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**Affirmative Actions or Transformative Interventions for Rural
Poverty Reduction in Colombia? Dilemmas and Opportunities**

A Research Paper presented by:

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List of Acronyms

ART	<i>Agencia de Renovación del Territorio</i> [Territorial Renewal Agency]
CODHES	<i>Consultoría para los derechos humanos y el desplazamiento</i> [Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement]
DANE	<i>Departamento Nacional de Estadística</i> [National Statistics Department]
DNP	Departamento Nacional de Planeación [National Planning Department]
DPTF	Development Programmes with Territorial-Based Focus
ECI	<i>Estado de Cosas Inconstitucional</i> [Unconstitutional State of Affairs]
FARC-EP	<i>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Ejército del Pueblo</i> [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army]
HRBA	Human Rights-Based Approach
IDP	Internally Displaced People
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
PATR	<i>Plan de Acción para la Transformación Regional</i> [Regional Plan for Territorial Transformation]
RUV	<i>Registro Único de Víctimas</i> [Official Register of Victims]
SPS	Social Protection System
SISBEN	<i>Sistema de Identificación de Potenciales Beneficiarios de Programas Sociales</i> [Identification System of Potential Beneficiaries of Social Programs]
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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I have always believed that social policies are one of the most powerful tools to change societies. I have witnessed how they have changed people's lives, including mine.

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Abstract

In Colombia, one of the critical challenges for poverty reduction is to deal with the consequences of the armed conflict. This conflict has left millions of internally displaced people who have received preferential treatment in social policies as a result of the Constitutional Court intervention. In 2016, the Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army signed a Peace Agreement seeking to adjust public policies to address and correct the reasons that led to the armed conflict and its effects, establishing as one of the strategies the Development Programmes with Territorial Based-Focus in the 170 most-affected municipalities of the country. Guided by Human Rights-Based Approach and Social Justice theories and through the application of mixed-method research, this study indicates that the existing preferential provisioning for victims of internal displacement in poverty reduction policies has the potential to undermine the goals of poverty reduction formulated in the municipalities prioritised in the Peace Agreement. The data analysed shows that in these municipalities, population victim and non-victim have similar characteristics in socio-economic conditions and the people do not demand preferential treatment to particular groups. The reason for the IDP’s preferential treatment, like affirmative action, imposes a division of groups for access to social provisioning, generating unintended effects of misrecognition and different levels of commitment in rights’ protection and consequently different types of right-holders. The study suggests that in the context of post-conflict the Development Programmes with Territorial Based-Focus could be considered a transformative solution for societal injustices.

Relevance to Development Studies

Poverty reduction and citizens’ rights protection are two aims in most of the development approaches, but the strategies and methods to achieve them depend to a large extent on the context of each country. This is the case of Colombia, where the history of conflict and peacebuilding has determined the state’s course of action regarding poverty-relief policies and citizens’ rights protection. While specific context of the DPTF municipalities limits the generalisability of the results, this study provides new insight into the discussion of intersections of rural poverty and victims’ assistance policies, also brings out the challenges that in the practical level could face the Colombian peace agreement’s implementation.

Keywords

Forced Displacement, Human Rights, Rural Poverty, Social Justice, Territorial-Based Approach, Colombia.

Chapter 1 Introduction

“The approach of the Colombian Government and the approach of President Santos to peace is precisely a rights-based approach, in a sense certainly that is about addressing victims’ rights, but also in the larger sense that a goal of the process - and perhaps the main goal of the process - is increasing and extending our capacity to protect and guarantee constitutional rights of all Colombians, especially of those in conflict-affected areas” (Harvard University 2014)

Sergio Jaramillo, Colombian High Commissioner for Peace 2012-2016

1.1 What is this research about?

In Colombia one of the key challenges for poverty reduction and development is to deal with the consequences of the armed conflict. One of the major consequences of armed conflict is forced displacement. Due to the magnitude of affected people and the severity of the impact of this on people’s lives, the Colombian Constitution Court (The Court) delivered a judgment in 2004, which provided reinforced protection to Internally Displaced People’s (IDP) rights including them as one of the most vulnerable population in the Country and proposed preferential treatment for IDP in social policies.

In 2016 Colombia signed a Peace Agreement (Final Agreement) between the Government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army (FARC-EP). The Final Agreement raised the need for a structural change in the countryside, especially to increase people’s wellbeing and close the living conditions’ gap between the rural and urban population. It established specific goals for rural poverty reduction and included the Development Programmes with Territorial-Based Focus (DPTF) as a central strategy to achieve that. The Final Agreement seeks to adjust public policies to address and correct the reasons that led to the armed conflict and its effects. For this reason, it is essential to understand aspects underpinning the Peace Agreement and its links with and clashes with current social policies. This paper critically assesses the existing preferential provisioning for internally displaced victims in poverty reduction policies and examines if it has the potential to achieve or undermine the goals of poverty reduction formulated in the DPTF’s municipalities.

Many academic studies have supported the preferential treatment to IDP. Ibáñez and Moya found that there are negative effects of internal displacement in terms of households’ welfare (Ibáñez and Moya 2010a) and the impact of displacement in well-being is worse if the families are more impoverished (Ibáñez and Velez 2008). The same authors found that internal displacement generated a poverty trap because IDP performed a low-level economic trajectory making it highly unlikely for them to escape from poverty (Ibáñez and Moya 2010b: 168). A frequent public policy suggestion of these studies is the need for state intervention and the provision of targeted assistance for IDP (Ibáñez 2008: 130-133). However, recent literature (Moya and Carter 2019) suggests that IDP’s poverty traps are a result of psychological trauma, calling for a review of the strategies to promote the socioeconomic recovery of victims of violence.

With the Peace Agreement, relief measures for the suffering of IDP victims began to be framed in a broader discussion. The Final Agreement focuses on how to tackle the roots of conflict not only on solving its consequences. It established goals on poverty reduction, seeking to create new strategies to transform the reality of Colombian citizens in rural areas giving way to a broader analysis of the role of social policies in the post-conflict contexts.

In this respect, some authors identify social policy as a normative and economic foundation of post-conflict reconstruction (Cocozzelli 2006). Equity in access to social services and non-discrimination against identity groups is a concern in post-conflict scenarios because the lack, or inequity of access to social services may in fact not fully tackle the roots of conflict but it can also trigger new tensions (McCandless and Rogan 2013: 2). This is especially important in contexts where population demands are linked to inequitable treatment or exclusion (Järvinen 2013: 79). For instance, while the Local Area Development Programme in Iraq¹, improved equitable services provisioning, it also had a positive impact on social cohesion and addressing conflict drivers.

Maintaining peace, security to re-establishing a just and inclusive society, is possible with the correction of horizontal inequalities among groups of people that share a collective identity, such as peasant or rural inhabitants (Stewart 2009: 10). Based on the study of cases of Central African Republic, Kyrgyzstan, Uganda, Guinea-Bissau and Liberia, McCandless (2012) found that peacebuilding can be reinforced by an effective and equitable social services provision. Specifically, it can help to reduce tensions in the communities when the social services are offered as a peace dividend and when these are used to address conflict drivers.

In the case of the Colombian and its collective reparation programme², Firchow (2013) uncovered a strong link between essential need fulfilment and reparation rights realisation. The author concludes that comprehensive development policies are a necessary condition to implement collective reparation projects under the right-based approach and the perspective of action without damage, since, in the context of post-conflict in underdevelopment areas, some measures demanded by victims are part of their claim to satisfy basic needs. In that case, to implement programmes exclusively for victims can generate conflicts and exacerbate pre-existing tensions.

Statement of the problem

While acknowledging the vulnerability of Colombian IDP's vulnerability and the importance of current rural poverty reduction policies, this study analyses if the existence of divergent approaches i.e. the Territorial-Based focus of the Final Agreement on one hand and the design of current rural poverty reduction policies on the other hand may undermine the possibilities for structural transformation in the countryside. The research only examines the rural population. Preferential treatment for IDPs assumes that they are poorer than the rest of the population. The territorial based focus on poverty reduction is based on the

¹ Local Area Development Program was a multiagency intervention lead by the United Nation Development Programme. The aim of this programme was improving living conditions and contributing to sustainable poverty reduction in three areas in Iraq. Through, strengthening local government abilities and stimulation local economic development (International Labour Organization 2019).

² The Collective Reparation is a measure defined in the Victims and Land Restitution Law (Gobierno de Colombia 2011). This measure seeks to guarantee the rights of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation and guarantees of no repetition to collective subjects as ethnic peoples, organizations, groups and social movements.

assumption that poverty reduction should address poverty within a specified region (DPTFs) rather than through targeting to a specific category in the population.

To do that I will conduct the research using mixed-method techniques and frame the analysis in social justice and human rights approach theories. The theoretical framework is elaborated in Chapter 2.

Research questions

In what ways does the preferential treatment for IDP's achieve or undermine the overall objective of reducing poverty in the DPTF's municipalities, from the perspective of Social Justice and Human Rights-Based Approach theories?

The sub-questions to empirically respond to this are:

1. What is the preferential treatment for internally displaced people in relation to poverty reduction programs?
2. What are the differences in terms of poverty between internally displaced people and non-victims in the rural area of DPTF's municipalities?
3. To what extent do rural people express support for preferential provisioning for internally displaced people in social policy as voiced in the DPTF participatory process?

In what follows, I first develop the contextual background, the key elements about the methodology, the scope and limitation of the analysis and my positionality as a researcher (sections 1.1 to 1.4). Chapter two contains the theoretical framework for this analysis. In chapter three, I present the analysis about the background and current situation of IDP's preferential access to social policies through examination of legal judgements and government policies. Chapter four has a quantitative analysis which unpacks the categories of the poor and the displaced people concerning socioeconomic conditions. Chapter five presents the territorial based approach of the Peace Agreement and the examination of community demands of the DPTF's planning participatory process. Finally, in section six, I present the link between the results of each subquestion building broader conclusions.

1.2 Contextual background

To provide a context for the research problematic it is essential to give an overview of rural poverty and the internal displacement dynamics in Colombia, as well as the scope and objectives of Development Programmes with Territorial-Based Focus.

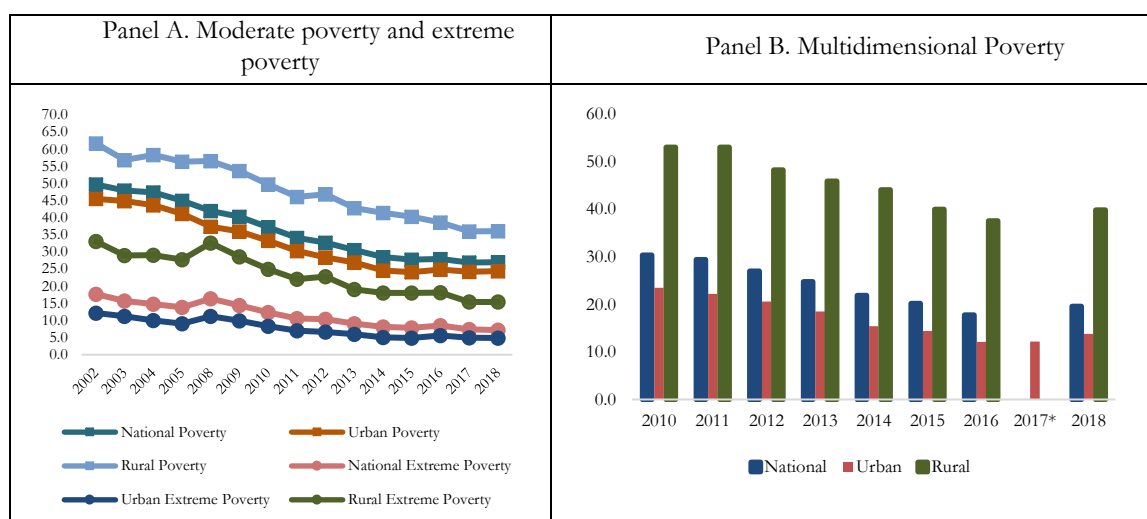
1.2.1 Rural poverty

Since 2010 Colombia has two official measurements of poverty: the monetary method which compares the household's income with the poverty lines adapted to the Colombian context and the multidimensional poverty index inspired by the capabilities approach, which shows Colombians' living conditions regarding education, labour, health, and housing.

In terms of monetary poverty, between 2002 and 2018, the proportion of people living under the poverty line decreased by 22.7 per cent points (p.p.), at the national level. Specifically, the reduction was 21.1 p.p. in the urban area and 25.3 p.p. in the rural area. The extreme monetary poverty rate has decreased since 2008 continuously. The percentage of people

living under the absolute poverty line decreased from 16.4% in 2008 to 7.2% in 2018 at the national level (Figure 1-1, panel A). Applying the multidimensional approach, it is seen that the poverty rate has been historically higher in the rural area than in the urban area. In 2018 13.8% of the urban population was poor, while 39.9% was multidimensionally poor in the rural area (Figure 1-1, panel B).

