Introduction: Internal Displacement Globally and in Colombia

Global internal displacement

Worldwide, in 2012, a total of 28.8 million persons were displaced from their homes due to generalized violence and human rights violations, while remaining within the borders of their countries of origin, the highest figure ever recorded. Based on the United Nations report, Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, the international humanitarian aid community uses the following consensus definition for internally displaced persons (IDPs):"

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

Therefore, IDPs are different from “refugees,” persons who seek refuge by fleeing from their home countries and crossing an international frontier to reside, albeit under austere conditions, in another nation. Across the globe, there are twice as many IDPs as refugees. By remaining within their home countries, IDPs may not be protected by the full complement of human rights safeguards that are accorded to refugees. Furthermore, IDPs are frequently beyond the reach of aid from humanitarian actors. Compared with refugees, international media are less able to record the plight of IDPs who have no “voice” calling attention to their needs.

Colombia occupies a unique niche within the global patterns of internal displacement. The dynamics of forced migration within Colombia are, in fact, so novel as to warrant this case study. This commentary portrays the defining characteristics of conflict-induced internal displacement in Colombia that set this nation apart (Table 1 and Fig. 1). Differentiating displacement due to conflict from displacement due to natural disasters

The discussion is prefaced with an important clarification regarding two types of displacement, both of which are mentioned in the United Nations definition of IDPs. Populations of persons displaced due to armed conflict and human rights abuses – the focus of this commentary – must be differentiated from populations displaced by natural or human-made disasters. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) in Geneva, Switzerland, together with the Norwegian Refugee Council, monitors both types of displaced populations simultaneously – and separately. *Correspondence to: James M Shultz; Email: jamesmichaelshultz@gmail.com Submitted: 01/12/13; Accepted: 01/12/13 http://dx.doi.org/10.4161/dish.27885 Keywords: internal displacement, internally displaced persons, victims of armed conflict, humanitarian crisis, complex emergency, forced displacement, forced migration
According to the IDMC, "In 2012, an estimated 32.4 million people in 82 countries were newly displaced by disasters; 144 million over five years." Clearly, the number of disaster-displaced persons is dauntingly large. As a recent example, three million persons were abruptly and acutely displaced when Super Typhoon Haiyan pummeled the Philippines in November 2013.

Conflict-displaced and disaster-displaced populations differ fundamentally in terms of the events that precipitate displacement. While natural disasters are non-intentional "acts of nature," armed conflict involves intentional human malevolence and harm. Conflict-induced displacement is a human-perpetrated act.

Massive internal displacement due to violence, extortion, and human rights violations can be described within a disaster classification scheme as an intentional anthropogenic (human-generated) armed-conflict disaster that escalates to a protracted complex emergency/humanitarian crisis.

Most disaster-displaced persons are able to return to their homes within days or months to repair or rebuild once the natural disaster threat subsides. However, conflict-displaced persons usually cannot return home because their communities of origin are controlled, and typically occupied, by the armed actors who forced their expulsion. Disaster-displaced persons temporarily vacate their homes due to pre-impact disaster threat, or hazardous conditions during impact, or post-disaster devastation. However, unlike conflict-displaced persons, these individuals and families have not been dispossessed of their property and driven from their communities; they can return when the physical hazards subside.

Duration of displacement is another point of divergence. Disaster-related displacement tends to be transient and time-limited. In contrast to the relative brevity of disaster displacement, for more than 90% of nations where IDMC maintains surveillance of conflict-displaced IDPs, the agency describes the situation as "protracted." As an on-point case example, Colombia has recently experienced both types of displacement simultaneously. In 2010, extending into 2011, deluging rains caused extensive river and "overland" flooding, and triggered mudslides, for a period of more than eight months. An estimated 1.5–2.2 million Colombians were displaced due to this prolonged flooding disaster. Fortunately, by 2013, almost all had successfully returned to the communities they had vacated to escape the floods. According to IDMC tabulations, the majority of the two million persons who were routed by the floods were counted as persons displaced by a "natural hazard-induced disaster." However, a proportion of these flood-displaced persons had been previously displaced due to the armed conflict. When the floodwaters receded, these "doubly-displaced" individuals were able to return to their communities of resettlement, but not to the rural communities of their childhood from which they had been expelled. No longer flood-displaced, they resumed their precarious status as conflict-displaced IDPs.

