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Erasmus

**Unpacking the linkages between markets, social capital
and integration:**

A case study of farmer markets in Bogotá, Colombia.

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List of Acronyms

ACDVPR	Alta Consejería para los Derechos de las Víctimas, la Paz y la Reconciliación (Office of the High Counsellor for the victims' rights, Peace and Reconciliation)
ADR	Agencia de Desarrollo Rural (Rural Development Agency)
CLAV	Centro Local de Atención a Víctimas (Local centre for victims' attention)
CONPES	Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social (National Council for the Political and Social Economy)
DANE	Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas (National Administrative Department of Statistics)
FARC	The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia)
IPES	Institute for Social Economy (Instituto para la Economía Social)
GoC	Government of Colombia
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
ILSA	Instituto Latinoamericano para una Sociedad y un Derecho Alternativos
INVIMA	Instituto Nacional de Vigilancia de Medicamentos y Alimentos (Colombia National Food and Drug Surveillance Institute)
RUPD	Single Registry of the Displaced Population (Registro Único de Población Desplazada)
PMAASAB	Plan Maestro de Abastecimiento de Alimentos y Seguridad Alimentaria para Bogotá (Master Plan for Food Security and Supply).
SC	Social Capital
SDDE	Secretariat of Economic Development (Secretaría Distrital de Desarrollo Económico).
UARIV	Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas (Unit for the Assistance and Comprehensive Reparations to Victims)
UNPD	United Nations Development Programme

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Abstract

In this paper, I analyze if farmer markets enhance different forms of social capital that may contribute to social integration, specifically for the victims of the Colombian conflict. The overarching aim of this research is to identify the effects of the farmer markets in a *post* conflict scenario and to explore how the different forms of social capital embedded in the dynamics of the markets will benefit or not the victims of the Colombian conflict and foster integration. By studying three markets in Bogotá (the farmer market located in Parque Alcalá, the market of la Calle 80 and the market of la Plaza de Usaquén) in which victim and non-victim producers participated and drawing on semi-structured interviews and surveys, this paper investigates the integrative potential of the farmer markets. Hence, I attempt to illustrate how farmer markets may serve as important tools for social capital and integration for the non-victim producers, but does not (*yet*) enhance social capital and integration for the victims. The research shows how the results of the implementation of economic strategies are linked and depend on the social sphere and why economic inclusion is not a magic tool that generates social inclusion.

Relevance to Development Studies

Recent research on the impacts of farmer markets has been mainly focused on the economic effect of this kind of initiatives. Development studies need to analyze the dynamics of economic initiatives and how they respond and are intertwined to social dynamics. In that sense, in this research paper, I analyze if markets can be considered as tools of socialization and support for the producers. Therefore, we will gain a better understanding of the relationship between the social aspects of initiatives such as the farmer markets and if markets are spaces that foster social integration and social capital. This is significant because an understanding of the effects of the farmer markets, beyond their economic impacts, will have the potential to improve the strategies of income generation in *post* conflict scenarios.

Keywords

Farmer markets; victims; social capital; market integration; social inclusion; income generation; networks and cooperation; trust, Colombia.

Chapter 1 : Introduction

Markets are not only tools for income generation but also for social integration and social capital building. Various studies have analyzed the relationship between social capital and integration, markets and integration and markets and social capital. For instance, Gericke et al. (2018) focused their research on the benefits of social capital in relation to labor integration for refugees in Germany. Kindler et al. (2015) examined the relation between social capital and networks and socio-economic integration for migrants in the European Union. Holeva (2009) is specifically concerned with community-based markets and their role in social capital development, while Megyesi et al. (2010) studied the impact of social capital for the economic success of collective initiatives in Austria and Hungary. Further, the relation of markets and integration has been the focus of various studies, like Schappo and van Melik (2017) who studied The Hague market in the Netherlands to analyze the integrative potential of the market, or Watson (2009) and Watson and Studdert (2006) who examined how encounters in the marketplaces may foster social inclusion. Few studies, however, have analyzed social capital in *post*-violent conflict scenarios and how economic integration affects (*or not*) social integration.

Nowadays, some International Organizations and NGO advocate for the critical role of economic recovery in post-conflict scenarios. For instance, the United Nations (2009: 3) stated that “employment and income generation are fundamental elements of the post-conflict solution (...) In short, generating employment is crucial to building peace”. In the same line, programs, projects and strategies to achieve peace prioritize job creation and economic inclusion under the assumption that by offering ‘sustainable income’ social integration will follow. For example, Mercy Corps¹ (2011b: 5) programs seek to “stabilize peace by reinforcing economic ties between groups with a history of violence”, meaning, that their approach is to tackle social exclusion by building economic relations. However, as Krippner (2001: 782), claimed, “markets even in an ideal form are (...) fully social institutions, reflecting a complex alchemy of politics, culture, and ideology”. Hence, markets are arenas in which the inner logics of human behavior are present: competition, egos and identities. In that sense, there is a need for giving more thought to these kinds of initiatives and to integrate the social challenges into the implementation of economic strategies because markets, as social institutions, reflect the social dynamics in which they are embedded.

In Colombia, the approach of the central government is to achieve ‘integral reparation’ for the victims. Law 1448/2011 aims to achieve an integral reparation by “establish a set of judicial, administrative, social, and economic measures, both individual and collective, to benefit the victims to guarantee the effective enjoyment of their rights to truth, justice, and reparation with guarantees of non-repetition.”(Government of Colombia, 2011: 9). However, the importance of economic stabilization measures can be noticed in various rules of the Colombian High Courts -T-702/12, T-218/14 or T-640/14- in which they recognized the importance of giving attention and access to income generation opportunities to the victims (Escorcía et al., 2017: 14). In that context, farmer markets have

¹ Mercy Corps is a global NGO, which mission is to tackle poverty and oppression by helping people build secure, productive and just communities (Mercy Corps, 2011a).

been promoted as an income generation strategy that will tackle poverty and social exclusion, as the *Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas* (Unit for Comprehensive Attention and Reparation of Victims) claimed, “farmer markets will help to the reconstruction of traditional peasant and communal practices. Also, this initiative will help the revitalization of the rural economy that was deeply hit by the conflict.” (Unidad para las Víctimas, 2016: no page).

Through the farmer markets, the government expects to reconstruct economic and social fabric and foster social capital and integration for the victims of the Colombian conflict. Yet, are the markets really enhancing social cohesion? Economic inclusion through markets means social inclusion as well? Social capital is a casual factor for integration? or as Narayan (1999: 5) pointed out, “social groups and networks only work by including some and excluding others.”

This paper is an attempt to unpack the linkages between markets, social capital and integration in Colombian post-agreement scenario². I chose as the focus of analysis three farmer markets in Bogotá in which victims and non-victim producers sell their products and share the same space. Therefore, these markets allow for an analysis of the dynamics of social capital and integration, and to identify if economic inclusion through markets means social inclusion as well or if farmer markets function merely as commercial windows for the producers.

1.1. Research questions and objectives

The objectives of this research are:

1. To identify the dynamics of the markets in fostering social capital.
2. To analyze if markets can be consolidated as instruments for social integration.
3. To identify the effects of the markets for the victims compared with the effects for the non-victim producers.

Hence, the research question is: *In what ways do farmer markets promote social capital and affect social integration of the victims in Bogotá?* In order to uncover the elements of this issue, I developed secondary guiding questions:

- a. How were farmer markets conceived as an income generation strategy for victims in Bogotá?
- b. In what ways are the farmer markets instruments that foster social capital and integration?
- c. To what extent the effects of the markets are different for victims and non-victim producers?

² In this research paper, the context will be a post-agreement scenario and not a post-conflict one. The foregoing because the Colombian government signed a peace agreement with only one actor but confrontations continued to take place with other non-state armed groups.

1.2. Methodology

This paper follows a qualitative research with a case study approach. It is actor-oriented, and the data collection methods were semi-structured interviews and a survey. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2012: 7), qualitative research methods “study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”. Hence, qualitative research is appropriate for this paper because it allows to analyze the perspective of the participants and to understand the meanings that they give to the market and its benefits.

1.2.1 Case Study approach

Yin (1984: 23) defines the case study research method as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used”. Hence, this method enabled me to examine the farmer markets and to understand through detailed contextual analysis the dynamics that these kinds of initiatives generate for victims. As Dooley stated, “the researcher who embarks on case study research is usually interested in a specific phenomenon and wishes to understand it completely, not by controlling variables but rather by observing all of the variables and their interacting relationships” (Dooley, 2002: 336).

Table 1 presents the characteristics that limited this case-study.

Table 1
Characteristics of the case study³

ELEMENT	DESCRIPTION
THE CASE	Farmers markets located in Parque Alcalá, Calle 80 and Plaza de Usaquén.
TIME FRAMEWORK	(2017-2018).
CONTEXT	10 out of 105 ¹ producers participating in the markets are victims of the Colombian conflict
SOURCES	Methods of data collection: interviews, observation, document review and surveys.
CASE STUDY DESIGN	Single, descriptive and intrinsic.

Source: Authors' elaboration based on (Harrison et al., 2017)

Nonetheless, case studies have a significant drawback, as Zainal (2007: 2) pointed, “its inability to provide a generalizing conclusion”. However, the aim of this research is not to make general conclusions but to understand the causality, meanings and dynamics of income generation strategies and social integration for victims.

³ The number of producers is not an exact figure but a calculation and a result of the observation process. Producers are different from market to market and the number of them that have participated in the markets is greater but I did not have access to that information.

1.2.2. Data Collection Methods

1.2.2.1. Primary Data

The primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews⁴. The fieldwork was conducted in Bogotá, Colombia during three weeks between July and August 2018. A total of 25 interviews were conducted (See Appendix 1). Interviews were made to representatives of the government of Bogotá, mainly from the *Secretaría Distrital de Desarrollo Económico* (Secretariat of Economic Development) (hereafter SDDE), the *Instituto para la Economía Social* (Institute for Social Economy) (hereafter IPES), and from the *Alta Consejería para los Derechos de las Víctimas, la Paz y la Reconciliación* (Office of the High Counsellor for the victims' rights, Peace and Reconciliation) (hereafter ACDVPR), which are the entities in charge of the initiative. Furthermore, I talked with César Sánchez, the coordinator of Agroredes -a small association that connects small-scale farmers focused on sustainable agriculture- and one of the representatives for victims in Cundinamarca.

I conducted interviews with the producers of the markets (victims and non-victims) in order to delve into their subjective perceptions of the trustworthiness of other producers and the norms of cooperation and reciprocity within the markets. Producers were approached mainly through face-to-face contact. The sample was selected using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. All the participants were informed by the ACDVPR and César Sánchez, that they would be interviewed for academic purposes in order to give them the possibility to opt out, fortunately, none of them did. Moreover, I explained to them that my interviews were anonymous and not official so that they could talk freely. This was important because victims are a vulnerable group and, in some cases, they are subjects of protective measures. In that sense and to honor the confidentiality and anonymity of the victims and to ensure their safety, their names and any direct reference to them is avoided in this paper.

Besides, as I wanted to be involved in the dynamics of the markets and following a suggestion from the public servants responsible for the strategy, I decided that a good gesture of gratitude toward the respondents was buying their products. That gesture was highly appreciated because they were proud of showing and selling their products and it got me first-hand knowledge about the productive process and how they behave as vendors. However, my intention was not, in any case, to influence the responses of the participants so in most of the cases I bought the products at the end of the interviews.

Additionally, a survey was developed for the consumers to understand their preferences and to identify the type of relations established between customers and vendors. A total of 48 surveys were conducted in the markets and in a commercial fair organized by the ACDVPR.

Finally, an initial observation process was carried out that assisted in mapping the markets, and identifying the dynamics developed within them. After the observation process, the interviews and the survey were conducted (See Appendices 2-5)⁵. All the information gathered on the interviews, and the survey was then coded and analyzed. I

⁴ Interviews were made in Spanish. All direct quotations are own translations.

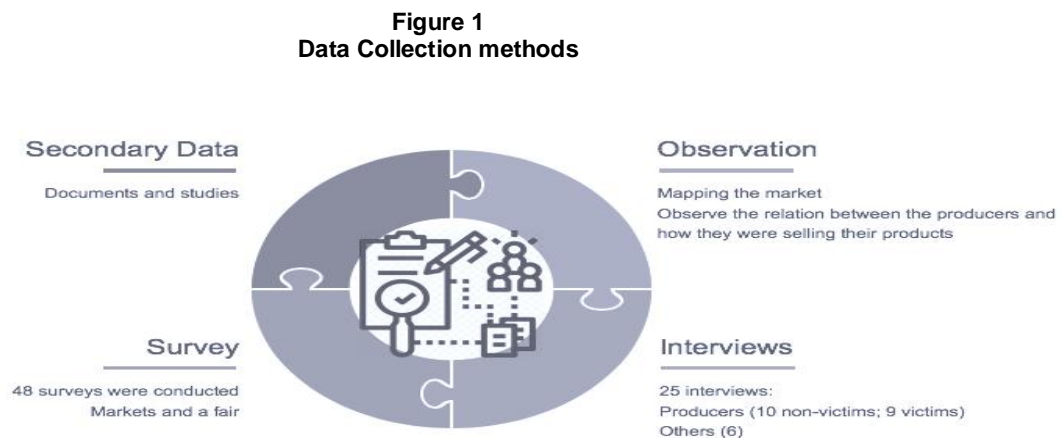
⁵ All the questionnaires were made in Spanish and translated into English for the appendices.

analyzed the impacts of the markets as a comparison between victim and non-victim producers as one of my intentions was to identify if the effects of the markets are different for those groups.

1.2.2.2. Secondary Data

This paper analyzes secondary data, such as existing documents, studies and databases from the SDDE and the ACDVPR. The documents⁶ were reviewed in order to understand the perspectives and the institutional vision of the markets.

Figure 1 presents the data collection methods.



Source: Authors' elaboration.

