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Seizure and Abandonment of Land and other Goods of Displaced Populations*

Luis Jorge Garay and Fernando Barberi**

8.1. Introduction

The problem of land is of fundamental importance in the treatment of internal displacement in Colombia because the displaced population's right to integral reparation is part of the rights that the Colombian state must guarantee. Moreover, *restitution* of land, housing, and other assets, which is one of the modalities of reparation, is the most preferred by the displaced population.

Thus, land dispossession in the country has been the subject of several studies attempting to estimate the number of hectares the displaced population has been dispossessed of, as well as those this same population has been forced to abandon due to violence.

As may be seen in Table 1 below, such estimates vary enormously, from 1.2 million according to Ibáñez, Moya, and Velásquez to 10.0 million according to the National Victim's Movement

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Source	Estimated Hectares (millions)
<i>Contraloría General de la República</i> (CGR)	2.9
Worker's Union Colombian Institute for Agrarian Reform (Sintradin)	4.9
<i>Acción Social</i> (Social Action) – Project: Protection of Land and Assets of Displaced Populations – PPTP – (Hired consultancy) ¹	6.8
Alternative Land Registry (National Victim's Movement) ²	10
Ibáñez, Moya, and Velásquez ³	1.2
World Food Program (PMA) ⁴	4.0

Table 1: Estimates of abandoned hectares.

Differences in estimates may arise not only from the different periods of time when these surveys were made, but also from the definition of dispossessed or abandoned land, from the period when displacement was considered to have begun, and, more importantly, from the size of the sample used for the estimates.⁵

The *Comisión de Seguimiento de la Política Pública para el Desplazamiento* (Follow-up Commission on Public Policy for Displacement), taking into account the above considerations, decided to include in the second national verification survey, implemented in July

¹ Acción Social–PPTP, 2005, “*Diseño de una metodología participativa para la recolección de información y protección de bienes muebles*”, Bogotá.

² Movimiento de Víctimas de Crímenes de Estado, 2007, “*Catastro alternativo, estrategia contra la impunidad y herramienta para la reparación integral*”, Bogotá.

³ A. M. Ibáñez, A. Moya, and A. M. Velásquez, 2006, “*Hacia una política para la población desplazada*”, Bogotá.

⁴ World Food Program, 2001, “*Estudio de caso de las necesidades alimentarias de la población desplazada en Colombia*”.

⁵ In this regard, it must be noted that this size should not be below that required for the estimated variables to yield reasonable variation coefficients, if possible below 5%, and in any case equal to or below 10%.

and August 2008, a series of questions directed at estimating the loss of land and other assets due to displacement.⁶

The said survey asked about the displaced population's assets, crops, and economic activity before they were forced to abandon its land. It should be noted that the displaced population's agricultural and livestock income was obtained through an indirect method, consisting in attributing to each family the net surplus of those agricultural activities performed before the displacement occurred. These estimates required the cross-examination of different sources of information regarding costs, prices, and returns, selected for their reliability and preferably for being issued by official sources.

8.2. Seizures or Forced Abandonment of Assets

The phenomenon of forced displacement was accompanied by a massive loss of assets in the population of victims of this calamity. Some 55% of displaced families owned land before displacement, and of them 94% have been dispossessed, or forced to sell or to abandon their land. Similarly, 78.9% of displaced families owned cattle before displacement, and of them 92.4% were disposed or forced to sell; of the 43.6% that had crops, 96.4% were likewise dispossessed. It may thus be said that most of the displaced households were not only deprived of their assets, but also of their sources of income generation. For these families, these losses are aggravated by the fact of being forced to move into an urban environment, where they cannot engage in the ag-

⁶ The Second National Verification Survey was developed and processed by the Universidad Nacional de Colombia's Center of Research for Development (CID). It was applied in 61 municipalities, of which more than 60% have less than 200,000 inhabitants according to the 2005 census. When applying the survey, more than 8,400 households were surveyed, of which more than 6,300 were families that were displaced after 1997 and included in the Unified Register of Displaced Population (RUPD) since 1999. Similarly, more than 2,100 surveys of displaced families not registered in RUPD were applied. The displacement of this population also occurred after 1998. In addition, 4,100 surveys were applied regarding land modules and health. It may then be said that the theoretical objectives regarding sample size were met and that, therefore, estimates of compliance indicators of the rights established by the Constitutional Court show a high level of statistical accuracy.

ricultural and livestock activities for which they have develop their abilities and skills.

