

Henrik Wiig

# Women in the Colombian land restitution process

Quantifying effects in a RDS households  
survey



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# Women in the Colombian land restitution process

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Henrik Wiig

# **Women in the Colombian land restitution process**

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– Quantifying effects in a RDS households survey**

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Abstract: The Victims' Law from 2011 in Colombia initiated a  
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Women are supposed to be jointly titled and receive  
preferential and differentiated treatment. This RDS  
household survey sample of 499 IDP households  
show that especially women are reluctant to return.

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# Preface

This report has been written for The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Peace and Reconciliation which assists the ongoing peace process between the Colombian Government and the FARC guerrilla in Havana. The purpose of the study is to investigate gender aspects of land restitution as we believe many issues arising in this process are important in themselves and furthermore relevant for discussion point “integral rural reform” of the peace agreement. We would like to thank the IDP population taking part in this survey and many key informants in Colombia for their time and willingness to participate in the study.

I would like to thank Professor Francisco Gutierrez, National University, and assistant professor Paola Garcia Reyes, University of the North, in the Land Observatory Project for excellent organisation of the data collection and furthermore Daniel Contreras, Camilo Argoty and the survey collection team in this effort. Furthermore, Jose Manuel Arencibia Aleman for excellent research assistance at NIBR, as well as Dag Juvkam and Frida Tømmerdal at NIBR for their assistance in giving the report’s look a final touch.

Oslo, June 2015  
Geir Heierstad

Research Director

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## Summary

*Henrik Wiig*

**Women in the Colombian land restitution process  
– Quantifying effects in a RDS households survey**  
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Colombia has one of the largest populations of internally displaced people after nearly five decades of conflict between the government, various guerrilla movements and paramilitary forces. About 5 million had to flee the countryside, leaving behind 7-8 million hectares of agriculture land and pastures. Finally, peace is now at sight. The paramilitary started to give up their weapons in 2003, and now the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) is negotiating a peace accord with the government assisted by Norway. An “integral rural reform” was the first point to be discussed by the two parties in Havana. However, the Colombian parliament took an independent initiative in 2011 to solve conflicts over land and property in the countryside with Law 1448 of 2011, known as the Victims’ Law. They intend to retribute with exactly the same plot of land they left behind and facilitate the return by giving protection, rebuild infrastructure and securing future property rights through a land titling process. The overall objective of the law is twofold: (i) to help poor IDPs to a better life by giving them the means to sustain themselves and (ii) to break the vicious circle that land grabbers in time of conflict will actually keep their loot when peace return, something that might spark and fuel future conflict in the country.

Women are poorly linked to the land in Colombia. Agriculture is mainly a male activity and the land hence perceived as the property of men. The conflict furthermore destroyed many families. The men were killed leaving the widows as household heads or the

stress of the displacement caused marriage breakups. The Colombian government intends to secure gender equality in the land restitution process in two ways. *Preferential and differential treatment* implies that the land restitution institutions will help female claimants before men in the application, administrative and legal parts of the process, and find ways of assisting women according to their special needs, for example, many women do not know the exact geographic position or borders of the abandoned plots. The Victims' Law also sets the principle of *joint titling*. The couple at the time of abandonment will share the property right to the land independent of current household formation and the way land was originally acquired. This measure implies an active redistribution from men to women since most land is male property, for example through male preference in inheritance, and contradicts the partial community property marriage regime that secures individual rights to land brought into the marriage.

This ColombiaLandGender project is a joint Colombian and Norwegian collaborative research project. A thorough description of the land restitution process is presented in García-Godos and Wiig (2014), while this report summarizes the findings of the quantitative information collection.

The land restitution process is slow and thorough, as most legal processes in Colombia, and the restitution courts has so far had only processed claims for 20.877 hectares of land. The Specialized Unit for Land Restitution (URT) is reasonably successful in convincing women to claim their rights, but preferential treatment has turned out to be difficult in the administrative and legal phases as the URT works by geographical subunit. Surprisingly, joint titling seems to be accepted by men affected by the restitution process so far. However, this might reflect the disproportional large amount of claims from former land reform farms so far in the restitution process. Such were initially given in these cases by the government to both spouses, and the joint titling policy does not represent a change. The resistance might increase in areas with longer history of individual ownership, and hence male inheritance, are included in process.

We conducted a Respondent Driven Sample (RDS) survey in 2014 of 499 IDP households currently living in the Bogota and Barranquilla area. The focus of the study is to disclose whether

women are included in the land restitution process and the perception of the possible claimants of the process. Our universe of respondents is people who abandoned land in municipalities where the restitution process have to start. Each of the initial IDP respondents supplied up to five new IDP household from their network. By reaching until 7 subsequent rounds in this snowball sampling method, the data set is hence representative for all IDPs within respectively Bogota and Barranquilla. We ask the household history, their expectations and experience with the land restitution process and preferences for the future. The overall result verifies the impression of the quantitative research. Especially female IDP respondents are reluctant to return to their original places of residence; only 19 percent has any plans to return compared to 38 percent for men. Women have a stronger fear for new displacement and furthermore carry a negative connotation to their place of origin due to the horrors experienced when displaced.

