs in comparison with relocating IDPs or reintegrating them in their place of origin (Brookings Institution. 2010).

Colombia will prove to be a good case study for investigating the tensions between IDPs and their host communities because the IDMC estimates that were about 5.5 million IDPs in Colombia in 2013, which in itself is a considerable amount but is even more significant in relation of the total population of around 48 million, this means that the amount of IDPs is well over 10 per cent (IDMC. 2013). Thus due to sheer number of IDPs alone Colombia makes an interesting case study.

Moreover, the majority of IDPs in Colombia move from rural areas to communities in the cities with whom they do not have strong ties with and most often end up in pre-existing ‘host’ communities. This makes a good case to investigate tensions that arise when IDPs move into these already inhabited urban areas (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009 & Zea. 2010).
1 Theoretical framework, methodology and limitations

1.1 Theoretical framework: Local integration as a strategy for reducing conflict

A durable solution for IDPs is defined as the moment when IDPs no longer have specific needs, both in terms of assistance and in protection that stem from their displacement (The Brooking Institution. 2010). There are three generally accepted settlement options for achieving durable solutions to internal displacement; Sustainable reintegration to their place of origin, sustainable integration in another part of the state and sustainable local integration in their communities of refuge (Brooking Institution. 2010 & Ferris. 2011).

The UNHCR defines local integration as “a complex and gradual process which comprises distinct but related legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions and imposes considerable demands on both the individual and the receiving society” (UNHCR. 2014).

Thus local integration of IDPs is their full inclusion in, social, economic, legal and cultural daily life of their community of refuge, furthermore for IDPs to become fully integrated requires at the very least the implicit acceptance of IDPs as members of society by the inhabitants already living in the community.

In this thesis will be argued that local integration of IDPs in their communities of refuge will change the nature of the relationship between IDPs and members of their host community in two profound ways and as a result tensions between both parties will diminish or minimize. First inclusion of IDPs in society will change the nature of the relationship between IDPs and host community members from ‘us’ versus ‘them’ towards ‘we’ and secondly local integration will break the cycle of dependency for IDPs.
1.1.1 From ‘us’ versus ‘them’ towards ‘we’

Catherin Brun, drawing on Jacques Derrida’s work on ‘hospitality’ argues that categorization is necessary to make sense of the world; this however has political and social implications for those associated with these categories. This is the case when people are forced to move to other communities and as a result groups and individuals change into ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’. She argues that being a ‘host’ implies a temporary situation and thus when ‘guests’ do not leave within a certain time limit attitudes towards them turn sour (Brun. 2010). Assigning people a status of refugee or IDP effectively creates a inside and outside group and when the relationship between ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’ changes a feeling of us versus them is easily established when they for example start to compete for jobs or facilities (Brun. 2010). Furthermore, this may lead to negative stereotypes where the whole group of IDPs is viewed with suspicion or hostility (Duncan. 2005 & Mooney. 2005).

The author of this paper argues that when IDPs are successfully integrated in all aspects of life this perception of an inside and outside group disappears. The reason for this is because full integration leads to greater communication, understanding, friendships and over time effectively makes the distinction between the two groups disappear since the IDPs are now full members of society (Christie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003).
1.1.2 From dependency to participating members of society

When IDPs are forced to flee their homes and move to a different area, they are often depended on humanitarian assistance for their survival as a result of the loss of land, means of income and the erosion of their social structures (Mooney, 2005).

The influx of IDPs and their dependency on aid often greatly constrains their host community, economically because local governments see themselves forced to provide assistance but also in terms of facilities like healthcare, educational facilities and infrastructure. It is not inconceivable that this leads to tensions between members of the host community and IDPs (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009 & Leus, et al. 2000).

Moreover, members of the host community often do not understand IDPs special needs which leads towards jealousy and resentment over aid programs from the government and humanitarian NGO’s (Non-Governmental Organizations). In their eyes IDPs appear privileged while they are in fact in greater need. This is especially the case if the host community is poor as well (ICRC. 2011).

In this thesis it will be argued that successful (economic) integration of IDPs into their host communities leads to a situation where IDPs are no longer depended on aid or at the very least to a lesser extent because they are now fully participating members of society and earn an income and may even pay taxes. This thus leads to a lesser constraint of resources from the government and the community and in fact may actually boost the economy due to a greater supply of labour and greater demands of goods. With the disappearance of these economical constraints tensions between IDPs and their host community is likely to decrease or diminish as well since IDPs can no longer be viewed as free riders (Calderón, et al. 2009 & Lastra. 2011).
1.2 Methodology

This research will be divided into several steps; first this thesis will try to discover the possible tensions that arise between IDPs and their host communities and where these existing tensions stem from. The next chapter will discuss how local integration of IDPs might change the situation/underlying causes that lead to tensions between IDPs and members of their host community and whether this effectively decreases or resolves tensions. The next chapter of this paper will investigate whether IDPs and their host communities find local integration desirable. The final chapter will investigate what good practises can be distinguished for locally integrating IDPs.

This research is conducted based on a broad range of literature, including; books, articles and reports on the subject of IDPs in general en literature specifically on the case of Colombia. Furthermore interviews have been carried out with local and international NGOs working with IDPs in Colombia in order to discover what tensions their beneficiaries experience in their host communities, hear their view on local integration as a viable solution and to distinguish good practises for integrating IDPs in their host communities. In addition interviews with IDPs and members of communities hosting IDPs have been conducted to discover what conflicts and tensions they experience and to investigate whether they believe that local integration is desirable solution for the tensions and conflict they experience.

Thus the research consists of both literature investigation and qualitative research methods. This is important to the validity of this investigation since the use of both methods allows for the inclusion of the relevant academic literature and knowledge about the subject while it also reflect the reality (problems and tensions) experienced by individuals and NGOs on the local level.
1.3 Limitations and the need for further research

There are several limitations to the investigation of this thesis. First, local integration is a relatively under discussed topic in the academic literature and has only recently drawn more attention as a possible durable solution for refugees and IDPs. This means that there are only limited resources available on this topic. In addition, there is very little extensive research done on the tensions between IDPs and their host communities in general but especially for the case of Colombia. Therefore it is difficult to draw case specific conclusion about the tensions experienced in Colombia based on academic literature alone. Furthermore, there is basically no academic literature that links the benefits of local integration with reducing conflict and tensions.

There are also several limitation of the qualitative research conducted for this investigation. Due to a lack of time and resources only limited NGOs, IDPs and members of host communities have been interviewed and however unlikely it is possible that they do not represent the general consensus. Moreover, some of the participants interviewed seemed hesitant to talk about the problems between IDPs and members of the host community. This seemed especially true for interviewed members of the host community. It is therefore not unconceivable that some of the topics of tensions between IDPs and their host community have been left uncovered. This holds especially true for issues of tensions from the point of view of the host community members.

That being said, the combination of extensive literature and qualitative research will reflect the problems faced by IDPs and the members of their host community and will show how local integration at least in theory could solve these problems. Moreover, the interviews conducted will give a good idea on whether both IDPs and the local population view integration as a desirable solution.
While this research will uncover valuable insights in resolving tensions between IDPs and their host community in Colombia and in whether local integration proves a viable solution for these tensions further research is necessary. More research on tensions and local integration in the context of urban Colombia is desirable in regard to the previously mentioned limitation. Particularly effective would be the investigation of tensions between IDPs and their host community in a specific area before and after efforts of locally integrating IDPs and the passage of time necessary for full or at least partial integration.

More research on these tensions and local integration in different contexts, like for example in rural areas and in other countries characterized by prolonged displacement will help to uncover whether the results found in this thesis are applicable in a broader sense.
2 Internal displacement in Colombia

This chapter will provide the reader with a quick overview of the causes of displacement in Colombia and discuss the demographical statistics of IDPs in Colombia. This chapter’s sole purpose is to provide the reader with the informational background necessary for the investigation conducted in this thesis. Central in this chapter will be the question: what are the main causes of displacement and what is the demographical make up of the IDP population in Colombia?

2.1 Causes of displacement in Colombia:

Depending on which statistics are looked at Colombia might be the country with the highest recorded IDP burden in the world (IDMC. 2013 & Sanchez Mojica. 2013). While not all statistics agree that Colombia is the country with the greatest number of IDPs it is beyond doubt that Colombia is at least in the top 3 of countries with the highest IDP burden. This is the result of a long going internal conflict between on the one-hand left wing guerrilla groups and on the other the Colombian army and right wing paramilitary forces. There are two main guerrilla groups, the Revolutionary Armed Forced of Colombia (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN). They both emerged around the mid 1960s and claim to be fighting for the poor in the mostly rural population against government violence and oppression. Both of them promote socialist values and land reform (Wong. 2008). The paramilitary initially emerged from private armed groups financed by drug cartels to protect their illegal plantations and drug trade. The Colombian army has been in a armed struggle with these guerrilla groups, at times along side the paramilitary groups and at other times trying to disarm these very same paramilitary groups to establish political and social stability (Stirk. 2013).