1.3. Risks and challenges

The main challenge I faced was the fact that markets are scheduled every two weeks. Two of them, Parque Alcalá and Calle 80 are open only on Saturdays, while Plaza de Usaquéen opens only on Sunday. In that sense, I needed to be really organized with the time. Most of the interviews were made during market hours meaning that while I was interviewing them, they were selling their products; therefore, we had to stop the interviews several times. Also, customers' surveys were hard to secure because most of the people were 'busy' and appeared suspicious of my questions. However, I managed to have a significant sample (48 surveys).

Before fieldwork, I thought that as victims are considered vulnerable people, which in most of the cases had to go through different administrative procedures without tangible results, there were high probabilities that they would not want to cooperate in the investigation. However, all the respondents were open and kind towards me. Yet, they avoided giving me personal details about their life and how they become victims of the Colombian conflict, and as we did not have the opportunity to spend much time together, I felt I did not have the right or trust to delve more into that matter. Moreover, I wanted to be respectful and avoid any risk of revictimization. In that sense, this research misses a

⁶ Translations from the documents are my own.

broader context of the producers, which is an important element to analyze the information as part of who they are and what they think is a representation of their histories.

Another important aspect to consider is my positionality. I have worked with local governments in Colombia in the implementation of the law 1448/2011; this gave me the opportunity to get to know the reality of the Colombian conflict, especially how victims faced a lot of challenges to rebuild their lives. I do believe that the Colombian government is making significant efforts to improve victims' situation in the country, but at the same time I feel the policies lack a holistic approach to tackle the economic and their social and emotional needs, since giving them access to the labor market is not a guarantee of success or integration.

Finally, unfitting interpretation might occur because of my perception, and the subjectivity of the producers as everyone interprets events by their own perceptions, as Saunders et al. (2009: 110), noted: "social phenomena is created from the perceptions and consequent actions of those social actors concerned with their existence".

1.4. Organization of the paper

This paper is structured into six chapters, including this introduction and the conclusion. In this Chapter, the focus of the research was introduced, as well as the main research question and sub-questions. The second chapter presents the theoretical background with a comprehensive literature review. Theories on social capital, markets and integration will be presented. The third part explores the background and the context of the research, especially victims' situation and the consolidation of farmer markets in Bogotá. In line, Chapter four analyzes the benefits of the markets, its dynamics and will respond if social capital can be fostered through the markets. Chapter five digs into the role of the markets as tools of integration and will analyze if economic inclusion automatically leads to social one. Lastly, in Chapter six conclusions and future research suggestions will be addressed.

Chapter 2 : Theoretical Framework. From social capital to integration through the markets

This chapter provides the main conceptual strands of the study. It defines the key concepts and themes that will run across the research. The first part addresses the concept of the market and tries to point out the importance of looking beyond its economic effects. Then, theories about social capital, its definitions, causes and effects will be explored. Lastly, the role of the market as a tool for economic and social integration will be presented.

2.1. Market and Society

The first debate this research engages refers to the role of the markets. Classical liberals conceive markets as a self-regulating tool towards individual freedom. Following the same approach, “neoclassical and contractualist economics, as well as neo-institutional economics, believe in the primacy of the market economy; it constitutes the main matrix for economic activities” (Hillenkamp et al., 2013: 3). Nevertheless, as Hann and Hart (2009: 3) claimed, history has proved that “unregulated markets are engines of inequality, so this notion of markets as a natural force beyond social regulation also serves to legitimize wealth and even to make poverty seem deserved”. Moreover, this approach leaves behind the social interactions that are developed within the markets and the effects that they carried out.

In that sense, there is a need to go beyond the economic dimension of the markets in order to get a more holistic understanding of its effects. The Polanyian approach offers a broader perspective of markets. He stated that economic initiatives are a combination of different relations that ended with outcomes defined not solely in economic terms. In line with what Hillenkamp et al. (2013: 4) pointed, “the Polanyian substantive economic approach enables us to examine production units, not only concerning their economic goal and their monetary and market resources but also according to a pluralistic and comprehensive conception of these initiatives”.

Polanyi used a sociological approach to the economy. For him, “instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system” (Polanyi in Hann and Hart, 2009: 55). From that perspective, economy is the result of interactions of actors and their social environment. Further, Granovetter (1985: 487) complemented Polanyi’s vision, according to him, “economic action is embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations”. Hence, markets are limited by a set of formal and informal institutions that link it to the society and are embedded in political, cultural and cognitive ones. Zukin and DiMaggio developed that idea and proposed a taxonomy which involves four categories of embeddedness.

Figure 2 presents these categories.

Figure 2
Four kinds of embeddedness of economic action.

Cognitive Embeddedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limits of the actors to employ rationality. It involves the assumption that individuals and firms are clear-headed in their pursuit of self-interest.
Cultural Embeddedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It refers to the role of the collective understandings in shaping economic goals. Culture set limits to economic rationality. • "Culture has a double effect on economic institutions. On the one hand, it constitutes the structures in which economic self-interest is played out; on the other, it constrains the free play of market forces" p. 17 .
Structural Embeddedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Markets and economic exchange can be understood throughout interpersonal relations. • Networks facilitate collective action
Political Embeddedness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic institutions and decisions are shaped by struggle for power. • The economic action reflects inequalities of power.

Source: Authors' elaboration based on (Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990)

I understand embeddedness as Zukin and DiMaggio (1990: 14) proposed, "as the contingent nature of economic action with respect to cognition, culture, social structure and political institutions". I analyze the markets as an economic initiative, but not only regarding its economic effects but also its social dimension because economic outcomes are explained by the construction of social networks, the rationality of the actors, and trust and cooperation. Furthermore, I follow the notion that markets generate social capital but also the embedded resources in social networks enhance economic outcomes. I pay attention to the ways in which social capital enhance economic impacts. In line with what Lin (1999: 31) stated, "in the usual imperfect market situations, social ties located in certain strategic locations and/or hierarchical positions can provide an individual with useful information about opportunities and choices otherwise not available". Hence, the paper identifies if markets improve (*or not*) the opportunities of the victims through the flow of information, networks and inclusion.

2.2. Social Capital

The concept of social capital (hereafter SC) has been widely used and has a variety of definitions, some of them focused on the macro and others on the micro level of the concept. For the micro level, the focus is on how the actions of individuals can be facilitated by belonging to a social network. In contrast, for the macro level, SC is the result of links between structures of collective action.

One of the main representatives of the micro-level approaches is James Coleman. For him (1990: 302), "social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure". On the other hand, Portes' work can be classified as part of the meso-level approaches. He stated three assumptions for SC. "First, economic transactions are embedded in cultural systems and networks; second, there is not a straightforward relationship between the goals of purposive actions and its outcomes and, third, power

plays a pervasive role in the economic activity” (Portes, 2010: 27). Moreover, SC implies not only a social structure but the work of individuals. It is “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other structures” (Portes as quoted in Adler and Kwon, 2009: 6), meaning that SC depends mainly on the individual capacity to create networks and to be part of a group. In line with what Barnes-Mauthe et al. (2015: 393) noted, “social capital is typically assessed by gauging the nature and extent of an individual’s interpersonal ties or their structural position within a social network”.

Moreover, it is relevant to understand the sources and effects of SC. Portes proposed a classification between consummatory (value introjection and bounded solidarity) and instrumental (reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust) sources of SC. However, I use the sources proposed by Adler and Kwon: networks, shared norms, shared beliefs and trust.

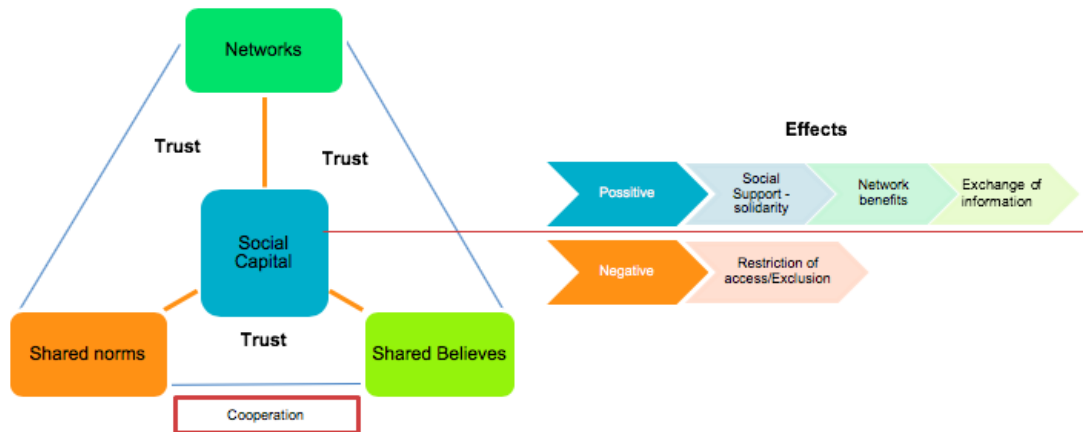
As SC is mainly about the relationship and the interaction of actors, the construction of networks is an essential element for its consolidation. As Lin (1999: 35) argued, “social capital, as a concept, is rooted in social networks and social relations”. For its part, shared norms are important because as Edwards and Foley (1997: 671) noted: “*they* provide the context within which it acquires meaning and becomes available to individuals and groups in a way that can facilitate an individual or collective action not otherwise possible”. The third source is shared beliefs, and it refers to the importance of shared meanings and goals because as Adler and Kwon (2009: 99) claimed “Social capital stems in part from the availability of a common belief system that allows participants to communicate their ideas and make sense of common experiences”. Above all, another important element for SC is trust. As Lange et al. (2014: 44) stated, “Trust between people is a necessary prerequisite for ‘social capital’”.

In line with what Portes (1998: 7) stated: “Whereas economic capital is in people’s bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships” and under the assumption that economic and social effects are indissolubly linked, the focal point for analysis is if the victims participating in the markets develop and maintain SC as a collective asset in comparison with the non-victim producers. Furthermore, social relations of the market are expected to reinforce identity and foster SC development and inclusion. As Lin (1999: 32) stated, “being assured and recognized of one’s worthiness as an individual and a member of a social group sharing similar interests and resources not only provides emotional support but also public acknowledgement of one’s claim to certain resources”.

Nevertheless, we cannot expect a perfect conception of SC because beyond the positives effects there is the downside. Portes (2010: 39) pointed out some of the negative effects: “there are at least 4 negative consequences: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restriction to individual freedoms and downward levelling norms”. Although I focus only in the exclusion of outsiders in order to understand how the benefits in a group commonly exclude the ones outside the group, as SC can be the core of a group’s economic and social advance, for others it can be an obstacle.

Figure 3 shows the primary sources and effects of SC that I will use to analyze the findings of this research.

Figure 3
Sources and Effects of Social Capital.



Source: Authors' elaboration based on (Adler and Kwon, 2009; Portes, 2010)

Furthermore, similar interests and continuous encounters are not a definitive element in the construction of social ties and SC as external determinants such as gender, age, among others, influence its development. In terms of Fine (2010: 30):

“Just as societies are divided along the lines of socio-economic and sociocultural status, so the potential to form ‘social capital’, however it is defined, and the potential to use it or for it to have an effect, will be highly variable, mixed and shifting according to what might be taken to be more fundamental underlying determinants – whether you are young or old, educated or not, male or female, employed or unemployed, rich or poor, rural or urban, and so on”.

In that vein, a simplistic conception of SC entails the risk of homogenization, leaves behind the complexity of human relations and renders invisible minorities and the importance of differences. As Fine (2010: 23) argues “tensions and conflicts within society cannot be wished away by aggregating social divisions and complexities into neutral, bland and universal categories”. Further, Onyx stated that SC “must involve the dark sides, including power, political economy, inequality and exploitation, conflict, bonding and bridging, and wider structural economic and political forces operating at the state, national, and global levels” (Onyx as quoted in Fine, 2010: 78). Following that line, this research tries to get a broader and deeper understanding of the logic, the socio-economic effects and the construction of SC, considering the ‘underlying determinants’ of the participants of the markets and the contextual background of the initiative.

2.3. Markets and integration in a post-agreement scenario

Conflicts have unmeasurable consequences. “The legacy of conflict includes substantial loss of livelihoods, employment and incomes, debilitated infrastructure, continuing insecurity and fractured social networks” (Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2008: 15). The Colombian conflict is not the exception. It left behind the degradation of human, physical and SC that now, in a post-peace agreement scenario, need to be restored.

Most of the studies about integration in *post*-conflict scenarios are related to economic development with economic integration as the main priority. Economic recovery aims to achieve well-being, “involving aspects such as food security, access to health, shelter, access to education, and in general, a social safety net for all citizens”. (Mendelson, 2002: 126). However, income generation and employment are considered to be one of the most important factors, as del Castillo (2008: 30) noted “consolidation of peace following violent conflict has very little chance of success unless jobs are created (...) creating opportunities for employment in the short run is critical, as this will facilitate the long, complex, and expensive process of reintegrating former combatants, returnees, and displaced persons into society and into productive activities”. Hence, it can be said that in order to achieve immediate goals, economic development and job/income generation are prerequisites. As the United Nations Policy for Post-conflict Employment Generation (2009: 15) noted: “employment and self-employment enable conflict-affected men and women to establish sustainable livelihoods: they are essential peacebuilding tools”.

Employment has been identified as a vital factor for integration. However, as the focus of this research goes beyond the economic effects of the markets, we need to consider the market’s potential contribution to social cohesion and integration. In the general approach, “markets are networks constituted by acts of buying and selling, usually through the medium of money” (Hann and Hart, 2009: 1). Yet, the effects of the markets exceed the economic sphere. Markets might be places for integration, community development and for mix and mingle. In line with what Watson and Studdert (2006: 7) pointed, “they offer possibilities not only for local economic growth but also for people to mingle with each other and become accustomed to each other’s differences in a public space”. Accordingly, Francis and Griffith (2011: 262) stated that “farmers’ market is both a place of economic exchange and a socially transactive place where people interact to varying degrees and formulate meanings for themselves and as a group”.