For these families, access to land, on which they could have crops or livestock activities, was fundamental for their livelihood. The deprivation of their assets meant simultaneously a loss of habitat, the destruction of part of their productive assets, and the abandonment of the territory to which they belonged, with the ensuing losses of human and social capital.

8.3. Estimate of Hectares Seized or Subject to Forced Abandonment

This section is based on the answers given by the family groups surveyed who knew the number of hectares of land seized or subject to forced abandonment. Collective forms of property or tenancy that family groups claimed to have lost were excluded, in order to avoid double entries. It should be noted that this procedure entails underestimating the magnitude of lands seized or subject to forced abandonment.

The information reported by the families surveyed was further refined by excluding from the calculations of the percentage of hectares seized or subject to forced abandonment those groups that reported having been affected by seizure of abandoned lands with an extension of over 98 hectares.⁷

Based on this data, we calculated the percentage and total area of abandoned land. The calculation of land seized or subject to forced abandonment not only includes those the displaced population was forced to abandon, but also those it was forced to transfer to third parties, under duress, through forced sales, and those that, in general, were seized through any other means. Strictly, then, under the category of

⁷ Those who reported seizure of forced abandonment of land with an extension over 98 hectares were assigned the average of land seized or subject to forced abandonment for a family group, excluding those pieces of land. This exclusion was made in the interest of avoiding any over-estimations and producing only a conservative estimate.

land seized or subject to forced abandonment are included both land abandoned by the displaced people and land seized from them.⁸

Based on the percentage of land lost by each family group belonging to displaced populations, the magnitude of land seizure and/or forcibly abandoned may be calculated. It suffices to multiply the average number of hectares lost by each family group by the number of family groups that lost land.

In this regard, the low levels of variation coefficients should be pointed out, indicating the high degree of accuracy of the estimates concerning the area of abandoned land on the part of each family group belonging to displaced populations, for groups registered and unregistered in the Unified Register of Displaced Population (*Registro Único de Población Desplazada*, RUPD).

Thus, according to the data provided by the second national verification survey of 2008, the total number of hectares seized or subject to forced abandonment would amount to 5.5 million, that is, 10.8% of the country's agricultural area (Table 2).⁹ So land abandonment has been massive both in terms of the great number of families involved (approximately 385,000) and in terms of physical area. Figure 2 shows that families not presently registered in the RUPD abandoned lands of 12.8 hectares in average, as compared to lands of 14.7 hectares in average for registered families.

⁸ In principle, reference was made to 'abandoned lands,' but due to the implications of this expression (which does not include in its meaning land sold under duress), it was decided to use 'lost land'. This expression, however, has two unsuitable implications: it is identified, in some cases, with events different from those contemplated for displaced populations: land may be lost due to problems pertaining to the owner's management, or due to fortuitous events, such as floods; in addition, loss implies irreversibility. The best option, therefore, would be to speak of land seized or subject to forced abandonment, considering that forced sale is a form of seizure. Additionally, it should be emphasized that, from a legal standpoint, these lands were not abandoned, because displaced populations still hold rights to recovery.

⁹ The agricultural area of the country was calculated for year 2006 is 51,169,651 hectares, made up of 38,804,661 hectares of pastures and cuttings (livestock area) and 3,579,929 hectares of crops (Ministry of Agriculture, *Anuario Estadístico*). For 2008, the Ministry reports an agricultural area of 4,336,596 hectares (*Dirección de Política Sectorial*). The explanation for this difference is unknown.

Number of hectares	Total	Registered in RUPD	Not registered in RUPD
Average abandoned hectares	14.3	14.7	12.8
<i>c.v.e</i>	3.2	3.5	7.3
Total abandoned hectares	5,504.51	4,410.33	1,094.18
	Atlantic region	Andean Region	Other regions
Average abandoned hectares	13.7	11.8	19.2
<i>c.v.e</i>	5.3	5.2	6.2
Total abandoned hectares	2,104.41	1,500.78	1,899.31

Table 2: Dimension of land seized or subject to forced abandonment: average and total hectares according to registration in RUPD and by regions.

The greatest percentage of abandoned land is found in the Atlantic Coast Region (38.2%), followed by the region comprising Amazonia, the Orinoco watershed, and Chocó (34.5%), and finally the Andean Region (27.3%). As shown in Table 2, the region including Chocó, the Orinoco watershed, and Amazonia shows an average of land seized or subject to forced abandonment by the family group much larger than that of the other two regions (19.2 hectares versus 13.7 hectares and 11.8 hectares). This finding is consistent with the greater availability of land in these regions, where most of the border is made up of recently colonized land.