The Violence, which is exacerbated by the production and trafficking of cocaine, has caused enormous levels of internal displacement. Both the guerrilla groups and the paramilitary have been accused of drug related crimes (Norwegian Refugee Council. 2012). Moreover, all parties involved; guerrillas, paramilitary as well as the Colombian army have been accused of human rights violations (Stirk. 2013).
In addition to the violence, Colombia is prone to natural disasters like floods; landslides and earthquakes that at times have been a major cause of displacement (Stirk. 2013). For example, according to the Colombian Red Cross 14 million people in Colombia are currently at risk of flooding (Wong. 2008). All in all however the vast majority of IDPs are displaced due to threats and the on-going violence in the mostly rural areas (Consuela Carillo. 2009 & Ibañez, et al. 2008). It is therefore not surprising that the majority of the IDPs, around 93 per cent move from rural areas to the cities (Stirk. 2013). Bogota hosts the most IDPs in the country followed by Medellín, Cali and Barranquilla (Consuela Carillo. 2009 & Ibañez, et al. 2008).
2.2 The demographical statistics of IDPs in Colombia:

Even though statistics about IDPs in Colombia are problematic due to a lack of research, lack of registration and the often constant mobility of IDPs (Leus, et al. 2000), it is clear that displacement in Colombia does not proportionally affect the Colombian population. As discussed earlier the majority of the IDPs flee from rural areas and generally used to farm for a living. More often than not they have only visited the urban centres near their homes and have never been to the big cities (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009).

Moreover, African Colombians and indigenous people are disproportionately affected by displacement. In 2010, 83 per cent of the displaced where estimated to be either African Colombian or people from indigenous communities while they only make up for respectively around twenty and three per cent of the general population (Stirk. 2013).

| Statistics about IDPs in Colombia: (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009 & Zea. 2010) |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 50 per cent                | Are under age (less than eighteen years).       |
| 50 per cent                | Are female and 49 per cent of those are of childbearing age. |
| 33 per cent                | Are of African Colombian descent.               |
| 5 per cent                 | Are from indigenous communities.                |
| 1 per cent                 | Has some sort of disability, although this number is probably higher due to a lack of statistics. |
| 61 per cent                | Are of two parent families and 84 per cent with the male as head of the household. |
| 39 per cent                | Constitute of a single-headed household and of 91 per cent of these households are headed by women. |
Colombia has a large quantity of hidden displacement. CODHES (Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplacamiento) a non-governmental organization that among other projects gathers statistics about IDPs in Colombia suspects that 34 per cent of the IDPs are not officially registered and that around 25 per cent of the applications for IDP status are turned down (CODHES. 2011). Sanchez Mojica believes that the number of unregistered IDPs are slightly lower to about 22,8 per cent but the number of unregistered IDPs is unmistakably high (Sanchez Mojica. 2013). This is problematic because only registered IDPs are eligible for government support (Ferris. 2011 & Mooney. 2005). There are several reasons why IDPs fail to register themselves as such; in some cases they prefer to be kept hidden because of fear off retaliation when they register. In other cases the authorities do not consider them as victims of displacement because they do not conform to the definition of displaced according to established law (Sanchez Mojica. 2013). Some of these laws consist that IDPs status can only be obtained when people were forced to flee outside of their municipality. Moreover, since paramilitaries are seen as criminal organizations or groups, people displaced by their actions are not considered victims of the armed conflict (Sanchez Mojica. 2013).

Colombia knows two types of displacement, massive and individual displacement. Individual displacement is the forced mobility of individuals and families while massive displacement constitutes a forced displacement of 50 people or more (Stirk. 2013). It is estimated that individual displacement accounts for between 80 to 93 per cent of the total displacement in Colombia (Consuela Carillo. 2009 & Stirk. 2013).

Like most of the worlds IDPs, the majority of Colombian IDPs live in protracted displacement. Protracted displacement is a situation where a population is characterized by long periods of exile and separation from home. It is often the case that the initial emergency phase has passed but that there is no viable solution or possibility for return for those displaced in the foreseeable future (Couldry, et al. 2009 & Ferris. 2011).

The current situation in Colombia is like this due to the fact that there is no peace agreement yet and the conflict is still on going. Another factor contributing to the situation of protracted displacement is that landownership of IDPs in their place of origin is often contested; land has been taken over, sold under pressure or documents of legal ownership have gone missing (Duncan. 2005 & Elhawary. 2007).
3 Tensions and causes

This chapter will discuss in what way tensions arise between IDP populations and members of their host communities in Colombia. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to investigate the research question: what kind of tensions arise between IDPs and their host communities in Bogota, Colombia and what could be the underlying rational for these tensions? In addition, it will briefly explain why it is important to resolve these tensions and conflicts.

Tensions or conflicts may arise over several topics or issues; this chapter will discuss these topics and explain why they provoke tensions between IDPs and their host community. It is important to note that these topics and issues are often interlinked and mutual reinforcing, for example a negative perception of IDPs can be reinforced by assistance programmes aimed at IDPs or negative perception might cause discrimination which in turn leads to new tensions and conflicts between the two groups. The subjects of tension and conflict will first be explained from a theoretical point of view and then where possible fortified by stories of IDPs, NGOs or members of host community from interviews or discovered in the literature.

The relationship between IDPs and host communities is always of a complex nature. Initially IDPs are often welcomed and there is a feeling of solidarity and support from family members, friends, IDPs who moved their earlier or even member of the same ethnic group. However this good will is often short lived due to the limitations and the lack of resources or the feeling of the host community that IDPs are overstaying their welcome (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011). When this happens conflict or tensions may arise over the following topics; employment and decreasing wages, facilities, housing and rent, invasion of the public space, humanitarian assistance, differences in norms and values, negative stigmas of IDPs and finally discrimination and a lack of understanding of the troubles of IDPs. Section 3.1 will deal with these topics respectively and section 3.2 will briefly discuss why there is a necessity to resolve these issues of conflict.
3.1 Issues of conflict and tension

3.1.1 Competition for employment and decreasing wages

Displaced people are often met with hostility because there is a feeling that they are taking over employment opportunities of the local community. This is especially the case when IDPs settle with large numbers into already existing communities (Aukot. 2003).

However, due to the fact that the majority of IDPs in Colombia move from rural areas to urban areas, they often lack the necessary education, relevant working experience and or references and contacts in the cities. Most IDPs end up in the informal economy as for example street vendors or beggars (Lastra 2010 & Zea. 2011). There is evidence that suggests that women might be better able to adapt to the urban labour situation because they already poses the skills for cleaning and au pair jobs while due to the (sociocultural) family structures in rural areas man lack these qualities or see this as degrading (Calderón, et al. 2009). Furthermore, studies indicate that the likelihood for employment in the formal sector for IDPs declines over time while the likelihood of obtaining an income in the informal sector only marginally increases (Lastra. 2010).

This suggests that IDPs more often than not are not able to compete for jobs with the local population and that mainly low skilled workers or people working in the informal sectors are affected by large influxes of IDPs (Calderón, et al. 2009 & Lastra. 2010). Thus at least part of the negative sentiments of IDPs taking over job opportunities seems to based on perception rather than facts, this is especially the case for the higher educated or higher skilled population of the host communities who believe that IDPs are taking over their jobs.

It is often argued that the influx of IDPs leads to a drop of wages in the communities they settle and that this will become a source of conflict between IDPs and their host communities. Again it stands to reason that low skilled workers lose the most in wages (as well as job opportunities) due to the fact that most of the increased supply of labour is un- or low skilled. Thus informal workers will be affected most by the migration flow caused by the displacement (Lastra. 2010). Studies estimate that with a migration increase of 10 per cent informal workers income will drop by between 1 and 2,4 per cent (Calderón, et al. 2009). This might not seem like much but for people living close to subsistence level this might make the difference of a daily hot meal.
The average wages in the formal sector are likely to remain constant. Primarily because the majority of IDPs are low skilled and thus do not directly compete with most workers in the formal sector but also because those IDPs who do manage to find employment in the formal sector usually earn minimum wage and therefore cannot impact the wages of their colleagues from the host community who also earn minimum wage. Although it is likely that this leads to a minor decline of employment opportunities in the formal sector for jobs with minimum wages (Calderón, et al. 2009 & Lastra. 2010).
3.1.2 Constraining facilities

IDPs in Colombia often see themselves forced to settle in the poorest areas at the outskirts of the bigger cities (Ibáñez, et al. 2008). These urban neighbourhoods are not prepared for the influx of large amount of IDPs and the settlement of newly displaced people put great population pressure on these areas and as a result IDPs put great constrain to the facilities of these neighbourhoods. Moreover, recurrently these areas cannot expand any further because they are wedged between mountains (Consuela Carrillo. 2009 & ICRC. 2011). An example of one of these neighbourhoods is Cuidad Bolivar in Bogota, Colombia. Here 43 per cent of the current population is made up out of IDPs (ICRC. 2011).