Defining Features of Conflict-Associated Internal Displacement in Colombia

What dynamics are operating to make the Colombian IDP situation special and distinct from internal displacement elsewhere in the world? Among the many defining characteristics, we have selected 15 to highlight in this commentary, grouped into three categories (Table 1).

Numbers and time trends

1) Colombia has the largest population of conflict-affected internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world

Globally, almost one-in-five IDPs reside in Colombia. Estimated at 5.7 million in 2013, Colombia’s IDP population accounts for 19% of the worldwide total. IDMC reports IDP numbers as a range, incorporating both the data compiled by the Colombian government and separate, higher tallies that are produced annually by the research arm of the Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (La Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento: CODHES).

2) In the Western Hemisphere, Colombia is the only nation with a large IDP population

Colombia’s population of IDPs is geographically distant from all other major international hubs of forced displacement. A glance at IDMC’s global map of displaced populations tells this story at eye-blink speed (Fig. 2). Large numbers of IDPs – more than 80% of the world’s total - are found throughout dozens of...
nations in Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. Yet, as the map clearly displays, far away from these major concentrations of IDPs, and geographically separated by vast oceans, the entire Western Hemisphere is devoid of IDP populations except for the nations of Colombia, Peru, and Mexico. On closer inspection, among these three, Colombia alone has appreciable numbers. In fact, Colombian IDPs account for 95% of the Western Hemisphere’s total of six million.1

Furthermore, with an estimated national population of 45.7 million citizens in July, 2013,11 one-in-eight Colombian citizens is displaced. At 12.5% of the population, this reflects one of the highest population proportions of displaced persons anywhere.

3) Internal displacement in Colombia is unidirectional

Once displaced, most Colombian IDPs are displaced for life, and potentially, for multiple generations. Children are born into displacement and it is likely they will remain IDPs lifelong. So far, no effective remedies have been found to allow IDPs to safely return to their communities of origin and reclaim their property. As a consequence, year over year, the Colombian tally of IDPs grows larger. Figure 3 displays this trend clearly; IDP numbers achieve a new peak each year.9

4) Colombian internal displacement is protracted in time

Internal displacement in Colombia has continued unabated for decades. Although displacement started earlier, the Colombian government has maintained detailed national statistics on internal displacement since 1985 and Figure 4 presents trends in numbers of “expulsions” each year. Annual numbers of forced expulsions generally increased throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, punctuated by a very steep rise during the four-year period, 1999–2002 (Fig. 4).9 However, since 2003, while the cumulative numbers of Colombian IDPs have increased every year, the rate of increase has generally decreased over time (Fig. 3).9 Thus, for the past decade, since 2003, Colombia’s IDP trend might best be described as “simmering rather than boiling.”

5) The current situation in Colombia does not qualify as “crisis displacement”

Sudden, brisk “crisis” displacement occurs in flaring conflict zones around the globe. Since the turn of the millennium, a series of wars, national uprisings, violent mass demonstrations, genocidal actions, and combat flashpoints have triggered surging displacement elsewhere in the world. With crisis displacement, the numbers of IDPs rapidly escalate but usually decline as the conflict resolves.

In contrast to crisis displacement, the unidirectional nature and the extended duration of Colombia’s internal displacement sustain its rank among the nations with the highest counts of current IDPs. Only occasionally, and briefly, has crisis displacement caused another nation to surpass Colombia’s tally of IDPs. This happened, for example, in 2009 when the Darfur conflict moved Sudan slightly ahead of Colombia in total numbers of IDPs, but only for that year (IDMC 2010).12

6) Internal displacement in Colombia: One of the most compelling humanitarian crises no one knows

Despite Colombia’s exceptional status numerically, the narrative of forced displacement in Colombia is neither widely publicized nor broadly disseminated throughout the international community. Perhaps this failure to garner and galvanize attention beyond Colombia’s borders relates to the pace and longevity of displacement in Colombia. In Colombia, internal displacement has been a long-term reality rather than a breaking news story.