8.4. Cultivated Area Lost by the Displaced Population

It is important to have estimates of the total area lost by the displaced population for the implications it has on the cost of land restitution or reparation, that is, for estimating damages resulting from displacement. However, it is also important to estimate the loss of cultivated area for displaced populations, in order to calculate opportunity cost or lost potential earnings from crops seized or forcedly abandoned, so that it may be restituted to the displaced population.

This section is based on the answers given by the persons surveyed who knew the number of hectares they cultivated, of which they were dispossessed, or were forced to abandon. Such information was

further refined by excluding from the average hectares cultivated by the family group those family groups reporting having cultivated areas of more than five hectares in one single plot of land.¹⁰ Also excluded were those areas assigned to illegal crops (cocaine), pastures, and timber yielding areas, in order to make exclusive reference to agricultural areas with licit crops. Based on this data, we calculated the averages and total land that was no longer cultivated by displaced populations.¹¹

As in the previous calculation, we can estimate the total area no longer cultivated by multiplying the average number of hectares no longer cultivated by displaced family groups by the number of family groups that were forced to abandon its crops. As earlier, we found a low level of variation coefficients, which indicates the high accuracy of the estimates.

According to the data provided by the second national verification survey of 2008, the total area no longer cultivated by displaced populations amounts to 1,118,401 hectares during the eleven years of displacement covered by the survey, with an average of 101,673 cultivated hectares seized or abandoned per year (Table 6). The earlier figure represents approximately 25% of the country's cultivated area, and the second approximately 2.3%. In so far as these areas no longer cultivated by displaced populations are not being efficiently exploited or have been used for extensive cattle raising, a decrease in the country's agricultural production has occurred. This could be one of the factors explaining the decrease in this economic sector's GDP dynamism in the past years.¹²

As shown in Table 3, the crops that displaced populations not registered in the RUPD were forced to abandon had a smaller average

¹⁰ This exclusion was made in the interest of avoiding any over-estimations and producing only a conservative estimate; plots of cultivated land above five hectares were considered extreme.

¹¹ Those who reported crops in the same land over five hectares were assigned the average of cultivated hectares by family group, excluding those pieces of land. This exclusion was made in the interest of avoiding any over-estimations and producing a conservative estimate.

¹² An in-depth investigation of this subject would be relevant for estimating the economic cost of the crime of forced displacement.

area than those of the registered population (2.4 hectares versus 2.8 hectares). This would strengthen the hypothesis that the conditions for unregistered displaced populations are less favorable.

	Total	Registered in RUPD	Not registered in RUPD
Average abandoned hectares	2.7	2.8	2.4
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	3.1	3.5	7
Total abandoned hectares abandoned	1,118.40	218.68	899.71

Table 3: Dimension of abandoned crops: average and total number of hectares per registration in RUPD. Source: II *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, Comisión de Seguimiento and CID-UN: July 2008.

As shown in Table 4, the displaced population in the Atlantic Coast Region, which is characterized by a lesser access to land, was the population forced to abandon a greater cultivated area, up to 425,031 hectares, representing 38% of the total area of crops seized or abandoned.

	Total	Atlantic Region	Andean Region	Other regions
Average abandoned hectares	2,7	2,7	2,5	3,1
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	3,1	4,7	5,3	6,5
Total abandoned hectares	1.118.401	425.031	404.998	288.371

Table 4: Dimension of abandoned crops: average and total hectares per region.

8.5. Income Generation Derived from Agricultural and Extractive Activities

Average family income for displaced populations before becoming victim of this crime was above the poverty line (at 2008 prices), amounting to \$1,325,683 (in 2008 Colombian pesos).¹³ This is ap-

¹³ Editorial note: one U.S. Dollar in 2008 was worth 2,240 Colombian pesos.

proximately 45% above the poverty line, which was set at \$917,425 (see Table 5 in the Appendix at the end of the chapter).¹⁴

Table 6 (see Appendix) shows that the highest average income generated by kind of activity (1,051,528 USD in 2008) were derived from agriculture. Business (other than agriculture, livestock, and extractive activities) also generated a relatively high income (840,925 USD), but only 9.6% of family groups had this source of income. Similarly, income generated by extractive activities reached a relatively high level (688,668 USD); 13.9% of family groups had access to these activities. By contrast, income generated by labor (such as that of workers, employees, etc., including agricultural day workers outside their land) was, on average, relatively low (279,409 USD), even though these were massively recurrent activities, for in 96.6% of households at least one family member generated this kind of income.