Furthermore, Watson’s categorization of the social functions of markets is relevant. For him (2006: 14), markets “provided for social interaction, the formation of social ties, social mixing across groups and social inclusion”. In that sense, markets can become melting points or can even be classified as Anderson’s (2011: 278) ‘cosmopolitan canopy’, where “people of diverse backgrounds feel they have an equal right to be there. In this space, they can observe and be observed by others, modelling comity unwittingly”. Following that line, markets are spaces of sociability that enhance acceptance. However, this conception leaves behind that markets are not divorced from their context and are composed by humans. This is in line with Krippner’s (2001: 785) argument: “congealed into every market exchange is a history of struggle and contestation that has produced actors with certain understandings of themselves and the world that predispose them to exchange under a certain set of social rules”.

Academics like Pollokshaws, Islington and Ager have concluded that “the most basic level of integration is the result of the absence of conflict and ‘toleration’” (Ager and Strang, 2008: 5). Further, Watson (2009: 1582) argues that “a minimal level of encounter in the form of inhabiting the same space as those who are different from oneself, such as markets can embody, has the potential to play a part in challenging stereotypes of unknown others”. However, considering that social interaction can vary from basic connections as greetings, to more strong ties depending on the degree of trust among the producers, it is questionable to what extent simple encounters, interactions and ‘toleration’ actually lead to prejudice deconstruction and social integration because in the end, the social dynamics of

the market depends on different aspects such as the location, participant’s socio-demographic characteristics, experiences, identity, among others. Hence, it is relevant to analyze the linkages between SC and integration through the markets because as Berkman and Kawachi (2000: 175) said: “social capital forms a subset of the notion of social cohesion. Social cohesion refers to two broader intertwined features of society: (1) the absence of latent conflict (...); and (2) the presence of strong social bonds-measured by levels of trust and norms of reciprocity; the abundance of associations that bridge social divisions and the presence of institutions of conflict management.” Following that argument, SC and integration are concepts related to each other. The more SC, the more social cohesion, hence integration. Yet, is it that simple the relation?

The conceptual and analytical framework linking the concepts of market, SC and integration that I have outlined may help to analyze the data of this research in order to understand how interactions between actors in the markets provide economic and social benefits and lead to integration. Table 2 shows the operationalization of the analytical framework.

Table 2
Operationalization of Analytical Framework

Theoretical fields	Perspectives	Analytical Categories	Indicators
<i>Markets and embeddedness</i>	Zukin and DiMaggio's categories of embeddedness	Political and structural embeddedness.	(a) Networks and collective assets.
<i>Markets and Social Capital</i>	Adler and Kwon's Sources of SC in the market	Trust building (Lange et al.) Networks (Lin) Shared norms and believes (Edwards and Foley)	(a) Level of trust among the participants. (b) Compliance with norms and behavior in the market
	Portes' Effects of SC for the market	Restrictions (information/access)	(a) Information exchange. (b) Use of social and support networks (c) Risk of exclusion
<i>Markets and integration</i>	Markets as instrument of social integration (Watson and Studdert, Krippner and Ager and Strang)	Opportunities for social interaction, formation of social ties, social mixing and social inclusion.	(a) Recognition and acceptance in the market (b) Level of integration between victim and non-victims

Source: Authors' elaboration

Chapter 3 : Farmer markets and victims in Bogotá. A chimera of institutional perspectives

After talking with the coordinators of the strategy, I couldn't stop thinking about the Greek myth of Chimera, a two-headed monster composed of parts from different animals. Even though the SDDE leads the strategy, other institutions like the ACDRVPR or even the ADR (in a more distant role) are important parts of the markets. However, they act like independent 'heads' and have different perspectives and expectations of the markets.

Field notes August 10th 2018

In this chapter, I provide the contextual background of the research. First, it is important to understand who and why victims are participating in these markets and how was this strategy conceived. This section addresses victims' situation and the background of the farmer markets in Bogotá. Furthermore, the history, actors and the institutional expectations will be presented.

3.1. Victims' situation

Colombia has had an armed conflict for more than six decades. The origins of the conflict are not universally agreed but most of the analyses place it in the middle of the 20th century. The Colombian conflict is complex in its dynamics and evolution but, if there is one element that pervades the entire conflict, it is the lack of state response in the form of providing attention and protection to the victims, as Wong (2008: 8) noted, “the government had limited capacity to respond to the growing violence, and in many ways exacerbated the conflict”. Moreover, in 2004, the Colombian Constitutional Court, stated in the decision T-025 that the country was facing a ‘unconstitutional state of affairs’ because there was “a structural problem that affects the entire assistance policy designed by the State, as well as its different components, on account of the insufficiency of the resources allocated to finance such policy, and the precarious institutional capacity to implement it” (Colombian Constitutional Court, 2004: 14).

Colombia's armed conflict magnitude can be measured with the magnitude of the victims it has left. According to the *Registro Único de Víctimas*, there are 8.760.290 victims to date (November 2018). This is more than 17% of the country's entire population. However, this number shows only the victims who are formally registered, and in such a long and pervasive conflict it is clearly difficult to identify the real number of victims. One of the reasons, as Summer (2012: 224) explains is that “most victims did not fulfill the requirement of formally reporting the crimes committed against them because of logistical barriers and fear of retaliation”.

3.1.1. Who are the victims of the Colombian conflict?

Identifying the victims of such a long conflict is naturally complicated. This research uses the definition of victims under Law 1448/2011, in which a victim is defined as “any person who has suffered after January 1st, 1985 direct damage by an offence as a result of violations of international humanitarian law or gross violations to the international human rights standards, which occurred during the internal armed conflict” (Government of Colombia, 2011: 144). Moreover, victims are classified according to 7 types of violations of human rights: kidnapping, forced displacement, forced recruitment, murder, sexual and

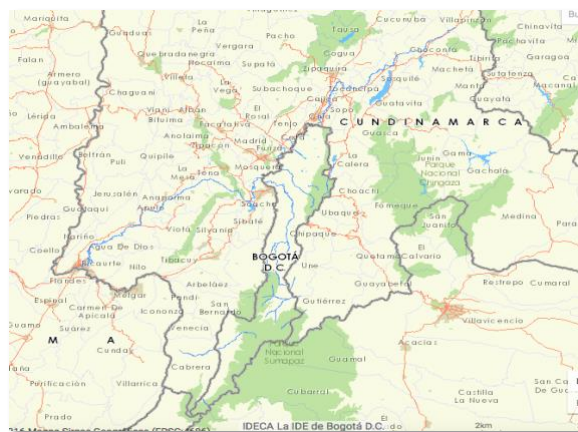
reproductive violence, forceful disappearances, torture and inhuman and degrading treatment, terrorist act, dispossession and destruction of assets, threats, and use of antipersonnel mines.

Nevertheless, the normative definition of victims is narrow and non-inclusive. As Rodríguez (2013: 157) argues: “the definition of victim was constructed within particular political sectors, in which the dialogue between organizations of civil society and the victims was rejected”. Consequently, the definition is limited because it did not include victims’ claims, considerations, needs and their self-perception. Therefore, this research attempts to analyze the findings under a broader understanding of their contextual and socio-economic needs.

3.1.2. Victims’ situation in Bogotá

Bogotá is the largest city of Colombia. According to the 2005 Census projection, for 2018 the city has 8.181.047 inhabitants. From that population and, according to the Victims’ Register, there are 352.873 registered victims (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2018c), meaning that 4.3% of Bogotá’s population is classified as victims.

Map 1
Map of Bogotá



Source: (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2018b)

The Colombian conflict was concentrated mainly in the rural areas whilst in large cities such as Bogotá, the impacts are measured through the massive influx of victims, mainly IDP⁷. The victim respondents of this research are victims of internal displacement who due to the conflict had to flee their homes and look for new opportunities in the capital city, Bogotá.

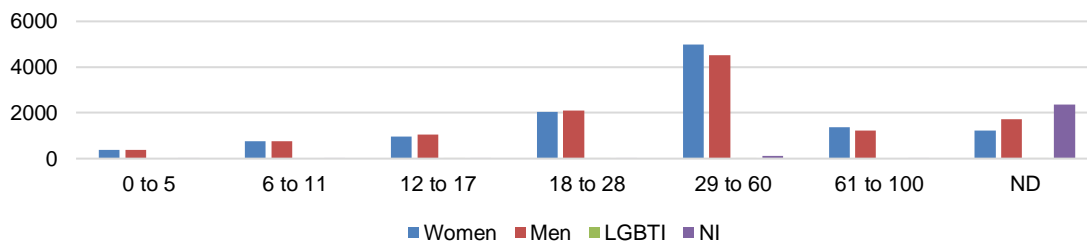
Bogotá is the first receptor-city of displaced persons and after Medellín “it is the second city in Colombia with the greatest number of victims” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá,

⁷ According to the United Nations’ Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, IDP’s 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” (UNHCR, 2004: 1).

2018c: 12). Most of the victims have settled in Bogotá, because as García explained, “the institutional services for victims are greater and more organized than in other parts of the country” (García 2018, personal interview).

From the 352,873 victims that have settled in Bogotá, 56% are women, 43% are men and, 0,03% are transgender. Regarding age distribution, 43,6% are between 27 and 60 years, 20,8% are between 18 and 26 and, 10,7% are part of the early childhood group (SDDE and ACDVPR, 2017). Figure 4 shows the gender and age distribution of victims in Bogotá.

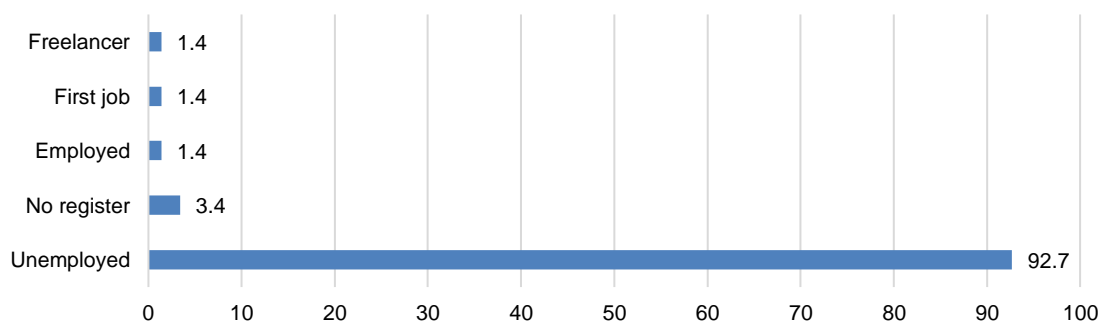
Figure 4
Gender and age distribution of victims in Bogotá



Source: Authors' elaboration based on data from (National Red of Information (RNI), 2017)

As we can see, most of the victims are between the ages of 18 and 60, that means that they can be classified as labor force. In Bogotá, in 2017, according to the *Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadísticas* (National Administrative Department of Statistics), the unemployment rate was 10,5% (DANE, 2018). However, the employment situation for the victims is not as favorable as for the rest of Bogotá's inhabitants. Most of the victims in Bogotá are unemployed, as Figure 5 shows, in 2017, 92,7% of victims were not formally employed.

Figure 5
Employment status of the victims in Bogotá



Source: Authors' elaboration based on data from (SDDE and ACDVPR, 2017)

Such a situation deepens poverty among the victims. According to the Effective Enjoyment of Human Rights Survey (2013-2014), 5 out of 10 IDP's living in Bogotá are poor, and 2 out of 10 are classified as living in extreme poverty (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2018a: 12). Moreover, according to the Office of the Mayor, “there is a correlation of 0,61 between the victim's concentration rate and the territorial vulnerability of the localities, which indicates that victims are settling in the localities with the highest indicators of socio-economic vulnerability”(Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2018a: 18). This is in line with Bello's (2000: 115) statement: “the receptor city cannot be other than the rings of poverty, sector

in which the land market is easy to access due to the lack of controls. This situation involves high-risk conditions, illegality and lack of services”.

Moreover, victims in Bogotá face challenges beyond their economic situation. Castaño et al. (1994) categorized the main emotional effects of becoming a victim. They divided the effects into immediate and mid-term. Table 3 shows a summary of the main mid-term impacts of being a victim, organized in 4 categories: material, emotional, self-esteem and identity. I elaborated the table focusing only on the mid-term effects because all of the participants of this research have been living in Bogotá for more than three years.

Table 3
Mid-term challenges/effects of being a victim in Bogotá

EFFECT	DESCRIPTION
MATERIAL	Loss of land, properties. Idealization of their past conditions.
EMOTIONAL	Related to family separation and integration in new social spaces.
SELF-ESTEEM	Related to loss of social role/purpose; anonymity.
IDENTITY	Sense of belonging

Source: Authors' elaboration based on (Aguilera, 2003) and (Castaño et al., 1994)

In the same vein, Aguilera (2003: 16) noted that “after arriving at a new city, victims face depression, loss of identity, among others”. Furthermore, victims experience a cultural shock, in words of a victim: “We have different customs. The displacement generated feelings of rootlessness, and when we arrived at the new city, we have faced stigmatization from a society who is not dimensioning what happened and what is still happening in the rest of the country” (Rivera and Dulce, 2017: no page).

The Colombian conflict has generated conditions of vulnerability for the victims, not only in economic terms but also in social and emotional dimensions. They have been forced to flee their homes, and their social and family ties have been destroyed. This situation is in line with what Ibáñez and Velásquez (2008: 5) pointed out: “Almost all the victims came from rural areas. Their insufficient work experiences imply high unemployment rates and few economic opportunities. The loss of properties, the challenges of incorporation into the labor market and the lack of sustainable income end up in substantial slopes in their well-being”.

This situation is common among the victims in Bogotá and is reflected in the life of the respondents of this research. One of the respondents said that she had four displacements: “I have been displaced four times in my life. Every time is a new beginning and new challenges to face” (Respondent 6, personal interview). Likewise, even without violence, victims faced structural inequalities that go beyond the economic needs. In line with what Weber (2017: no page) stated: “although they no longer fear direct violence by armed groups, they still suffer structural violence, which refers to problems of poverty, exploitation, gender and racial discrimination, in other words, marginalization because of the persistence of structural inequalities”.