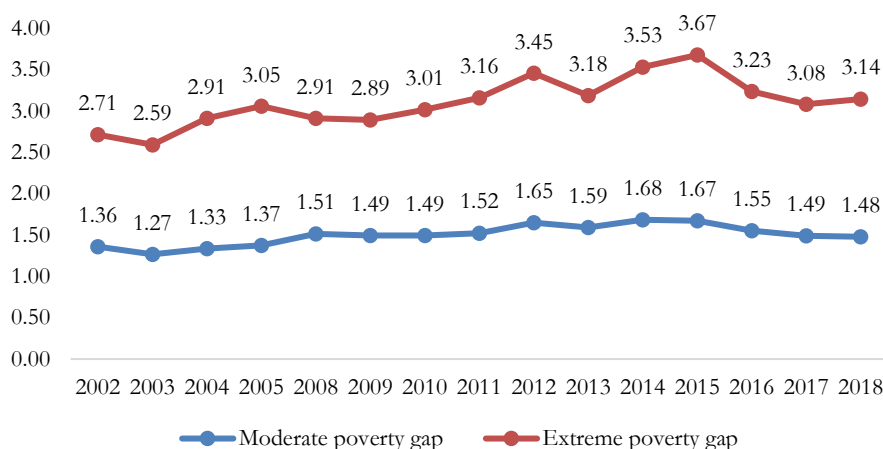
Figure 1-1 Evolution of poverty rate by method (percentage)



Source: National Survey of Quality of Life 2018 (DANE, 2018) *Non-available rural and national information

Regardless of living in a context of declared armed conflict, the poverty rates have shown that there has been progressing in Colombians' living conditions. However, the gap between rural and urban areas remains, and it has even increased. Between 2002 and 2018, the rural absolute poverty rate passed from 2.71 times to 3.14 times bigger than in urban area. In the same period, the rural moderate poverty rate passed from 1.36 to 1.48 times bigger than in urban area (Figure 1-2). This performance constitutes a warning and a need for more innovative approaches to poverty reduction in the countryside

Figure 1-2 Evolution of rural-urban monetary poverty gap (ratio)

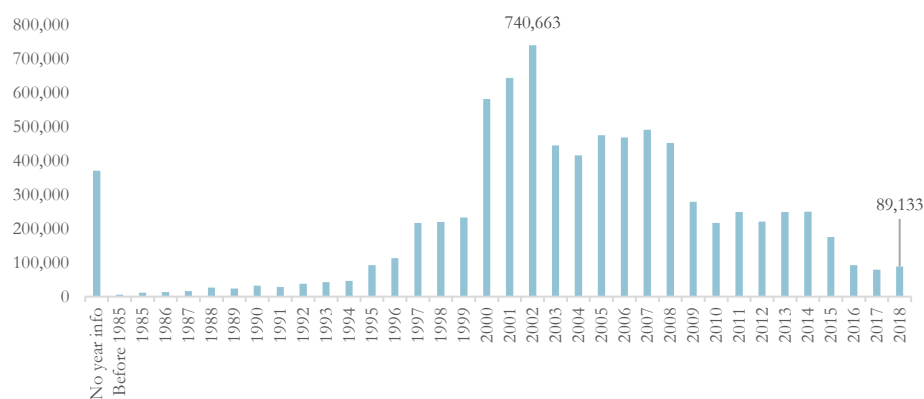


Source: National Survey of Quality of Life 2018 (DANE 2018)

1.2.2 Forced displacement

The effects of over 50 years of internal conflict in Colombia are enormous. Around 82,400 victims of terrorist attacks, 47,880 forced disappearances, 270,000 homicides and 33.000 kidnappings give a picture of the magnitude of armed conflict in Colombia³. But the internal forced displacement is the more accurate testimony of a war that in some sense, seems to be endless. By 2018, Colombia was the second country in the world with the highest number of internally displaced people by violence after Syria⁴. About 8.1 million people have been victims of forced displacements as consequences of the armed conflict. According to official population projections, Colombia has 49,8 million inhabitants; meaning that 16.3% of the Colombian population are victims of internal displacement.

Figure 1-3 Internally Displaced People (number)



Source: Official Registry of Victims. 1st April 2019

The worst year in term of internal displacement was 2002, when during only this year, more than 740,000 persons left behind their houses and properties to escape violence. Ever since, the phenomenon has shown a decreasing tendency, and by 2018 – two year after the peace agreement was signed, there was an estimate of 89,000 victims of forced displacement (Figure 1-3). 55% of victims of forced displacement have been evicted from some of the DPTF's municipalities. It means that those municipalities have the highest concentration of victims expelled by the conflict. As well, 33% of victims have been received back in one of those municipalities. Accordingly, excluding the country's largest cities, the DPTF's municipalities are the *critical sites of the social complexity of the internal displacement phenomenon*.

Here it is essential to highlight that a victim of internal displacement is included in a broader definition of who is a victim of armed conflict. Although Colombia has experienced over five decades of confrontations between State armed forces and illegal armed groups from left and right affiliation it is only since 2011, through the Victims and Land Restitution Law -1448 of 2011-, that the Colombian State specified who should be considered a victim of this conflict including people who had been forcibly displaced. Since that definition, forced displacement is now classified as one of 15 human rights violations identified as a

³ Data taken from the National Register of Victims (Unidad de Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas 2019). Accessed 09/27/2019

⁴ Data taken from the internal displacement monitoring centre (IDMC 2019).

result of the Colombian armed conflict. In terms of the kind of victimisation, at the national level, forced displacement is the most significant crime affectation with around 90% of the victims registered in the Official Register of Victims⁵ (RUV, by its initials in Spanish).

1.2.3 Development Programmes with Territorial-Based Focus⁶

An important development for poverty reduction in Colombia was the introduction of the Comprehensive Rural Reform which has as a primary goal the structural transformation of the countryside. This structural transformation is possible only by implementing a holistic concept of development where social, economic and political dimensions are integrated to change the living conditions of the rural households. One of the main goals inside this structural transformation is to reduce the poverty rate in rural areas and to reduce the well-being gap between the urban and the rural areas.

“Poverty is overcome not simply by improving families’ income, but by ensuring that boys and girls, men and women have adequate access to public goods and services. This is the basis of a decent life. Thus, overcoming poverty in the countryside depends, first and foremost, on the joint action of the national plans for Comprehensive Rural Reform, which over a fifteen-year transition phase will eradicate extreme poverty, reduce rural poverty in all its dimensions by 50%, reduce inequality and create a trend towards the convergence, at a higher level, of the quality of life in towns and cities and in the countryside”. (Gobierno de Colombia and FARC-EP 2016: section 1.3)

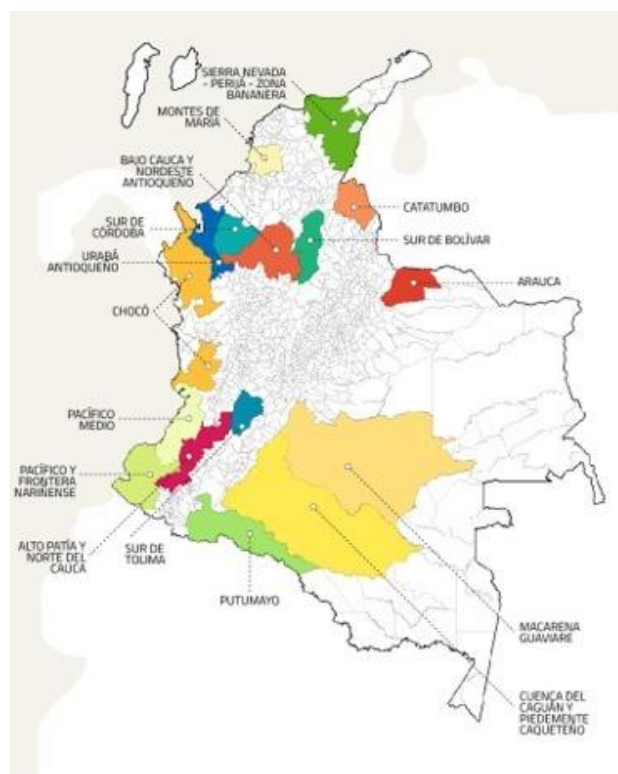
The implementation of Development Programs with Territorial-Based Focus is one of the strategies of the Comprehensive Rural Reform to achieve poverty goals. As its name indicates, the DPTF grounded the rural development process on a territorial-based approach, seeking the transformation of the living condition of all municipalities’ inhabitants, *not only a few selected groups of people*. Even though the Government would implement the comprehensive rural reform in all rural areas of the country, some municipalities needed to receive priority in the peace agreement implementation. Concretely, the Government selected 170 towns, organised in 16 subregions (map 1-1), to implement this strategy. Prioritisation gives a unique context for implementing public policies since these municipalities have the lowest performance in the following fields:

⁵ The Official Register of Victims is an information system managed by the Victims Unit, a Government Institution. This register has the record of victimization in the country and report the number of people who had declared being affected by the armed conflict.

⁶ In the last decades, Latin American think-tanks, international organisations and most of the governments of the region have pointed out the advantages and challenges of territorial-based approach to development in the context high rates of inequality, not only between people but among territories. Territorial-based approach to rural development is a multidimensional notion in which economic, social and political dimensions are linked to analyse the complexity of rural transformations. Concretely, territorial rural development is a “process of productive and institutional transformation of a given rural space, whose purpose is to reduce rural poverty” (author’s translation) (Schejtman and Berdegú 2004: 30). Some of the crucial point in this approach are: (i) shift from an agricultural vision of rural development to a systemic approach which includes social and political dimensions and actors, (ii) postulation of territory as a social construction more than a geographical organization, (iii) recognition of the importance of rural-urban linkages to rural development, (iv) holistic implementation of programs rather than sectorial approximation for problem solution, and (v) local actors empowerment and citizens active participation in the development process (Berdegú and Favareto 2019).

“(i) Poverty levels, in particular extreme poverty and unsatisfied needs; (ii) The degree to which the zone has been affected by the conflict; (iii) The weakness of administrative institutions and of management capacity; and (iv) The presence of crops for illicit use and other unlawful economies”. (Gobierno de Colombia and FARC-EP 2016: section 1.2.2)

Map 1-1 Subregion of the Development Programmes with Territorial Based Focus



Source: ART⁷

During the enlistment phase⁸ of the Final Agreement implementation, the Colombian Government published the policy document number 3632. In this document, it established that the Peace Agreement plans and programs must join with regular public policies to create synergies and scale economies on programs operation (DNP 2018a). It means that DPTF's actions, by definition, cannot be separated from the regular public policy.

The context elaborated above allows us to locate this research geographically and get a picture of the magnitude of challenges that poverty reduction and assistance for IDP as well as the rural poor represent for the social policies in Colombia

1.3 Methodological approach

Multi-Strategy research presents several advantages to scrutinise complex problems in comparison with using only quantitative or qualitative research. Many authors have pointed out the justifications for selecting a combined method of analysis. Bryman (2006) summarised

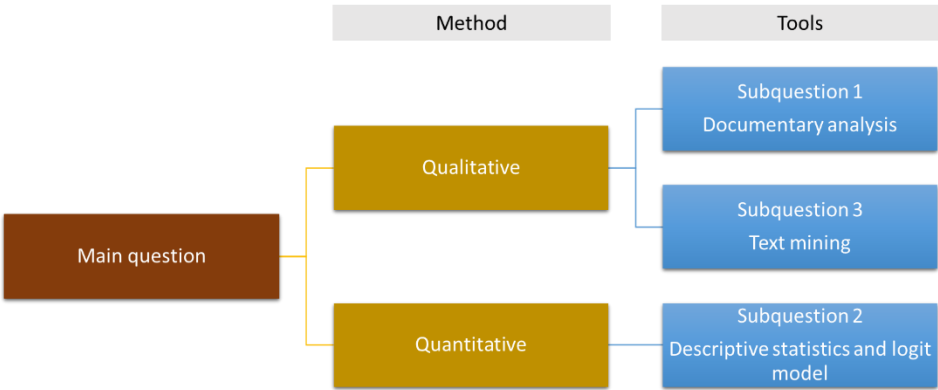
⁷ Unpublished power-point presentation.

⁸ The enlistment phase was a process during which the Colombian Government carried out institutional and legal adjustments for the peace agreement implementation.

them in five categories: the availability to corroborate the results through *triangulation*; enhance research using *complementary* analysis; *development* of one method over the study of the other method; identify contradictions or paradox (*initiation*), and the possibility to *expand* the analysis’ scope. In this case, the principal justification for using mixed-method is the possibility to complement the investigation and analysis arising from distinct perspectives.

Since this research only works with secondary data, the paper adopts the additional convergent design of the mixed-method approach. In this approach, one method does not influence the other one and the qualitative and quantitative data come from independent sources. Also, each technique is used for a specific purpose inside the study, and the broader conclusions complement each method’s findings (Morgan 2014). Figure 1-4 shows a summary of the methodological strategy of this paper and the tools used in each of them.

Figure 1-4 Methodological approach



Source: Author’s elaboration

Qualitative method

The qualitative component has two parts. The first one answers subquestion number one. Using Government’s and The Court’s official documents, I identify the principal constitutive elements of preferential treatment for IDP within the overall policies against poverty. I contrast the initial positions (years after the ECI declaration) regarding IDP’s vulnerability and current discussions (2016 onwards) around that, to have a chronological dimension. This analysis helps to frame the legal and political narrative about IDP’s preferential treatment.

The second qualitative component helps to answer the third sub-question. It is a text mining of information gathered in the first stage of DPTF’s planning participatory process (section 5.2 develops the key elements about this process). In this paper, text mining is understood as “the process of distilling actionable insights from text” (Kwartler 2017: 1), where the text is the 70,000 initiatives proposed by the community during the mentioned participatory process. This method is not a discourse analysis. It is a big-data technique to identify whether the rural population in DPTF’s municipalities demand preferential access to poverty reduction strategies for specific groups of people.

Quantitative method

The second subquestion is answered identifying similarities and differences within the rural population in the DPTF's municipalities, also establishing whether the level of poverty and socio-economic conditions of victims are worse than non-victim population. For this purpose, I use the survey of DPTF's baseline study. It was conducted in the first semester of 2017 by a private company on behalf of the ART and the United State Agency for International Development (USAID). Concretely, the survey defines a starting point of the population's conditions in the process of monitoring and evaluating the DPTF. Section 4.1 has a description of the survey data and the model's specification.

1.4 Scope and positionality

This research only examines the rural population (victim and non-victim) in the 170 municipalities (15.2% of country's municipalities) most affected by armed conflict, poverty, institutional weakness and presence of illicit economies. Thus, the results of this paper cannot be extrapolated beyond the scope of the study, for instance, to the situation of IDP in the principal urban areas of the country.

Since the research is based on secondary data and the mixed methods approach, divergent or inconsistent findings between methods could be one of the limitations (Doyle et al. 2016). Anticipating this, the additional convergent design proposed above helps to avoid it, because each source and method has one specific purpose and each one has the same level of importance at the time of shaping the conclusions.

Despite using legal pronouncements of the constitutional court to analyse preferential treatment to IDP, this research is not located in a legal debate about rights in Colombia. The perspective of this analysis is located in the practical sphere of public policies and the material realization of human rights.