Prior to displacement, the contribution of activities related to agriculture, cattle raising, or extraction of natural resources (timber, for example) to the total family group income was extremely important (under different forms of possession). On the one hand, 77.7% of family groups generated income derived from agricultural and livestock activities carried out in their own property, and 13.9% generated income derived from extracting activities (Table 6). For those presently registered in RUPD, these averages were slightly higher: 80.7% and 14.5%, respectively, as compared to 69.0% and 12% for those not registered in RUPD.

On the other hand, income derived from agricultural and livestock activities, together with that derived from extractive activities, contributed 68% of the family groups' income before displacement. Among these, the contribution of agricultural and livestock activities was considerable higher (59%) than that derived from the extraction of natural resources, which was in average 9% of the families total income (Figure 1).

¹⁴ Poverty and extreme poverty lines were calculated with the number of members family groups presently have, because it was considered unfeasible to obtain, through the survey, this information before the first displacement. For this reason, this calculation may be biased.

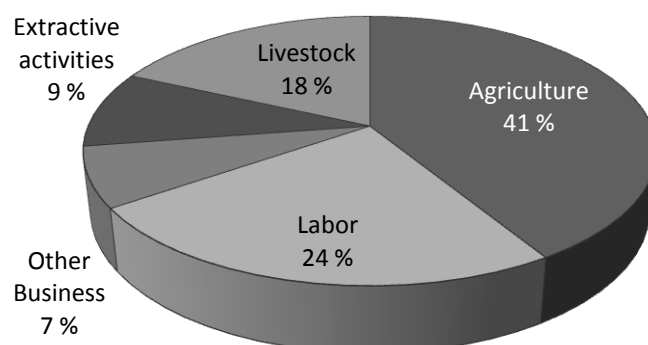


Figure 1: Family group income composition by activity before displacement. Source: II *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, July 2008. *Comisión de Seguimiento* and CID-UN. Note: In order to calculate the participation of each category, the average income (for each category) was adjusted by the average of income generating households (in each category).

More importantly, however, according to the data shown in Table 7, family groups generating income derived from agriculture and livestock registered an average family income above the line of poverty in 49%, while those groups that did not have access to this kind of income not only had an average family income below the poverty line in 54%, but were also below the extreme poverty line.¹⁵

In conclusion, the fundamental importance of income derived from agricultural and livestock activities is evident. It may therefore be asserted that, undoubtedly, engaging in this type of activities was what allowed family groups, in average, to live above the poverty line.

¹⁵ The agricultural income referred to is that obtained by the family's work in a land owned by the family or by others, and does not include income derived from being an agricultural day worker. That is, it corresponds to the income contributed by the family's agricultural and livestock production system (or, in other words, by the peasant exploitation unit).

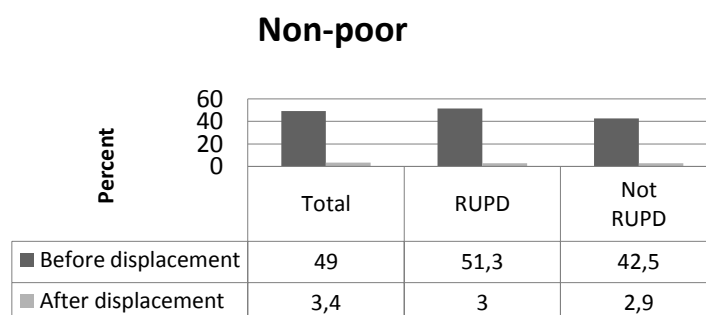
Seizure and Abandonment of Land and other Goods of Displaced Populations

Generated income from agriculture and livestock	1,369,710
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	2.4
Did not generate income from agriculture	478,434
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	2.3
Did not generate income from agriculture or cattle	372,834
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	5.4

Table 7: Family group average income according to agricultural and livestock activities before displacement (in 2008 pesos). Note: Calculated on total family groups reporting for each category. Source: II *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, Comisión de Seguimiento and CID-UN: July 2008.

Finally, it should be emphasized that a high percentage of displaced family groups had an economy primarily based on a direct relationship with land and natural resources exploitation. In other words, they were basically peasants, and their economic organization guaranteed an income substantially higher than the one they presently generate.

As shown in Figure 2, nearly half (49%) of the registered displaced family groups had monthly income above the poverty line before displacement, while now only 3.4% is in this situation. From another point of view, poverty has increased from 51.0% to 97.6%, and extreme poverty from 31.5% to 80.7%. Thus, one of the most relevant consequences of displacement is to have drastically deteriorated the displaced family groups' income and, consequently, to have condemned a great percentage of Colombian families to poverty or extreme poverty. The implications of the present level of poverty and destitution in society are yet to be established, but their significant impact is evident.