In order to tackle poverty and the vulnerable situation that victims in Bogotá have been facing, the government has established different programs and projects, such as the

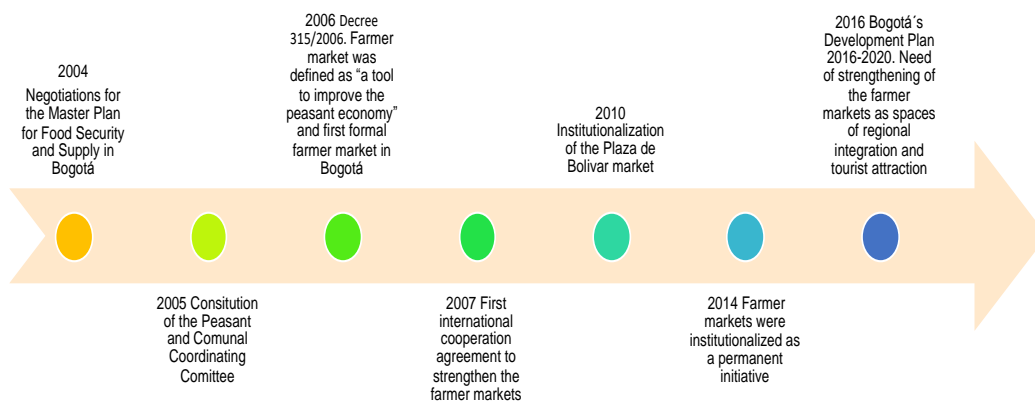
farmer markets. In the section below, I explain how this initiative was conceived and which are the perspectives and expectations of the institutional stakeholders involved.

3.2. Farmer markets and victims in Bogotá

The farmer markets in Bogotá were created in 2004. The initiative was the result of negotiations between the local administration and peasant organizations who were reclaiming a right to participate in the formulation of the *Plan Maestro de Abastecimiento de Alimentos y Seguridad Alimentaria para Bogotá* (hereafter PMAASAB) (Master Plan for Food Security and Supply). After the negotiations, on August 2006, through Decree 315, the PMAASAB was established, and under its norms, a farmer market was defined as “a tool to improve the peasant economy and an instrument for business generation” (Office of the Mayor, 2006 Article 9). Further, in 2010, the City Council of Bogotá sanctioned the Agreement 455, through it, the institutionalization of an annual market and the inclusion of different ethnic and minority groups into the markets.

In 2016, farmer markets were included in Bogotá’s Development Plan 2016-2019, where they were conceived as programs “to guarantee the efficiency of the food sovereignty of all citizens (...) and as spaces of regional integration and tourist attraction” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2016: 282). In that context, during 2017, the SDDE supported 75 permanent markets and 45 itinerants⁸. Figure 6 shows a brief timeline of the evolution of farmer markets in Bogotá.

Figure 6
Evolution of the farmer markets in Bogotá



Source: Authors’ elaboration

As part of the income generation programs for victims, the government of Colombia started supporting farmer markets to empower victims as a strategy to tackle poverty and social exclusion. This strategy is in line with the assumption that economic integration and development are key aspects to achieve peace. For instance, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe stated that “getting the economics right is key to sustainable peace

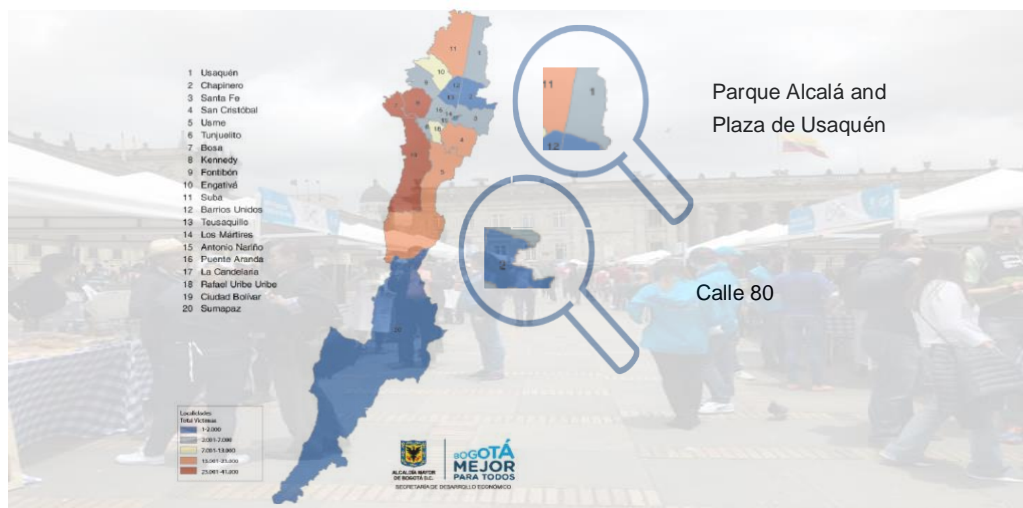
⁸ The itinerant markets are those who open only twice a month, or every other weekend.

and to preventing countries from falling back into conflict” (Hamilton and Wachs, 2008: 5). In the same line, the UN Policy for Post-Conflict Employment Creation, Income Generation and Reintegration stated that “employment and self-employment enable conflict-affected men and women to establish sustainable livelihoods: they are essential peacebuilding tools. Employment growth facilitates broad, inclusive recovery and is of key importance in sustaining the reintegration of male and female ex-combatants and returnees” (United Nations, 2009: 15). Nevertheless, this approach requires a fresh look and a different understanding of economic interventions, since economic inclusion is not a magical tool and the challenges in post-conflict scenarios go beyond the need of economic stabilization.

Nonetheless, following the central government, in October 2017, the SDDE and the ACDVPR joined efforts to improve the quality of life of the victims in Bogotá through economic inclusion in the farmer markets of the city. The purpose of the project was to give victims tools, opportunities, capacities and abilities to improve their quality of life, under an economic integration understanding. The SDDE opened commercial spaces (stalls) for the victims in 2 of the itinerant markets of the city (Parque Alcalá and Calle 80). In May they opened new spaces in another itinerant market (Usaquén) and now they are planning to increase the participation of the victims by “giving them spaces in 11 markets of the city” (Méndez 2018, personal interview).

Map 2 shows the location of the three markets where victims are participating. These markets are located in the localities with less concentration of victims as the institutional strategy was to establish them in middle to high-income neighbourhoods in order to guarantee customers with high purchasing power.

Map 2
Localization of the farmer markets where victims are participating



Source: Authors' elaboration based on (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2018c).

3.2.1. Institutional vision of the markets

The SDDE and the IPES are the entities in charge of the markets in Bogotá. However, the markets in which victims are participating have been led by SDDE with the support of other institutions such as ACDVPR and the *Agencia de Desarrollo Rural* (Rural Development Agency) (hereafter, ADR). Yet, for analytical purposes, I only analyze the role of the

SDDE and the ACDVPR as the role of the ADR is focused on the peasants from Cundinamarca.

3.2.1.1. Secretaría Distrital de Desarrollo Económico (Secretariat of Economic Development)

The markets in Bogotá are a responsibility of the SDDE and the IPES. The IPES is in charge of the *plazas de mercado* (permanent marketplaces), while the SDDE is in charge of the farmer markets. The main difference between the two programs is that in order to be part of the farmer markets you will need to be a producer (*not retailer*). Moreover, the *plazas* are permanent commercial spaces (*not exclusive for farmers*) whilst the farmer markets focus on improving the peasant economy of the central region through the elimination of intermediaries. As the coordinator of the strategy said: “The program’s main objective is to remove the middleman. We want to restructure the productive and the distribution chain to create more benefits, both, for the producers and customers” (Méndez 2018, personal interview).

In addition, the requirements for the products in the markets are stricter. For example, neither meat or prepared food can be sold. The justification is that they want to avoid health issues for the consumers. In that line, the SDDE’s goal is that all the processed products participating in the markets will have a certification from the INVIMA (*the Colombian food and drug regulation agency*). Furthermore, for the victims, besides the regular requirements, their permanent residence must be in Bogotá; they need to be registered as victims; be older than 18 years old, and they need to be the legal representative of a ‘productive unit’⁹.

The selection of the victims is in charge of the SDDE, but the ACDVPR sends a preliminary list. However, according to ACDVPR, from the registered victims in Bogotá, “only 17% have business ideas, entrepreneurship or productive units”¹⁰ (García 2018, personal interview). Moreover, “most of the entrepreneurship and the productive units are related to garments, textiles and crafts” (García 2018, personal interview) and as the markets are only for specific type of food¹¹, most of the victims do not comply with the requirements.

The role of the SDDE in relationship to the victims who are participating in the markets is limited. Its main function is to increase the number of stalls for victims and to include them in some of the programs of the ‘route of business strengthening’. SDDE’s idea of the markets orbits around income generation and improvement of the quality of the life of the participants. In words of the coordinator of the strategy, “the objective is to generate a plus for the participants. The idea is to increase their income and to improve

⁹ Productive units are defined by the SDDE as “income-generating activities that have been in business for at least 3 years. They can be formal or informal” (SDDE, 2018).

¹⁰ The percentage of victim entrepreneurs came out during an interview with V. García. The information is from an ACDVPR’s data base. However, I did not have access to it.

¹¹ The products of the farmer markets need to be part of the family basket and have a low risk of contamination.

their livelihood through the participation in the markets” (Méndez 2018, personal interview). However, SDDE’s vision reinforced the idea of inclusion only in economic terms. By analyzing the route of business strengthening I realized that most of the activities are focusing on access to credit and banking services such as point of sales terminals and business accounts. Also, SDDE organizes *mesas de negocio* in order to link producers with potential customers. However, these are closed spaces where only a few producers are called. By the time of the fieldwork, none of the victims have participated in the *mesas*.

Additionally, SDDE offers training on different topics such as food handling and safety, supply chains and productive linkages and, social security. However, victims are not part of the SDDE’s training programs as it is not in their field of competence; as the coordinator said “the ACDVPR has a great institutional offer for the victims. Our responsibility with them is limited to the certification in good practices for food handling” (Méndez 2018, personal interview).

SDDE’s vision of the markets involves an understanding of the livelihood of the participants only in economic terms. Hence, their support is focused on giving them tools to have more income. In that sense, SDDE’s follows Mingione’s conception about markets. For him, “markets are exogenous to society in much the same way that social relations are exogenous to markets”(Mingione as quoted in Krippner, 2001: 185). However, this conception is simplistic because by focusing only on the economic sphere, this kind of initiative will reproduce the limitations of a purely economic understanding, leaving behind the hidden effects of markets and reproducing the neoliberal idea that markets and economic interventions are the ultimate solution to all the problems.

3.2.1.2. Alta Consejería para los Derechos de las Víctimas, la Paz y la Reconciliación (Office of the High Counsellor for the victims’ rights, Peace and Reconciliation)

The ACDVPR is an advisory office of Bogotá’s Mayor. It is in charge of the definition and formulation of the strategies for the implementation of the Law 1448/2011-victims’ law- in Bogotá. It is composed of four main areas: assistance and attention, integral reparation, participation, and socio-economic stabilization.

The process and the roadmap for the victims in Bogotá starts at the *Centro Local de Atención a Víctimas* (Local Centre for Victims’ Attention), where a preliminary characterization is made through a survey. With the survey’s results, they established a profile of the victims in order to refer them to one of the three strategic axes: formation and training, employability and, business enhancement and entrepreneurship. Likewise, psychosocial support is offered during the whole process with the objective to avoid dropouts. Figure 7 presents the strategic axes and their objectives.

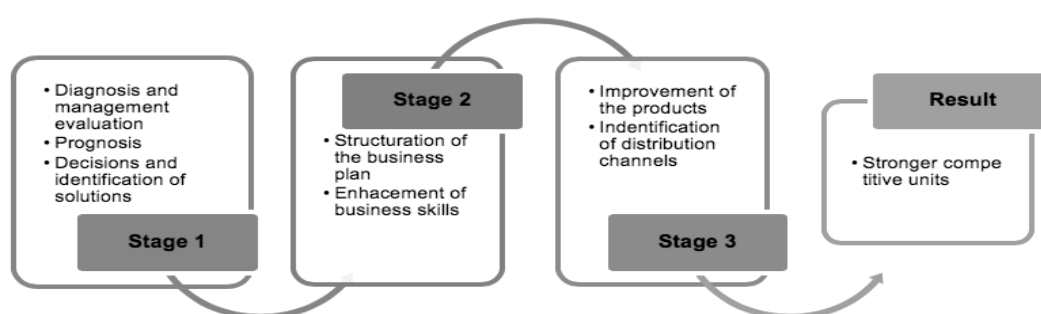
Figure 7
ACVPR Strategic Axes for victims.



Source: Author's elaboration based on (ACDVPR, 2018)

The socio-economic stabilization area, which is part of the business enhancement and entrepreneurship axis, is in charge of the farmer markets. This idea was raised in 2017, because the ACDVPR identified the necessity to improve the strategies for income generation. As the coordinator of the strategy explained: “The victims were not improving their quality of life and they were still living in poverty. They were not acquiring abilities and capacities, and their endeavours were failing” (García 2018, personal interview). Figure 8 shows the stages of the business strengthening plan. The markets are part of stages 2 and 3.

Figure 8
Stages of the Plan for Business' strengthening of victims in Bogotá



Source: Authors' elaboration based on (ACDVPR, 2018)

For the ACDVPR, the markets are conceived as spaces of commercialization, visibility and informal workshops where victims can improve their communication, marketing and relational skills:

“We know that as the markets are open only every other weekend, they are not a sustainable income source. However, they have been proved to be a good relational channel and spaces where they are improving the way they talk about their product and how they sell it. In some cases, they have changed the presentations, and there is always the possibility for new business opportunities” (García 2018, personal interview).

The initiative aims to strengthen victims' commercial and social competences in order to facilitate primarily business-related dealings. Even though ACDVPR offers psychosocial support to the victims, the process is not necessarily linking the economic, social and emotional needs, because it is not specifically targeting the economic process of the victim or the challenges that they are facing in the markets. Moreover, as Moreno and Díaz (2016:

197) claimed, “social problematics require collective interventions and not only individual approaches”, hence, in the case of the markets, psychosocial support should include the non-victim producers as they are important actors for the victims’ inclusion in the markets.