Regarding my positionality as a researcher, my previous work as a public servant in the social policy and peacebuilding fields in Colombia can influence my perspective in this research. Specifically, I was in charge to lead the design and fieldwork of the DPTF's baseline study. I was also involved in the design and implementation of the DPTF's planning participatory process. Certainly, I consider it as an advantage because I know directly the process of gathering the secondary data that I am using. At the same time, I will be self-reflective to ensure that this does not influence my ability to analyse the Government's policies and the Court's judgments critically.

In terms of my standpoint about the victims' situation, in addition to the multiple studies that demonstrate the terrible effects of this human rights violation on the household's well-being, I grew up in the city that historically has received more displaced families – Bogotá, the capital of the Country- and I saw the drama of thousands of people that lost all material possession and suffered the rigours of war. However, I consider that the Constitutional Court pronouncements and the consequent Government's actions can be analysed critically without denying the precariousness of the IDP families' situation.

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework

I examine the problem raised in this paper using two theories, the human rights-based approach, and social justice and its transformative actions to address social injustices. This selection is based on the relevance of these in relation to three aspects. Firstly, the Final Agreement is permeated by a rights-based approach; its foremost aspiration is to guarantee the realisation of the constitutional rights for all Colombians (Gobierno de Colombia and FARC-EP 2016: 6). Secondly, the Court pronouncements and their effects on public policies are centred on the struggle to ensure rights protection. Thirdly, re-thinking poverty relief in the context of post-conflict, beyond that in ordinary situations, requires theoretical approaches with a broader view of social policy. Policies' benchmarking achievements is essential, but it is also important to address inequality and discrimination as the roots of conflict.

2.1 Human rights-based approach

Human Rights as “the rights possessed by all persons, by virtue of their common humanity, to live a life of freedom and dignity” (UNDP 2000: 15) have been part of development and poverty relief agendas for the last decades. Through all the Human Development Report of 2000s, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) endorsed the positive contributions of human's rights to development. This institution highlights that under this approach, policymakers and development practitioners look at the consequences of how the development outcomes are being achieved, measuring those consequences and including boundaries of individuals' losses. Through this emerges the notion of other's duties (people or institution) to guarantee the realisation of the rights, as well as the protection of minorities (UNDP 2000). From a legal point of view, Hamm (2001) establishes that including human rights into the development field gives legal support (international treatments and conventions) for daily interventions and actors that execute them. Also, it promotes the fulfilments of human rights as a specific benchmark for public policies.

According to Guari and Gloppen (2012), the Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) could take different forms. Normative expressions, as the legal mobilisation based on the claim of constitutional rights, or the global compliance with international and regional treaties. It could have more practical manifestations as the orientation in the implementation of programs based on rights, as it is the case of provision of health care and education. In addition, there are the rights talk approaches where the voices of actors are fundamental to change normative beliefs and create rights consciousness. Authors centre their analysis in a relational perspective; they pointed out the contribution of this approach on both sides, supply and demand, by the definition of the duty-bearers and entitlement-holders. Specifically, people with fewer advantages are entitled to ask for the most privilege agents to protect their rights using rules and resources available at the national and international level (Gauri and Gloppen 2012: 486).

Concerning poverty debates, Regina Kreide pointed out that “poverty is an indication that one or some actors have neglected their duties. Every instance of neglect is a violation of social and economic human rights” (2007: 180). Likewise, Pogge (2007) considers that massive poverty is a human rights violation at the global level, where the international order and national elites are the principal responsible factors.

The operationalisation of HRBA gives a better understanding of its characteristics. Broberg & Sano (2018) enclose HRBA's materialisation in six common elements which I sum up as follows: (i) development efforts are not seen as charity, but as a fulfilment of rights; (ii) there is a clear relation between duties-bears and entitlement-holders. (2018: 667) Each right brings with it a duty; (iii) empowering rights-holders; those are not seen as passive recipients, on the contrary, they are active actors in their development process; (iv) gains importance in the discussion of the roots of poverty, the most common being inequality and marginalization; and (v) inclusion and participation are fundamental to empower rights-holders, so activism and advocacy actions should be incorporated in development efforts (2018: 668-669).

Some critical researchers have pointed out the pitfalls of HRBA. Hickey and Miltin (2009) sum up findings of diverse scholars and make a long list of potentialities and pitfalls of this approach. However, I shall highlight only the criticism about the individual emphasis of HRBA. These authors find that in the conceptual dimension the "individualistic focus distracts from the relational basis of poverty and social change" (2009: 211), and also in the political dimension they consider that "individualistic focus may undermine collective struggles: support for minority rights may empower differences and deep inequalities" (2009: 212). In this line of criticism, Fisher (2018) mentions that some concepts of human rights approaches, could be vague when applied to implement social policies, "[f]or instance, does the principle of non-discrimination imply universalism (i.e., the same treatment for all) or targeting?" (2018: 239).

This theory will be used to critically assess the IDP's preferential treatment based on the legal judgements of The Court and their effects on public policies to combat poverty. The lenses of the HRBA will allow an understanding of legal precedents and explore the potentialities and pitfalls in its materialisation. The introduction of preferential treatment as an affirmative action to correct societal problems is part of a broader debate in terms of justness and equality. To analyse the implications of that affirmative action, I am going to use the framework of social justice and its application in relation to social policies.

2.2 Social justice and transformative solutions

Devereux et al. (2011), argue that social protection should focus its efforts on achieving social justice outcomes. Service delivery is not a simple transaction between suppliers and beneficiaries; citizens should be claimants; interventions must reduce the likelihood of recipient's stigmatisation while are linked with other policies that help to fight against discrimination and social exclusion.

Nancy Fraser (1995) states that social injustices are rooted in both economic structure and cultural norms or practices. Thus, the remedies for these injustices are to implement redistributive measures and actions of recognition, respectively. However, the author recognises the existence of a redistribution-recognition dilemma: redistributive efforts require de-differentiation measures to reduce the divisions that generate economic inequality, recognition claims demand increased culturally defined group differentiation which given value to the specificity of some characteristics of the groups (Fraser 1995: 74). Despite the existence

of this dilemma, Fraser points out that justice requires both redistribution and recognition because none alone is enough⁹ (Fraser 2003).

From the perspective of the individual, justice is understood as the right of a person to receive an equalitarian treatment or differential treatment when each is fair (Kabeer 2005). It means that in some situations, it is valid to establish differentiation, while in other cases, it is necessary to abolish it. Trying to settle the dilemma between redistribution and recognition, Fraser (1995) proposes two broad approaches to remedying injustice – affirmative and transformative measures – defining them as follows

“By affirmative remedies for injustice I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them. By transformative remedies, in contrast, I mean remedies aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework” (Fraser 1995: 82)

Using affirmative or transformative remedies have diverse effects on the two types of injustices. In general terms, actions of affirmation, in both aspects of justice (redistribution and recognition), do not challenge the existing groups tending to endorse the differentiation between them, generating, eventually, some forms of misrecognition. For their part, actions of transformation tend to contest the roots of the injustices, for instance, it tries to transform relation of production in the case of redistribution or deconstructing relations of discrimination in the case of recognition. Those remedies have an effect on discouraging existing group differentiation and might redress some forms of misrecognition (Fraser 1995: 87).

On a more practical side, based on Fraser’s definition of social justice, Ulriksen et al. (2016: 204-207) argue that social protection programs could have unintended consequences if both material and symbolic effects of redistribution are not adequately linked. These authors have shown that, for instance, targeting has a potential risk of undermining recipients’ sense of recognition and at the social level, creating tension in terms of inclusion and cohesion. Likewise, realising that the concept ‘*transformative*’ faces the risk of becoming a fuzzy word in the development field, Molyneux et al. (2016) elaborate some elements that brings content to this word. For these authors, programs must include measures to tackle causes of poverty or factors that prevent change. Policy interventions go beyond just to restore basic conditions; the main aim is introducing a positive dynamic of change, enhancing the potential of poor people to get out of poverty.

Social Protection Systems, based on transformative views, highlights the importance of equity, empowerment and economic, social, and cultural rights realisation in the definition of policies. Those policies must address the power imbalances in society that encourage, create and sustain vulnerabilities (Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler 2004). Roelen (2011) considers that to be ‘*transformative*’ is a call for social protection systems to identify citizens’ differential needs and address the drivers of vulnerability to implement appropriate responses. For this author, it is necessary to create more positive narratives around social interventions.

⁹ Fraser (2003, 2008) also included another dimension to definite social justice. Representation dimension refereeing equality in participation inside the political sphere. It completes the notion of a system that allows people related to each other as peers, where redistribution, recognition and representation become the three-dimensional vision of justice. However, the third dimension is not applied because it goes beyond the scope of this research.

Transformative approaches are highly correlated with the concept of citizenship and the realisation of rights as a mark of social protection systems. 'To have transformative intervention policies' subjects must shift their status from recipients to active citizens claiming for their rights with active involvement in the program's definition (Tessitore 2011: 18). However, there is no universal formula to implement programs under a transformative approach because as raised by Gaventa (2002: 11), the concepts of rights and citizenship are moulded by social, political and cultural contexts.

The theory of social justice allows to assess critically the intended and unintended effect of public policies on the variables essential to reduce poverty and inequality. But also, it opens the door to discuss transformative social policies, that is a relevant issue in transitional contexts as the Colombian's post-conflict.

Chapter 3 Preferential treatment for IDP's in social policies

In this chapter, I shall provide a description of the roots and current status of IDP's preferential treatment from the perspective of the legal judgments by the Constitutional Court and Government. Along with this, I will identify which are the elements that in my assessment are the most relevant to configure the notion of preferential treatment. At the end of the chapter, I will discuss the implications of preferential treatment from the perspective of the human-rights approach and social justice.

3.1 What is preferential treatment about?

In 2004 after receiving multiple claims from internally displaced citizens, The Court declared that there was an Unconstitutional State of Affairs (ECI, by its initials in Spanish) regarding the Internal Displaced People through the T-025 judgement. The Court based its decision on international obligations assumed by Colombia in terms of Human Rights, Humanitarian International Law, and on assistance's criteria established in the United Nations' Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. As a result, the Judges defined nine¹⁰ rights that the Colombian State must guarantee for the IDP in order to provide a minimal level of protection.

Along with the T-025 judgement, The Court reinforced the protection to IDP's constitutional rights, because of the conditions of extreme vulnerability generated by the internal displacement and the repeated omission of the authorities to provide timely and effective protection to IDP. The Court with its judgement sought to re-establish the socioeconomic conditions of IDP appealing to the State's duty to correct social inequalities, either through implementing programs or through positive actions in favour of a vulnerable population. Since that declaration, the IDP are entitled to the right to receive preferential treatment because it constitutes:

“The point of support for the protection of those who are defenceless due to forced internal displacement and must be characterized, above all, by the promptness of attention to the needs of these persons, since otherwise the violation of fundamental rights would be allowed to continue, and in many situations, to worsen” (author's translation) (Constitucional Court 2004:1).

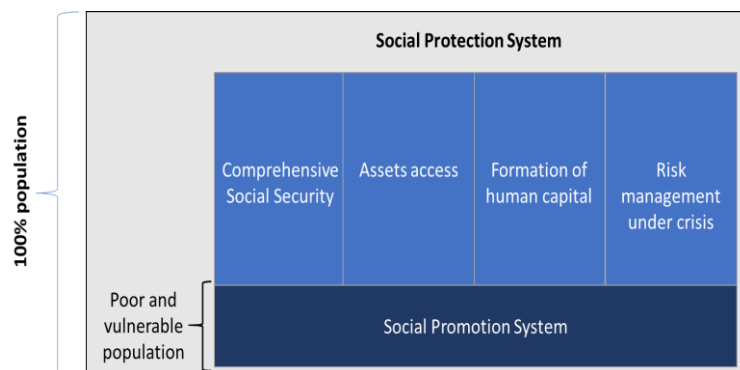
Since that moment, the T-025 judgement becomes a reference point to adjust and modify plans, programs and strategies that seek to address IDP's vulnerabilities. I am going to underline two elements that in my assessment are the most relevant characteristics of preferential treatment for IDP: the flexibilization of the targeting process and the scheme of assessment of IDP's rights realisation.

¹⁰ According to The Court judgement (Constitucional Court 2004), the minimum protection of rights that the Colombian State must guarantee to the IDP are: (1) Right to life, (2) Rights to dignity and physical, psychological and moral integrity, (3) Right to family and family unity, (4) Right to minimum subsistence, (5) Right to health, (6) Right to protection, (7) Right to education, (8) Assistance in becoming self-supporting, and (9) Right of return and resettlement.

3.1.1 Targeting

To identify the special provisions for IDPs we have to look at the overall social protection system in Colombia within which their entitlements are specified. Social policies in Colombia are organised in the Social Protection System (SPS) (Figure 3-1). The SPS is a scheme organized in four components designed to all population, and a subsystem called Social Promotion System that seeks to create “special routes to guarantee the access of the poor and vulnerable population, once their capacities are strengthened, to the traditional components of the SPS”(author’s translation) (Acosta-Navarro et al. 2015: 14).

Figure 3-1 Scheme of Social Protection System in Colombia



Source: (Acosta-Navarro et al. 2015: 14)

Identification of poor and vulnerable¹¹ population and their needs is the backbone of the Social Promotion System because most of the social policies are targeted. As I mentioned in the context, the country has two methods to determine who is in poverty: monetary and multidimensional approach measures help to identify people who are up or down the poverty lines. But, in practical terms, social policies identified the target population using the Identification System of Potential Beneficiaries of Social Programs (SISBEN, by its initials in Spanish). It is a household survey that approximates the socio-economic conditions of the households by assigning them a differential score by area (rural or urban). The score is compared with a threshold that defines who is a potential beneficiary and who is not. SISBEN is the primary targeting tool, however, in the case of the internally displaced population, they have access to social programs only by demonstrating that they are registered and have the accreditation of the Official Registry of Victims (RUV, by its initials in Spanish), due to the legally specified special protection.

Table 3-1 shows the targeting criteria for some social programmes that focus on poverty relief. As one can see, internally displaced people is a common criterion of eligibility, because regardless of the evaluation of needs, it is assumed that the IDP are vulnerable and deserve access to those programs only with the identification of their victimisation.

¹¹ There is not one exclusive definition of the category “vulnerable population”. In the majority of the cases, vulnerability is defined as the function of belonging to a historically marginalized groups, such as women, youth, elder, indigenous, afro descendants, among others.