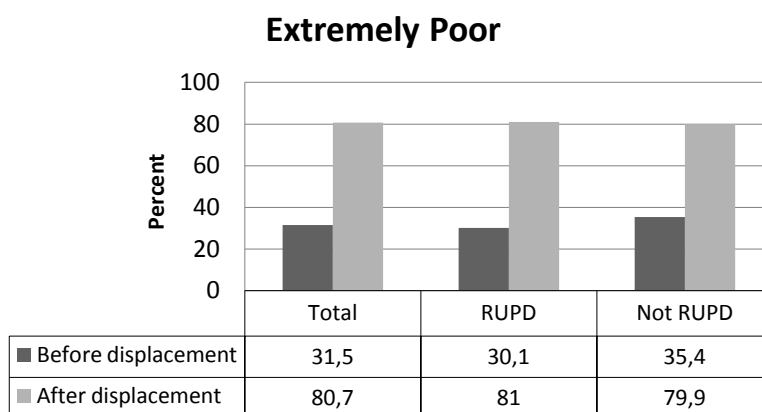
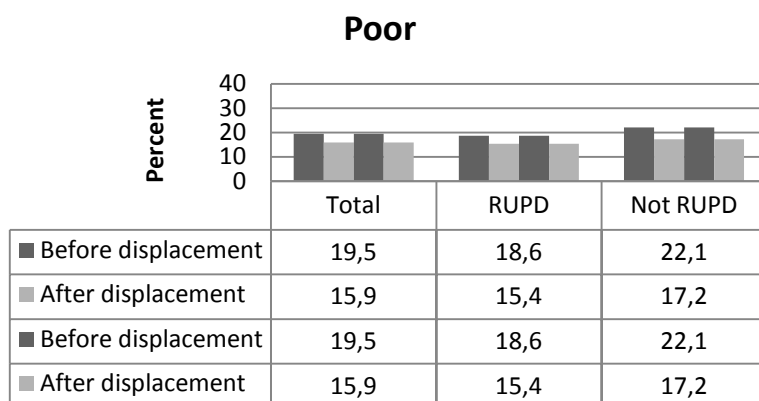


Figure 2: Percentage of family groups in poverty and extreme poverty lines by registration in RUPD. Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, Comisión de Seguimiento and CID-UN: July 2008.

As has been shown, a high percentage of displaced family groups worked the land and engaged in agricultural and livestock activities that provided them with income in money and in kind. This means that displacement not only introduced a dramatic change in their way of life, from a rural to an urban environment, but also deprived them of the possibility of engaging in activities for which they had developed abilities.

Farmers develop a high level of skills and knowledge outside of formal education for managing agricultural, livestock, and extractive

activities. These abilities are acquired through intergenerational communication and the circulation of information and knowledge among producers (neighbors usually), and among producers and intermediaries, rural developers, and other agents participating in the chain of production, transformation, and distribution systems of agricultural goods (forests, fishing etc.). Also part of this interaction are those agents offering inputs, credit and other services, as well as those public and private organizations participating directly or indirectly in the agricultural and livestock economy, and in rural development.

With the displacement from rural to urban settings, family groups lose the possibility of using these abilities for adequate income generation. In an urban environment, formal education is a fundamental variable of labor demand, but it is not usually compatible with a peasant profile. Furthermore, the restrictions faced by displaced populations in this environment do not allow them to engage in self-managed profitable activities, which were the source of substantial income in a rural environment. It should be kept in mind that labor income in rural areas was considerable below the legal minimum wage (279,409.2 in 2008 pesos) and, on the other hand, self-managed activities in an urban environment generate a substantially lower income compared to that generated by such activities in rural areas (\$332,897 versus \$987,762 from agricultural and livestock activities, \$688,688 from extractive activities, and \$840,295 derived from other business.)¹⁶

8.6. An Estimate of Ensuing Damage and Opportunity Costs Due to the Seizure or Forced Abandonment of the Displaced Populations' Assets

This section estimates the ensuing damage and opportunity costs due to the seizure or abandonment of the assets of displaced populations. Ensuing damage is defined as the value those assets would have in 2008 prices, and opportunity costs is the income that was not generated by the family groups that abandoned income sources in the period

¹⁶ Income of independent workers per family group was estimated based on the Second National Verification Survey.

between the date of their first displacement and 2008 (we suppose that restitution would occur in 2008).