Raging war is a magnet for media. Concentrated news coverage has been devoted in recent years to IDPs and refugees in the Middle East (Syria, Iraq, Turkey) and equatorial Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, South Sudan,  

| Table 1. Defining features of internal displacement in Colombia |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Numbers and Time Trends |                                                                 |
| 1 | Colombia has the largest population of conflict-affected internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world. |
| 2 | In the Western Hemisphere, Colombia is the only nation with a large IDP population. |
| 3 | Internal displacement in Colombia is unidirectional. |
| 4 | Colombian internal displacement is protracted in time. |
| 5 | The current situation in Colombia does not qualify as “crisis displacement.” |
| 6 | Internal displacement in Colombia: One of the most compelling humanitarian crises no one knows. |
| Armed Conflict and Territorial Control |                                                                 |
| 7 | Ongoing armed conflict provides the context for internal displacement in Colombia. |
| 8 | Colombian internal displacement is complexly related to drug trafficking. |
| 9 | Multiple mechanisms contribute to Colombian internal displacement. |
| 10 | The predominant pattern of Colombian internal displacement is rural-to-urban. |
| IDPs as Victims of Armed Conflict |                                                                 |
| 11 | In Colombia, those who are displaced have no defining identity, nor unifying organization, nor historical enemies. |
| 12 | Special populations are disproportionately represented among IDPs. |
| 13 | Colombian IDPs are officially designated as “victims of armed conflict.” |
| 14 | Colombian IDPs have no safe place to migrate and no safe alternatives to return. |
| 15 | The rigors of IDP existence are replete with psychological consequences. |
Internal displacement worldwide

Figure 2. World map of internal displacement, 2012. Source: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva Switzerland, 2013.
(Somalia). Each of these regions represents about 20–25% of IDPs worldwide. However, although Colombia alone - a single nation - contributes a comparable percentage of IDPs to the global total, the saga of internal displacement in Colombia receives only modest attention from the international media.1

Armed conflict and territorial control

7) Ongoing armed conflict provides the context for internal displacement in Colombia

Armed conflict is regarded as the chief cause of internal displacement in Colombia.13 Displacement in Colombia takes place within the context of a decades-long armed insurgency that has created a fluid checkerboard of power throughout the nation. Internal displacement has occurred at the hands of multiple armed actors including left-wing guerrilla, right-wing paramilitary, and even the actions of the Colombian military itself.9,10,14 Armed groups are financed through a variety of illegal enterprises including drug and arms trafficking, extortion, kidnaping, money laundering, and unlawful extraction of Colombia’s natural resources including petroleum, coal, gold, and silver.14-16 In areas under their control, armed groups impose crippling taxes on the landholding peasants (“campesinos”).15

The conflict is prolonged, complex, and changeable: armed groups of all types battle the Colombian military and National Police; right-wing paramilitary, ostensibly to “protect” the landholding peasants, battle the left-wing guerrilla; and internecine skirmishes erupt among rival guerrilla factions. The official “demobilization” and disarmament of the largest paramilitary group was heralded as a landmark event in the peace process, but former paramilitary personnel have regrouped and fractionated into numerous, potentially more vicious, narco-paramilitary units such as the notorious Black Eagles.10

Figure 3. Trends in annual total numbers of IDPs and rate of increase in IDPs, 1998–2012. Source: Acción Social.9

Figure 4. Trends in numbers of internally displaced persons in Colombia, 1985–2012, displaying numbers “expelled” and numbers officially registered by year. Source: Acción Social.9
Regardless of the political ideology and rhetoric espoused, pragmatically, forced displacement serves as a means for armed actors to expand their power and territory. Territorial control affords many advantages including military dominance of the region and concealment of a variety of illicit activities. Figure 5 displays the time trends in displacement in relation to the armed groups responsible for the expulsions.8

8) Colombian internal displacement is complexly related to drug trafficking

Colombia is well known to be the primary cocaine supplier to the world. In recent years, there has been diversification of drug crop cultivation and drug processing, so that currently, Colombia is also one of the major suppliers of heroin entering the United States.17

The interrelationship between narco-trafficking and internal displacement is complicated. As the primary source of financing for armed groups, the influence of the drug trade pervades all insurgent activities. Several of the dominant motivations for expanding land holdings by displacing campesinos and other vulnerable groups include: cultivation of drug crops (coca and amapola – opium poppy), concealment of clandestine drug processing laboratories, control over drug trafficking routes, and unencumbered participation in ancillary illegal enterprises including money laundering and arms trafficking.18,19

9) Multiple mechanisms contribute to Colombian internal displacement

The confluence of multiple means for multiple actors to gain control of lands has amplified the numbers of Colombian IDPs. Over years, internal displacement within Colombia has been perpetrated through forceful seizure of land, fraudulent sales of land, loss of land put up as loan collateral, and expulsion of indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians from their territories of origin.20