Moreover, families of IDPs generally consist of a larger amount of people than families of the local host community. IDP families tend to have a lot of children and they often share their living space with several family members. Susanna Bercerra Melo encountered an extreme example in Cuidad Bolivar where 50 people where living in a small home, clothes where stacked everywhere and people nearly lay on top of each other while sleeping (Bercerra Melo. 2014). One of the interviewed host community members in Cuidad Bolivar explained that when IDPs settle they always call their friends and families to live with them and that’s why they tend to have a large number of people living in their residences (Host community focus group. 2014). Large households put great pressure on public services and may lead to uncomfortable coexistence with their neighbours of the host community (ICRC. 2011). For example an increase in long waiting lines, lack of funds and degrading quality of public services/facilities in for instance schools and hospitals tends to anger the local population (Aukot. 2003).

Zea catches this sentiment in an interview with a 27 year old college student from Bogota. She argued that the children of IDPs have no rights to take spots of children from Bogota at local schools. In her eyes, despite the law stating IDPs right to education, IDPs are simply a burden and their situation wont change anyway because IDPs cannot be educated due to their agricultural/rural background. Providing education to IDPs is thus a waste of government funds and goes at the expense of children from Bogota (Zea. 2011).
Another example occurred in the neighbourhood of Suba in Bogota where host community members complained that IDPs receive priority in community soup kitchens meant for the poor. They complain that IDPs take advantage of these programmes because they keep going there for a long time and take spots of those who really need it. As one of the local citizen puts it “IDPs continue using programmes such as soup kitchens for a long time, thereby taking spots from people who really need them, some of them you see for years, for us it is normal to go there for half a year and move on. There are many IDPs that do not find a job in order to continue taking advantage of the soup kitchens” (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011).
3.1.3 Housing and paying rent
Initially IDPs generally seek shelter at family or friends when they first arrive in their community of refuge. However, eventually they have to move on and find a place to live for themselves, as their host families no longer can provide for them. Due to a lack of resources these IDPs frequently end up in shacks made from waste materials on squatted land. This is despite the fact that the Colombian government provides the possibility of housing subsidies. This is because in reality very few IDPs actually meet the requirements to qualify for this housing subsidy (Consuela Carrillo. 2009).
IDPs residing in illegal and informal settlements on land that they do not own have lead to conflicts between IDPs and the government as well as IDPs and other people owning the land in Bogota. At times this resulted in mass evictions but at others times the municipality of Bogota decided to legalize the settlement and provided basic necessities like sewage systems and electricity (Albuja, et al. 2010).

IDPs who do manage to get the subsidy for housing reported that this rental assistance is on a temporal basis and that the possibility for extensions are subject to great variation and depend on the availability of resources in the system. In addition IDPs claim that they often have to wait for long indefinite periods of time before they receive their rental assistance while during this time they are often unable to pay rent. This leads to conflicts with their landlords who see IDPs as undesirable and untrustworthy tenants (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011).

In addition, as explained earlier IDPs tend to have large households living in the spaces they rent (ICRC. 2011) and specifically IDPs from the rural areas near the pacific coast (Chocó) are stereotyped for being ‘known’ to play loud music and to celebrate all the time this leads to noise complaints and landlords avoiding to rent to IDPs. In practise this results in discrimination against the Afro Colombian IDP population. Bercerra Melo working for Vidas Móviles, an organization specifically aimed at providing mainly medical and psychological assistance to IDPs recalls from several interviews that landlords refuse to rent to ‘blacks’ and some even expressed that they did not want any ‘blacks’ near them due to noise complaints of large households (Bercerra Melo. 2014).
Another point of complaint by local citizen is the lack of available housing. Due to the influx of large amounts of IDPs housing has become scarce and rents has been increasing. This is particularly problematic for those living on minimum wages. They often blame the IDPs for the rise in their living costs (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011).
### 3.1.4 Invasion of public space

IDPs often see themselves forced to beg on the streets or work in the informal sector as street vendors because of the high unemployment rate among IDPs. This has resulted in fierce competition between the poor of the host community and IDPs trying to establish informal businesses in public spaces. Frequently this leads to violent confrontations (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011).

Furthermore, there are many host community members who view this invasion of the public spaces with IDPs begging and selling for examples cigarettes and gum in the street as a deterioration of the city. As a result many shop owners refuse to allow IDPs to beg and sell their things in front of their stores out of fear that it will scare away potential customers (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011).

One IDP while describing the difficulties he faces while trying to provide for himself in the streets of Bogota said: “Sometimes I go up to Plaza Bolivar (the main square in Bogota), and see all those guys in their business suits. They don’t care about me. They spit at me some times. Working is impossible, and begging is shameful. I try to speak to people, sell what I make with my hands, but they don’t want me near them. They think I smell bad, or perhaps that if I get close I will mug them” (Zea. 2010).
3.1.5 Assistance programmes aimed at IDP populations

According to the humanitarian principle of impartiality, all humanitarian assistance must be impartial and based on needs and needs alone (IFRC 1994). It is clear that IDPs face specific needs as a result of the loss of their land, means of income and social structure. These needs are often greater than the needs of the poor from the host communities (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011 & Mooney. 2005).

This suggests that in accordance with the principles of humanitarian action it may be justified to create specific aid programmes targeting IDPs.

However tensions may arise from assistance programmes specifically or exclusively aimed at IDP populations. Host communities often do not understand the specific hardships of IDPs and feel that IDPs are being privileged; therefore they do not understand assistance programmes specifically targeting IDPs. This may lead to jealousy; resentment and even hostility towards IDPs who are considered to be lazy and free riding from state and or NGO support (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011). This has in the past and also continues to be the case in Bogota and more generally in Colombia as a whole.

A government worker for the UAO (Unidad de Atención al Desplazado) office in Simon Bolivar, Bogota interviewed by Zea who was in charge of distributing emergency funds to IDPs described how stressful his job was because all IDPs kept lying to him. He compared IDPs with ‘cow farmers’ because they were milking money from the state; apparently he even acted out the process of milking a cow while telling his story (Zea. 2011).

In some cases these feelings has resulted in violence against IDPs but more common are host community members who try to cash in on the assistance that the IDPs receive. For example IDPs have been robed or extorted after they received assistance. Moreover, poor people of host communities recurrently try to gain access to these assistance programmes by claiming that they are IDPs themselves, which in turn angers the IDP population and make strict control mechanisms for registering and obtaining IDP status a necessity (Consuela Carillo. 2009 & IDP focus group. 2014). Thus conflict and competition for aid resources proves to be a major cause for tensions between IDPs and members of their host community in Colombia.
3.1.6 Different norms, manners and values

Tensions between IDPs and local citizen based on the differences in norms, manners and values seem to be forgotten in the academic literature. During the course of this investigation not a single reference touched upon this subject. Interviews with representatives of NGOs, host community members and IDPs revealed that the differences in norms, values and manners between IDPs and members of their host community are at times a reason for tension between the two.

Bercerra Melo from Vidas Moviles explained in an interview that IDPs from especially the coastal areas are known for listening to loud music and partying till deep in the night (Bercerra Melo. 2014). An interviewed member of the host community in Cuidad Bolivar agreed that this was definitely problematic because according to her most people in Bogota go to bed early and wake up really early to prepare for work. According to this host community member do IDPs not only listen to music till after midnight but also tend to talk in a louder volume. Normally this wouldn’t be too problematic but in Cuidad Bolivar there are often multiple families living in a single house. According to her this has leads to conflicts between families living in the same home and makes IDPs, especially those from the coast to undesirable tenants (Host community focus group. 2014).

Another member of the host community argued that minor tensions between IDPs and local citizen stem from their differences in language or the way of talking. She argued that IDPs are often perceived as rude or crude because they tend to be more direct and use words that are perceived as ‘grosero’, which means something like coarse or rude (Host community focus group. 2014).
3.1.7 Negative image and stigmas of IDPs

In general local populations view migrating IDPs with distrust and suspicion. This is also the case in Colombia. In Colombia there are several reasons or rationale why IDPs are viewed with mistrust and wariness.

The first reason for IDPs to be viewed with suspicion is that there is a persistent perception among host communities that IDPs have connections with or are even part of guerrilla or other armed groups (Mooney. 2005). This inspires fear and negative connotations among host communities of IDPs moving in their territory. This might seem far fetched as the main reason why IDPs have to flee their homes is because of guerrilla or paramilitary group but it is quite common that people are forced to contribute to either guerrilla or paramilitary movements, for example people have to provide food and shelter to FARC soldiers or are forcibly recruited to join guerrilla ranks. To the often uninformed host communities this creates the perception that there are direct links between these IDPs and guerrilla or paramilitary groups (Arsenault. 2014). This perception is reinforced by the fact that guerrilla agents are known to infiltrate in IDP receptor communities (US Department of State. 2009).