8.6.1. Ensuing Damage

For purposes of the present chapter, ensuing damage includes the following categories: (i) land, (ii) real property other than land, such as houses, houses with plot, warehouses, offices, business premises etc., (iii) animals, including only cattle and horses because other animals are considered part of work capital in agricultural and livestock activities, and (iv) personal property, including not only furniture, but also machinery, tools, and means of transportation. It is relevant to note that estimates of the value of goods were “conservative”, in order to avoid overestimating asset loss at present prices.¹⁷

As shown in Table 8, loss of land constitutes an ensuing damage calculated in slightly over \$7.4 million (2008 pesos) in average for each family group that effectively abandoned land as a consequence of forced displacement. When abandoned assets as a whole, in addition to land, are considered, the sum increases to an average of approximately \$13.6 million for family groups that abandoned assets. The average cost of lost furniture may seem high (\$4.4 million 2008) but it should be kept in mind, on the one hand, that this amount corresponds to the cost of replacement of lost household goods and not to their commer-

¹⁷ In the case of land, estimates were based on the information provided by the *Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi* (IGAC) for the country except the Department of Antioquia, which provided its own geographical information. Cadastral values were indexed to 2008 prices, based on the index for housing consumer prices for low-income families, and then adjusted, under the hypothesis that the cadastral value for each piece of land was equivalent to 60% of its commercial value. Information on other rural assets obtained by direct questioning in the survey was refined in order to exclude from the data persons who declared having property larger than 1 hectare or who valued their property over \$100 million pesos. In order to update prices to 2008, the index for housing consumer prices for low-income families was also used. The valuation of animals was performed, in the case of bovines, based on crossing information provided by Fedegan with that reported by experts in cattle prices, in order to adjust it to “peasant conditions” and avoid overestimation. For horses, experts were consulted who reported on the value of these animals in peasant economy. Finally, for home furniture, the cost of replacement for a standard five-member family was estimated.

cial value at the time of displacement, which could be much lower, for they had a reduced value due to use and, furthermore, that it includes higher value goods, such as machinery and means of transportation.

Type of good	Total	Registered in RUPD	Not registered in RUPD
Land	7,409,883	7,712,274	6,276,478
<i>c.v.e.</i>	3.2	3.5	7.2
Other assets	13,598,727	14,218,572	11,733,952
<i>c.v.e.</i>	5.6	6.5	11.5
Animals	6,748,665	6,847,855	6,330,018
<i>c.v.e.</i>	3.5	3.9	9.0
Personal	4,443,171	4,666,284	3,781,381
<i>c.v.e.</i>	2.4	2.7	4.9
Total goods	13,591,174	14,625,906	10,546,153
<i>c.v.e.</i>	2.3	2.7	4.9

Table 8: Average of ensuing damage caused to displaced family groups according to type of good abandoned (in 2008 pesos). Note: Calculated on the total of family groups that reported information for each category. Source: II *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, Comisión de Seguimiento and CID-UN: July 2008.

Total average of ensuing damage for each family group due to loss of assets was estimated in approximately \$8.4 billion (2008 pesos), of which 67% corresponds to the displaced population registered in the RUPD (Table 9). This amount represents 1.96% of the GDP at 2007 prices. This is the amount of the displaced families' patrimonial loss, which means both a more precarious quality of life and an extreme deterioration of their possibilities for income generation.

On the other hand, Table 10 shows the precarious reparation the displaced population would receive if the bill for the Law of Victims to be debated in the last sessions of Congress for 2008 was approved, for the bill only contemplates reparations for land and other real estate assets, eliminating reparations for personal property and animals that, jointly, represent approximately 55% of property loss for the displaced population.¹⁸

¹⁸ Editorial note: the bill was ultimately not made into law; in June of 2009 the government sunk it, at the last stage of its legislative process.

Type of good	Total	RUPD	Not RUPD
Land	2.5	1.9	0.7
Other rural real property	1.6	1.1	0.5
Animals	1.8	1.4	0.4
Personal Property	2.8	1.9	0.9
Total abandoned assets*	8.4	5.6	2.8

Table 10: Total value of ensuing damage for family groups caused by forced displacement to June 2008 (2008 billion). * Calculated as average value of total resulting damage by number of family groups that lost assets. Source: II *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, Comisión de Seguimiento and CID-UN: July 2008.