The actual mechanisms of displacement are numerous and malleable over time. A 2004 Social Solidarity Network household study conducted in 13 municipalities identified the precipitating events leading to displacement. The top three were: threats (39% of participating households), armed clashes (23% of households), and murders or massacres (18% of households).21 Forced recruitment of family members, especially adolescent youth, has also served as an impetus for families to abandon their lands.22

While 86% of displacements involve individuals and families,9 in recent years, “mass displacements” have occurred with regularity. Mass displacements are characterized as having entire communities surrender their lands and their livelihoods following episodes of threats, disappearances, public torture of community leaders, assassination of family members or neighbors, or other atrocities.9,14,22-26 Certain geographic areas have become foci for mass displacement in contrast to the more diffuse patterning of individual and family displacement (Fig. 6).9

Land disputes, ranging from legitimate transactions to fraudulent deals, contribute to forced displacement. Some persons have lost lands homesteaded by generations of family members because they lacked clear title to the land. Opportunists have legally acquired property rights through forced sales (for example when mortgages cannot be paid or when borrowers default on debts involving property as collateral). More often, acquisition of lands and homes has occurred through such fraudulent actions as destruction of notarized documents, illegal acts of sale between individuals, arbitrary verdicts by authorities in awarding land titles, or the creation of counterfeit deeds.22 Furthermore, legal actors - private companies and commercial enterprises - have sought to consolidate land holdings to grow oil palms and other lucrative cash crops and to monopolize Colombian natural resources.18,22

10) The predominant pattern of Colombian internal displacement is rural-to-urban

In Colombia, displacement is about acquisition of rural lands by armed groups so, by extension, almost all displacement...
(92%) originates in rural areas. Those who are displaced relocate to urban environs. Examination of the map displaying (rural) areas of expulsion, for the period 1985–2012, provides instant visual reinforcement for this point (Fig. 7). The remainder of the displacement involves urban-to-urban resettlement. The rural-to-urban migration of displaced persons is congruent with the geographic overlap of regions of armed conflict and areas of residence of vulnerable populations of campesinos, indigenous peoples, and Afro-Colombians whose lands have been confiscated.

In Colombia, a nation notable for the extraordinary diversity of its ecosystems, “rural” is not wholly synonymous with agrarian. Although the far-ranging Eastern Plains (Llanos Orientales) and the fertile coffee-growing regions are optimal for cultivation of crops, both licit and illicit, there are other areas unsuitable for agriculture but desirable for other purposes. For example, the spectacular Colombian Andes are tri-sected into three towering ranges (cordilleras), separated by the two deeply channeled river valleys of the Rio Magdalena and the Rio Cauca. Rugged, impassable mountain terrain, interspersed with lush, impenetrable valleys, provides cover for armed groups. Guerrilla forces divide their personnel into small units, allowing them to move nimbly and escape detection as they traverse secluded habitats that they know well and control. Armed groups have displaced residents from villages along the Andes ranges and the intervening river valleys. Additional displacements have occurred in the northern departments (states) bordering the Atlantic Ocean and the western departments along the Pacific Ocean.

**IDPs as victims of armed conflict**

11) In Colombia, those who are displaced have no defining identity, nor unifying organization, nor historical enemies. Internal displacement in Colombia might be regarded as an “enemy-less” enterprise. Diverging from the situations found in other countries with large populations of IDPs, those who are displaced in Colombia are not enemies of the State, nor militants engaged as parties to armed conflict, nor distinctive groups singled out for ethnic cleansing or genocidal actions. Colombia’s IDPs are primarily a diffuse and unorganized amalgam of rural peasant landholders (“campesinos”) and indigenous or Afro-Colombian peoples whose territories are appropriated to benefit various armed actors, narco-traffickers, and criminal bands.

Displacement is about acquisition of land, not about vanquishing a foe. No armed group has declared war against the Colombian campesino. Campesinos have no defining identity, no unifying organization, and no historical enemies. As rural peasants, the landholding campesinos possess very modest acreages of a valuable and desired commodity – their lands. With large expanses of Colombia beyond the reach of governmental protection, campesinos have been vulnerable for generations to seizure of their lands by the numerous means described, with the most common theme being forced dispossession of land through actual or threatened harm and extortion.