Furthermore, this perception of links between armed groups and IDPs are not entirely unjustified. There are still paramilitary and guerrilla movements present in the poor neighbourhoods of Bogota and it is in precisely these neighbourhoods where the majority of IDPs settle. As a result of poverty and the difficulties of obtaining employment IDPs are an easy target for recruitment for both guerrilla as well as paramilitary or criminal groups. Especially for minors’ joining an armed group seems like an easy way to obtain wealth and status, thus recruitment and child recruitment within IDP communities in Bogota is relatively high (CODHES. 2014).

The second reason why IDPs are viewed with suspicion stems from the fact that most IDPs see themselves forced to move to the poor and more insecure neighbourhoods. As a result they inherit the persistent stigmas of people living in those neighbourhoods and local citizen associate them with increasing crime rates and drug addiction (Small. 2012 & Zea. 2011).
Host community members of the SUBA neighbourhood in Bogota interviewed by Atehortúa Arredonde expressed the feeling that the ‘newly-arrived people’ cause a situation of insecurity because they bring ‘bad company’ and stay on the streets, and as a result these host community members are scared to be out on the streets at night. (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011). This captures how IDPs residing in Bogota inspire fear and suspicion among members of the host community in Bogota.

This distrust and fear by the host community leads to an increased discrimination towards IDPs because host community members try to prevent having IDPs work or live to close to them (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011 & Duncan. 2005). Which in turn leads to tensions between IDPs and their host communities because IDPs feel that they are being stigmatized and marginalized.
3.1.8 Discrimination and a lack of understanding

IDPs, especially Afro Colombian and indigenous IDPs face systemic discrimination in Bogota and in nearly all other cities in Colombia (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011). This manifests itself in for example as discussed earlier that local landlords tend to avoid IDP families (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011); that schools decline IDPs or single them out because they cant afford the school uniforms (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009). The same goes for job opportunities; one interviewed IDP by Zea expressed while talking about finding employment that it is better to hide your IDP status because when people find out, no one wants to help you because the local citizen believe that IDPs are uneducated and untrustworthy (Zea. 2011).

IDPs interviewed by Zea also expressed that they feel alone and that no one understands them or cares about their troubles in Bogota. One particular IDP after telling his gruesome story expressed that he had lost everything and that he believes that no one realizes this, he was sure that no one cares because he had been walking the streets in Bogota for year and no one ever cared (Zea. 2010).

The systemic discrimination and lack of understanding of IDPs has lead to a situation where IDPs feel they have struggle to survive in territory where people do not see them as valued citizen or as part of their community (Zea. 2011). As a result many IDPs feel alienated from society, and they thus segregate themselves even more from their host community. In some cases this anger about discrimination and lack of understanding manifests into violence directed at society that keeps excluding these IDPs, initiating a possible perpetual cycle of violence (Valencia Arias. 2012).
3.2 A need for resolving these tensions

These tensions and negative perceptions of IDPs in urban Colombia are a major concern as it has lead and continues to lead to increased discrimination and marginalization of IDPs in urban societies (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011 & Duncan. 2005).

Furthermore, these tensions are a major cause for threats, conflict and violence against the IDP population in Bogota, Colombia. This is particularly worrisome because IDPs are a vulnerable group as it is and often lack the social protection mechanisms that are prevalent in other communities (Mooney. 2005). Moreover, governmental reach in terms of protection is often limited in the neighbourhoods where IDPs reside (Geoffroy. 2010).

Inter-urban violence and threats have been known to cause further or re-displacement of IDPs (ICRC. 2011). A statement of an IDP in Suba, Bogota perfectly describes the powerlessness of IDPs in situations of on going conflict with their host community:

“For several weeks I have been threatened through pamphlets which say that I cannot hide anywhere, that they know where I am. I have already gone to the police and to the Attorney Generals Office to lodge formal complaints but they have not done anything ... I fear for my life and now they have also threatened my son. I don’t know what to do” (ICRC. 2011).

In a situation as this particular IDP in Suba, Bogota it is not inconceivable that the only option is to move on to other areas within or outside of the city. This example, which is just one out of many, painfully makes clear that there is a great need for reducing tensions and conflict between IDPs and their host communities.
3.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the tensions/conflicts prevalent between IDPs and their host community in Bogota, Colombia. Hence this chapter was dedicated to the sub research question: what kind of tensions arise between IDPs and their host communities in Colombia and especially in the case of Bogota and why is there a need to resolve these tensions? This research found that tensions stem from the competition between IDPs and the local community for job opportunities in the informal sector and for minimum wage jobs. Secondly, tensions seem to stem from overcrowded neighbourhoods, Bogota is not prepared to host so many IDPs which leads to a severe constrain of facilities like hospitals and schools but also for example soup kitchens, which angers especially the poor of the local population. Thirdly, a major source of tensions seems to emerge from problems relating land ownership, housing and paying rent. IDPs reside in illegal settlements on land they do not own, the influx of IDPs caused housing and rent prises to rise and IDPs who cannot pay their rent or are too late with payments are a major source of conflict. Fourthly, the local community often see the illegal settlements of IDPs and IDPs working and living on the streets as a deterioration of their city. Aid programmes aimed at IDPs are another major cause of conflict because the local population often do not understand the specific needs of the IDPs related to their displacement and feel that IDPs are lazy and or only move to the city to profit from social benefits. Differences in norms, values and manners can also be troublesome. Another source of tensions is the negative stigma of IDPs having links with paramilitary, guerrilla or criminal groups, which inspires fear and suspicion in the local community and make IDPs feel stigmatized. Finally, alienation caused by discrimination towards IDPs and a lack of understanding for their troubles by the host community continues to lead to violence and conflict.
The research in this thesis found that a lot of these tensions are interlinked and overlap, for example suspicion and fear towards IDPs inspire increased discrimination and marginalization. Furthermore, during the course of this research it became clear that several tensions are based on or aggravated by perceptions rather than on facts. Conflicts between IDPs and the poor population of their host community are often about competition for employment and aid resources. While conflict between IDPs and the more well off population of their host community derive from the negative perceptions of IDPs they have and their feeling of the deterioration of their neighbourhoods caused by the influx of IDPs.

There is a clear need to resolve these conflicts because this has lead to a state where IDPs are increasingly marginalized and discriminated and at times even face violence. This is particularly worrisome as IDPs are a vulnerable group as it is due to their displacement related needs and lack of social fabric.
4 The effect of local integration on conflict

This chapter will investigate in what way local integration of IDPs might solve or reduce the tensions and conflict as discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter will also investigate whether local integration is a desirable solution for IDPs and if it could benefit the host community as well. Hence, this chapter is dedicated to the research question: how can locally integrating IDPs in Bogota reduce tension and conflict between IDPs and their host communities and to what extent is this a desirable solution for IDPs and the community as a whole?

The chapter is divided into three parts. The chapter will start with an explanation of the concept of local integration and what local integration exactly entails. The second part will have a similar structure as section 3.1 of the previous chapter and discuss how local integration might positively impact these topics of tension as distinguished in this investigation. The final part will focus on whether IDPs view local integration as a desirable solution and whether this is beneficial for the community as a whole.
4.1 The concept of local integration

In the literature there is no clear definition of what local integration entails, this is especially true for local integration in the context of internal displacement (Crisp. 2004). For the purpose of this thesis local integration is defined as the process of integrating IDPs in their community of refuge, to a degree that leads to a sustainable and durable solution for these IDPs. The process of local integration consists of three elements or processes. It starts with a legal process continued by an economical process and finally there is social process (Crisp. 2004 & Fielden. 2008).

A legal process, the first step in local integration is a legal process where the state or the local government grants IDPs a wide range of rights and entitlements and this includes the right for the IDPs to settle permanently in their host community (Crisp. 2004).

An economic process, the second step in local integration is the economical inclusion of IDPs in their host communities. This allows the settled IDPs to improve their potential in establishing sustainable livelihoods. IDPs who are deterred from participating in the labour market and the local economy or whose standard of living is far below that of the poor members of the local population cannot be considered locally integrated (Crisp. 2004 & Fielden. 2008).

A social process, the final step for local integration is a social process. It involves the social acceptance of IDPs in their host community and is about enabling IDPs to live among the local population without fear of systemic discrimination, intimidation and or exploitation by the authorities or members of the host community (Crisp. 2004 & Fielden. 2008).