8.6.2. Opportunity Costs

Estimates of opportunity costs were also conservative, for only income not received by the displaced population from land and other real estate seized or abandoned was considered.¹⁹ In addition to being an asset, land is also a means of production that, due to displacement, ceased to be a way of generating income for displaced family groups. Consequently, in order to calculate the opportunity costs of land seized or subject to forced abandonment, the income derived from agricultural and livestock activities that was no longer received by each family group was projected from the moment the family group abandoned its land through 2008, obtaining a sum of approximately \$42.4 billion (2008 pesos) (Figure 3).

On the other hand, the opportunity costs corresponding to other rural real property was estimated according to the potential income its

¹⁹ It should also be kept in mind that net income derived from the production of fruits and vegetables was not taken into account, with the exception of banana and plantain, because the information regarding these crops is based on commercial exploitation involving advanced technologies, quite different from the peasant structure for the production of such goods. These crops were assigned the average of the net total income of crops reported in the survey. This may tend to underestimate the opportunity costs in case some of these crops had been developed using advanced technologies.

hypothetical rent would have generated. The value of this rent was calculated according to housing market parameters, that is, 1% monthly of its commercial value for assets other than land. If the opportunity costs of other real property is added to land, the result is that displaced family groups did not receive an amount equivalent to \$44.6 billion (2008) (Figure 3).

It should be noted, however, that this amount does not include the opportunity costs of money not received, and should therefore be adjusted using the returns of fixed-term deposits (yearly effective rate of a 90-days FTD reported by the Banco de la República). Thus, as shown in Figure 3, the opportunity cost adjusted to the returns generated by fixed-term deposits would be \$49.72 billion (2008 pesos), an amount that represents 11.6% of the GNP at 2007 prices.

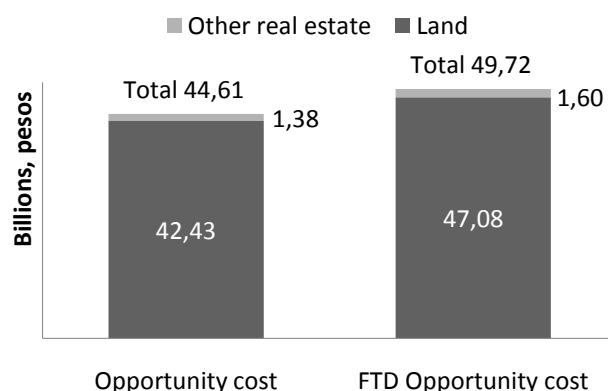


Figure 3: Total value of opportunity cost or loss of profit for family groups due to displacement to June 2008 (2008 billions). Source: II *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de los Derechos de la Población Desplazada*, Comisión de Seguimiento and CID-UN: July 2008.

8.7. Conclusions

Displacement generated a massive pauperization process in a substantial percentage of the Colombian population. It went from a scenario in which 51% of the displaced families were poor and 30.5% extremely poor, to one in which 96.6% of these families are poor and 80.7% extremely poor. This change is explained by the substantial variation in

the composition of their previous income, derived, to a great extent, from agricultural, livestock and extracting activities, which produced much higher returns than what displaced populations in urban settings now generate.

In fact, prior to displacement, the contribution to the total income of family groups from activities related to agriculture, cattle, or the extraction of natural resources in their own land (under different forms of possession), was extremely important. Income derived from agricultural, livestock, and extractive activities contributed 68% of the family groups' income before displacement. The contribution of agricultural and livestock activities was much higher (59%) than that derived from the extraction of natural resources, which was, in average, 9% of the families' total income.

More importantly, family groups that derived their income from agricultural and livestock activities registered an average family income of 49% over the poverty line, while for groups that did not have access to this kind of income, the average family income was 54% below the poverty line and they were also below the extreme poverty line.

Displacement generated a massive loss of land, animals, and other goods that were productive assets for the displaced family groups. This entailed a substantial deterioration of their economic situation, and, simultaneously, inhibited their capacity for income generation. In fact, their expertise focused on the agricultural, livestock, and extractive production, so that most of the displaced population went from being expert farmers to marginalized urban inhabitants.

Total hectares seized or subject to forced abandonment would amount to 5.5 million, representing 10.8% of the country's agricultural area. Thus, land abandonment was massive in terms both of the great number of families involved, approximately 385,000, and of the size of its geographical area. The greater percentage of abandoned land is found in the Atlantic Coast Region (38.2%), followed by Amazonia, the Orinoco watershed and Chocó (34.5%), and lastly the Andean Region (27.3%).

The total area that was no longer cultivated by the displaced population would amount to 1,118,401 hectares during the eleven

years of displacement here contemplated. This represents approximately 25% of the country's cultivated area. In so far as these areas that are no longer exploited by the displaced population are not being efficiently used by anyone, or have been used only for extensive cattle-raising, a decrease in the country's agrarian production has occurred. This could be one of the factors explaining the decrease of the sector's GNP dynamism in the past years.