Table 3-1 Targeting criteria of some social programmes

PROGRAM	SISBEN CRITERIA	VULNERABILITY CRITERIA
Conditional cash transfers <i>Families in Action</i>	Urban: 0 – 32.20 Rural: 0 -29.03	Internally displaced population and the indigenous population
Conditional cash transfers <i>Youth in Action</i>	Urban: 0 – 51.57 Rural: 0 – 37.80	Internally displaced population and indigenous population, indigenous population and young people with special measures of governmental protection
Income generation programme <i>My business</i>	Urban: 0 – 45.47 Rural: 0 – 36.83	Internally displaced population
Food programme <i>Food security net</i>	Urban: 0 – 45.47 Rural: 0 – 36.83	Victims of violence
<i>100% subsidised housing</i>	Urban: 0 – 32.20 Rural: 0 -26.12	Internally displaced people, the population affected by a natural disaster and public calamity or located in a high-risk area
Network to overcome extreme poverty <i>UNIDOS</i>	Urban: 0 – 32.20 Rural: 0 -26.12	Internal displaced population

Source: Author's elaboration based on official information from the web pages of the programs

So far, the inclusion of being a victim as eligibility criteria for access to social programs, is an affirmative action that recognises the extreme vulnerability of IDP and the duty of Government to assist them without taking into account other analyses of socio-economic conditions. However, as I will elaborate in Chapter Four, currently, the assumption of the extreme vulnerability of the internally displaced population cannot be taken for granted, at least in the context of in the DPTF municipalities prioritized by the Peace Agreement which I investigate.

3.1.2 Indicators of effective enjoyment of rights

The Court has been following up the advances and setbacks in the achievement of effective enjoyment of rights of IDPs. This process is made through periodical pronouncements called *Auto*. One of them is the *Auto* 116 of 2008, in which the Constitutional Court adopted an array of indicators to analyse the evolutions of IDP's rights realisation. This judicial decision states particular metrics and benchmarks so that internally displaced people can claim their rights. This is in contrast to poor people, whose rights are not monitored even though their rights are protected. The state is not judicially obliged to meet a specific goal in their assistance.

As mentioned in previous sections, nine minimal rights must be guaranteed to IDP. One of them is the right to receive assistance for self-support, understood in the *Auto* 116 as the right to income generation. Through this right, The Court seeks that:

“The State must identify their concrete possibilities to implement a reasonable project of individual *economic stabilisation*, to participate in a productive way in a collective project, or to be linked to the labour market, as well as to use the information provided by the displaced population to identify their alternative if income generation (author's translation, emphasis added). (Constitucional Court 2004: 98)

Definition of indicators for the mentioned right was the result of an interchange of arguments between the Government, The Court and a civil society organisation named CODHES¹². The discussion focused on what is socio-economic stabilisation - the ideal stage that IDP must reach as a result of self-support right realisation. The government declared that socioeconomic stabilisation is a multidimensional phenomenon that required joint achievement of all rights identified in the ECI, not only the provision of income generation programs. On the contrary, CODHES argued that the socioeconomic stabilisation implied that households should have an *autonomous* and *adequate* income¹³ (Constitutional Court 2008: 43).

The Court estimated that the point in which a household would achieve the effective enjoyment of income generation right is once the poverty line is surpassed. Beyond the poverty line threshold, families can participate in general public policies, on the same basis as the rest of population, assuming the same risks levels that are applied to the whole Colombian society (Constitutional Court 2008: 37). The Court defined the following indicators for the self-support right:

- The household has at least one source of autonomous income, and it is higher than the extreme poverty line.
- The household has at least one source of autonomous income, and it is higher than the moderate poverty line.

After that, The Court sent several orders to the Government seeking the accomplishment of T-025 judgement. The pressure was put because surveys showed that the realisation of IDP's income generation right was not being effective. In 2013, the General Controller of the Republic conducted a survey using the monetary poverty approach in which it identified that 83.9% of IDP were poor and 35.5% were extremely poor (Contraloría General de la República 2015: 80). In this same year, the Government measured IDP's indicators achievement, showing that 63.8% of IDP was poor and 33% was extremely poor. (DANE 2014).

In 2016 the Constitutional Court moderated its stance about the benchmark of income generation right. The institution ordered the Government to create a group of people with similar characteristics to the IDP. This comparable group helps to establish a realistic level of accomplishment that Governments must reach regarding IDP rights' achievement (Constitutional Court 2016). In my opinion, the Court raised two potent arguments from a perspective of social justice. First, it recognises that given the magnitude of the problem and the resources available, not all rights should be guaranteed to the maximum level. Second, it recognises, also, that other vulnerable populations face severe limitations in realising their rights', but do not have the extra protection to ensure these rights.

Despite the new position, the Court fixed in the same pronouncement a threshold regarding the income generation right. The Government must achieve 0% of extreme poverty in the IDP group (Constitutional Court 2016: 25). This target contrasts with the one currently

¹² The Consultancy for Human Rights and Displacement (CODHES for its initials in Spanish) is a no-profit organization that monitoring IDP public policy from civil society.

¹³ In the Auto referenced here, there was no economical definition of what is considered as an autonomous and adequate level of income. CODHES proposed that an income should guarantee the household a vital minimum to satisfy basic needs in conditions of independence and freedom. However, this formulation gives place to ambiguous interpretation because The Court did not cite a specific amount of money or methodology to calculate that level of income.

included in the national development plan. The Government established a goal of reduction of extreme poverty substantially higher than The Court ordered; by the end of 2022, the extreme poverty level should be reduced until 4.4% at the national level and 9.9% in the countryside (DNP 2018b: 363).

3.2 IDP preferential treatment analysed under the HRBA and social justice theories

The preferential treatment for IDP, understood in the terms elaborated above, is the manifestation of how a human-rights focus can shape public policies design in favour of the vulnerable population. IDP claimed their right before the judicial branch which then protected them and stipulated that the Government must adjust public policies to enforce the rights. At the same time, the application of preferential treatment shows that sometimes the movement from the normative rights dimension to the practical dimension could create inflexibilities or contradictions at the moment of implementing social policies.

In the case of targeting, accessing social programs with a different rule from the rest of the population is, under Nancy Fraser's theory of Social Justice, a form of affirmative action for redistribution and recognition that seeks to correct the vulnerability situation in which the IDP are, by including them easily in the social policies. Nevertheless, over time, to have two instruments for targeting population does not address the urgency of displacement. On the contrary, *it creates two access points to social policies, and therefore two types of rights-holders, those who by legal definitions are vulnerable and those who must be evaluated with the general SISBEN instrument to define if they deserve the assistance.*

Noticing the difficulties of a segregated targeting system, the present Government stated in its national development plan 2018-2022, the necessity to remake the targeting scheme for social programs. The National Government proposes that the SISBEN must be the single instrument to identify all potential beneficiaries, including victims of violence (DNP 2018: 358). However, this strategy in the Government plan follows an efficiency analysis to reduce inclusion errors rather than being based on an analysis of implications in terms of social cohesion in a territory or a social justice consideration of the consequence of this affirmative action.

This calls attention to how affirmative actions, which were initially temporary, have become permanent, despite the fact that the Country's general conditions have changed (between 2004 and 2018, the poverty level reduced from 47% to 27%, and number of the IDP on average by year pass from 400.000 to 80.000). However, the preferential treatment for displaced persons is maintained after 15 years of ECI declaration at the trial of the Constitutional Court because the Government has not demonstrated an adequate level of compliance with the indicators of effective enjoyment of rights.

However, beyond the discussion of the Government's goals accomplishment, in the case of the right to income generation, the indicator fixed by The Court might face problems in terms of universal and equity protection of rights. Currently in Colombia, some poor people can claim social assistance for poverty reduction by appealing to a judicial process that sets

zero per cent of extreme poverty as a benchmark, while others can only resort to general appeals to the Government's duty to improve the living conditions of citizens, which in practice sets poverty benchmarks at 4.4 per cent at the national level and 9 per cent in rural areas.

These special provisions are based on the assumption that IDPs are poorer than the rest of the population. The next chapter will investigate if this holds true for the DPTF municipalities.

Chapter 4 Unpacking the categories of the poor and displaced people

This chapter explores the level of poverty and socio-economic conditions of the rural population in the 170 municipalities prioritised by the Peace Agreement. The main aim is to establish if victims of forced displacement are in worse conditions than the population of non-victims. I use the DPTF's baseline study conducted in the first semester of 2017 by a private company on behalf of the ART and USAID. I used the quantitative component, which is a survey designed to define a starting point of population's conditions in the process of monitoring and evaluating of the DPTF.

4.1 Data description and model specification

Data description

The universe of the baseline is the total population of the 170 municipalities, which is calculated as 6.8 million inhabitants or 1.9 million households. The unit of observation in the survey is the household understood as the official Colombian definition "It is a person or group of people, relatives or not, who occupy all or part of a home; attend basic needs under a common budget and generally share meals (author's translation)" (DANE n.d.).

The sampling method used is probabilistic, stratified and multistage with simple random sampling in each stage's units (USAID- EVAL 2018). The primary sampling unit is the municipalities, the secondary sampling unit is cartographic blocks, and the tertiary sampling unit is the households (see appendix 1). The sample size obtained was 8,282 households in 56 municipalities with a maximum error of 4.9% (assuming a proportion difference closes to 0.1 and a design effect of 1.8), according to the survey methodological approach. Also, there is a subsample of 1,382 households where more in-depth questions were asked about market labour conditions. According to the sample design, the results of this survey are representative at the general level (170 municipalities), and also at the urban and rural level. The survey's questions are organised in 15 modules covering a wide range of households' attributes (demographic composition, housing conditions, access to facilities, education conditions, health conditions and labour market among others). Based on those questions, it is possible to report the level of multidimensional and monetary poverty of the households.

As I mentioned before, the frame of the survey was the focus on all 170 municipalities' inhabitants, without differences of individuals ethnic identity, gender identification or the level of victimisation by the armed conflict. However, the survey has some questions through which it is possible to identify diverse characteristics of the households and their members.

According to the objective of this analysis, it is essential to split the population in two groups, those who are internally displaced and those who are not. The survey has two questions to determine the victimisation of the household's members:

"Are one or more household's members register in the RUV?"

"Do you consider yourself a victim of the armed conflict?" (Author's translation) (USAID- EVAL 2018: 193)

Although these questions help to divide the population into the two groups of analysis. I add two methodological considerations before calculating the indicators and determining the differences between groups.

Firstly, although people were asked about their condition of being a victim, it is not possible to identify which of the 15 human rights violation was suffered by the household members. However, because in DPTF municipalities the highest concentration of victims is composed by those who have suffered forced displacement, I will use victim identification in the survey as a *proxy* for the IDP variable. According to the Official Register of Victims until December of 2017, 3,2 million of victims made their declaration as victim in the 170 DPFT's municipalities, and 85,2% of them declared that they had been affected by forced displacement (Table 4-1). Also, using the two questions of the survey, I built three possible variables to identify the victims:

- **RUV:** People that report that at least one member of the household is registered in the RUV, case in which all members in the household are assumed as victims
- **Self-identification:** People that identify themselves as victims, case in which all members in the household are considered as victims
- **RUV & Self-identification:** The combination of the two categories above (broader definition of a victim).

Table 4-1 Population universe of victims of the armed conflict

	Total	Proportion
Forced Displacement (FD)	2,805,352	85.2%
Other victimisations (OV)	487,316	14.8%
Victims of violence = FD + OV	3,292,668	100%

Source: Author's calculations based on RUV 1984-2017 declaration by municipality and victimisation, accessed 09/08/2019.

Secondly, the sampling design was not made to obtain representative information of armed conflict victims. It means that it is necessary to check whether there is coverage error when the survey is expanded to victims' universe in the territory analysed. The coverage error "occurs when the sampling frame does not include parts of the population of interest" (De Leeuw et al. 2008:) and it can generate biased results of socioeconomic conditions and biased estimators on the parameters' comparison with the rest of the population.

The frame for the sample design was the 170 municipalities' population projection for 2017. However, when the question about victimisation is expanded using the weights of the initial design, the victims in the sample represent 95% (table 4.2, f/d) of the victim universe in these municipalities. It means that it is not necessary to adjust the sampling weights to make the result representative to the universe of victims in the DPTF. Also, the official register does not have public information about the localisation of victims by area (urban or rural) making it not possible to build a frame to compare the results of the survey at this level of desegregation.

Table 4-2 Survey sample expanded

		Total	Urban	Rural
Official in- formation 2017	a. Population projection (1)	6,842,859	4,068,007	2,774,852
	b. Forced Displacement (FD) (2)	2,805,352		
	c. Other victimizations (OV) (2)	487,316		NA
	d. Victims of violence = FD + OV (2)	3,292,668		
Survey Ex- panded	e. Population (3)	6,736,148	4,026,395	2,709,753
	f. RUV (3)	3,118,734	1,766,192	1,352,542
	g. Self-identification (3)	4,287,833	2,408,660	1,879,173
	e. RUV & Self-identification (3)	4,577,230	2,578,603	1,998,627

Source: Author's calculations based on (1) DANE-Population projection 2017, (2) RUV 1984-2017 declaration by municipality and victimisation, accessed 09/08/2019 and (3) DPFT baseline 2018.