Local integration of IDPs thus entails their full inclusion in the legal, economical and socio-cultural daily life of their community of refuge. This can only be achieved if there is at the very least an implicit acceptance of IDPs as being part of society by the local population of their host communities. Local integration becomes a durable and sustainable solution from the point when IDPs become naturalized citizen of their host community and when their specific displacement related needs cease to exist (Brooking Institution. 2010; Crisp. 2004 & Ferris. 2011).
Projects or measures aimed at locally integrating IDPs or stimulating this process are of inclusionary and temporary nature. Inclusionary because they aim to integrate or naturalise IDPs as full fledged members of their new society and temporary because they aim to integrate IDPs in such a way that they are able to establish a sustainable livelihood and do no require additional assistance. Projects of local integration aim to strengthen one or more of the three elements/processes that are required for successful integration (Crisp. 2004).
4.2 Local integration as a mean to reduce conflict

This section of the chapter will discuss how local integration can reduce conflict and tensions between IDPs and their host communities, starting with how local integration might impact tensions about employment and decreasing wages and will then deal with following topics: facilities, housing and rent, invasion of the public space, humanitarian assistance, negative stigmas of IDPs and end with how local integration might resolve discrimination and the lack of understanding for the troubles of IDPs.

4.2.1 Competition for employment and decreasing wages

There are at least two ways how local integration of IDPs can theoretically reduce tensions between IDPs and their host community that derive from competition for employment and resentment for decreasing wages.

Locally integrating IDPs in the labour market, schools and other facilities that are used by both IDPs and the local population effectively creates a platform for communication between IDPs and members of their host community. Enhancing communication, dialogue and contacts between the two groups leads to greater understanding and help discover the commonalities of IDPs and the local population. This in turn tends to reduce violence and conflict (Cristie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003).

While in theory this seems likely it is questionable whether increased communication will result in diminishing tensions between IDPs and the local population in Bogota over issues as employment and decreasing wages. This is questionable because as discussed earlier it is mainly the population that lives below the poverty level that directly competes with IDPs for minimum wage employment and informal jobs (Calderón, et al. 2009 & Lastra. 2010). It is doubtful that people who are getting pushed below subsistence level by the influx of IDPs will really gain greater understanding of the situation of IDPs, simply because they are busy trying to feed themselves and their families.
The second way in which local integration at least in theory could diminish tensions between IDPs and local civilians in terms of employment and decreasing wages is that it will cause a structural change in the demand of products and services in the local economy. On the short term this is unlikely because when IDPs flee from their homes they are on average close to subsistence level (Calderón, et al. 2009 & Mooney. 2005). Therefore it is unlikely that they have a great impact on the demand of products with the little money they have, besides it is unlikely that firms can adjust to an increased demand on the short term Calderón, et al. 2009). However on the medium or the long term, if IDPs manage to successfully integrate in the labour market and earn an income they are likely to boost the demand of products and services in the economy of their host community. This according to basic economics will in turn lead to a greater demand of labour (Dilts. 2004).

The question is whether this will be the case in Bogota because even when IDPs are fully integrated in the local community their average wages will be relatively low and thus only have relatively small impact on the demand of goods and services. In addition, about 40 per cent of the workforce in Bogota is active in the informal sector (Lastra. 2010). Thus even if demand in labour will rise due to the increased demand of goods it is highly unlikely that this will have a major impact on tensions that stem from competition for employment because there will still be a large population looking for employment as a way out of the informal sector.

In conclusion, local integration of IDPs will probably reduce tensions about employment and decreasing wages in the medium and long term. This is due to the fact that local integration leads to increased interaction, communication and understanding between the two groups. In addition, economic integration of IDPs leads to a greater demand of good and as a result to new employment opportunities. However, the impact will most likely be minimal due to the fact that Bogota has a large population that is either unemployed or working in the informal sector unless the government finds a way to structurally increase the demand for labour.
4.2.2 Constraining facilities

Tensions that stem from overcrowding are difficult to resolve on a short term basis. This is simply because it requires time and money to build and restructure facilities like schools and hospitals. Moreover, local integration will at first only put greater constrains on these facilities as it aims to include IDPs in all aspects of daily life and thus encourage IDPs to make more use of facilities like for example schools. Thus in order to resolve these tensions the government and to a lesser extent the private sector should step in to expand or increase these overcrowded facilities.

Local integration could however help to create understanding for the troubles of IDPs and teach the local population that IDPs often did not have a choice but to flee. This in turn might lead to greater acceptance of overcrowded facilities (Cristie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003).
4.2.3 Housing and paying rent

When IDPs move to Bogota they are often on the verge of subsistence level (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009). This makes it difficult for them to find affordable housing and shelter. This is especially the case when there are large amounts of IDPs looking for a place to stay.

The first source of tension derives from the fact that a lot of IDPs settle on land they do not own (Albuja, et al. 2010). Local integration if implemented successfully is likely to provide a solution for these tensions. This is because the first step of local integration requires the acceptance of the (local) government for IDPs to settle in their host community (Fielden. 2004). This implies that it would be the government’s responsibility to provide IDPs with a place to settle. The Constitutional Court of Colombia in sentence #T-602 has fortified the governments responsibility to facilitate IDPs with a place to settle in Colombian national law (Zea. 2011). In the past the government has done this by legitimizing illegal settlements of IDPs in Bogota and providing basic necessities like water and electricity infrastructure in these areas (Albuja, et al. 2010). Even if it is impossible for the government to provide housing or settlement options for IDPs due to a lack of funds, local integration can resolve tensions stemming from illegal settlement in the medium or long term. If IDPs manage to successfully integrate in the labour market and earn a living, it is likely that they can buy the land they settled on or rent/buy housing in other areas in the city.

The second source of tension stems from the fact that IDPs often have difficulties to pay their rent on time (or at all). This is case because housing subsidies in Bogota are irregular and are often granted late. In addition a lot of IDPs work in the informal sector, which results in a highly irregular income (Atehortúa Arrendondo, et al. 2011). Local integration of IDPs in the labour market is likely to make IDPs less dependent on social benefits like housing subsidies and is likely to provide them with a more steady income, which would resolve these conflicts.
The third source of tension stems from the fact that IDP households often consist of large numbers of people. At times this leads to uncomfortable living situations with their neighbours. The reason that IDPs consist of relatively large households is because they generally tend to have more children but also because they see themselves forced to live together with friends and/or family to be able to afford rent (ICRC. 2011). Local integration could affect the size of IDP households by providing IDPs with a (better) income and thus enabling families to buy or rent a place on their own. There is also a clear correlation between income and the amount of children families will have. This will however most likely be a process of generations (Ray. 1998).

The final source of tensions is the lack of available housing and the increasing price of rent. On the short term local integration wont have any effect on the availability of housing and might in fact increase rent due to the fact that the economical independence of IDPs will lead to a greater demand for affordable housing, which in turn tends to increase rents (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011). On the medium and long term however the increased population pressure and rising prices of real estate will force the government or contractors to build more houses and thus increase the availability of housing and dampen the rise in costs of rent somewhat (Dilts. 2004).

In conclusion, local integration will have a relatively large effect on tensions stemming from the lack of availability of housing and increasing rent prices because local integration allows IDPs to become economically independent. Which will likely lead to a decreasing amount of people in households and less disputes about rents. Local integration will be especially effective if it goes hand in hand with structural efforts of the government to reduce the population pressure and in this case increase the availability of housing options.
4.2.4 Invasion of public space

As discussed in the previous chapter, the local population in Bogota often see the influx of poor IDPs begging and living on the streets as a deterioration of their neighbourhoods or the city. This in turn leads to clashes between IDPs and members of their host community (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011). Projects aimed at local integration will prove especially effective in resolving these tensions. Not only because as discussed earlier local integration leads to greater understand and empathy towards the trouble of IDPs (Cristie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003). But mostly because local integration specifically aims to include IDPs in society, looking to permanently shelter IDPs and helping IDPs get access to schools and jobs which will keep them from the streets and will gradually improve the living conditions of these IDPs (Crisp. 2004 & Fielden. 2010).
4.2.5 Assistance programmes aimed at IDP populations

Local integration is specifically aimed at integrating IDPs in their community of residence. Integration is generally recognized as one of the durable solutions for the problems of IDPs in a situation of protracted displacement. This is the case because if full integration is successfully managed the specific needs of IDPs that stem from their displacement will fade away (Brooking Institute. 2010). Thus when IDPs are successfully integrated in their local communities and in fact become part of that community they no longer have specific needs as IDPs and therefore are no longer a special category of concern for humanitarian organizations and the government (Mooney. 2005). This in turn makes assistance programmes directly aimed at IDPs obsolete and frees up resources for aid programmes aimed at all the poor member of the community. In short, when IDPs become successfully integrated tensions stemming from competition and jealousy of humanitarian assistance is likely to diminish since specific programmes dividing the population into community members and IDPs are no longer necessary.

Local integration however is not a quick and easily achieved solution; it is likely that the process of fully integrating IDPs take months if not years (Brooking Institution. 2010). While IDPs in the mean time face specific problems based on their displacement and thus may require immediate specific assistance (Mooney. 2005).

The IFRC suggests that to minimize jealousy and tensions humanitarian assistance should be aimed at inter-related needs of both IDP populations and the poor of the host community. Examples of these inter-related needs are food, protection, water and sanitation and often require support towards sustainable livelihood strategies (Vitale, et al. 2013).