In Colombia, population displacement is a means, not a goal. The ever-expanding population of Colombian IDPs results from the “territorial imperative” of the armed insurgency and allied narco-trafficking operations rather than from any intentional
military campaign to inflict harm. The existence of Colombia’s large population of IDPs may be viewed as “collateral damage” in someone else’s conflict. “Collateral displacement” might be a better term.

12) Special populations are disproportionately represented among IDPs

Colombian IDP populations depart markedly from national population demographics in terms of high proportions of women, children, and ethnic minorities. Regarding age and gender, examination of the population pyramids for IDPs overlaid upon the national population reveals two important sets of findings. First, regarding age at the time of expulsion, infants and children, ages 0–14 y, are heavily overrepresented. However, all ages, 20 and older, are underrepresented and the degree of underrepresentation increases with advancing age (Fig. 8A). Also evident is the greater representation of adolescent and young women compared with adolescent and young men. In summary, a high proportion of persons who are acutely displaced are young children and adolescent and young adult women.

Second, because of the long-term nature of displacement, the population pyramid showing the current age and gender of IDPs displays the aging effect relative to the distribution at the moment of displacement (Fig. 7B). For current IDPs, ages 5 to 24 are overrepresented compared with the national population pyramid, but there is a startling underrepresentation of infants and toddlers, ages 0–4 y. The IDP population is principally composed of adolescents and younger adults in the age range of 10–39 y, and again the proportions of women are greater than the corresponding proportions of men. There are proportionally fewer elderly IDPs but the numbers are filling in as persons live more years in displacement.

Women and children comprise 70% of IDPs in the nation’s capital city, Bogota.26,27 Bogota is a sprawling metropolis of 9 million inhabitants, perched in the high Andes (altitude: 2,600 m), and serves as the major “receptor” city for IDPs. Women account for 48% of IDPs in Bogota and 41% of these IDP women are single heads of household.26 IDP women are especially vulnerable as they must balance wage-earning – most commonly in meager “informal sector” jobs - and single-parenting responsibilities.28

Regarding cultural makeup, Colombia’s IDP population is notably characterized by overrepresentation of indigenous peoples and persons of Afro-Colombian origin who have been exposed to violence, displaced from their rural homes, and dispossessed of their property. These ethnic minorities collectively account for 26% of the IDP population.9 Figures 9A and B portray the rural areas of origin of IDPs of Afro-Colombian and indigenous ethnicity in 2012.9

13) Colombian IDPs are officially designated as “victims of armed conflict.”

Colombia is characterized by nearly-universal, population-wide exposure to trauma and loss.29 Internal displacement is one prominent element within an encompassing pattern of societal and community-wide violence in Colombia.20,29 In fact, both governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations tend to eschew the use of the term “desplazados” in favor of using the overarching categorical expression, “victims of the armed conflict.” Subsumed under this category are persons who have been affected by, or exposed to, combat, terrorist acts, improvised explosive devices, antipersonnel mines, massacres, homicides, kidnapping, forced disappearance, assaults, gender-based violence, torture – and internal displacement.30 Identification, registration, and provision of services for all categories of victims – with IDPs featured prominently – has become a major national initiative within Colombia following passage of landmark legislation in 2011 entitled, “Law 1448: The Law of the Victims and The Restitution of Lands.”31

14) Colombian IDPs have no safe place to migrate and no safe alternatives to return

For many displaced persons, the fears of threat-to-life-and-wellbeing that forced them to abandon their places of origin do not cease once they reach the cities. Once resettled, IDPs may not register their status as displaced persons despite the access to services that that such a declaration will bring. There are three principal reasons for keeping their IDP status hidden: 1) IDPs may possess sensitive and potentially incriminating information regarding the activities of subversive groups in their communities of eviction and therefore their migration may be monitored by those who do not want this information divulged; 2) in some communities, IDPs are wrongly
viewed as having affiliation with the very armed groups that caused their displacement; and 3) IDP leaders who have actively sought redress for property losses and restoration of rights, and some persons who have actively advocated on behalf of IDPs, have been threatened or killed.\textsuperscript{24,32} These threats and assassinations perpetuate the terror for IDPs who are already victims. The specific actors are yet to be defined but appear to include informants from among the ranks of current or former paramilitaries, guerrilla, or criminal “bands” (BACRIM).