Model specification

I make the comparison between victims and non-victims based on three indicators, multidimensional poverty index, monetary poverty and subjective poverty. I will present descriptive statistics as means and proportions always using weight samples. Then, I use a binary response model to obtain the changes on the likelihood of being poor depending on the variable of being a victim and additional variables of control such as territorial location, ethnic belonging and household composition. The binary response model - in this case is a Logit model - has the following characteristics (Wooldridge 2016: 530):

- The depended variable has dichotomic results (1 = poor, 0 = non-poor)
- Does not impose a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables
- Guarantees that probability can only take values between 0 and 1

The Logit model¹⁴ with sampling weights follows the equations (1). The dependent variable is being poor or not; the independent variables are being victim according to the definition mentioned before, and control variables that are characteristic of the household that can affect the probability of being poor as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition.

$$P(Poor = 1) = G(\beta_0 + \beta_1 victim + \beta_k Control_k + \omega) \quad (1)$$

4.2 Are there differences in poverty levels between victims and non-victims?

According to the survey the level of victimisation in the DPTF's municipalities is high, with 43,3% of the population registered in the RUV, and 63.5% report themselves as victims of violence. In the rural area, 73.7% of the population is in the RUV or declare themselves as victims of violence (Table 4-3). Since one of the prioritisation criteria stabilised in the Peace Agreement to select municipalities for the DPTF was the degree of affectation by the armed

¹⁴ I use the statistical software package Stata® to obtain computational calculation in this chapter. Also, as it was necessary in making the estimations using sample weights, I used the prefix *svy* that fits statistical models for complex survey data.

conflict, it is expected that there would be a high level of victimisation. *However, it worth highlighting that 23.84% of the rural population report themselves as victims of armed conflict, but they do not report to be part of the RUV.* According to those results, in the rural area, around seven out of ten poor persons recognized themselves as victims of armed conflict, but only five out of ten deserved the reinforced protection for being a victim of the conflict, according to public policy definitions.

Table 4-3 Percentage of armed conflict's victims by area

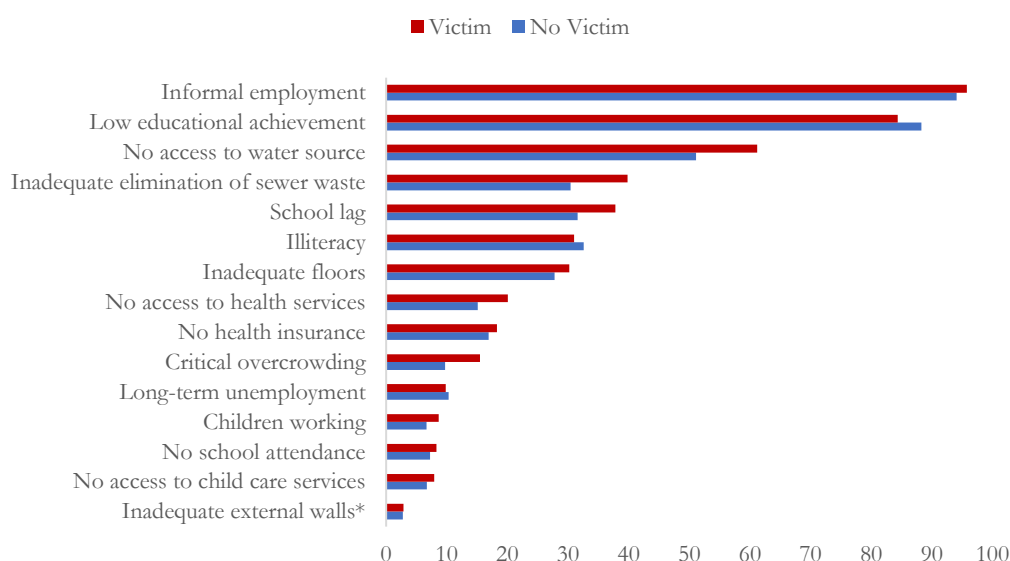
	RUV	Self-identification	RUV & Self-identification
Rural	49.91 (6.00)	69.35 (3.36)	73.76 (3.42)
Urban	43.87 (10.70)	59.82 (6.01)	64.04 (5.62)
Total	46.3 (6.84)	63.65 (4.09)	67.95 (3.89)

Source: Author's calculations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Coefficients of variation of row percentage in parenthesis.

Multidimensional poverty

One of the most critical indicators to analyse living conditions is the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). Colombian MPI assesses 15 variables combined in five dimensions that reveal the households' structural conditions of poverty. According to the survey, the rate of multidimensional poverty in the DPTF is 40.3% in the meso level¹⁵, 57.1% in the rural area and 29.1% in the urban area. The three largest deficits of the rural households, both victims and non-victims, are informal employment, low education achievement and no access to a water source as the Figure 4-1 shows.

Figure 4-1 Incidences of MPI's variables in the rural area



Source: Author's calculations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a)* Coefficient of variation higher than 15%. (b) the variable to define victims is the broader definition (RUV & Self-identification)

¹⁵ Meso level in the context of this paper refers to the 170 municipalities prioritized in the Peace Agreement.

Analysing the interaction between multidimensional poverty and victimisation (Table 4-4), in the rural area 60.7% of people that report being in the RUV are multidimensionally poor, while for non-victims the proportion of poverty is 53.5%. This means that there is a difference of 7 p.p. that is statistically significant. However, when I use the broader definition of victim, the difference in the proportion of poverty between victims and non-victims decreases until 4 p.p. still being statistically significant. It is important to highlight here that the differences of proportions in the urban area are higher by 10 p.p. in both definitions of victims, showing a different context between rural and urban areas even in those municipalities.

Table 4-4 Incidence of multidimensional poverty by group

	RUV			RUV & Self-identification		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Non victim poor	34.54	53.52	23.14	29.72	45.89	17.73
Victim poor	47.10	60.73	36.65	45.37	41.80	35.43
Difference ¹⁶	-0.12557*** (0.01807)	-0.07211*** (0.024049)	-0.13514*** (0.021201)	-0.15655*** (0.022561)	-0.04084* (0.023119)	-0.17698*** (0.018348)

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) Standard errors of differences of proportion in parenthesis. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Table 4-5 offers the results for the logistic model, where one can see that being a victim of the conflict does not have statistically significant changes in the probability of being poor in the rural area. However, at the meso level, being a victim of armed conflict increases the likelihood of being poor by seven percentual points (p.p.) using the variable RUV, or nine p.p. using the variable RUV & Self-identification. Likewise, in the urban area being a victim (assuming the broader definition) increases the probability of being poor by 12.3 p.p.

Table 4-5 Marginal effects of the probability of being multidimensionally poor

	Total		Rural		Urban	
RUV	0.0738*** (0.0158)		0.0007 (0.0185)		0.08972*** (0.0198)	
RUV & Self-identification		0.0945** (0.01838)		-0.0224 (0.01722)		0.1234*** (0.01527)
Observations	31280	31280	18161	18161	13119	13119

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable multidimensional poor on victim and variables of control such as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition (see appendix 2). (b) Standard errors in parenthesis. (c) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

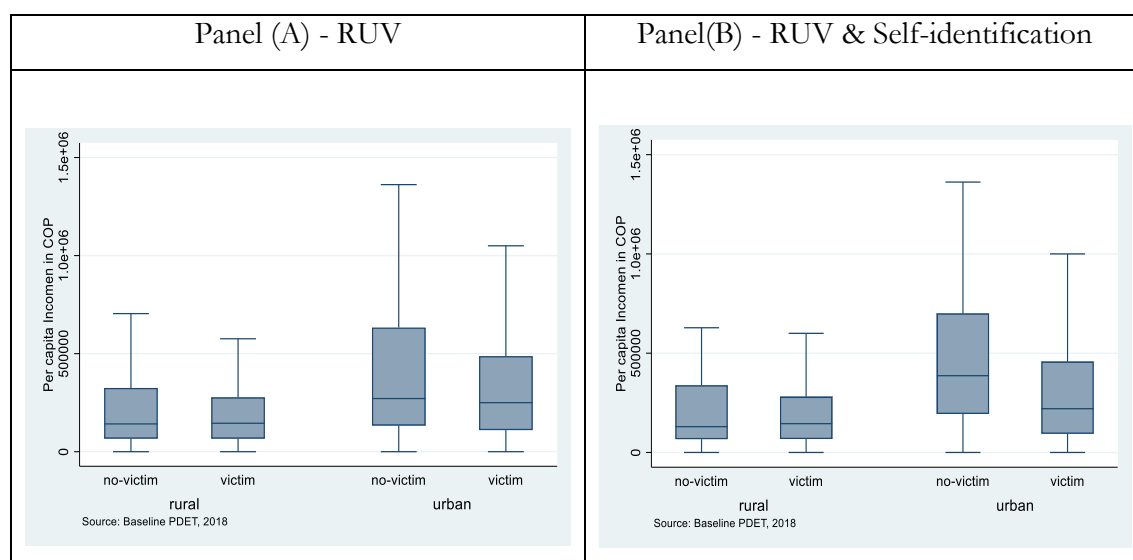
Monetary poverty

I analyse the differences between victims and non victims in term of household's income and the incidence of monetary poverty and extreme monetary poverty. Figure 4-2 compares income per capita distribution by urban and rural area and within the group's victims and

¹⁶ I used the command *lincom* to estimate the difference of poverty incidences.

non victims. There is a marked difference between rural and urban income distribution, but in the rural area, the income distribution is similar between victims and non-victims. In the rural area, the difference in per capita income, between victims and non victims, is around 11 euros but this difference is not statistically significant. Urban income dispersion is higher than in rural income. Also, the income level reached by each percentage of the population (horizontal lines) is higher than the level achieved by rural people. Now, focusing on the rural area, *the difference in income distribution between victims and non victims is almost inexistent, contrary to the same comparison in the urban area.*

Figure 4-2 Per capita income distribution by area



Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018.

Monetary poverty in the DPTF is 53.3%, which indicates that almost half of the population do not have the amount of money required to cover basic needs, according to the poverty lines defined in the country. Using monetary measurement urban-rural gap is lower than the multidimensional analysis. While the monetary poverty rate in the rural area is 3.23 p.p. higher than in urban areas, the rate of multidimensional poverty is 28.05 p.p. higher in rural areas than in urban area.

Examining the interaction between monetary poverty and victimisation, the table 4-6 shows the proportion of population that is poor and extreme poor between the universe of victims and non-victims (in both definitions of victims). In the rural areas, around half of the victims are poor (55.36% RUV or 54.81% RUV & Self-identification), and one-third of the victims are extremely poor (37.64% RUV or 37.11% RUV & Self-identification). A similar proportion is performed for the non victims, and the test for differences in proportion confirms that in rural areas there are no differences statistically significant between the proportion of poor people in the universe of victims and non victims.

Table 4-6 Incidence of monetary poverty by victimisation

	RUV			RUV & Self-identification		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Non victim Poor	52.16	55.11	50.39	46.76	56.57	42.34
Victim Poor	54.61	55.36	54.04	56.31	54.81	57.51
Difference	-0.0245 (0.0363)	-0.0026 (0.5043)	-0.0365 (0.0522)	-0.0955 (0.0367)	0.0176 (0.0624)	-0.1517** (0.0465)
Non victim extreme poor	28.61	36.93	23.6	23.07	37.83	16.42
Victim extreme poor	30.66	37.64	25.35	32.55	37.11	28.9
Difference	-0.0205 (0.0361)	-0.0070 (0.0615)	-0.0175 (0.0446)	-0.0947* (0.0528)	0.0071 (0.0870)	-0.1247 (0.0497)

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: Standard errors of differences of proportion in parenthesis.

As I used in the case of MPI, Table 4-7 contains the result of the logistic regression of moderate and extreme poverty on the variable victims and some control variables. In the rural area, the relations between being a victim and being poor or extreme poor are not statistically significant, no matter the form in which the variable victim is defined. It means that being a victim does not change the probability of being poor or extremely poor, under the monetary approach. However, some signs of the estimators are contra-intuitive, because a negative relation between those variables was identified.

Table 4-7 Marginal effects of the probability of being monetary poor or extremely poor

		Total	Rural	Urban
Poverty	RUV	0.0127 0.0402	-0.0283 0.0506	0.0644 0.0725
	RUV & Self-identification	0.0915** 0.0432	-0.0765 0.0578	0.2066*** 0.0589
Extreme Poverty	RUV	0.0041 0.0399	0.0025 0.0481	-0.0112 0.0610
	RUV & Self-identification	0.0771* 0.0430	-0.0027 0.0585	0.1037** 0.0454
Observations		8323 8323	4657 4657	3666 3666

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable monetary poor on victim and variables of control such as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition (see appendices 3 and 4). (b) Standard errors in parenthesis. (c) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

So far, there are two general results in terms of the interaction between monetary poverty and victimisation. Firstly, half of the victims are poor and around one-third of victims are extremely poor, those proportion virtually do not change when the definition of victim is shifted. Secondly, to be a victim of the armed conflict does not change the probability of being poor or extremely poor, under the monetary approach in the rural areas of the DPFT municipalities.

Subjective poverty

People answered a question about the self-perception of poverty. In the rural area, 72,6% consider themselves as poor, being higher the proportion for the victims' group over the non victims. Table 4-8 shows the relation between being a victim and having the perception of being poor, in the urban area, independently from the definition of the victim, there is a positive and statistically significant relation between being a victim and the perception of poverty. In the rural area, there is a positive and statistically significant relation (3.8 p.p.) between being a victim and identify oneself as poor only when the broader definition of victims is used. *In general, being a victim of armed conflict increases the likelihood of identifying oneself as poor.*

Table 4-8 Marginal effects of the probability of being subjectively poor

	Total		Rural		Urban	
RUV	0.0484*** (0.01296)		-0.0130 (0.01548)		0.0761*** 0.01546	
RUV & Self-identification		0.0625*** (0.01478)		0.0389** (0.01778)		0.0508** (0.02082)
Observations	8323	8323	4657	4657	3666	3666

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable subjective poor on victim and variables of control as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition (see appendix 5). (b) Standard errors in parenthesis. (c) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, in Colombia, once a person has suffered a human rights violation in the context of the conflict, he or she will never lose the status of a victim for the purpose of searching the truth, justice and reparation related to the damage suffered. In the case of victims of internal displacement, as I elaborated in the last chapter, additional to the status of victims, they are considered to be in a socioeconomic extreme vulnerability situation which is reason why they received preferential treatment. However, it is not expected that IDP needs that as a permanent measure since one hopes that people overcome the situation of vulnerability resulting from displacement at any point of the time.

4.3 Preferential treatment in the context of DPFT municipalities

Before presenting the analysis of the results, I would like to clarify that the data only can explain differences in terms of socio-economic condition between victims and not victims. This does not imply that these are the only differences between these populations. Secondly an important caveat: in the urban area the difference in the incidences of multidimensional poverty between victims and non victim is statistically significant. Under the three measures of poverty, the status of the victim increases the likelihood of being poor. My findings below refer only to the rural areas hence the analysis and conclusions of this paper cannot be generalized to the situation of all victims in the country

Based on the statistical and econometric analysis of this study, there are three essential results in this section that I will connect with the previous chapter discussion and with the theoretical framework.