In addition, community support is vital in minimizing tensions while providing humanitarian assistance. IDPs and members of the host community or at least community leaders/representatives should agree on how assistance is provided and an appropriate local authority or committee should ratify this agreement (Vitale, et al. 2013).
4.1.6 Different norms, manners and values

Interviews conducted in Cuidad Bolivar showed that differences in norms, manners and values between IDPs and host community members sometimes lead to clashes or conflict. Local integration as a platform for increased communication could create greater understanding of the differences in manners, norms and values of IDPs and the local population and that when one of them is perceived rude there are not necessarily ill intentions involved (Cristie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003).

Furthermore, the passage of time and generations is likely to bring manners, norms and values of IDPs and the local population closer together. Ding et al argue that the closer a community identify with each other the more likely it is that norms and values will converge but that even low identifiers show some level of norm conformity to the group (Ding, et al. 2001). Local integration is the effort of including IDPs in their host community and aims to permanently settle IDPs in these communities so that they will identify themselves as part of this community and are identified as such by others (Fielden. 2008). Thus local integration could be an important force to norm conversion and thus lesser tensions based on these cultural differences.
4.2.7 Negative image and stigmas of IDPs

It is conceivable that local integration will greatly impact the tensions based on the negative images and stigmas of IDPs. Stereotypes are defined as a fixed impression that conform very little to the facts it represents (Mackie. 1973). In her article Mackie argues that stereotypes stem from opinions, definitions or judgements about a certain group while there is a lack of social contact with this group and that stereotyping is often used as a justification for discrimination (Mackie. 1973). Stereotypes and stigmas are thus preconceived notions about the characteristics of IDPs or about the way they behave.

It stems to reason that in order to break stereotypes these preconceived notions and expectations have to be challenged. If these preconceived notions are based on a lack of social contact local integration of IDPs is likely to help break these stereotypes and stigmas. As discussed earlier in this thesis in addition to a legal and economical component local integration consists of a social component (Crisp. 2004 & Fielden. 2008). This means that for local integration to be successful, IDPs are to be integrated in the daily and social life of society as well. This as a result helps to combat stereotypes because closer interaction between IDPs and their host communities challenges these the fixed impressions of IDPs. Social integration of IDPs will point of the fallacious impressions that make up stereotypes and allow host community members to base their definition/opinion about IDPs on their own experiences (Mackie. 1973).

In Colombia negative images of IDPs are often based on the preconceived notions that they are involved with armed groups or gangs and crime (Arsenault. 2014; Small. 2012 & Zea. 2011). Local integration can challenge those notions in a way as described above. Furthermore, local integration can limit the cases that confirm these preconceived notions. Economic integration and employment will decrease the attractiveness of obtaining money and status by joining armed groups or gangs because poverty among IDPs is the main reason for their relatively high involvement with these a armed groups and gangs (CODHES. 2014).
Small and Zea argued that another major source of stereotypes of IDPs stem from the fact that most IDPs in Bogota end up in the unsafe and poor neighbourhoods and therefore inherit the stigmas of people living in these neighbourhoods (Small. 2012 & Zea. 2011). If local integration is successful it will allow IDPs to leave these neighbourhoods due to their newly obtained economical independency or help IDPs to increase the reputation of these neighbourhoods.
4.2.8 Discrimination and lack of understanding

Discrimination is a grave source of conflict between IDPs and their host communities and a barrier towards local integration. Discrimination refers to unjustifiable negative behaviour or exclusion towards a group or its members (Al Ramiaha, et al. 2010). As discussed in the previous chapter there is a persistent discrimination against IDPs in Bogota and this discrimination is mostly manifested in measures of exclusion but has resulted to more violent reactions as well (Atehortúa Arredondo, et al. 2011 & Consuelo Carrillo. 2009). Al Ramiaha et al argue in their paper that discrimination is the result of a psychological process of group categorization, prejudice and stereotyping. In Bogota this manifested as an in-group of host community members and an out-group of IDPs. According to Al Ramiaha et al this process is enough to favour in-group members and give them preferential treatment (Al Ramiaha, et al. 2010). In Bogota this is often the case with job opportunities as host community members tend to favour their in-group members over IDPs (Zea. 2011). Direct competition between the two groups, as is the case with employment, education and housing in Bogota can aggravate the discrimination and typically generate responses to directly disadvantage the other group (Al Ramiaha, et al. 2010).

Local integration can combat stereotypes and prejudices as discussed earlier and as a result diminish discrimination (Al Ramiaha et al. 2012 & Mackie. 1973). Furthermore, the in-group and out-group categorization in Bogota is based on a refugee or IDP status and a host status. When local integration is successfully implemented IDPs become part of that society and renders the categorization of ‘IDPs’ and ‘hosts’ obsolete as the distinction between the two groups largely disappear (Brun. 2010 & Fielden. 2008).

While this in theory seems plausible it is unlikely that discrimination against IDPs will disappear in reasonable time. First, complete local integration takes years, especially due to the existing poverty in Bogota and with the limited resources of the government (CODHES. 2014). Secondly, the conflict is still on going thus till this day more IDPs are moving to the urban areas like Bogotá (Wong. 2008). Finally, due to the fact that most IDPs move from the rural and coastal areas there is a difference in appearance between people from Bogota and most of the IDPs residing in Bogota (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009 & IDP/host community focus groups. 2014).
The feeling of a lack of understanding towards the hardships among IDPs in Bogota could also be resolved by local integration. Not only will local integration serve as a platform for increased communication between IDPs and host community members and thus create mutual understanding (Cristie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003) but local integration will also create a sense of normality for IDPs. Return to a sense of normality is one of the vital psychological requirements to overcome the traumas experienced by IDPs and provides them with a sense of belonging (Mooney, et al. 2005).
4.3 Desirability of local integration

The third section of this chapter is dedicated to discover why local integration might be an especially effective and desirable solution from in the case of Bogota Colombia, from both the point of view of the IDPs and the community. It will also investigate some of the possible advantages that local integration might have for the community as a whole. Therefore central in this section will be the part of the research question: to what extent is local integration a particular fitting and effective solution for the case of Bogota and how will local integration positively impact the communities in these IDP hosting neighbourhoods in Bogota.

4.3.1 Local integration as an especially fitting solution for the case of Bogota

As described in chapter two, Colombia is in a state of protracted displacement. Returning to their place of origin is not an option for many of the Colombian IDPs due to the on going conflict (Couldry, et al. 2009 & Ferris. 2011). This means that assimilation and integration of IDPs in their host communities might prove to be an especially viable and sustainable solution to end the displacement related needs of IDPs in Colombia. This is the case because as discussed earlier there are three generally accepted sustainable solutions for displacement. The three sustainable settlement options are durable return to their place of origin, local settlement and settlement elsewhere. Ferris rightly concludes that for countries in a state of protracted displacement local integration might be the best solution, as for most IDPs return to their place of origin is not possible and due to the passage of time IDPs often have build up a live for themselves in their host communities which makes replacement elsewhere undesirable. Thus the only sustainable solution that is left is local integration (Ferris. 2011). This is in line with the results of the interviews conducted in Cuidad Bolivar, Bogota because the interviewed IDPs had been living in Cuidad Bolivar ranging from 4 up to 12 years (IDP focus group. 2014).
Another reason of why local integration might be a particular effective solution in the case of Colombia is that the vast majority of cases of displacement are cases of individual displacement, which means the displacement of families or groups of less than 50 people (Consuela Carillo. 2009 & Stirk. 2013). Edgar Lopez, manager of humanitarian assistance with the Catholic Church in Colombia argues that for individual displacement opportunities of assimilation are greater than for those displaced in large groups because larger groups tend to stick together and are therefore more difficult to integrate (Lopez. 2014). This suggests that locally integrating IDPs in Colombia might be easier or more effective than in settings of massive displacement.

Interviewed representatives from both the ICRC and Vidas Móviles in Colombia believe that in addition to the impossibility of return for many IDPs, most that are currently residing in the big cities do not have the intention and do not want to return to their land of origin. This is because of insecurities in their place of origin and due to the fact that during their long period of displacement they have build up their lives in Bogota. An exception are the IDPs displaced in massive displacement, they generally tend to express the desire to move back to their old place of residence. This is because often the reason for their displacement is temporary and because they cluster together which tend to reinforce their mutual desire to move back to their place of origin (Bercerra Melo. 2014 & Carrin. 2014).