One of the major barriers is the fear and reticence on the part of IDPs themselves to return to their home territories. Despite the hardships, the majority of IDPs, when polled, have indicated their preference to remain in their communities of resettlement.\textsuperscript{33} At present, the greatest hope for allowing IDPs to return to their lands is
“The Law of the Victims and The Restitution of Lands” that specifies the rights of IDPs and provides them with both legal recourse and access to a spectrum of health care and vocational programs.11

15) The rigors of IDP existence are replete with psychological consequences

While experiencing multiple crippling losses, conflict-displaced IDPs are forced to live marginally in urban settings. Their social networks are shattered through trauma and displacement. Once relocated, IDPs face the stressors of physical and economic survival in unfamiliar places and vulnerable circumstances. These stressors elevate risks for psychopathology, including diagnoses of such common mental disorders major depression, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and generalized anxiety as well as somatic complaints and increased consumption of alcohol, prescription medications and illicit drugs.20,34-36 The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that half of IDPs exhibit mental health problems, yet mental health needs are largely unmet and only rarely addressed with evidence-based interventions.37

Displacement is not characterized as a focal traumatic event. Rather displacement entails a succession of exposures to trauma and loss. Many IDPs have experienced a period of repeated threats in their home village culminating in an event so disturbing or life-threatening as to trigger displacement (e.g., massacre). This is followed by a migratory journey in search of safer habitation and a transition period of multiple temporary resettlements. Thereafter IDPs experience a prolonged life struggle of survival in often-hostile urban environments living “permanently” displaced. Throughout this trajectory, IDPs experience extreme adversities that elevate their risks for physical and mental disorders.20,34-37

Concluding Comments

Taken together these 15 characteristics of internal displacement in Colombia present a case example without parallel elsewhere in the world. Colombia’s IDP population, the largest in the world, is geographically remote from all other centers of conflict-induced displacement. IDP tallies accrue due to the unidirectional nature of displacement that occurs continuously over decades. Expulsion of landholding peasants – particularly women and children - and indigenous/Afro-Colombian peoples from their rural homelands is perpetrated by multiple...
armed actors (guerrilla, paramilitary, narco-traffickers, criminal bands) intent upon expanding their land holdings to gain power and strategic advantage for their illicit operations, including drug and arms trafficking. Once displaced, Colombian IDPs are unable to find safe refuge and they must adjust to the hardships of marginal urban existence while living in environments of danger, health threat, and exposure to violence. The tortuous journey from expulsion through all phases of relocation and resettlement involves significant loss and trauma with attendant high risks for developing debilitating psychological disorders.

Given these dynamics, the extremity of life as a Colombian IDP is a challenging humanitarian crisis that needs to be broadcast to an international audience. Fortunately, the plight of IDPs is fully acknowledged within Colombia and, as an outcome of the recently-passed Law of the Victims, a broad spectrum of programs is currently being implemented with potential for improving the health, economic, and social well-being of IDPs nationwide (Fig. 10).

**Disclosure of Potential Conflicts of Interest**
No potential conflicts of interest were disclosed.

---

**References**

1. Albuja S, Arnaud E, Beytrion F, Caterina M, Charron G, Fruehauf U, Glazt AK, Half K, Howard C, Kok F, et al. **Global Overview 2012**: People internally displaced by conflict and violence. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva, Switzerland, 2013. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/global-overview-2012. Accessed 10 January 2014.

2. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance. **Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement**. United Nations publication E/ CN.4/1998/53/Add.2, 1998. Reprinted at OCHA / IDP/2004/01, 2004. Available at: http://www.unocha.org/what-we-do/policy/thematic-areas/displacement. Accessed 10 January 2014.

3. Yonetani M. **Global estimates 2012**: People displaced by disasters. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva, Switzerland, 2013. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/global-estimates-2012. Accessed 10 January 2014.

4. Wikipedia. **Internal Displacement**. Available at: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geographic_list_of_Conflict_2014. Accessed 10 January 2014.

5. Shultz JM, Espinol Z, Galea S, Reissman DE. **Disaster Ecology: Implications for Disaster Psychiatry**. In RJ Ursano, CS Fullerston, L Weissarch, B Raphael (Eds.). **Textbook of Disaster Psychiatry**, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 69-96.

6. Shultz JM, Espinol Z, Flynn BW, Hoffman Y, Cohen RE. **DEEP PREP: All-Hazards Disaster Behavioral Health Training.** Disaster Life Support Publishing, Tampa, Florida, 2007.