First, in the context of the 170 DPTF municipalities, 23,84% of the rural population feel that they should have the status of a victim of violence, but they do not have this status. This result implies that targeted social policies, based on the identification of the victim, would not be solving an injustice completely; on the contrary, it has the potential to deepen it because these people would not be able to access the preferential treatment to which they would be entitled as victims of the armed conflict. Nancy Fraser referred to this situation as subliminal dynamics of recognition, stating that “[a]ffirmative redistribution can stigmatize the disadvantaged, adding the insult of misrecognition to the injury of deprivation” (Fraser 1995: 86)

Additional to the misrecognition trouble, the preferential treatment could face a problem of efficacy versus the objective of faster access to social services. Under the hypothesis that the issue of erroneous recognition is eliminated, in the rural areas of DPTF municipalities around 70% of the population will deserve the affirmative action of a straightforward targeting process. *In this case, the affirmative action ceases to be an exception to help a marginalised group and becomes the rule in access to social services, losing the differentiating character that it was looking for in the beginning.* Moreover, it could be said that in these municipalities those who would become a minority, at least in numerical terms, are those who are poor but have not suffered victimisations.

Second, in the rural area of the DPFT municipalities, in general terms, there is no evidence of crucial differences in terms of socioeconomic conditions between the victim and non victim people. This is based on the fact that: there is no difference in the incidences of monetary poverty within the victims and non victims groups, there is no evidence that victimisation increases the probability of being poor, as seen applying the multidimensional approach and the monetary method, and despite the proportion of multidimensional poor people within victims is larger than within non victims, this difference is small, less than 4 p.p. when the broader definition of victim is used.

Based on the evidence of no crucial differences in terms of socioeconomic conditions between the victim and non-victim people, the preferential treatment (elaborated in the previous chapter) in the rural areas of DPTF municipalities seems not to be pertinent. In this specific case, the affirmative action is creating differences between identity groups that are similar at least in socio-economic conditions and for the purposes of anti-poverty policy.

Third, in the rural area of the DPTF municipalities, most of the people perceive themselves as living in poverty. However, unlike objective measures of poverty, when a subjective measure of poverty is used, being a victim increases the probability of considering oneself as poor, when the broader definition of victim is used. This result could be in line with authors that say that the trauma of victimisation increases the feeling of hopelessness (Moya and Carter 2019). Unfortunately, available information in the survey does not allow to establish which are the triggers behind the perception of poverty both in victims and non victims groups.

Chapter 5 The voices of rural communities in the DPTF municipalities

The participation of communities in the DPTF is an essential point for understanding the territorial approach. The peace agreement recognises that for achieving a development process relevant and adapted to the particular needs that exist in each territory, this process must be a bottom-up movement born from the diagnoses and proposals' rural dwellers. This point doubtless is the reason why, in order to analyse the potential links and clashes between preferential treatment and DPTF implementation, it is essential to explore the voice of the communities, because they are the centre of the development process proposed in the Peace Agreement.

In that sense, this chapter analyses qualitative information gathered in the DPTF's planning participatory process to identify whether the rural population demand preferential access to poverty reduction strategies for specific groups of people.

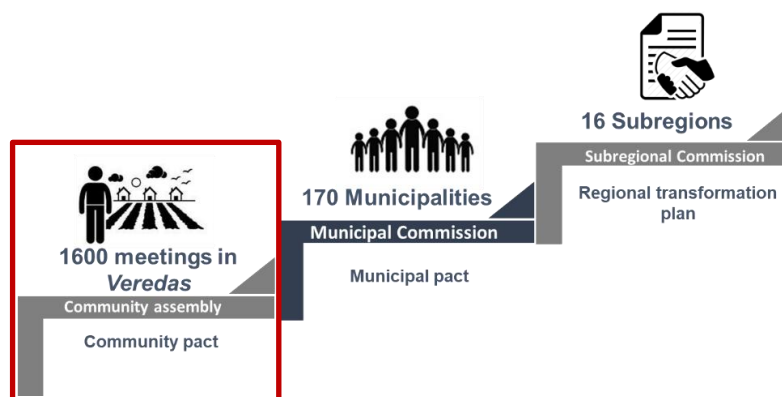
5.1 Participatory process

During the years 2017 and 2018, the Territorial Renewal Agency (ART, henceforth) sponsored the participatory building of plans for the DPTF with diverse actors in the territory. The participatory process was a bottom-up identification of needs and possible solutions around eight pillars or components that support rural communities' well-being. The ART defined the pillars as a mechanism for getting organised conversations and standardising the participatory process' results in real-time. The eight components used in each meeting, as a guide for dialogues, are the constitutive elements of the Comprehensive Rural Reform of the Peace Agreement. The following is the list of pillars that cover a wide range of social, economic and peacebuilding dimensions:

- Land access and use
- Infrastructure and soil improvement
- Rural health
- Rural education and comprehensive care in early childhood
- Housing, basic sanitation and drinking water
- Re-starting of economic activity and agricultural production
- System for the progressive realisation of the right to food
- Reconciliation, coexistence and peacebuilding

The participatory process has three phases. It starts with community assemblies, followed by one meeting in each municipality and finally 16 sub-regional commissions (Figure 5-1). The result of the process is a Development Plan for each sub-region named Action Plan for Regional Transformation. Those plans bring together the inputs from each level of planning trying to respect the voice of all actors that participate in the process.

Figure 5-1 DPTF's planning participatory process



Source: ART¹⁷, author's translation

I will only use the information from the community assemblies of the *villages phase* (red box in figure 5.1), because only community members participated in those and that is the objective of this analysis, trying to find patterns within community claims.

Village phase methodology

In order to develop the participatory process, the ART jointly with local authorities grouped the villages –the rural sub municipal division of territory- to make the community meetings logistically easier. The group of villages was named “nucleus”. The *villages phase* was divided in two moments, first one assembly per each nucleus and then one consolidation meeting with people delegated from the different nucleus inside the municipality. The result of this phase was the communities’ identification of opportunities, problematics and initiatives around the eight pillars.

The *village phase* was composed of around 1,600 community’ meetings conducted in the rural areas of the 170 municipalities. The ART personnel were in charge to prepare the logistics for the spaces, announce and promote the event and facilitate the meetings. The persons who participated in the activities did not receive monetary compensation or any contribution; it was voluntary; people only received food and beverages during the events. In some specific cases, participants received financial support to afford the cost of transportation between remote areas and the place of the meeting, however it was not the rule.

The day of the event in each nucleus, once arrived, attendants were split into groups to discuss each pillar. People joined to the topic closest to their interest, and they could participate in more than one group. One member of the community in each group was in charge to write down in posters the ideas about opportunities, problematics and initiatives. After that, at the end of the event, the results were shared in the plenary for final additions or modifications. Figure 5-2 shows one of the assemblies conducted in the village *Chever* in the rural area of Dabeiba (one of the 170 municipalities). ART employees wear a red vest and had visual helps to facilitate the event (left picture), communities distributed by tables discussed and elaborated the posters (right photo).

¹⁷ Unpublished power-point presentation.

Figure 5-2 Dabeiba's Community Assembly – January 17th, 2018



Source: Author's archive

After the meeting, the ART's employees transcribed text from the posters to the information system that centralised all data in the ART's headquarters. Information from the *villages phase* is a sizeable unstructured database that contains more than 70,000 initiatives. The following are some examples of the actions proposed by the communities:

- “Construction of the school in Plan Grande which would host the students of all 11 villages”
- “Historical memory reconstruction and psychosocial support, mainly for the victims in the Micuro village”
- “Design a program of productive inclusion for people with disabilities in the Pioya indigenous reservation and surrounding villages.”¹⁸ (Author's translation)

The participatory methodology implemented was designed to capture rural citizens demands in a plural and equitable way. The events' announcement and promotion had an important weight inside the process. Only through them was it possible to have the participation of rural people with a diverse background. Additionally, the toolbox that operationalised the methodology was based on the *Do-no-Harm* approach and a differential approach specially on ethnic and gender perspectives (ART and GIZ 2017). Around 148,000 people participated in this phase where 58.5% were men and 42.4% were women, and in terms of ethnic identification, 56% belonged to an ethnic group¹⁹.

5.2 Community's voices analysis

Even though the process of transcription could change some communities' expressions or intentions, the information gathered during the *village phase* is a valuable source of communities' demands. It is a systematic collection of citizens' proposals about territories' development concerning eight fundamental topics. This information can have multiples usages in policy design and implementation. For this study, I will identify which is the policy's subject or beneficiary defined by the communities, to determine if people demand universal territorial solutions or claim support for actions for certain kind of population groups.

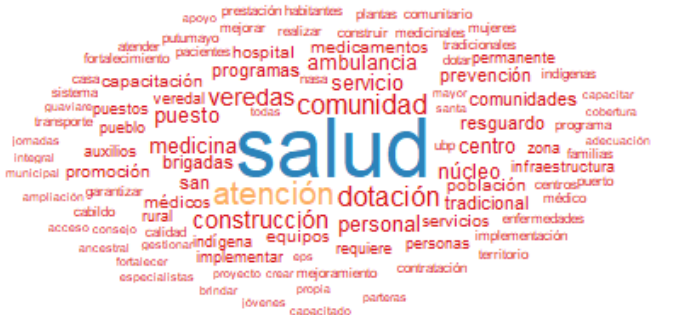

¹⁸ Database with the initiatives was received in personal communication with the ART's deputy direction of participatory planning.

¹⁹ Statistics were received in personal communication with the ART information office.

Analysing this information faces two critical challenges. First as much qualitative information, it is unstructured data, i.e. it does not have categories or patterns defined to elaborate statistics. Second, the large volume of initiatives requires the use of analytical software with significant processing capacity. Otherwise, it is impossible to read all information and categorise the subjects of policy, in a reasonable time. Due to these characteristics, I select the text mining analysis through the *software* R to process the information. It is crucial to clarify that data was processed in Spanish, and then I translated the results to English. Also, I analysed information from six out of the eight pillars. Land access and use and infrastructure and soil improvement pillars were excluded from the analysis because -despite being essential topics in rural development- they do not directly link with poverty reductions policies.

In the text mining process, initially, one identifies the number of times that each word is repeated without taking into account the stopwords – “common words that often do not provide any additional insight, such as articles” (Kwartler 2017: 38). Figure 5-3 has several word clouds, graphic representation of the importance of each word, the bigger the word, the more times it repeats in each pillar. Word colours allow to differentiate the importance of the words. The column to the right contains the translation of the 20 most important words by each pillar.

Figure 5-3 Pillars word clouds

<p>Rural health:</p> 	<p>Blue: Health Yellow: Attention Red: Endowments, community, construction, villages, personal, service, medicine, nucleus, ambulance, brigades, reservation, programs, communities, prevention, hospital, doctors, equipment, population</p>
<p>Rural education and comprehensive care in early childhood:</p> 	<p>Blue: construction, education Green: school, endowment, community Yellow: programs, villages, nucleus, educational, reservation, children, students, superior, young, build, teachers, access, communities, people, infrastructure</p>

- Community: nouns related to community as subject
- Ethnic: terms related to indigenous, afro-descendants and Romani people
- Family: terms related to household and family
- Gender: words men, women or LGBTI+ community
- Life Cycle: terms related to early childhood, childhood, youth, adults and older people
- Victim: terms related to victimisation and displacement
- Poor: words related to poverty
- Ex-combatant: terms related to former combatants and demobilised people
- Non-able body: terms related to people with disability

Table 5-1 shows the percentage of participation of each category over the total sum of categories. Overall, the rural population from the DPTF municipalities identify the beneficiaries in their proposals as more related to community, ethnic and life cycle categories, in that order. On the contrary, categories that define poor people or victims of the violence are less mentioned in the initiatives with less than 4% of the total. Considering that the word count was made without having into account combination of words, it could exist intersection between words that identify a single beneficiary; for instance, an indigenous organisation could be classified in two categories (community and ethnic), but actually, it is a sole beneficiary in the category ethnic. Even if the intersection is large, it does not affect the fact that *victim and poor are not relevant characteristic for the community as a basis for asking for social and economic assistance.*

Table 5-1 Relevance of categories of policy beneficiaries (percentage)

Categories	Rural health	Rural education and comprehensive care in early childhood	Housing, basic sanitation and drinking water	Re-starting of economic activity and agricultural production	System for the progressive realisation of the right to food	Reconciliation, coexistence and peacebuilding	Total
Community	37.72	28.57	36.28	44.95	29.52	30.08	34.50
Ethnic	34.85	23.21	34.10	25.73	12.28	34.88	28.01
Family	6.93	5.95	22.81	14.10	22.36	5.70	11.03
Gender	5.93	4.12	4.33	11.16	9.04	7.43	7.05
Life Cycle	10.54	37.27	1.07	3.68	24.51	7.01	14.96
Victim	0.75	0.03	0.63	0.03	0.20	14.37	3.37
Poor	0.43	0.11	0.60	0.08	0.96	0.20	0.29
Ex-combatant	-	0.01	-	0.05	-	0.20	0.06
Non-able body	2.85	0.74	0.18	0.22	1.13	0.12	0.73

Source: Author's calculations based on the database of initiatives.

The analysis in this chapter, regarding who are the policy beneficiaries proposed by the communities, is an approximation to reality, which might have biases or work on extreme assumptions. However, the results give an idea that in the framework of community conversations, when people talk about local development, they do not claim special care for the victims or population in poverty. This is a reasonable result, to the extent, in rural areas of DPTF municipalities, the conflict has victimised most of the population and the lack of essential services is widespread.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Ways forward from affirmative to transformative actions

In Colombia, one of the key challenges for poverty reduction and development is to deal with the consequences of the armed conflict. This conflict has left millions of internally displaced people who have preferential treatment in social policies. With the peace agreement signed in 2016, Colombian State seeks not only to put an end to the armed confrontations that have generated the millions of victims but also achieve rural poverty reduction with strategies such as the DPTF.