This view is consistent with the surveys conducted by the Commission of Public to Monitor Policy on Forced Displacement who found that as little as 3 per cent of the IDP population in Colombia expressed an intention to return. This because of pessimism about their ability to return to their place of origin as well as due to the passage of time and the live they build up in Bogota (Ferris. 2011).
Interviews of IDPs in the locality of Cuidad Bolivar, one of the neighbourhoods with the largest amounts of IDPs in Bogota showed similar results. Out of the 11 IDPs interviewed only 1 expressed that he would like to return to his place of origin if this were Possible. The other felt that their place of origin was either to insecure or haunted by memories they like to forget. In addition, some of the interviewed IDPs expressed that living in Bogota opened up more opportunities for making a living than in their place of origin (IDP community focus group. 2014).

Thus local integration seems a particular fitting solution for the displacement in Colombia.
4.3.2 Local integration as a desirable solution for the community as a whole

Local integration aims to permanently settle IDPs in their community of refuge and end their specific displacement related needs (Fielden. 2008). Because most IDPs face troubles related to their displacement and because they don’t have any intention to move back to their place of origin, local integration is mostly welcomed open armed (IDP community focus group. 2014). Moreover, all IDPs interviewed in Cuidad Bolivar felt that projects aimed at locally integrating IDPs would help in settling the differences between them and the members of their host community (IDP community focus group. 2014). Thus IDPs in Bogota generally regard local integration as highly desired tool to minimize tensions and conflicts with their host communities.

Most host community members interviewed denied that there were any problems between them and the IDPs living in their neighbourhood. However, when pressed on the matter did come up with some issues of tensions. All of the interviewed host community members who admitted that there were problems with IDPs agreed that local integration would be a good solution for resolving these issues (Host community focus group. 2014).

Thus both the IDPs and the local population agree that local integration is a desirable solution for the tension and conflict they experience among each other.

While local integration of IDPs is seen in positive light by both the IDPs themselves and members of their host community in terms of resolving conflict and tension there are also other possible externalities of local integration that could benefit the community as a whole. When IDPs arrive in Bogota they are usually close to subsistence level (Consuela Carillo. 2009). This means that they barely have an impact on the demand of goods. However when these IDPs are successfully integrated in the local labour market and earn an income they can create a demand shock for products and services, which in accordance with basic economics would results in a greater demand for labour. This will lead to a drop in unemployment and an overall economic growth (Ray. 1998).
Evidence of the growth over the long term as a result of local integration can be found in the case of the Kurdish region in Iraq. Over 225000 Syrian refugees have taken refuge in this area. Sood et al argue that the Syrian refugees residing in the Kurdish region of Iraq are greatly contributing to the expected growth of 8 per cent in that region (Sood, et al. 2014). They argue that the efforts of local integration by several NGO's active in the region ensured that these Syrian refugees could benefit and contribute to this economic growth. Syrian refugees took up jobs that the local population did not want or did not thought highly off allowing the refugees to earn a living with dignity, providing for their families while at the same time being productive for their host community (Sood, et al. 2014).

Further research should be done on whether this would work as effectively in Bogota since the context differs from that of the Kurdish region, as there is already a high unemployment prevalent in Bogota. However, this proofs that local integration can definitely impact the economy of host communities in given time.
4.4 Conclusion

This chapter investigated to what extent local integration is an effective solution in resolving tensions and conflict between IDPs and members of their host community and why local integration might be particularly fitting and desirable in the case of Bogota Colombia.

The investigation found that local integration would profoundly impact these tensions in two ways. First, because local integration aims to include IDPs in all aspects of daily live interactions between IDPs and members of their host community is likely to increase. The field of psychology dictates that this will lead to greater understanding and empathy, which in turn will reduce conflict and tensions (Cristie, et al. 2012 & Maiese. 2003).

Secondly, local integration as one of the generally accepted durable solutions for IDPs is aimed at enabling IDPs to become (economically) self-reliant (Ferris. 2011). This will reduce tension and conflict stemming from humanitarian aid, illegal settlements and payment of rents.

However, as discussed by the Brooking Institution, local integration is by no means an easy achievable solution. It will most likely take months or even years to fully integrate IDPs in their host community (Brooking Institution. 2010). The associated stigmas and racism towards IDPs might even prove more difficult to root out. Thus it cannot be expected that tensions between IDPs and their host community will dissolve easily when local integration measures will be implemented. Nonetheless the research in this chapter found sound evidence that over time local integration will shape the community into one with a more inclusive character and thus tensions and conflicts are likely to diminish or resolve over time.

This is especially the case of local integration goes hand in hand with government projects aimed at structurally increasing job opportunities and creating housing opportunities as well as constructing facilities like schools and hospitals.
Local integration will prove to be a particularly fitting solution because Colombia is in a state of protracted displacement, which means that return is not an option for many IDPs. Furthermore the majority of IDPs are displaced individually, which makes local integration easier and a more likely option. In addition, interviews conducted revealed that the vast majority of IDPs residing in Bogota do not intend to return to their place or origin.

These interviews also revealed that both IDPs and the host community members feel that local integration would be a good solution for the tensions that arise between them.
5  good practises and lessons learned for local integration in Bogota

This chapter will analyse what good practises and lessons learned can be distinguished for effectively locally integrating IDPs in their host communities in the case of Bogota, Colombia. Especially taking into account the statistical characteristics of the IDP population in Colombia. This chapter aims to provide valuable insights for other countries with high IDP burdens and where local integration of IDPs might be a viable solution. Central in this chapter will be the question: If local integration means the full inclusion of IDPs in daily life of society, what good practises can be distinguished to help IDPs with their integration?

The chapter will start with the importance of awareness of the availability humanitarian action in the context of IDPs in Bogota, continues with the need for revising the IDP registration process and will move on to good practises and lessons learned relating housing of IDPs, education and retraining and end with the importance of creating good will for local integration with the local population and the government.
5.1 Good practises and lessons learned

5.1.1 Awareness humanitarian assistance

IDPs arriving in urban areas are often in direct need of assistance because they are forced to leave (most) of their assets behind and also lack social security networks that are present in their home communities (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009).

It is only when direct or basic needs have been met that it is possible to start to think of more sustainable solutions like local integration. Hence that initial humanitarian assistance in terms of food and shelter can be seen as a prerequisite for measures aimed at locally integration them in society (Gabaudan. 2012).

In Colombia Law 387 (Ley 387) guarantees de right of IDPs to solicit for humanitarian assistance, to receive their basic human rights under international law and to be protected from discrimination. In accordance with Law 387 it is the Colombian Governments responsibility to facilitate a situation where all these right for IDPs are met. In addition, articles 14 to 17 from Law 387 explain de methods for the government’s obligation to prevent re-displacement and provide humanitarian assistance to fulfil the basic needs of IDPs (Zea. 2011). Thus in theory there is there are mechanisms in place aimed to provide humanitarian assistance to fulfil the basic needs of IDPs arriving in Bogota.

However according to governmental agencies around 75 per cent of the IDPs registered by the government of Bogota receive emergency assistance (UNHCR. 2003). This means that 25 per cent of the registered IDPs do not receive this support. In addition, in Colombia there is a systemic under registration of IDPs. CODHES estimates this that up to 35 per cent of IDPs are not registered as such (CODHES. 2011). This means that a large percentage of IDPs to not receive direct humanitarian assistance.

Creating awareness off the availability of governmental and or NGO emergency relief aimed to fulfil the basic needs of IDPs is an important step towards locally integrating IDPs in Bogota as local integration can only take place once basic needs are fulfilled and a large percentage of IDPs do not receive initial assistance to fulfil their basic needs when they arrive in Bogota.
5.1.2 Revising the IDP registration process

Under law 387, article 14 to 17 it is the governments responsibility to stabilize IDPs socially and economically. Moreover the Constitutional Court of Colombia decided in ruling #T-602 that the governmental has additional obligations towards IDPs with regards to their access to land, dignified employment, housing and in creating social integration projects (Zea. 2011).

However, only IDPs who are registered as such are eligible for government assistance (CODHES. 2011 & Ferris. 2011) and the current system of registration based on regulatory decree 2567/2000 of law 387 systematically undercounts the number of IDPs (Garcia, et al. 2007). Law 387 sets out the following requirements for IDP registration eligibility; the person must be displaced due to the internal conflict and ones forcibly displaced must declare precisely what happened to the public ministry (Garcia, et al. 2007). This excludes for example those displaced by operations of military or police that do not involve other armed actors or are not defined as conflict and civilians displaced by drug trade related issues are also not eligible. In addition paramilitary groups are not seen as a participant in the armed conflict, thus people displaced by their actions cannot obtain IDP status. Furthermore, if traumatized IDPs fail to identify perpetrators their applications are often rejected because their application is considered incomplete. Moreover, despite clarifications of law 387 that IDPs are allowed to register after a year of their displacement, government officials continue to reject people who fail to register within a year of their displacement (Garcia, et al. 2007 & Sanchez Mojica. 2013).