The vision of the ACDVPR is broader than the SDDE’s, who is concerned only with the profits and sales of the market. However, its main concern is linked to the economic results of the markets. Hence, it orbits in a managerial and economic scheme too. Furthermore, the distribution of responsibilities and functions is compartmentalized, and each institution is worried about achieving their individual goals. Consequently, there is not a co-responsible approach which may improve the results of the initiative and tackle more holistically the needs of the victims.

Finally, neither the ACDVPR or the SDDE have a defined strategy to measure the impact of the markets for the victims. Moreover, there is no collected evidence of the benefits of the markets. In that sense, this paper is perhaps one of the first attempts to analyze the effects of the markets in order to understand their dynamics and how economic inclusion, SC and social integration may (*or not*) be linked.

Chapter 4 : Are markets instruments that foster social capital?

Today I confirmed the importance of leaving behind assumptions and preconceptions. After talking with my first participant, I realized that all my ideas about the markets and the development of social capital were wrong. I assumed markets were happy places where victims and non-victims were integrated, and networks and associative process were part of the day-to-day life. However, as I was hearing the words: hypocrite, greedy and selfish, all the networks in my mind started to fade away.

Field notes August 4th 2018

This chapter presents the findings related to the social dynamics of the market, specifically how markets affect SC. In this section, SC theory will be used to identify if there is a mutually beneficiary relation between the vendors of the markets and how the dynamics of SC might be different for victim and non-victim producers.

4.1. The effects of markets

Every other weekend, more or less 50 vendors crowd Parque Alcalá, la Calle 80 and a parking lot in Usaquén. As early as four o'clock in the morning, or even earlier, most of the vendors start their journey to the market, the goal is to have everything ready for the opening of the market at 7 o'clock and to sell all the stock before 4 p.m. Thus far this year, 16 'productive units' of victims have participated in the markets. While 16 is not a representative number in comparison with the number of victims in Bogotá, there is a limited quota (number of stalls for victims) in the markets that restrict the participation to a maximum of 10 victims/productive units per weekend (4 in Alcalá, 4 in Calle 80 and, 2 in Usaquén). Consequently, most of the producers of the markets are non-victims.

The first expected benefit is related to the economic impact of the markets: more income for the vendors due to the removal of the middlemen. According to the SDDE, "on average there are three middlemen per value chain. They act as agents that do not give added value to the products but increase its prices" (SDDE, 2016: 6). Hence, through the markets, they are increasing the profits of the vendors by cutting the middlemen and their gains.

In the case of the victims, the markets are an important source of income. Table 4 shows the market participation and sales for 2018 (only victims).

Table 4
Markets' sales February to July 2018

DATE	No. Units	Units Participating	Average per unit	Total sales
24-Feb	7	3 Alcalá - 4 calle 85	€ 51	€ 360
24-Mar	8	3 Alcalá - 4 calle 85	€ 47	€ 379
7-Apr	3	3 Alcalá	€ 61	€ 245
21-Apr	8	4 Alcalá - 4 calle 85	€ 80	€ 642
12-May	8	4 Alcalá - 4 calle 85	€ 61	€ 486
9-Jun	8	4 Alcalá - 4 Calle 80	€ 58	€ 462
10-Jun	2	2 Usaquen	€ 51	€ 102
23-Jun	8	4 Alcalá - 4 Calle 80	€ 74	€ 591
24-Jun	2	2 Usaquen	€ 31	€ 61
7-Jul	8	4 Alcalá - 4 Calle 80	€ 68	€ 544
8-Jul	2	2 Usaquen	€ 27	€ 54
21-Jul	7	4 Alcalá - 4 Calle 80	€ 75	€ 527
22-Jul	3	3 Usaquen	€ 51	€ 102

Source: Authors' elaboration based on ACDVPR, 2018

The minimum salary in Colombia for 2018 is €221. On the average, every unit that participates in the market sells around €54 per market, which means that by participating two days in the markets they may get half of the minimum salary. This situation is not ideal because the revenues of the market are not enough to be the main source of income. In most of the cases, victims have a different source of income which is not related to their products nor the markets. Hence, they use it as a complement of other activities as selling their products by delivery; studying; participating in social activities or, simply in household-related issues. For example, one of the respondents told me: "I am a very active woman, I like to help people and I am part of a women's group so, during the week I am always busy. My husband works so, with his income and with these sales we can live" (Respondent 3 2018, personal interview). Yet, all of them recognize the market as an opportunity to be thankful for and an *extra* source of income.

Table 5 presents the sales of some of the participants who I spoke with during my fieldwork.

Table 5
Victim and non-victim producers' sales

Non-victim producer	Sales	No. Participations in the market	Average
1	€ 166	2	€ 83
2	€ 448	11	€ 41
3	€ 579	6	€ 97
4	€ 837	12	€ 70
5	€ 1,738	24	€ 72
6	€ 3,914	54	€ 72
Total	€ 7,682	109	€ 70

Victim producer	Sales	No. Participations in the market	Average
1	€ 63	6	€ 11
2	€ 298	12	€ 25
3	€ 561	11	€ 51
4	€ 596	11	€ 54
5	€ 1,592	7	€ 227
Total	€ 3,111	47	€ 66

Source: Author's elaboration based on SDDE, 2018

As it can be seen, in 109 participations, non-victim producers sold in average €70 per market, while the victims, in 47 participations sold €66. In general, the average of sales between victim and non-victim producers is more or less the same. However, most of the non-victim producers do not live in Bogotá, which implies that they have higher transport cost and less net profit. The individual averages give a better picture of the market's dynamic. While the range of the averages for the non-victim producers goes from €41 to €97, for the victims, the range is more disperse going from €11 to €227. Except victim producer number 5, the averages of the sales of the non-victims are in all cases higher than the victims. This situation may be related to the difference in terms of presentation and quality of the products. Figure 9 shows products of victims and non-victim producers.

Figure 9
Victim and non-victim's products



Source: Authors' fieldwork

The stalls of the non-victim producers have more stock, and the presentation is more eye-catching. The producers of the photos on the left sell the same product: fruit pulps. However, while the pulps from the non-victim producer are vacuum-packed, pasteurized and labelled; the victim's product is kept in polystyrene cool boxes and packed in Ziploc bags. I realized only 3 out of the 8 victim respondents have consolidated products with packages and labels designed. Moreover, two of the victims are selling products that are not being produced by them. The justification of one of them was that her house was ransacked: "they stole my money and all of my materials. Now I do not have any money to buy the raw material and make my products. However, I did not want to lose my place in the market, so I bought some things to sell today" (Respondent 3 2018, personal interview). The other one was not in the market, so I did not have the opportunity to delve into the matter.

This situation can be a consequence of the compartmentalized responsibilities between the SDDE and the ACDVPR. The SDDE recognizes the difference, in terms of products, and said that victims are arriving to the markets without the proper support, in words of

the coordinator of the strategy “they are jumping out of planes without parachutes” (Méndez 2018, personal interview). However, SDDE considers that they are complying with their responsibilities by offering food management training, yet this is not sufficient.

Furthermore, the needs and capacities of every victim are different. For example, while some producers call for a permanent invitation, others reject the offer. As respondent 7, who did not want to participate in the markets of Sundays because she has regular customers in another part of the city. “This is a good opportunity, but I have more customers in ‘La Plaza’, and Sundays are one of the best days so I would prefer to sell my products there” (Respondent 7 2018, personal interview). This information shows that the levels and benefits of the markets also differ among the victims. Whilst some of them are still trying to define their products (such as the sesame seed candies vendor) others are starting new ventures and more sustainable businesses (such as the ‘cucas’ vendor who is going to open a restaurant).

For victim and non-victim producers, markets bring economic benefits as their main goal is to sell their products and to make profits. For the victims, however, this impact is more important, as in some cases the market is the only space of commercial visibility that they have, and the markets help them improve their commercial and social skills. Yet, for the non-victims, these kinds of skills are already consolidated and they see the markets as another channel of distribution and space of networking. However, the social role of the market is always present as the producers recognized that beyond the profits the markets are places to establish connections and relations.

On the other hand, since I wanted to go beyond the economic effects of the markets I inquired about the perceived benefits for the producers. Most of the non-victim respondents agree on the fact that the markets are the perfect way to show off their products and they see them as platforms to new business opportunities, as one of the producers told me, “markets are a good springboard for us” (Dairy products producer 2018, personal interview). Participating in the market means for them a possibility to make direct sales and gain more profits. Moreover, as some of them recognized, beyond selling, they participate in the market to make new relationships, know their competition, create network connections and make new commercial relations through not only the clients but also information from other vendors.

“In the market, you get to know better your product and the dynamics of the market. Before, we were producing and producing. Now, we learned that we need to sell to produce and not produce to sell. This kind of initiatives are important for us because they are free commercial showcases. We used to participate in a lot of fairs, but it was really expensive, and sometimes the profits do not compensate for the costs. Here, the only cost you have is the transport. Moreover, here we get to interact with the clients, to tell them our stories and to show them our products and the way we make them” (Dips and sauces producer 2018, personal interview).

This vision is in line with what Collins (1993: 209) argued, “people seek in interactions not primarily to increase their economic utility but to enhance their emotional well-being, i.e. they seek to achieve a condition of high self-esteem, enthusiasm, good feeling, and being part of something”. In this case, victim-producers gain exposure and learn how to sell more and better. They get to know their customer base, improve their products, lose

the fear of non-acceptance and learn how to be entrepreneurs. The story of one respondent is a good illustration of this kind of benefit:

“I am not scared to speak anymore. I feel empowered and proud of my product. Before, when someone did not want to buy my product, I felt rejected, and I did not want to sell them again. Now, I understand how the clients behave. I know that sometimes they do not have the money or they come for other products, but they are not rejecting me. Also, I have learned how to offer my product more adequately and I improved my communication skills” (Respondent 3 2018, personal interview).

This kind of (*un*) expected effects of the markets is in line with Morales’ vision of markets as development tools, where “business formation is a tool of not just economic development but also of individual empowerment” (Morales, 2009: 427). However, as the institutional understanding of the effects of the markets is primarily economic, their potential to tackle social and emotional needs is being missed.

4.2. Construction of social capital through the market. Bonding and bridging with everyone?

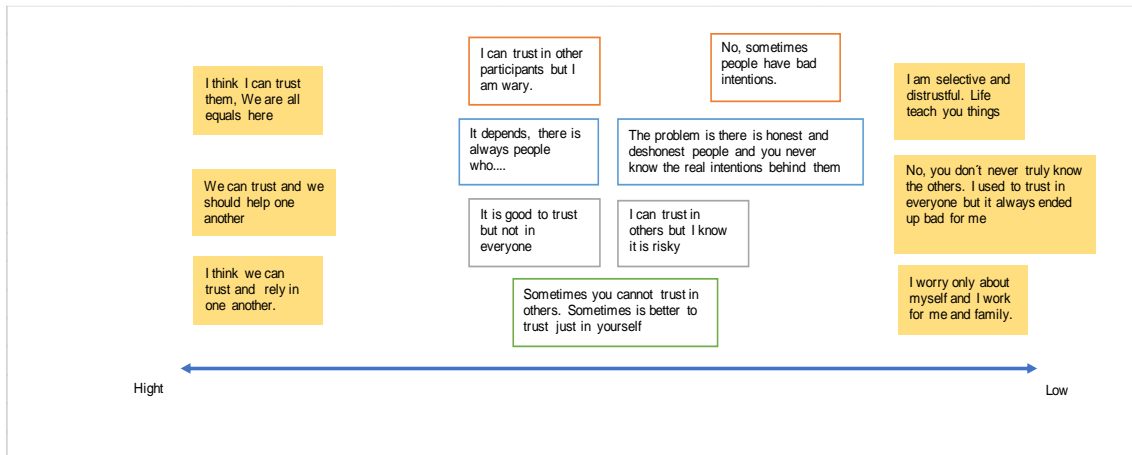
In this section, I analyze SC generated in the market through its causes and consequences, especially throughout three categories: trust, networks and cooperation and information exchange (see Table 2. Operationalization of Analytical Framework). I argue that these categories are intertwined because, without trust, no networks, cooperation or information exchange will succeed.

4.2.1. Trust

As I stated in the theoretical framework, trust is used as an umbrella concept. As trust is considered to be the basis of successful relationships, hence, it is the basis for the generation of networks, cooperation and exchange of information. In line with what Lange et al. (2014: 44) stated, “without a certain degree of trust in the good intentions of other people, no cooperation would be possible”. Further, as Cherti (2008: 36) claim, “trustworthiness ‘lubricates social life’”.

In order to have a general idea of the level of trust within the victims. I asked if they think they can trust other producers. Most of the answers I received were negative and showed the type of relations that victims developed in the markets. Figure 10 presents an empirical spectrum of victim’s trust perception. The classification was based on the answers of the interviewees. A high level of trust implies that they said they can easily trust. The right side of the figure implies that they can trust ‘but’ with some caution and, a low level of trust (right end of the axis) means that they do not want to trust or they trust only in themselves.

Figure 10
Spectrum of victim's trust perception



Source: Authors' elaboration based on fieldwork interviews

The lack of trust can be related to emotional and identity needs due to their stories, to past experiences or simply because they do not have interest. Nevertheless, these results need to be analyzed understanding that victims have gone through painful situations that changed their life and environment. As Ramos-Vidal (2017: 50) pointed out, “displacement implies the abandonment of their land and community, this situation leads to negative effects in the psychosocial welfare of the person which reduces their quality of life and hampers the access to socio-communal resources”. In the same line, Cabrera (2002: 3) stated that “the ability to communicate, to be flexible and tolerant is enormously reduced among people who have a number of unresolved personal traumas”. Further, David, Janiak and Wasmer claimed that “at the macro level, displacement undermines social cohesion and trust levels, ventral elements for the genesis of social capital” (David et al. as quoted in Ramos-Vidal, 2017: 51).

On the other hand, non-victim producers show a more trusting attitude. Phrases like: “I do not know everyone here, but everyone seems to be really nice and honest” (Dairy producer 2018, personal interview) or “Everyone here is always ready to help, we have the same goals and it is important to trust in one another” (Dips and Sauces producer 2018, personal interview) demonstrates a higher level of trust and sense of solidarity and community.