By applying mixed-method research, this study indicates that the existing preferential provisioning for internally displaced victims in poverty reduction policies has the potential to undermine the goals of poverty reduction formulated in the DPTF municipalities. In these municipalities, where the population of victims and non-victims have similar characteristics in socioeconomic conditions and the people do not demand preferential treatment to particular groups, the IDP's preferential treatment imposes a division of groups for access to social provisioning, generating different levels of commitment in rights' protection and consequently different types of right-holders.

The IDP's preferential treatment is the materialisation of a legal intervention that surged in a moment of a humanitarian crisis. The first component is a straightforward targeting process, that becomes permanent despite the fact that the social and economic conditions of the country have got better. A continuous affirmative action could be reasonable if the level of imbalance in society remains, but in the case of DPTF municipalities, this does not happen since data analysis suggests that there are similar levels of poverty within the victims and non victims groups. Since the incidences of poverty do not differ between victims and non victims, having two access points to social policies, one SISBEN and the other one victim status, seem like an unsuitable measure of policy in the case of rural areas of the DPTF municipalities.

Likewise, an affirmative action of targeting based on the status of being a victim is generating a misrecognition effect in the territory. There is a significant portion of people (23.84%) that reported do not have the victim status in official records of the Government, but they feel that they should have. Nancy Fraser (1995, 2003, 2008) in her theory of social justice anticipates that the affirmative actions of redistribution and recognition could generate some forms of misrecognition due to, among other reasons, that these actions do not tend to blur differentiation between groups and can tend to make it deeper.

As a result of The Court's intervention in favour of IDP's rights, currently, the policy for extreme poverty reduction has two goals, one for IDP (0% in rural and urban areas) and the other one for the rest of the citizens (9% in rural areas). In this respect, the human rights-based approach supports the state's committed additional efforts to ensure the guarantee of the right of minorities or vulnerable groups, due to their disadvantages in relation to the rest of society. However, this should not imply that the Government as duty-bearer must put the goals regarding one vulnerable group above the rest of the population's. In this case, different levels of aims in the protection of citizens' rights could be considered as an unintended effect of the affirmative actions in the frame of HRBA.

Embracing the criticism of the excessively individualistic approach of the human rights-based approach, one could say that the affirmative action of setting specific poverty reduction goals in favour of the internally displaced people, does not take into account that decisions on poverty issues should have a broader scope, at least in the contexts such as Colombia, where not only IDP's faced substantial shortcoming and deprivation in basic needs. In this respect, Nieto and Lopez (2018) in a study of some The Court's judgements found that, even though The Court plays an essential role in restoring the situation of vulnerable and socially excluded groups, this institution is generating problems of inequality with its orders, due to it not taking into account the complexity of the fight against poverty.

A way forward

The Final Agreement does not discard the human rights-based approach but merges it with the territorial based approach for the comprehensive rural reform. It is recognising the urgency of more universal policies for rural areas intending to achieve the effective enjoyment of rights by all their inhabitants. Through the territorial approach, historically most affected areas by armed conflict gain a space in the social policy as a new subject of intervention, beyond the individuals or households.

The territorial approach in the peace agreement seeks to correct injustices arising from the conflict and prolonged abandonment by the state in which the country's rural areas have been plunged. In this context, it could be more beneficial to implement transformative actions, as Fraser defined. These actions of redistribution and recognition while seeking to solve injustices of an economic and symbolic nature, help to erase the divisions between population groups and have the potential to correct recognition failures as currently is happening in DPTF's municipalities.

In fact, in the sense that authors such as Devereux et al. (2011) and Tessitore (2011) have defined, the DPTF are themselves a transformative solution, since by involving communities in their construction they are making citizens move from being beneficiaries to agents of their own development. The information gathered during the process of DPTF participatory planning suggests that the rural inhabitants do not identify with the differentiation between victims and non-victims. When they are proposing solutions for their deficiencies in health, housing, education and income generation, they prioritize communal solutions rather than solutions to specific individuals. In this sense, maintaining two targeting schemes is somehow ignoring the voice of communities, which are not establishing boundaries between victims and non-victims when seeking to improve social and economic conditions.

It is understandable that in the context where the conflict has victimised most of the population, and the lack of essential services is widespread, people look for a universal solution for their social and economic deprivation, but in the case of post-conflict scenarios that is desirable. As it is mentioned at the beginning of this research, authors as Cocozzelli (2006), McCandless and Rogan (2013) and Järvinen (2013), have found that after conflicts unfragmented delivery of social services mitigated tension in communities and can be very helpful in building social cohesion.

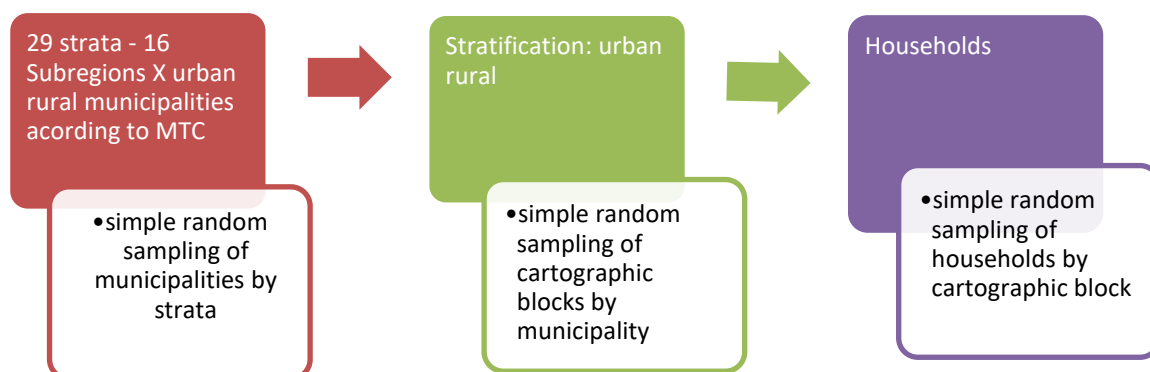
While specific context of the DPTF municipalities limits the generalisability of the results, this study provides new insight into the discussion of intersections of rural poverty and victims' assistance policies, also brings out the challenges that at the practical level could face the peace agreement's implementation. This research also raises concerns around the statement that to perpetuate the idea that the internally displaced people are the poorest of the poor, could affect the IDP self-perception about their future, based on the result that being a victim increases the probability of considering oneself poor.

To better understand the implications of these results, future studies could address, from the perspective of norms and legality, what are the action that judicial branch could implement regards the unintended effect of the preferential treatment for the IDP. Also, it should be useful to conduct researches about to what extent the affirmative measures for other identity groups and its intersections (ethnic communities, women, ex-combats) dialogue with the implementation of a territorial approach.

Finally, based on these conclusions, practitioners should consider open spaces for discussion between the Constitutional Court, the Government and the rural communities to debate what modifications to current social policies that assist poor and victim populations should be made, in the frame of DPTF's implementation. This deliberation, however, must be situated around results in terms of social justice and not in terms of the achievement of efficiency or the unrestricted compliance with legal rulings.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Sampling design of the DPTF's survey



Source: ART-USAID

Appendix 2 Marginal effects of the probability of being multidimensionally poor

Variable	Total			Rural			Urban		
	dy/dx	Std. Err.		dy/dx	Std. Err.		dy/dx	Std. Err.	
RUV	0.074	0.016	***	0.001	0.018		0.090	0.020	***
Number person in the household	0.069	0.008	***	0.072	0.007	***	0.050	0.010	***
Female Household's Head	-0.010	0.017		0.001	0.027		0.048	0.015	**
Insufficient resources for food	0.196	0.030	***	0.196	0.021	***	0.157	0.037	***
Ref: Pacífico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste Antioqueño	-0.098	0.076		0.054	0.052		-0.124	0.030	***
Sur de Cordoba	-0.119	0.066	*	-0.019	0.055		-0.116	0.028	***
Uraba antioqueño	-0.215	0.072	**	-0.052	0.040		-0.202	0.016	***
Montes de Maria	-0.133	0.062	**	-0.096	0.083		-0.073	0.051	
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.328	0.034	***	-0.168	0.049	**	-0.243	0.017	***
Sur de Bolivar	-0.111	0.072		0.020	0.041		-0.115	0.019	***
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	-0.155	0.057	***	-0.188	0.084	**	-0.114	0.020	***
Sur del Tolima	0.006	0.089		0.071	0.040	*	-0.090	0.036	**
Arauca	-0.172	0.036	***	-0.259	0.044	***	-0.080	0.026	**
Catatumbo	-0.011	0.082		0.052	0.041		-0.125	0.016	***
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	-0.146	0.047	**	-0.153	0.068	**	-0.075	0.027	**
Macarena - Guaviare	-0.057	0.050		-0.092	0.045	**	0.008	0.043	
Putumayo	-0.079	0.062		-0.036	0.062		-0.060	0.038	
Choco	-0.008	0.071		0.041	0.047		-0.031	0.061	
Pacifico Medio	-0.230	0.042	***	-0.021	0.069		-0.158	0.016	***
Ref:Other									
White	-0.065	0.055		0.073	0.059		-0.078	0.058	
Afrodescendant	-0.090	0.084		0.060	0.092		-0.089	0.088	
Mestizo	-0.131	0.065	**	-0.054	0.067		-0.096	0.080	
Mulato	-0.010	0.052		0.103	0.083		-0.017	0.048	
Indigenous	-0.054	0.065		0.035	0.070		-0.091	0.064	
Anyone	-0.122	0.076		0.053	0.060		-0.128	0.076	
Ref:Other									
Nuclear	-0.218	0.089	**	-0.192	0.114	*	-0.189	0.096	**
Extensive	-0.157	0.098		-0.100	0.129		-0.105	0.111	
Composite	-0.163	0.083	**	-0.166	0.132		-0.079	0.097	
Unipersonal	-0.055	0.093		0.012	0.118		-0.055	0.100	

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable multidimensional poor on victim (RUV) and variables of control as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Variable	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban Std. Err.	
RUV & Self-identification	0.095	0.018	***	-0.022	0.017		0.123	0.015	***
Number person in the household	0.069	0.008	***	0.073	0.007	***	0.049	0.010	***
Female Household's Head	-0.005	0.017		0.002	0.027		0.056	0.015	***
Insufficient resources for food	0.191	0.029	***	0.197	0.021	***	0.146	0.034	***
Ref: Pacifico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste	-0.090	0.076		0.051	0.053		-0.112	0.029	***
Antioqueño									
Sur de Cordoba	-0.111	0.067	*	-0.021	0.056		-0.103	0.029	***
Uraba antioqueño	-0.207	0.073	**	-0.051	0.040		-0.194	0.016	***
Montes de Maria	-0.129	0.062	**	-0.096	0.082		-0.064	0.051	
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.320	0.034	***	-0.170	0.049	***	-0.226	0.018	***
Sur de Bolivar	-0.109	0.073		0.020	0.041		-0.114	0.019	***
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	-0.146	0.058	**	-0.194	0.085	**	-0.102	0.018	***
Sur del Tolima	0.011	0.090		0.067	0.041		-0.084	0.033	**
Arauca	-0.167	0.036	***	-0.263	0.043	***	-0.068	0.027	**
Catatumbo	-0.004	0.082		0.052	0.041		-0.117	0.015	***
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	-0.138	0.048	**	-0.155	0.067	**	-0.065	0.028	**
Macarena - Guaviare	-0.053	0.051		-0.096	0.046	**	0.012	0.040	
Putumayo	-0.075	0.061		-0.038	0.062		-0.051	0.039	
Choco	0.001	0.071		0.041	0.048		-0.025	0.057	
Pacifico Medio	-0.224	0.042	***	-0.025	0.070		-0.147	0.014	***
Ref:Other									
White	-0.068	0.056		0.072	0.059		-0.095	0.053	*
Afrodescendant	-0.096	0.082		0.061	0.092		-0.109	0.082	
Mestizo	-0.138	0.065	**	-0.054	0.067		-0.118	0.076	
Mulato	-0.014	0.054		0.102	0.083		-0.039	0.048	
Indigenous	-0.058	0.065		0.034	0.070		-0.109	0.057	*
Anyone	-0.125	0.078		0.052	0.060		-0.146	0.074	**
Ref:Other									
Nuclear	-0.214	0.092	**	-0.191	0.114	*	-0.174	0.100	*
Extensive	-0.152	0.101		-0.099	0.129		-0.090	0.115	
Composite	-0.159	0.085	*	-0.166	0.132		-0.067	0.104	
Unipersonal	-0.051	0.096		0.012	0.118		-0.041	0.107	

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable multidimensional poor on victim (RUV & Self-identification) and variables of control as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Appendix 3 Marginal effects of the probability of being monetary poor

Variable	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural RUV Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban RUV Std. Err.	
RUV	0.013	0.040		-0.028	0.051		0.064	0.073	
Number person in the household	0.045	0.017	**	0.079	0.017	***	0.015	0.026	
Female Household's Head	0.097	0.073		0.087	0.064		0.095	0.112	
Ref: Pacifico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste Antioqueño	0.055	0.053		0.086	0.080		0.045	0.077	
Sur de Cordoba	0.136	0.117		0.230	0.108	**	0.066	0.192	
Uraba antioqueño	0.103	0.055	*	0.113	0.086		0.089	0.062	
Montes de Maria	0.015	0.107		0.026	0.129		0.053	0.154	
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.088	0.081		-0.084	0.103		-0.031	0.130	
Sur de Bolivar	-0.030	0.098		0.033	0.087		-0.140	0.091	
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	0.095	0.064		0.071	0.089		0.190	0.104	*
Sur del Tolima	-0.119	0.067	*	-0.191	0.082	**	-0.112	0.141	
Arauca	0.026	0.091		-0.107	0.130		0.132	0.108	
Catatumbo	0.099	0.087		0.043	0.103		0.138	0.140	
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	-0.005	0.118		-0.197	0.180		0.149	0.151	
Macarena - Guaviare	-0.050	0.129		-0.293	0.086	**	0.261	0.149	*
Putumayo	-0.139	0.072	*	-0.099	0.093		-0.163	0.114	
Choco	0.007	0.080		0.011	0.132		0.042	0.049	
Pacifico Medio	-0.076	0.073		0.093	0.112		-0.057	0.080	