There is thus a clear need for the government to expand the criteria established in law 387 to include a wider range of victims of displacement and allow them to benefit from governmental assistance aimed at local integration. Good practises for NGO’s to increase IDP registration involve helping IDPs with their registration; keeping independent databases of IDPs and lobbying with the government to show the need for a broader interpretation of the definition of IDPs.
5.1.3 Housing

Local integration is unimaginable if IDPs fail to obtain fixed housing or at least a fixed address to affirm their residency in Bogota. This is because IDPs need to affirm their residency in order to access municipal services and registering children in schools (Ferris. 2011). The Colombian court has ruled that it’s the government’s responsibility to support IDPs in obtaining durable housing in reach of public services. In response to this ruling the Colombian government made special housing subsidies available for IDPs (Zea. 2011). However as discussed earlier this housing subsidy does not reflect the real costs of rent in Bogota and is of rather sporadic nature (Consuela Carrillo. 2009).

Outside donors such as NGOs and at times local officials have offered supplementing subsidies, grants or credit to some IDPs to make purchasing a house possible. These supplementing subsidies, grants or credits are however not reaching the entire IDP population by far (Ferris. 2011). Here NGO’s and other donors could definitely step in.

Since maintaining a home requires an income it is sensible to link homes to income generating initiatives, in urban areas like Bogota this can be done by building houses meant for IDPs with space for small businesses such as crafts and locksmiths etc. Constructing houses like this has already been implemented in some parts of Bogota (Ferris. 2011). However, in practise this does not always work out as planned since housing are not always ideally located in areas where their residents can sell what they produce or create or where they can otherwise earn an income. Research done by Ferris discovered that nearly all housing projects linked with income generating projects prove unsustainable without subsidies (Ferris. 2011). Therefore more research and innovation is necessary on how to remove the logistical obstacles that go hand in hand with housing and income generating, especially since a lot of IDPs in Bogota often cannot pay transportation costs (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009).
5.1.4 Education

For children from IDP families settled in Bogota, going to school is often the first step of local integration as it represents the first step of inclusion in their new community (Mooney, et al. 2005). Therefore it can be argued that access to education is crucial for the successful integration of IDP children in society. Not only does education and going to school provide a degree of stability and normality for these often traumatized children and can thus be a well needed source for psychosocial support but it also provides some sort of security in terms of sexual exploitation, forced recruitment and drug use which would only alienate these children further from their new community (Mooney, et al. 2005).

Moreover, education of IDPs and especially their children is an important measure to prevent further exclusion based on the lack of usable knowledge and skills of IDPs for the labour markets in urban settings. Education is especially effective in preventing this exclusion for the next generation (Calderón, et al. 2009 & Lastra. 2011).

Programmes aimed at stimulating IDPs to follow education are highly necessary because school drop out rates of IDPs are systematically higher than those of the local citizen. This continues a situation off chronically under education of IDP communities in respect to local citizen in Bogota (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009).

In Colombia IDPs are given precedence over local civilians in public school. While this provides for great opportunities in terms of education and integration for IDPs, this is also a source of tension between IDPs and their host communities as the host communities feel that IDPs are being privileged (Oyelere, et al. 2013).
5.1.5 Retraining and lobbying for employment of IDPs

Among academics and researchers on the topic of integration, there is a consensus that successful integration is largely determined by the possibility of IDPs to integrate economically or in other words their ability to find employment (Lastra. 2011 & Leus, et al. 2000). Their ability to find work is vital for integration because this breaks the cycle of aid dependency and allows IDPs to participate in other spheres of society.

Since the majority of IDPs used to make a living of farming and fled from rural to urban areas it is not easy to compete for them in the urban labour market where agricultural skills are low valued. This resulted in a high unemployment rate among IDPs and those who did manage to find work are often paid less than the official minimal wage (Consuela Carillo. 2009).

Jeroen Carrin, coordinator of humanitarian assistance with the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) in Colombia argues that retraining IDPs to better fit the demanded skills in urban areas is therefore crucial for the (economic) integration of IDPs (Carrin. 2014). Carrin states that this is certainly not an easy task, about 25 per cent of the IDPs that are being re-educated by the ICRC in Colombia fail to complete their training but for the other 75 per cent this marks a profound change for the better in their life. The Colombian government has a free education facility named the SENA (Serivicio Nacional de Aprendizaje) where all Colombians can do free courses in all different kinds of fields, ranging from languages to administration and from engineering to management. The ICRC believes that these free courses provide for a useable tool in retraining IDPs in Colombia. (Carrin. 2014 & SENA. 2014).

Furthermore, the Colombian government assists IDPs to achieve socioeconomic stability and offer training to IDPs as part of this responsibility. However, access to this training is low. Only 12 per cent of the registered IDP households benefit from these training programmes. The reason for the ineligibility of most IDPs is that they lack the required level of education to be eligible for these trainings or cannot pay the additional costs like transportation that these training programs entail (Consuelo Carrillo. 2009).

In addition of providing retraining by means of using the SENA, NGOs are in a position to help IDPs by facilitating transportation or means for transportation to these IDPs willing to take these governmental trainings.
5.1.6 Creating good will among the actors of the host communities

The success or failure of effective local integration is highly depended on the cooperation of (local) governments, the local community and on the IDPs themselves. If programmes aimed at local integration threaten the security or the stability of either the local community or the displaced it will most likely fail (Jacobsen. 2003).

Therefore, there is a lot to gain for the process of local integration by creating good will among the actors involved and especially the host community members. This can easily be done by increasing awareness for the necessity of local integration and benefits it will bring to the community as a whole (Jacobsen. 2003).

However, from the interviews conducted in Cuidad Bolivar can be concluded that the majority of the host community members already see the benefits of integrating IDPs in their communities (Host community focus group. 2014).
5.2 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to answer the sub research question: If local integration means the full inclusion of IDPs in daily life of society, what good practices and lessons learned can be distinguished to help IDPs with their integration in Bogota?

The investigation found that there is a lack of awareness of the availability of humanitarian assistance when IDPs arrive in Bogota and that this is a prerequisite for local integration, because only when basic needs are met is it possible to start with durable solutions such as local integration. Furthermore, in theory there is a broad range of government support projects aimed at locally integrating IDPs but in practise due to the lack of government funding and a narrow legal definition of IDPs most IDPs do not (fully) benefit from these government programmes.

Measures aimed at educating and re-educating IDPs will prove to be a vital step in the process of locally integrating IDPs since most IDPs struggle to provide for themselves due to the lack of usable skills. When economic integration fails it is likely that the whole process of integration will fail.

Finally it is necessary to stress the importance of local integration with all the actors involved to create goodwill and show them the mutual benefits of integrating IDPs. When one or more of the parties involved fail to see these benefits local integration is likely to fail because for local integration to be successful cooperation from all parties is required.
Conclusion

The research conducted in this thesis aimed to discover what kind of tension and conflicts arise between IDPs and their host communities in Colombia and whether local integration of IDPs in these communities proves to be an effective and desirable solution to the tensions and conflicts they experience.

This investigation uncovered various sources for conflict between IDPs and their host community. Tensions tend to stem from competition over resources, facilities and employment, in addition humanitarian assistance to IDPs often creates resentment and jealousy. These conflicts tend to be aggravated by the stigmas and increasingly negative perception of IDPs by members of their host community. There is a clear need for resolving these tensions and conflicts as these conflicts leads to an increased discrimination and marginalization of IDPs in society and is one of the main causes for re-displacement of IDPs in urban Colombia.

Local integration is the full inclusion of IDPs in all dimensions (Economic, legal, sociocultural etc.) of society in their community of refuge. Local integration is also generally considered as one of the durable and sustainable solutions for the problems faced by IDPs that are related to their displacement.

The investigation in this thesis found evidence that local integration efforts can be an effective way of reducing the tensions and conflict between IDPs and their host communities. This is because local integration leads to increased communication and interaction between the groups which in turn is likely to stress commonalities, create understanding and empathy. Furthermore, economical integration and access to the labour market means that IDPs can move on from aid dependency and potentially create a sustainable livelihood. This is also likely to diminish tensions between IDPs and their host communities because this renders aid programmes specifically aimed at IDPs obsolete and allow IDPs to pay rent and actively participate in other dimensions of society. During the investigation it became clear that local integration will prove to be especially effective as a mean of resolving tensions when it goes hand in hand with government efforts to create employment opportunities and government projects to structurally decrease the
population pressure in Bogota, like for example creating housing opportunities and increasing the amount of public facilities.

Local integration seems to be a particularly fitting solution for the case of Bogota, Colombia because Colombia is in a state of protracted displacement, which means that there is no possibility of return in the foreseeable future for most IDPs. In addition the majority of IDPs in Bogota expressed that they have no intention of returning to their place of origin.

This research found that vital to the process of local integration is the ability of IDPs to integrate economically. Therefore measure as re-education and helping IDPs to find job opportunities are crucial in successful managing integration of IDPs in Bogota, Colombia. Furthermore the successfulness of local integration is highly depended on the cooperation of all parties involved. Therefore it is important to stress the mutual benefits that local integration can bring to the community.
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