The findings from this section are in line with what David et al. (2010: 202) claimed: “if the individual was not born in the country of current residence, or if he has not lived in the same region since birth, it leads to a huge discount in social capital”. Furthermore, the discount of SC implies a lack of trust but at the same time, for this case, the lack of trust it is a reverse causal link of being IDP. Hence, the low levels of trust are a variable that is affected by the experience of being IDP living in Bogotá.

4.2.2. Networks and Cooperation

Networks generate new opportunities that otherwise people will not achieve. Networks can have either strong, weak or absent ties and as Granovetter (1973: 1361) stated, weak ties can become stronger through a “combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services which characterize the ties”. In this part,

I analyze the networks and ties present in the markets considering the different background and constraints of the participants.

For the victims, the lack of trust is also represented in the absence of associative process. This is in line with McMichael and Manderson's (2004: 86) apprehension that situations like displacement "(...) erode social reciprocity, trust, and social cohesion". Many of the victims indicated that there is no interest in being part of associations. Sometimes due to bad past experiences, while in others is just lack of interest. One example was the story of respondent 6, who said, as most of the victims, that it is better to work alone, assume the whole responsibility and not work for free riders:

"I have been in 3 communal projects, and I ended up doing everything by myself. Going up and down from one place to another to make things happen. I always asked for help, but they were always busy. When it's time for task distribution everyone is busy, but when it's time to distribute the profits everyone is there, ready to pick up their part" (Respondent 6, personal interview).

Likewise, most of the productive units are family enterprises, only one is a small association called '*Las mujeres de la Plaza de la Hoja*'. They started selling '*empanadas*', but a foundation helped them organize an associative structure and teach them how to prepare pesto sauce. At the beginning they were more or less 20 women; however, they had an incident, and they divided the group into two parts.

"When you are part of a group you need to be honest and understand that all the benefits are communal, yet some people think in a very individualistic manner, and the problems start to arise. In our case, some members were taking ownership of the profits, and the money was disappearing. We organized a meeting but there was no suitable agreement, and we split. Now they are selling the same product, and they are confusing our customers because the names of both products are similar" (Respondent 1, personal interview).

This type of experience affects trust and confidence in the associative process, which ended up with closed networks and deepens the lack of confidence between the producers. As one of the victims told me, "We are not interested in joining forces with anyone. One should not come together with people who do not have the same yoke and purposes" (Respondent 4, personal interview).

Another element that represents that vision is the interaction between the producers. For the non-victims, you can easily identify incipient networks. However, the victims interact mostly between them and with their stall's neighbour, which in most cases are other victims. When I asked them if they knew the producers of the markets or if they were aware of the networks, the answers were 'some of them' or 'the ones near my stall'. Moreover, 7 out of 8 victims said that they did not know any network in the market.

In order to identify the reasons why they do not have closer relationships, I asked them about the obstacles developing relations with other vendors. In most of the cases, the answers were related to "I came here to sell my products not to make friends" (Respondent 6, personal interview) or "I came to the market to do what I need to do. If someone talks

to me that is fine, if someone ignores me that is fine too. I come to work, not to make friends” (Respondent 5, personal interview). In that sense, I perceived that they see the market just as an economic space where they can sell their products and make more profits. Yet, they are missing opportunities that the market and possible networks can offer them. As Kindler (2015: 6) explains in her research on SC and migrants, “networks do play a significant role, helping to find a job or accommodation and giving support – especially buffering to some extent the negative effects of weak cultural and economic capital”.

Nonetheless, I identified that between the victims there are incipient relations of cooperation. For instance, respondent 6 was absent during the weekend, so respondent three was selling her products. I observed her, and she was offering respondent six products as they were hers. Moreover, I overheard a conversation between them in which one of them asked the other to help her son to find a job. This type of conversation shows that they are supporting each other outside the market scenario. However, the type of SC that they are generating is bonding and not bridging capital.

I acknowledge that they want to make connections and interact with other vendors. One of the producers told me: “I pray to God to sell out all of our products. We all have the same goal here, and we should help one another. We need to get closer and make strong relationships because at the end we all want to succeed” (Respondent 9, personal interview). Another vendor told me about the importance of knowing new people and how they share similar experiences and values: “Ideally we need to be like a family, all of us share the same traditional values from the countryside. We are honest and hardworking persons, so we need to grow together” (Respondent 4, personal interview). Besides, they recognize that they can improve their products and learn from other producers:

“There is a really nice lady. When I am near to her, I learned a lot because she has an excellent product. I am starting to feel that everyone here is kind and people are willing to cooperate. Yet, some have a discriminating attitude, but at the end, victims and non-victims have the same rights, and we are all vendors at these markets” (Respondent 3, personal interview).

On the other hand, cooperation within the non-victims plays a more defined role in the network’s generation process. Non-victim producers are more likely to be part of associations, social economy initiatives or any self-help group. Some of them are members of distribution and commercialization groups or association of producers while others are part of local projects that enhance and support their communities. For example, quinoa producers have a communal mill: “We realized that in our town we have great conditions for the production of quinoa, but most of the people do not have the tools. We came together, and now we have a collective mill that is benefiting all the producers” (Quinoa I producer, personal interview).

Furthermore, they are aware of the need to create, maintain and develop networks and cooperative mechanisms. They conceive the markets as a shared space where they can improve their business: “These markets help the articulation between the customers and the vendors but also, between the vendors. We are helping each other in simple matters that can have a great impact on our business. For example, the last market we were talking about some labels because some of our labels are not eye-catching” (Quinoa II producer 2018, personal interview).

Above all, they are developing mechanisms to help each other in the markets. For instance, at the end of some markets, they exchange products and buy from the fresh-products producers because ‘their losses are greater’. In some cases, they become suppliers of other producers. As in the case of the fruits and the pulps’ vendor: “I try to buy my raw materials from vendors at the markets, and some of my colleagues buy my pulps and sell juices in other spaces” (Pulps producer 2018, personal interview).

Another representation of cooperation is the use of sell on consignment between the vendors or as they call it ‘*Hacernos patio*’¹². When someone is planning to go to a different commercial space, they offer to take products from other vendors and take it on consignment. If they sell the product, they will give them the money; otherwise, in the next market, they will return it to the producer. Hence, producers get an opportunity to sell their products in other spaces and are saving transport costs.

In general terms, markets foster bonding capital for both victim and non-victim producers, yet bridging capital is missing. This implies that the levels and effects of SC differ for each producer. Some authors argue about the relevance of bridging over bonding capital, as Newman and Dale, who believed that “excessive bonding social capital can lead to enforcement of social norms that hinder innovative change” (Newman and Dale as quoted in Ramos-Vidal, 2017: 59). Yet, the discussion needs to go beyond the dilemma between bonding and bridging to focus in the quality of networks, as Kindler (2015: 6) notes “those networks that are characterized by a high variety of diverse ties, and by a wide range of ties with qualitatively different connections to diverse others (in terms of gender, ethnicity, class, roles, etc.) are said to represent better network social capital”. However, achieving greater levels of cohesion is not as simple as putting diverse people together, above all, as Fine (2010: 30) pointed, “social inclusion might be a form of social capital, it might be explained by social capital, or it might reinforce the effects of social capital (with social exclusion as the corresponding dark side)”.

4.2.3. Information Exchange

SC is not a perfect concept because the benefits of some can mean exclusion for others, or, as Knorringa and Staveren (2007: 4) noted, “social capital in groups can benefit members but reproduce inequality or generate unintended consequences for others”. In the same line, Ballet et al. argued (2007: 327) that “social capital, cannot be assumed to always act as a ‘glue’, since it can also function as a source of tension”. In the case of these markets, the more evident consequence of being outside the networks is the restriction of information. For instance, one of the non-victim producers manages a directorate with the information of 140 vendors. The objective is to connect vendors and to exchange information regarding new unexploited opportunities. The head of this initiative is very committed with her labor: “I have business cards from everyone with me all the time in case I find new opportunities” (Dips and sauces producer 2018, personal interview). However, victims are not part of the directorate. Hence, they are losing potential business opportunities.

¹² An expression to say that they are opening commercial spaces between them.

While the non-victims share common spaces and information: “sometimes we meet outside the markets or in other fairs. We share information about different commercial spaces and that way we expand our opportunities” (Quinoa II producer 2018, personal interview), victims do not have this kind of exchange. Nevertheless, non-victim producers are dedicated full-time to their entrepreneurship, while the victims have other activities. Hence, the frequent encounters are more difficult, and they are not updated in all the events and activities that happen.

Table 6 presents the main findings of the SC dynamics in the market.

Table 6
Social Capital for victims and non-victims

	<i>Victim</i>	<i>Non-victim</i>
<i>Trust and solidarity</i>	Low levels of trust.	High level of trust within the non-victim producers. Open attitude to establish relation with the victims
<i>Networks and Cooperation</i>	Low levels of cooperation. Lack of interest in associative process. Comfortable in small (family) business units.	Strong ties and different strategies of cooperation. Relations outside the market and sharing of commercial opportunities. Most of them are part of associative process.
<i>Information Exchange</i>	Not part of the directorate. Exchange of information only within the victims or their stall's neighbor	Exchange of information processes already established. Directorate

Source: Authors' elaboration based on (Adler and Kwon, 2009; Brehm and Rahn, 1997)

I found a critical difference related to the low level of associativity between the victims and the non-victim producers. That situation leads them to behave in an independent way which limits them and does not let them leverage the markets. In general terms, non-victim producers have strong ties between them, but there are no evident bonds in relation to the victims, which generates a division between the two groups. In line with what Portes (2010: 39) stated, “the same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a group commonly enable it to bar others from access”. Nevertheless, this division is unintended but is the result of the lack of trust, a yet starting process of adaptation to new spaces and people, and, lack of cooperative mechanism. This is in line with Fine’s (2010: 79) conclusion about SC, “it can be positive in one instance and negative in another, or even both simultaneously, for different processes and connections”. In this case, the benefits of the market are not equally distributed, and the closed network of the non-victim producers is excluding, to some extent, victim participants. Hence, there is a need to strengthen weak intergroup ties, because as Granovetter’s (1973: 1378) stated: “weak ties are indispensable to individuals’ opportunities and their integration into communities; strong ties, breeding local cohesion, lead to overall fragmentation”. Moreover, there is a need to strengthen the relation and the trust among the producers because as Cherti (2008: 54) claimed, “Unless loose ties are accompanied by high expectations of reciprocity, the least-advantaged groups will be subject to even greater marginalization.”

In that sense, SC should not be idealized, as Fine (2010: 26) stated, “social capital is not necessarily a good thing since it can be used for undesirable purposes or lead to undesirable outcomes”. The nature of the networks and the SC developed in the markets

results in unequal opportunities and benefits among the producers, thus fostering exclusion. As strong ties, trust and cooperation are known to support business activities in the markets, those that have more of these elements –the non-victims- also benefit more of them, while for the victims, the high levels of internal bonds between the non-victims are contributing to certain degree of exclusion.

Chapter 5 : Markets, from economic spaces to instruments for integration?

“I am not sure if I agree with everything Baltazar told me. However, one thing is clear: every case is different, and it is essential to understand all sides of the histories. In the case of the victims, understanding that, as Baltazar told me, displacement ends your life plan, keeps you drifting, and you will never be the same. It is the basis to understand the dynamics and effects of the markets”.

Field notes August 8th 2018

This chapter presents the findings related to markets and integration. I attempt to unveil the role of the markets in a *post*-conflict scenario, considering that markets as income generation strategies are seen as instruments to tackle poverty and social inclusion. As I explain in the chapter above, markets can generate economic benefits for the producers. However, markets are spaces for open competition that can enhance social divisions and deepen stereotypes and prejudices because integration is not only the result of sharing common spaces and casual encounters but is a process of acceptance, tolerance and respect.

5.1. Markets as social spaces. Integration for all?

Integration and (*re*) integration have become key concepts and policy objectives for the Colombian government in the current post-agreement scenario because finding solutions for the successful integration of victims, and the demobilized is a tangible challenge. In this section, I examine how farmer markets may foster, or not, integration by analyzing the dynamics of the relationships developed there. First, it is important to recall the background of Colombia and its conflict and the situation of the victims in Bogotá, as some of the producers of the markets are victims and are part of this initiative because of their status of victims. This is especially important because sometimes, as Tobias et al. (2013: 731) pointed in their research on market social integration in post-conflict scenarios “in conflict zones, prolonged warfare erodes trust across all strata of society.” And trust is a vital element for integration, peace-building and the deconstruction of prejudices.

Integration is a contested concept as it can have different meanings and conceptions. For instance, Favell (1998) understands it as an umbrella concept that implies different processes and domains. Fyvie et al. (2003) defined dimensions of integration, emphasizing education, health, and housing, claiming that progress in these areas is necessary for foster integration. In the same line, Ager and Strang (2008) developed a conceptual framework of ‘successful integration’, which includes functional indicators (means and markers), foundation (rights and citizenship), facilitators (language and cultural knowledge and safety) and social connections (bonds, links and bridges). I focus my analysis in the domain of social connections, following their argument that “processes of social connection provide ‘connective tissue’, and relate to outcomes of integration in employment, housing, education, health and other sectors” (Ager and Strang, 2008: 170).

To begin with, it is important to consider two concepts: personal and social identity. Personal identity is an essential concept for integration as part of it is derived from social

identity. Tajfel and Turner (1979: 35) noted that “in relevant intergroup situations, individuals will not act as individuals, on the basis of their individual characteristics or interpersonal relationships, but as members of their groups, standing in certain defined relationships to members of other groups”. In that sense, being part of a group can, to some extent, define some characteristics of individuals. Likewise, the perceptions of others are influenced by the characteristics of your group, their group, and the construction of categories and prejudices among them. Following that understanding, integration can be understood as Cheung and Phillimore (2013: 1) proposed, as a “process in which over time groups, societies and individuals change and created new identities of themselves as they change their perceptions.” In that line, I analyze the integrative potential of the market by analyzing the process of accommodation between victims and non-victim producers and how identities play an important role in that process.