Ref: Other								
White	-0.277	0.106	**	0.077	0.139	-0.337	0.094	***
Afrodescendant	-0.123	0.137		0.070	0.140	-0.112	0.228	
Mestizo	-0.248	0.084	**	-0.014	0.129	-0.259	0.118	**
Mulato	-0.347	0.114	**	-0.021	0.180	-0.383	0.105	***
Indigenous	-0.132	0.079	*	0.038	0.156	-0.079	0.177	
Anyone	-0.118	0.125		0.003	0.143	-0.026	0.199	
Ref: Other								
Nuclear	0.124	0.292		0.018	0.097	-0.341	0.243	
Extensive	-0.003	0.304		-0.121	0.096	-0.413	0.243	*
Composite	0.132	0.318		-0.121	0.152	-0.104	0.378	
Unipersonal	-0.014	0.320				-0.451	0.125	***

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable monetary poor on victim (RUV) and variables of control such as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Variable	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban Std. Err.	
RUV & Self-identification	0.092	0.043	**	-0.076	0.058		0.207	0.059	***
Number person in the household	0.043	0.018	**	0.080	0.017	***	0.010	0.026	
Female Household's Head	0.097	0.074		0.090	0.062		0.106	0.113	
Ref: Pacifico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste Antioqueño	0.065	0.052		0.091	0.078		0.079	0.083	
Sur de Cordoba	0.133	0.118		0.235	0.105	**	0.072	0.198	
Uraba antioqueño	0.101	0.053	*	0.112	0.087		0.091	0.064	
Montes de Maria	0.018	0.101		0.029	0.131		0.070	0.140	
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.077	0.078		-0.083	0.104		-0.006	0.124	
Sur de Bolivar	-0.040	0.094		0.036	0.089		-0.159	0.093	*
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	0.113	0.066	*	0.053	0.092		0.217	0.100	**
Sur del Tolima	-0.112	0.069		-0.200	0.084	**	-0.105	0.153	
Arauca	0.042	0.089		-0.119	0.135		0.164	0.112	
Catatumbo	0.087	0.084		0.048	0.103		0.129	0.143	
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	-0.004	0.118		-0.207	0.181		0.145	0.156	
Macarena - Guaviare	-0.043	0.126		-0.306	0.093	**	0.266	0.137	*
Putumayo	-0.140	0.069		-0.090	0.091		-0.146	0.115	
Choco	0.012	0.083		0.005	0.132		0.048	0.052	
Pacifico Medio	-0.060	0.077		0.093	0.116		-0.016	0.093	
Ref: Other									
White	-0.292	0.103	**	0.079	0.146		-0.370	0.082	***
Afrodescendant	-0.153	0.132		0.074	0.147		-0.184	0.214	
Mestizo	-0.260	0.082	**	-0.008	0.137		-0.275	0.113	**
Mulato	-0.363	0.113	**	-0.022	0.187		-0.413	0.099	***
Indigenous	-0.153	0.075	**	0.038	0.162		-0.141	0.152	
Anyone	-0.130	0.122		-0.005	0.147		-0.058	0.186	
Ref: Other									
Nuclear	0.145	0.298		0.026	0.099		-0.311	0.242	
Extensive	0.024	0.313		-0.124	0.098		-0.381	0.246	
Composite	0.161	0.317		-0.111	0.155		-0.020	0.392	
Unipersonal	0.015	0.326					-0.431	0.138	**

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable monetary poor on victim (RUV & Self-identification) and variables of control such as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Appendix 4 Marginal effects of the probability of being monetary extremely poor

Variable	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban Std. Err.	
RUV	0.004	0.040		0.003	0.048		-0.011	0.061	
Number person in the household	0.012	0.014		0.034	0.017	**	-0.007	0.019	
Female Household's Head	0.109	0.043	**	0.126	0.057	**	0.131	0.053	**

Ref: Pacifico y frontera nariñense							
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste Antioqueño	0.030	0.081		0.056	0.078	0.056	0.144
Sur de Cordoba	0.192	0.129		0.333	0.125	**	0.131
Uraba antioqueño	0.104	0.075		0.076	0.117		0.175
Montes de Maria	0.115	0.094		0.084	0.136		0.213
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.083	0.056		0.054	0.094		-0.039
Sur de Bolivar	0.119	0.101		0.129	0.076	*	0.160
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	0.220	0.093	**	0.257	0.089	**	0.186
Sur del Tolima	-0.088	0.053	*	-0.144	0.059	**	-0.029
Arauca	0.046	0.079		-0.061	0.108		0.165
Catatumbo	0.187	0.086	**	0.139	0.087		0.216
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	0.025	0.120		-0.126	0.168		0.163
Macarena - Guaviare	0.012	0.081		-0.099	0.092		0.148
Putumayo	-0.132	0.052	**	-0.176	0.074	**	-0.077
Choco	0.082	0.097		0.087	0.146		0.189
Pacifico Medio	-0.016	0.059		0.175	0.173		0.050
Ref: Other							
White	-0.044	0.125		-0.145	0.091		-0.055
Afrodescendant	0.052	0.125		-0.104	0.115		0.013
Mestizo	-0.048	0.121		-0.202	0.082	**	-0.056
Mulato	-0.108	0.086		-0.113	0.130		-0.158
Indigenous	0.158	0.201		-0.060	0.124		0.173
Anyone	-0.057	0.122		-0.138	0.100		-0.090
Ref: Other							
Nuclear	-0.112	0.219		0.153	0.104		-0.353
Extensive	-0.147	0.216		0.058	0.137		-0.344
Composite	-0.151	0.145		0.059	0.149		-0.218
Unipersonal	-0.199	0.105	*				-0.229

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable monetary extremely poor on victim (RUV) and variables of control such as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban Std. Err.	
RUV & Self-identification	0.077	0.043	*	-0.003	0.059		0.104	0.045	**
Number person in the household	0.010	0.014		0.034	0.017	**	-0.011	0.018	
Female Household's Head	0.108	0.043	**	0.126	0.056	**	0.133	0.054	**
Ref: Pacifico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste									
Antioqueño	0.039	0.079		0.055	0.075		0.075	0.159	
Sur de Cordoba	0.189	0.126		0.333	0.125	**	0.141	0.198	
Uraba antioqueño	0.103	0.074		0.077	0.117		0.171	0.153	
Montes de Maria	0.119	0.090		0.084	0.135		0.225	0.189	
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.074	0.060		0.054	0.094		-0.020	0.116	
Sur de Bolivar	0.109	0.098		0.130	0.078	*	0.143	0.181	
Alto Patia - Norte del									
Cauca	0.244	0.096	**	0.255	0.090	**	0.226	0.168	
Sur del Tolima	-0.083	0.055		-0.145	0.057	**	-0.021	0.139	
Arauca	0.062	0.080		-0.062	0.106		0.190	0.170	
Catatumbo	0.174	0.083	**	0.139	0.088		0.220	0.179	
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	0.026	0.119		-0.126	0.168		0.151	0.213	
Macarena - Guaviare	0.020	0.076		-0.101	0.094		0.160	0.172	
Putumayo	-0.131	0.051	**	-0.176	0.071	**	-0.063	0.109	
Choco	0.087	0.101		0.087	0.146		0.192	0.182	
Pacifico Medio	-0.002	0.062		0.174	0.172		0.080	0.132	
Ref: Other									
White	-0.061	0.123		-0.145	0.090		-0.073	0.106	
Afrodescendant	0.023	0.118		-0.104	0.115		-0.027	0.084	
Mestizo	-0.060	0.119		-0.202	0.082	**	-0.053	0.106	
Mulato	-0.123	0.081		-0.113	0.130		-0.171	0.045	***
Indigenous	0.136	0.190		-0.060	0.124		0.140	0.224	
Anyone	-0.066	0.120		-0.138	0.097		-0.096	0.089	
Ref: Other									
Nuclear	-0.093	0.224		0.153	0.104		-0.320	0.143	**

Extensive	-0.125	0.226	0.058	0.137	-0.305	0.190	
Composite	-0.131	0.159	0.059	0.150	-0.198	0.056	***
Unipersonal	-0.188	0.117			-0.221	0.030	***

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable monetary extremely poor on victim (RUV & Self-identification) and variables of control such as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Appendix 5 Marginal effects of the probability of being subjectively poor

Variable	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban Std. Err.	
RUV & Self-identification	0.048	0.013	***	-0.013	0.015		0.076	0.015	***
Number person in the household	-0.004	0.006		-0.007	0.005		-0.008	0.009	
Female Household's Head	-0.001	0.025		0.002	0.021		0.038	0.033	
Insufficient resources for food	0.229	0.022	***	0.172	0.014	***	0.247	0.033	***
Ref: Pacífico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste Antioqueño	-0.223	0.081	**	-0.164	0.053	**	-0.178	0.068	**
Sur de Cordoba	-0.240	0.065	***	-0.270	0.072	***	-0.125	0.061	**
Uraba antioqueño	-0.286	0.059	***	-0.273	0.052	***	-0.194	0.020	***
Montes de Maria	-0.211	0.068	**	-0.307	0.090	**	-0.050	0.059	
Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.272	0.061	***	-0.222	0.068	**	-0.140	0.038	***
Sur de Bolívar	-0.084	0.081		-0.106	0.096		0.007	0.057	
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	-0.240	0.088	**	-0.206	0.075	**	-0.278	0.068	***
Sur del Tolima	-0.306	0.070	***	-0.372	0.081	***	-0.233	0.048	***
Arauca	-0.209	0.070	**	-0.242	0.050	***	-0.139	0.040	**
Catatumbo	-0.044	0.083		-0.091	0.086		-0.011	0.053	
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	-0.172	0.083	**	-0.179	0.059	**	-0.077	0.075	
Macarena - Guaviare	-0.240	0.087	**	-0.272	0.059	***	-0.212	0.111	*
Putumayo	-0.242	0.065	***	-0.260	0.061	***	-0.168	0.030	***
Choco	-0.103	0.080		-0.062	0.047		-0.096	0.054	*
Pacífico Medio	-0.266	0.058	***	-0.267	0.105	**	-0.130	0.035	***
Ref: Other									
White	0.013	0.048		0.027	0.060		0.063	0.043	
Afro descendant	0.060	0.047		0.047	0.059		0.128	0.041	**
Mestizo	0.015	0.046		-0.020	0.065		0.095	0.042	**
Mulato	0.119	0.054	**	0.057	0.053		0.197	0.060	**
Indigenous	0.119	0.046	**	0.040	0.059		0.205	0.051	***
Anyone	0.066	0.045		0.037	0.061		0.139	0.044	**
Ref: Other									
Nuclear	-0.028	0.062		-0.001	0.070		-0.010	0.093	
Extensive	0.003	0.069		0.018	0.073		0.043	0.105	
Composite	-0.055	0.073		0.052	0.066		-0.072	0.095	
Unipersonal	0.018	0.071		0.023	0.068		0.055	0.108	

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable subjective poor on victim (RUV) and variables of control as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p<0.01.

Variable	dy/dx	Total Std. Err.		dy/dx	Rural Std. Err.		dy/dx	Urban Std. Err.	
RUV & Self-identification	0.063	0.015	***	0.039	0.018	**	0.051	0.021	**
Number person in the household	-0.004	0.006		-0.008	0.005		-0.006	0.009	
Female Household's Head	0.003	0.026		0.001	0.021		0.043	0.033	
Insufficient resources for food	0.225	0.022	***	0.170	0.014	***	0.246	0.034	***
Ref: Pacífico y frontera nariñense									
Bajo Cauca y Nordeste Antioqueño	-0.218	0.079	**	-0.155	0.051	**	-0.179	0.066	**
Sur de Cordoba	-0.233	0.065	***	-0.264	0.070	***	-0.123	0.059	**
Uraba antioqueño	-0.278	0.059	***	-0.278	0.049	***	-0.183	0.019	***
Montes de Maria	-0.208	0.068	**	-0.308	0.089	**	-0.048	0.058	

Sierra Nevada - Perija	-0.263	0.063	***	-0.217	0.064	**	-0.139	0.043	**
Sur de Bolivar	-0.082	0.081		-0.109	0.096		0.004	0.055	
Alto Patia - Norte del Cauca	-0.232	0.088	**	-0.189	0.075	**	-0.278	0.069	***
Sur del Tolima	-0.303	0.070	***	-0.361	0.078	***	-0.235	0.047	***
Arauca	-0.205	0.070	**	-0.229	0.048	***	-0.139	0.040	***
Catatumbo	-0.040	0.082		-0.093	0.085		-0.008	0.052	
Cuenca del Caguan y Piedemonte Caqueteño	-0.165	0.082	**	-0.175	0.058	**	-0.071	0.075	
Macarena - Guaviare	-0.237	0.087	**	-0.263	0.055	***	-0.209	0.115	*
Putumayo	-0.239	0.064	***	-0.255	0.060	***	-0.166	0.029	***
Choco	-0.097	0.080		-0.066	0.045		-0.090	0.049	*
Pacifico Medio	-0.258	0.058	***	-0.255	0.105	**	-0.133	0.034	***
Ref:Other									
White	0.013	0.047		0.026	0.061		0.061	0.045	
Afrodescendant	0.057	0.046		0.044	0.060		0.126	0.039	**
Mestizo	0.012	0.045		-0.023	0.067		0.091	0.041	**
Mulato	0.119	0.054		0.056	0.053		0.196	0.063	**
Indigenous	0.117	0.046	**	0.039	0.060		0.201	0.055	***
Anyone	0.066	0.045		0.036	0.062		0.136	0.046	**
Ref:Other									
Nuclear	-0.025	0.062		-0.003	0.070		-0.004	0.095	
Extensive	0.007	0.069		0.018	0.073		0.048	0.107	
Composite	-0.052	0.073		0.050	0.066		-0.069	0.097	
Unipersonal	0.021	0.071		0.024	0.067		0.062	0.108	

Source: Author's estimations based on DPFT baseline 2018. Notes: (a) The estimations were obtained from a logistic regression of variable subjective poor on victim (RUV & Self-identification) and variables of control as the sex of household head, number of persons in the household, type of household, region and ethnic recognition. (b) Symbols denote significance levels at *p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

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