Total value of the ensuing damage represented by lost goods is estimated to be approximately \$2.5 billion (2008) for abandoned or seized land, and in \$8.4 billion for all the goods of displaced family groups, that is, the equivalent of 1.96% of GNP at 2007 prices. Opportunity costs for losses of land amount to \$42.3 billion, and the opportunity costs including other abandoned real estate amounts to approximately \$44.6 billion (2008 pesos). When this sum is adjusted by the returns of fixed-term deposits, the opportunity cost for the displaced families is estimated in approximately \$49.7 billion (2008 pesos), that is, the equivalent of 11.6% of the GNP at 2007 prices.

Appendix

	Total	Atlantic Region	Andean Region	Pacific, Orinoquia and Amazonia
Income derived from agricultural activity	1,051,528	991,467	993,524	1,251,220
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	3	4.8	5	6.3
Income derived from livestock activity	285,418	293,792	224,793	371,926
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	2.5	3.9	4.2	5.2
Income derived from agriculture and livestock	987,762	934,215	903,275	1,255,300
	2.5	3.9	4.1	5.2
Income derived from extractive activity	688,688	493,279	823,852	713,922
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	6	11.7	9.7	10.2
Income derived from other activity	840,295	745,823	781,418	1,023,695
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	7.3	12.9	12	12.9
Labor income	279,409	230,076	289,287	348,274
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	2.2	3.6	3.6	4.7
Family income	1,325,683	1,188,887	1,255,539	1,680,497
<i>c.v.e (%)</i>	2.3	3.8	3.8	4.8
Extreme poverty line	440,069	457,689	440,898	413,024
Poverty line	917,425	954,157	919,152	861,042

Table 5: Income-generating family groups, and average income generated by family groups according to kind of activity (in 2008 pesos). Source: *Encuesta Nacional de Verificación de la Población Desplazada, Comisión de Seguimiento* and CID-UN. July-August 2008. Note: Averages calculated based on total family groups reporting each kind of income before displacement.

Income	Average of income generating family (*)			Average income (**)		
	Total population	Total population groups registered in RUPD	Total family groups NOT registered in RUPD	Total population	Total family groups registered in RUPD	Total family groups NOT registered in RUPD
Family groups with income derived from agricultural activity	43.2	46.0	35.2	1,051,528	1,103,231.6	856,282.1
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	2.6	2.8	6.4	3.0	3.4	6.9
Family groups with income derived from livestock activity	71.4	74.6	62.1	285,417.5	297,577.8	243,673.3
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	1.5	1.5	3.7	2.6	2.9	5.8
Family groups with income derived from agriculture and livestock	77.7	80.7	69.0	987,762.0	1,056,984.7	756,411.5
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	1.2	1.3	3.2	2.5	2.8	5.5
Family groups with income derived from extracting activities	13.9	14.5	12.0	688,688.1	689,691.2	685,140.9
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	5.7	3.1	12.8	6.0	6.7	13.4
Family groups with income derived from other business	9.6	10.3	7.7	840,295.3	971,936.9	720,169.4
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	7.0	7.7	16.3	7.3	8.2	16.0
Family groups with	96.6	96.9	95.7	279,409.2	269,277.4	308,683.0

labor income									
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	0.4	0.5	1.0	2.2	2.6	4.6			
Income generating family groups	99.6	99.7	99.6	1,325,682.9	1,423,980.3	1,044,640.4			
<i>c.v.e. (%)</i>	0.1	0.2	0.3	2.3	2.7	4.8			

Table 6: Income-generating family groups and average income generated by family groups before their displacement according to kind of activity and registration in RUPD (in 2008 pesos). *Calculated based on total family groups. **Calculated based on total family groups reporting income for each category.

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Distributive Justice in Transitions

Morten Bergsmo, César Rodríguez-Garavito, Pablo Kalmanovitz and Maria Paula Saffon (editors)

The chapters of this book explore, from different disciplinary perspectives, the relationship between transitional justice, distributive justice, and economic efficiency in the settlement of internal armed conflicts. They specifically discuss the role of land reform as an instrument of these goals, and examine how the balance between different perspectives has been attempted (or not) in selected cases of internal armed conflicts, and how it should be attempted in principle. Although most chapters closely examine the Colombian case, some provide a comparative perspective that includes countries in Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe, while others examine some of the more general, theoretical issues involved.

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