Polanyi’s concept of embeddedness sometimes creates exclusion, or as Fraser stated: “Polanyi neglected that historically, the meanings and norms that have served to embed markets have often been hierarchical and exclusionary.” (Fraser as quoted in Hillenkamp et al., 2013: 9) Furthermore, as I presented in the section above, the SC, ties and networks developed in the markets are creating in an unintended way, divisions. This situation leads to concerns about how participating in the markets is effective in helping the victims to improve their life because as Martikke (2017: 9) stated, “being part of networks that are mainly characterized by high levels of trust and the existence of certain norms can actually have adverse effects on individuals’ social mobility, health and wellbeing”.

Observation in the markets shows different types of social interaction and connections. From mere recognition and formal greeting to deeper interactions and evidence of solidarity between the vendors. However, the division between the two groups is notorious. During the fieldwork, I identified social tensions. Respondents reported situations in where both groups had different positions, for example, in the selection of stalls. Markets are divided into two main sections: fresh products, as fruits and vegetables, and, processed products, like coffee, dips and cheeses. A map is made for every market and considers the products that are going to be sold and the producers they previously convened (see Appendix 6). As one of the SDDE officers explained: “We try to organize everything to offer the customers all kinds of products, but at the same time we do not want to have an oversupply, that is why we need to rotate the producers sometimes” (Ordoñez 2018, personal interview).

The three markets of this research have more or less the same structure, and the number of producers is similar: 38 in Alcalá, 30 in Calle 80 and, 37 in Usaquén. Figure 11 shows my representation of the spatial distribution and the organization of this market through an empirical map¹³.

¹³ During the process of observation, I calculated the number of participants in each market. However, this data may be inaccurate or may have changed due to the dynamic of the markets.

Figure 11
Organization of the stalls of the markets



This market is located in Parque Alcalá, on Calle 137 with Carrera 19. Victims who participated in this market are located in the processed products section as they sell: fruit pulp and juices, coconut products, "achiras" (maize biscuits) and, caramel wafers and "cucas" (traditional biscuits from the pacific region).

This market is located in Calle 80 with Carrera 9a. victims are concentrated in one of the corners of the market. They are located in the processed products section even though one of the victims sells edible mushrooms (pleurotus). The other products of the victims are: sesame seeds candies and species, desserts, and, pesto

This market is located in Calle 112 with Carrera 7a. It is the newest market and has only two victims participating in it. As in the other markets, the stalls for the victims is in the section for processed products. In this case, they were selling edible mushrooms (which are fresh products) and sesame seed candies and some spe-

Source: Authors' elaboration based on fieldwork

Note: The orange spots represent the victim's stalls in the markets.

The spatial organization is relevant to understand the configuration of networks in the market and how SC has been distributed within it. Figure 11 shows that victims are located close to each other. One of the respondents explained to me that in order to take your assigned stall you need to arrive early, however, arriving early can make you a target: "I have a good location because I arrive early to the market but people are envious and get mad because you have a better location. They ask you things like 'Did you sleep here?' and their attitude is annoying" (Respondent 4 2018, personal interview). This situation can be explained by the fact that they are not complying with the norms of the markets because the assignation of the stalls does not depend on how early they arrived to the markets but, on the SDDE's assignation. This is in line with the statement of Lange et al. (2014: 44), "The nature and scale of separating factors (dividers) and the social differences within a society correlate with the likelihood of conflict. At the individual level, this dimension describes a person's ability to accept general values and morals and to adapt to general

norms and rules”. Hence, when there is a difference in values and the acceptance of norms, as when someone wants to change their stall, conflict arises.

When I talked with the victims regarding the obstacles of integration, they told me that they heard phrases like: ‘These displaced people are always making a mess’ or ‘They are lazy, who knows if they are really victims’ and they fell ‘cowering’ as one of the victims explained to me: “You heard a lot of things. They think we are *‘arrancados y llevados’* (in a terrible situation), but I am not a victim by choice, it is not my fault, and I am trying to move forward” (Respondent 4 2018, personal interview). This type of situation indicates a certain level of prejudice that arises from the division between ‘them’ and ‘us’ and is in line with Ramos (2017: 51), who identified 4 conditions (obstacles) that hamper integration for IDP’s, one of them talks about “the problems of the social stigmatization of carrying the tag of being a displaced person.” Duplat (2005: 178) adds that “the labels inhibit the society to perceive IDP as the persons they are, with multiple skills and various backgrounds, and instead cause uniformization and generalization of the same”. In the case of the markets, being an IDP implies social preconceptions and stereotypes which hamper their process of integration. People seem to be focus on their label rather than in their experiences, resilience and strengths. Hence, the discourse around victims needs to change, as Cabrera (2002: 9) pointed out: “It is essential not to see wounds and traumas just in their negative sense. They are a source of experience and wisdom”.

The prejudices are embedded in general narratives which are full of misconceptions and generalizations about victims. However, in some cases the discourse is reinforced by the victims themselves so, the prejudice is justified, and non-victims are not aware of being replicators of the prejudices. Valentine (2008: 333) noted that “sometimes people do not recognize their attitudes as constituting prejudice, because they believe their views to be predicated on well-founded rationales”. Most of the narratives and the victims’ stereotypes are related to ‘their laziness’, a situation that ended up re-victimizing the victims. This type of stereotype is being also validated within the victims. Indeed, one of the victims’ representatives stated “The Colombian state favours assistance-driven policies. We are beggars in the system, and there is little interest to move forward and leave the subsidies and the state support. Sometimes victims are just lazy” (Mendoza 2018, personal interview).

Pettigrew and Troop (2006: 752) stated that “reduced prejudice will result when four features of the contact situation are present: equal status between the groups in the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom”. Further, authors as Matejskova and Leitner (2011: 719) suggested that “interpersonal contact between members of different racial or cultural groups can reduce prejudice and increase positive attitudes toward each other”. Nevertheless, other authors as Valentine (2008: 326) pointed out that “contact between different social groups is not sufficient to produce respect (...) Indeed, many everyday moments of contact between different individuals or groups do not count as encounters at all”. In the case of the markets, they are sharing the same space and see each other in a more or less regular way. However, the victims feel socially distant from the other members: “most of them greet us because it is the right thing to do not because they really want to” (Respondent 2 2018, personal interview). What’s more, non-victims feel that victims are the ones acting distant. As one of the producers told me, “They isolated themselves. We know that they have faced difficult situations but is important to forget and to trust again because in the end most of

us are victims but it is a matter of attitude and to be resilient” (Dips and sauces producer 2018, personal interview).

All the same, both groups recognize that ‘everything in life is a process’ and the tensions between them are getting smoother. As one of the non-victim producers said: “I think that adaptation is a process and step by step they will get used to new spaces and people. For me, victims are getting to that point and are starting to feel more comfortable. You can see it in their attitude. Before, some of the victims were troublesome and rude, and no one wants to be close to troubled people” (Dips and sauces producer 2018, personal interview). From the victim’s perspective, they feel that everyone there is equal and have the same rights, “It does not matter that X has a car and Y lives in a hut; we are all here trying to get ahead and succeed” (Respondent 6 2018, personal interview). Their answers show the integrative potential of the markets. However, the initiative is still young, and processes of socialization and integration always take time.

On the other hand, the relation with the customers is important too to analyze the level of integration that markets are fostering. Victims felt somehow integrated into society through the markets. One of the respondents told me that the markets were important for her because “These markets foster inclusion because we, the poor, interact with high society people” (Respondent 3 2018, personal interview). In that sense, markets are generating integration through day-to-day encounters and the friendliness of people from different backgrounds. In line with what Ager and Strand (2008: 15) pointed, “small acts of friendship appeared to have a disproportionately positive impact on perceptions. Conversely, perceived unfriendliness undermined other successful aspects of integration.”

From the perspective of the vendors, markets are helping them to create relationships with customers. In some cases, they already have an established clientele. However, one of the most intriguing questions that I was curious about was whether or not the fact that some producers are victims influence the purchase. I did the surveys in two spaces: the markets where the customers were not aware of the participation of victims as vendors; and the fair, where the customers knew that all the producers were victims. Table 7 shows customer’s answers in both spaces.

Table 7
Influence on sales of being a victim producer

THE FACT THAT VICTIMS PARTICIPATE IN THE MARKETS INFLUENCE YOUR PURCHASE TODAY?		
MARKETS	Yes	11
	No	13
FAIR	Yes	16
	No	8

Source: Authors' elaboration

The results from the customers of the market were tight, but the majority said that the fact that the vendors were victims does not influence their purchase. While in the fair, the majority answered positively. I classified the reasons in two main categories: solidarity and quality. Most of the negative answers used explanations related to the importance of the

quality of product beyond who produces it. Positive answers were explained by solidarity feelings and the desire to help the victims.

Since victims' needs go beyond the economic ones and feeling part of a group and being recognized by the community is an important element of social integration, as Diener and Seligman (2004: 15) said, "the quality of people's social relationships is crucial to their wellbeing. People need supportive, positive relationships and social belonging to sustain well-being". The strategies beyond the markets need to address these issues and understand the importance of the social relations beyond the markets, as they are a key aspect to succeeding in both, economic and social spheres.

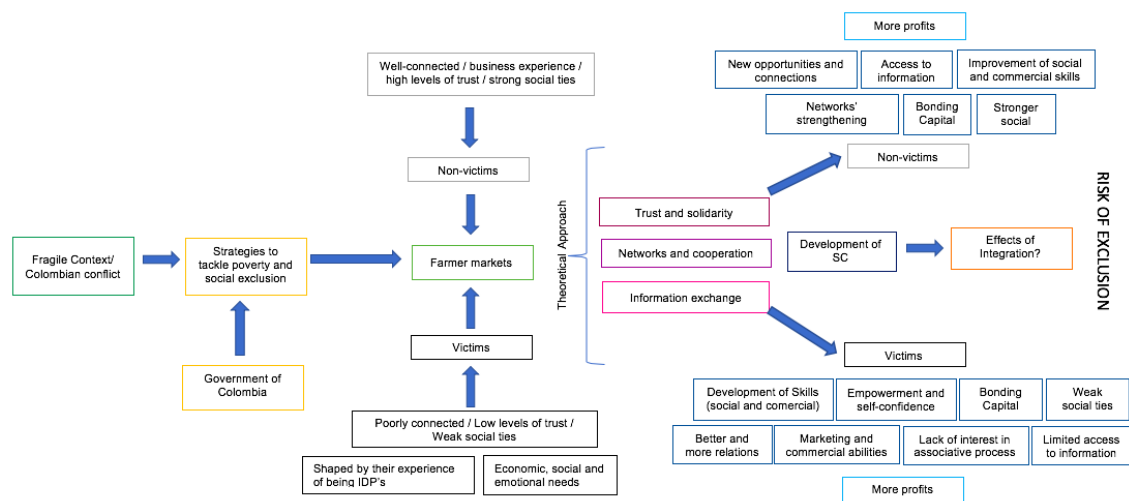
Ager and Strang (2008: 177) advocated for the importance of SC and integration: "social connections and the social capital that emerges from such connections are considered to play an important role in the integration process." However, as I tried to show, more SC and connections does not necessarily mean social inclusion. In the case of the markets, producers are developing bonding SC, in which, as Coffé and Geys (2007: 124) argued "social interactions are concentrated on people with the same background"; people with the same characteristics or at least people that from the division between 'we' and 'them', can be classified as part of the group. Following Uslander and Dekker (2001: 178) "bonding social capital reinforces in-group identities then it might be seen as an 'unsocial' type of social capital (...) It may also set 'us' against people who are different. Who we associate with may tell a lot about our willingness to trust people who are different from ourselves." Hence, there is a need to develop bridging relations that links people together regardless of their differences in order to able to overcome them. This is in line with the conclusions of the UK Commission on Integration and Cohesion which report said "both forms of social capital benefit a community and its members, but only bridging capital is about people from different groups getting on" (UK Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007: 106). Their study also shows that social cohesion tends to be higher in scenarios where bridging SC is high. Hence, there is a need to strengthen the relations and the bridges among the producers in order to facilitate the conditions to foster inclusion.

Chapter 6 : Conclusions: markets, social capital and integration, not so easy-peasy

Farmer markets arose as an opportunity to improve the well-being of the victims and to overcome social exclusion. In 2017, the joined efforts of SDDE and ACDVPR led to the inclusion of 16 victims in 3 farmer markets of Bogotá, as part of an income generation strategy whose objective is to strengthen victims' commercial and social competences in order to facilitate business-related dealings. The institutional actors in charge of the markets understand the benefits only in economic terms, meaning that they keep reproducing the mainstream assumption that economic inclusion is the key factor to achieve peace. They are not considering the hidden effects of this kind of strategy, and their main concern is linked to the economic results of the markets.

Alternatively, in this research I tried to go beyond the expected benefit of the markets -more income and profits- to explore the dynamics of SC and integration, and to identify if economic inclusion through markets means social inclusion as well. Figure 12 presents the effects I identified.

Figure 12
Market's effects



Source: Authors' elaboration

This paper started with the premise that the social relations and the dynamics of the farmer markets are expected to foster SC development and inclusion. However, the findings of my research, revealed a much more complex picture of this income generation initiative.

First of all, the benefits and effects of the markets are different for the victims and non-victim producers. This situation can be explained in relation with the implications of being a victim, which entails traumatic past experiences that lead to a different construction of communal bonds, influences the perception of others and themselves and, the level of trust that they have.

I found that trust is a fundamental element because it is both a source and a consequence of the interaction and benefits of the markets. Victim and non-victim producers have different levels of trust. The level of the victims -ex ante and ex post- is lower than the non-victim, situation that led to a lack of interest in associative process for the victims and affects the establishment of networks between the producers. While non-victim producers have strong ties between them, there are not evident 'bridges' in relation to the victims. Likewise, the victims have a stronger connection amongst them, but there are weak bonds with the non-victims. Consequently, there is a division between the two groups showing us a negative effect of SC: the exclusion of outsiders, which at the same time affects (*negatively*) the exchange of information for the victims.