7. Yonetani M. **Displacement due to natural hazard-induced disasters: Global estimates for 2009 and 2010**. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva, Switzerland, 2011. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/idmc/website/resources.nsf/(httpPublications)/D55B866C3B05DE0C12578A7002C0FE1?OpenDocument. Accessed 10 January 2014.

8. Refugees International. **Surviving Alone**: Improving Assistance to Colombia’s Flood Victims. Available at: http://refugeesinternational.org/policy/depth-report/surviving-alone-improving-assistance-colombia-flood-victims. Accessed 10 January 2014.

9. Accion Social. **Informe Nacional de Desplazamiento Forzado en Colombia, 1985 a 2012.** Accion Social: Unidad Para la Atención y Reparación Integral a Las Victimas, June, 2013. Available at: http://www.cijira-castro.org.co/attachments/article/500/Informe%20de%20Desplazamiento%201985-2012%20%28Version%29_1.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

10. Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (CODHES). **De La Seguridad a La Propiedad Democratica en Medio del Conflicto.** Documentos CODHES 23, October, 2011. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/08257080F004CE09B8/(httpDocuments)/081D0468B7EB8E6C12575EFE004F4F15/file/Codhes_WEB%207%20-%20N32%20-%20Septiembre+2011.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

11. Central Intelligence Agency. The World Fact Book: South America: Colombia. Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/co.html. Accessed December 16, 2013.

12. Albuja S, Anwar A, Beau C, Birleand NM, Caterina M, Charron G, Cosma S, de Croy V, Dolores R, Farmer A, Giorgi J, Glazt AK, Half K, Holloway S, Jenningo E, Jimenez C, Khalil K, Kok F, Lopez CP, Manzini K, McCalin B, Montemuro M, Perez L, Ridgetons K, Rohing J, Shabinian J, Shekht NM, Sluga N, Spence A, Waliciki N, Yonetani M, Zeender G. **Internal Displacement: Global Overview of Trends and Developments in 2010.** Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva, Switzerland, 2010. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/global-overview-2010. Accessed 10 January 2014.

13. Acción Social. **Desplazamiento forzado en Colombia.** 2010. Available at: http://www.dps.gov.co/documentos/Retornos/CIDH%20Desplazamiento%20Forzado%20en%20Colombia%20Marzo%202010%20para%20%20Canciller%23%20AD1.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

14. Strik C. **Colombia: Resources for Human Response and Poverty Rederbation Assistance: A Development Initiative.** 2013. Available at: http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Colombia-final-draft.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

15. InSight Crime. **Organized Crime in the Americas: The FARC, the Process of Pay and the Possible Criminalization of the Guerilla.** 2013. Available at: http://www.insightcrime.org/specials/farc_pez_criminal.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

16. CITPax and Observatorio Internacional. **Actores Armados Illegales y Sector Extractivo en Colombia.** V Informe, 2012. Available at: http://www.telefonox.com/uploads/Actores_armados_ilegales_sector_extractivos.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

17. McCoy CB, Ciccarone DH, McCoy Bengoa AJ, Espinel Z, Bernal O, McBride DC, Shultz JM. **Escalating Heroin Consumption and the Spread of HIV in Colombia.** In: Bagley, B. (ed). Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida, USA, 2014.

18. Cologna L. **La restitucion de la tierra y la prevencion del desplazamiento forzado en Colombia.** Revista Estudios Socio-Juridicos, 2010;12(2):11-58. Available at: http://revistas.urosario.edu.co/index. php/sociojuridicos/article/view/1565. Accessed 10 January 2014.

19. Torres Vega N. **Desplazamiento forzado y enfoque diferencial: Una posibilidad de intervencion/accion en ambitos de exclusion.** Tendencias: Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y Administrativas, Universidad de Nariño, 2011; XII (2):106-112. Available at: http://revistas.udernar.edu.co/index.php/period/articulo/view/537. Accessed 10 January 2014.

20. Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières. Three time victims: Victims of violence, silence and neglect. Armed conflict and mental health in the department of Caqueta, Colombia, 2010 Available at: http://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/publications/reports/2010/MSE_Colombia_Three-Time-Victims.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

21. Ibanez AM, Moya A. La poblacion desplazada en Colombia: examen de sus condiciones socioeconomicas y analisis de las politicas actuales. Bogotá, Colombia: Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, 2007.