Another transmission mechanism of the markets is the development of social and commercial skills. In most of the cases, non-victim producers have these skills already consolidated. The markets are spaces to improve them. On the contrary, for the victims, the markets are spaces to acquire the skills. The new capabilities have a positive effect on their social sphere -better and more relations- and in their economic one -marketing and commercial abilities- hence, more profits. Likewise, the interactions in the markets are empowering the victims and giving them self-confidence and conviction, vital elements to facilitate social inclusion.

Furthermore, the results identified that social inclusion is not consolidated yet. Tensions between the vendors are present but are occasional, and they have been reduced by the accommodation of the producers to the norms of the markets, a deeper sense of belonging, common goals and a more familiar environment. Nevertheless, producers are divided, and there are no signs of real integration yet, meaning that the economic inclusion does not necessarily lead to social integration and the fact of sharing spaces and being part of the same market will not miraculously integrate them. Besides, in the case of the markets, exclusion is to some extent a response of prejudices and negative stereotypes about the victims that are being replicated in the market. In that sense, the social dynamics of the market reflect the polarization of the Colombian society which in most of the cases do not relate to the effects of the conflict and keep reproducing stereotypes about the victims and the former combatants. Markets hence are embedded in their social context.

These findings do not lead us to argue against economic initiatives and the integrative potential of the markets. Quite the opposite, economic inclusion is desirable and could represent a first step into social inclusion. I found that markets are much more than spaces to sell and buy things. Markets can be the perfect setting to create SC and to break stereotypes and prejudices through everyday encounters and the share of values and goals. However, the mere fact of sharing a space and greeting each other is no guarantee of integration or inclusion in networks. On the contrary, markets and SC's dynamics can be a liability in the process of inclusion as the same ties and bonds of a group exclude others. The case study shows how the dynamics embedded in the markets are generating clear benefits for the non-victims. However, they are producing new mechanisms of exclusion of those already in a vulnerable position -victims-.

Thus, income generation strategies need to consider that victims deal not only with economic needs but with social and emotional needs too. Victims jump from rural to urban areas, from good neighbour relations to being strangers and, from having defined roles in the community to be invisible to society. These kind of elements shaped victims' identities

and affected their behaviour and response to policies. In that sense, economic initiatives need to account for the intersections about identity, history, experiences and perceptions. My research confirms what Cabrera claimed, that “development projects continue to ignore the personal history, which weighs so heavily in each of us” (Cabrera, 2002: 5). It is necessary to move from idealizing economic solutions to include the social spheres immersed. Hence, considering the background, the conditioning (*external*) variables and the unexpected outcomes is vital because, in the end, projects are trying to improve the conditions of people and people is the result of experiences and stories. Henceforth, participant’s background and ‘luggage’ will always influence the results of interventions. In simple terms, consolidation of SC and integration is not so easy-peasy and requires additional strategies that focus more on their social side.

Using the lenses social capital and integration theories helped me to bring to light some of the hidden effects of the income generation initiatives which claim to tackle poverty and exclusion. However, the research is limited to Bogotá and to a specific type of income generation strategy. In that sense, I hope that I encourage follow-up research on the integrative potential of the markets and how the social and the economic spheres are intertwined, and they need to be tackled with a holistic approach.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Participants of the research

	Interviewee	Date of interview
Small-scale producers (non-victim)	Pulps	Bogotá, 4 August 2018.
	Dips and sauces	Bogotá, 4 August 2018.
	Quinoa I	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Quinoa II	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Herbal Products	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Dairy Products	Bogotá, 4 August 2018.
	Dairy Products II	Bogotá, 4 August 2018.
	Pineapples	Bogotá, 4 August 2018.
	Ice cream	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Cheese	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
Small-scale producers (victim)	Respondent I (R1)	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Respondent II (R2)	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Respondent III (R3)	Bogotá, 8 August 2018.
	Respondent IV (R4)	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Respondent V (R5)	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Respondent VI (R6)	Bogotá, 8 August 2018.
	Respondent VIII (R7)	Bogotá, 4 August 2018
	Respondent VII (R8)	Bogotá, 5 August 2018.
	Respondent IX (R9)	Bogotá, 8 August 2018.
Others	V. Vladimir García Coordinator economic stabilization at ACDVPR	Bogotá, 27 July 2018
	H. Méndez Coordinator of farmer markets at SDDE	Bogotá, 9 August 2018
	L. Pinilla Coordinator of Plazas de Mercado at IPES	Bogotá, 3 August 2018
	C. Sánchez Coordinator Agroredes	Bogotá, 9 August 2018
	B. Mendoza Representative for victims in Cundinamarca	Bogotá, 9 August 2018.
	E. Ordoñez Officer at Sub-Directorate of Food Supply SDDE	Bogotá, 4 August 2018.

Appendix 2
Instrument A - Guide Questions Producers of the Market (victims)

SECTION 1: IDENTIFICATION

- 1.1. Sex: Male / Female
- 1.2. Type of victim _____ If displaced from where _____
- 1.3. Are market sales your only source of income? If not _____. Which? _____
- 1.4. In addition to the market, what other activities do you do?
- 1.5. Where do you live?
- 1.6. How do you usually get to the market?
- 1.7. How much does it usually take to transport your products from home to the market?

SECTION 2: MARKET OPERATION

- 2.1. How did you hear about the market?
- 2.2. Approximately how long ago are you part of this initiative?
- 2.3. Are you part of a similar initiative?
- 2.4. Do you or have you been part of a group or association of farmers?
- 2.5. What kind of products do you sell?
- 2.6. Do you produce the products yourself?
- 2.7. How would you classify the impact of the markets in your life?
- 2.8. What is the main benefit obtained from being part of the market?
- 2.9. What aspects do you think should be improved in the market?
- 2.10. What kind of capabilities have you acquired since you are in the market?
- 2.11. Since becoming part of the market, has your product changed or improved in any way?
- 2.12. Are there networks between those who sell the same products? The same buyers? Buyer associations?
- 2.13. How have the market or these spaces improve their income situation?

SECTION 3: RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MARKETS

- 3.1. Do you know all the market participants? How many people do you know?
- 3.2. Have you established any kind of relationship / connection with the customers of the market?
- 3.3. How would you classify your relationship with other market participants?
 - 3.2.1. Only work / business
 - 3.2.2. Friendship and Support
 - 3.2.3. Conflict relations
- 3.4. Are you in contact with other participants outside the market scenario?
- 3.5. Did you know participants before the market?
- 3.6. Have you achieved new opportunities (work, business, social) through other market participants?
- 3.7. Having met other market participants has been: Good, Bad, Neutral. Why?
- 3.8. Do you know people who have stayed out? Why do you think they were left out?
- 3.9. How is your relationship with the other producers?
- 3.10. What difficulties are there in establishing relationships with other producers? Why?
- 3.11. Do you think you can trust other participants?
- 3.12. Do you consider any participants close to you?
- 3.13. Do you agree with the phrase "helping others will help me"?
- 3.14. Have you had bad associative experiences? That have been associated or made part of groups and things have not worked?

Appendix 3
Instrument B - Guide Questions Producers of the Market (non-victims)

SECTION 1: IDENTIFICATION

- 1.1. Sex: Male / Female
- 1.2. Are market sales your only source of income? If not _____. Which? _____
- 1.3. In addition to the market, what other activities do you do?
- 1.4. Where do you live?
- 1.5. How do you usually get to the market?
- 1.6. How much does it usually take to transport your products from home to the market?

SECTION 2: MARKET OPERATION

- 2.1. How did you hear about the market?
- 2.2. Approximately how long ago are you part of this initiative?
- 2.3. Are you part of a similar initiative?
- 2.4. Do you or have you been part of a group or association of farmers?
- 2.5. What kind of products do you sell?
- 2.6. Do you produce the products yourself?
- 2.7. How would you classify the impact of the markets in your life?
- 2.8. What is the main benefit obtained from being part of the market?
- 2.9. What aspects do you think should be improved in the market?
- 2.10. What kind of capabilities have you acquired since you are in the market?
- 2.11. Since becoming part of the market, has your product changed or improved in any way?
- 2.12. Are there networks between those who sell the same products? The same buyers? Buyer associations?
- 2.13. How have the market or these spaces improve their income situation?

SECTION 3: RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MARKETS

- 3.1. Do you know all the market participants? How many people do you know?
- 3.2. Did you know there are victims of the armed conflict participating in the markets?
- 3.3. What is your relationship with the victims that participate in the market?
- 3.4. Outside of the market, are you in contact with other participants?
- 3.5. Did you know any of the participants before the you came to the market?
- 3.6. Have you been offered any new opportunities from the other participants of the market?

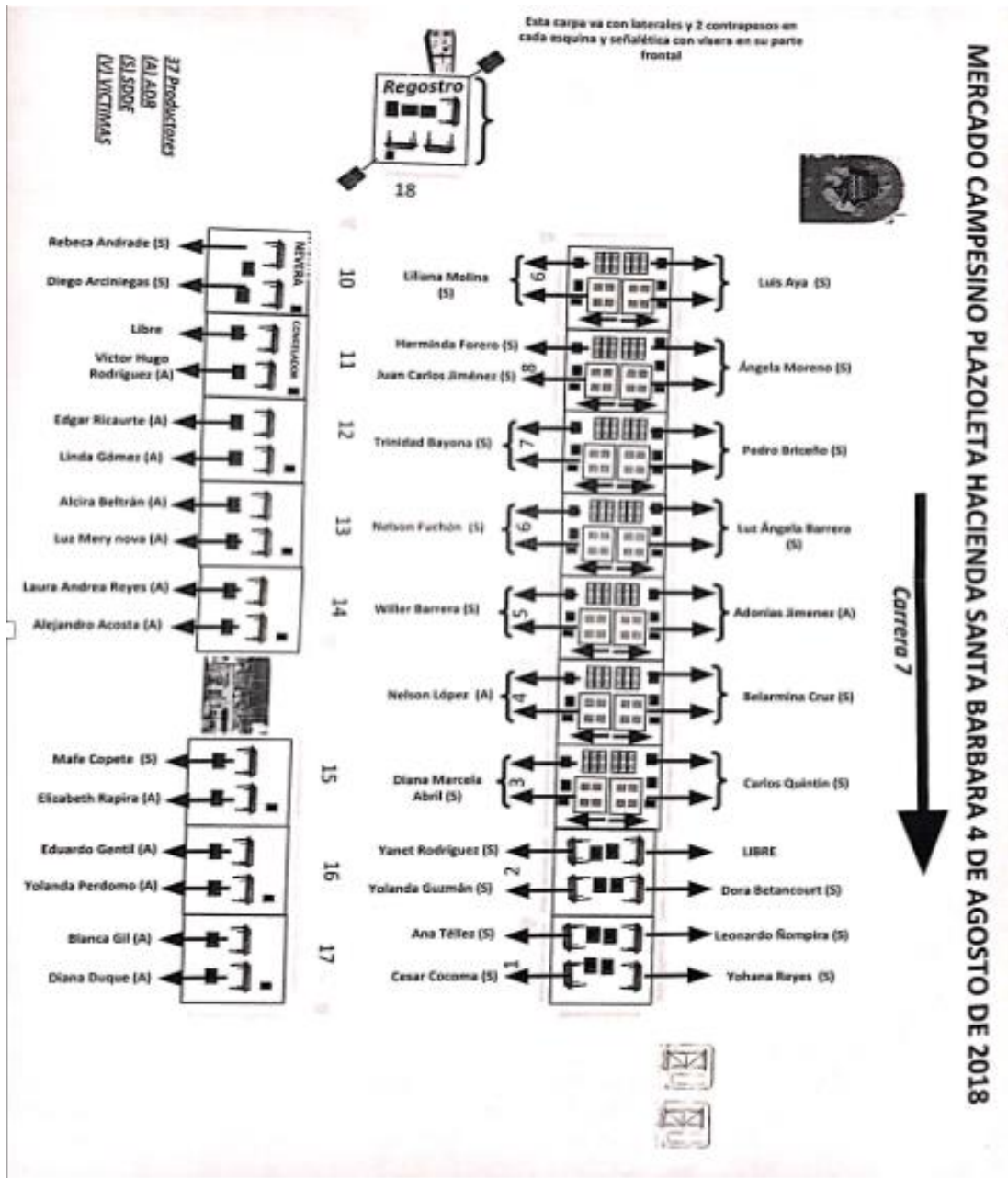
Appendix 4
Instrument C – Survey Customers of the markets (buyers of the markets and the fair)

1. What kind of products do you buy?
 - a. Ready-to-eat food
 - b. Processed food
 - c. Fresh products (Fruits and vegetables)
 - d. Everything
2. Do you usually frequent peasant markets?
3. As a buyer, what aspects do you think should be improved in the market?
 - a. More publicity
 - b. Diversity of products
 - c. Frequency of these spaces
 - d. Nothing
 - e. Prices
 - f. Environmental aspects
4. Do you know anyone who is part of the initiative?
5. Have you established any type of relationship / connection with the market vendors?
6. Why did you come to the market today?
 - a. I saw it while I was in the bicycle lane
 - b. I was passing by
 - c. For the quality and the prices of the products
 - d. Closeness to home
7. Did you know that some of the market participants are victims of the conflict?
8. Does the fact that they are victims of the armed conflict influence your purchase?

Appendix 5
Instrument D- Guide Questions Institutional actors

1. Where did the idea of including victims into the farmer markets come from?
2. How was the selection process defined? Is there a specific profile?
3. How was the definition of quotas made?
4. Can you please tell me about the products, market requirements and rules and operation of the markets?
5. How is the characterization of the productive units of the victims made?
6. Do you have any characterization of the participants (registration, list, how are they distributed in the two markets)?
7. Are there conditions of continuity in the markets?
8. What time frame does the initiative have?
9. What is the relationship between the plan of action of the institution and the markets?
10. From your institution, what expectations do you have of the markets?
11. What do you consider to be the main benefits of the markets for victims?
12. What are the main achievements of the markets so far?
13. What aspects do you consider are likely to be improved?
14. Who decides which products can be sold and with what criteria?
15. Do you think there are different benefits for the victims than for the farmers? If so, why?

Appendix 6
Map Usaquén market 05/08/2018



Source: SDDE, 2018

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