22. Colombia UNHCR. **Operacion Colombia: Las Tierras de la Poblacion Desplazada.** UNHCR/ACNUR, Bogota Branch, Bogotá, Colombia, 2012. Available at: http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documents/RefugiadosAmerica/Colombia/2012/Situacion_Colombia_Las_Tierras%20_2012.pdf/view-1. Accessed 10 January 2014.

23. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. Colombia: IDP Movements and Patterns. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/idmc/website/countries/en/index.jsp?28&envEnvelopes%28%200020A%20E811B4D4FAC12575E5005649FB3D0OpenDocument. Accessed 10 January 2014.

24. Gonzalez Bustelo M. Desterros: el Desplazamiento Forzado sigue Aumentando En Colombia. Convergencia 2002; 27:41-78; Available at: http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=10502702. Accessed 10 January 2014.

25. Franco A. Los desplazamientos internos en Colombia: una conceptualización política para el logro de soluciones de largo plazo. Colombia Internacional, 1998; 42:5-26. Available at: http://colombiainternacional.unianides.edu.co/wp-content.php/238/view.php. Accessed 10 January 2014.

26. Peace Brigades International. Colombia, desplazamientos forzados en Colombia, crimen y tragedia humanitaria. Colombia: Editorial CÓDICE Ltda. Available at: http://www.pbs-colombia.org/fileadmin/userfiles/projects/colombia/files/colomPBIa/100107_boletin_PBI_desplazamiento_2010_WEB.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.

27. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. Colombia: Building momentum for land restoration: Towards property restitution for IDPs in Colombia. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refugee Council, Geneva, 2010. Available at: http://www.internal-displacement.org/08257080F004CE09B8/(httpDocuments)/081D0468B7EB8E6C12575EFE004F4F15/file/Codhes_WEB%207%20-%20N32%20-%20Septiembre+2011.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.
28. Galindo-Cubillos S. Ser mujer desplazada en Bogotá, Colombia: Universidad del Rosario, 2009. Available at: http://repository.urosario.edu.co/bitstream/10336/1625/1/52865587.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.
29. Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières-Holland. Living in Fear: Colombia’s Cycle of Violence. MSF-Holland, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, April, 2006. Available at: http://www.msf.org.au/resources/reports/report/article/living-in-fear-colombias-cycle-of-violence.html. Accessed 10 January 2014.
30. Acción Social. Guía de Atencion y orientacion. Reparacion Administrativa: Victimas de la Violencia October 2011.
31. Ministry of Justice and Law. Ley de Víctimas y Restitución de Tierras y sus Decretos Reglamentarios:LEY 1448 de 2011. República de Colombia, Ministerio de Justicia y del Derecho. Justicia Transcional: Bogotá DC, Colombia, 2012. Available at: http://www.leydevictimas.gov.co/documents/10179/19132/completo.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.
32. Peace Brigades International. PBI Colombia. Murder of Community Leaders. July, 2012. Available at: http://www.pbi-colombia.org/los-proyectos/pbi-colombia/noticias-de-colombia/ultimas-noticias/L%3d1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D%3d41&cHash=27b0dd8f4776e3213f574f058cde3. Accessed 10 January 2014.
33. Correa Villalba I, Arce Aguirre AA. Una aproximación a los determinantes de la decisión de restablecimiento de los hogares desplazados: un estudio de caso en la ciudad de Bogotá. 2006, Bogotá.
34. Porter M, Haslam N. Predisplacement and postdisplacement factors associated with mental health of refugees and internally displaced persons: a meta-analysis. JAMA 2005; 294:602-12; PMID:16077055; http://dx.doi.org/10.1001/jama.294.5.602.
35. Fazel M, Wheeler J, Danesh J. Prevalence of serious mental disorder in 7000 refugees resettled in western countries: a systematic review. Lancet 2005; 365:1309-14; PMID:15823580; http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(05)61027-6.
36. Andrade Salazar AJ. Psychopathological effects of Colombian armed conflict on forcibly displaced families resettled in Cairo, 2008. Orhis: Revista Científica Electronica de Ciencias Humanas/Scientific e-journal of Human Sciences. 2011; 20:111-148. Available at: http://www.revistaorhis.org.pe/pdf/20/art5.pdf. Accessed 10 January 2014.
37. Torres de Galvis Y, Bareño J, Sierra GM, Mejía R, Berbesi DY. Indicadores de situación de riesgo de salud mental población desplazada Colombia. Revista del Observatorio Nacional de Salud Mental – Colombia, 2010; 1:26-38.