Few households have started the restitution process and even less made any concrete measure to return. A rather long residence in urban areas, loss of agricultural practice, new livelihood strategies as well as now becoming accustomed to more urban way of life with access to infrastructure reduces their willingness to return. The RDS dataset is a unique survey on IDPs and land restitution process in Colombia as no other large scale representative survey exists. The presentation will give gender related descriptive statistics, for example reflecting how the displacement experience destroys families. 19 percent are single male headed households (of which more than half only consists of one individual), 27 percent single female headed households and only 54 percent of the household consists of a couple. Such lack of matrimonial unity is probably a hindrance for return.

Only a small share indicates an intention to return to their community of origin. 21 percent of the RDS sample says they could like to claim land and then return if they are given the opportunity to do so, and women are considerably less interested than men. Women are however reasonably informed about the process and do not report less confidence in the process. It is not possible to conclude from our RDS survey whether the women receive differential and preferential treatment, but our qualitative investigation indicates such does not take place.

There is a clear gender difference when it comes to actions taken. Only 1.5 of the single women headed households has registered a claim of land restitution, compared to 9.3 percent for single male headed households and 10.5 percent for couple headed households. The RDS survey indicates that women are included in the land restitution application, but the imposition of joint land titles is refuted amongst the subgroup of respondents who have inherited their land. Only one of the female inheritors would include their husbands in the application, while 30 percent of the male inheritors.



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# 1 Introduction

Colombian Law 1448 of 2011, known as the Victims' Law (LdV), addresses the issue of internal displacement and land dispossession caused by the armed conflict in Colombia. More than 5 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) has lost an estimated 7-8 million hectares of agricultural land when they fled the countryside due to the conflict (CODHES 2010). The purpose of the law is to assist the victims in different forms. One of the most important is to restitute exactly the same plot of land they left behind and facilitate the return by giving protection, rebuild infrastructure and securing future property rights through a land titling process. The overall objective of the law is twofold: (i) to help poor IDPs to a better life by giving them the means to sustain themselves and (ii) to break the vicious circle that land grabbers in time of conflict will actually keep their loot when peace return, something that might spark and fuel future conflict in the country (García-Godos and Wiig, 2014).

Women are poorly linked to the land in Colombia. Agriculture is mainly a male activity and the land hence perceived as the property of men. The conflict furthermore destroyed many families. The men were killed leaving the widows as household heads or the stress of the displacement caused marriage breakups. The Colombian government intends to secure gender equality in the land restitution process in two ways. *Preferential and differential treatment* implies that the land restitution institutions will help female claimants before men in the application, administrative and legal parts of the process, and find ways of assisting women according to their special needs, for example, many women do not know the exact geographic position or borders of the abandoned plots. The Victims' Law also sets the principle of *joint titling*. The couple at the time of abandonment will share the property right to the land independent of current household formation and the way

land was originally acquired. This measure implies an active redistribution from men to women since most land is male property, for example through male preference in inheritance, and contradicts the partial community property marriage regime that secures individual rights to land brought into the marriage. The policy hence follows the example of Peru where joint titling has empowered women (Wiig, 2013).

This ColombiaLandGender project is a joint Colombian and Norwegian collaborative research project using both qualitative and quantitative methods. García-Godos and Wiig (2014) gives a thorough description of the land restitution process based on the qualitative research. Their main points and findings will be summarized in chapter 2 of this report.

The land restitution process is slow and thorough, as most legal processes in Colombia, and the restitution courts has so far had only processed claims for 20.877 hectares of land. The Specialized Unit for Land Restitution (URT) is reasonably successful in convincing women to claim their rights, but preferential treatment has turned out to be difficult in the administrative and legal phases as the URT works by geographical subunit. Surprisingly, joint titling seems to be accepted by men affected by the restitution process so far. However, this might reflect the disproportional large amount of claims from former land reform farms so far in the restitution process. Such were initially given in these cases by the government to both spouses, and the joint titling policy does not represent a change. The resistance might increase in areas with longer history of individual ownership, and hence male inheritance, are included in process.

We conducted a Respondent Driven Sample (RDS) survey in 2014 of 499 IDP households currently living in the Bogota and Barranquilla area, with 259 in the former and 240 in the latter. The focus of the study is to disclose whether women are included in the land restitution process and the perception of the possible claimants of the process. Our universe of respondents is people who abandoned land in municipalities where the restitution process have to start. Each of the initial IDP respondents supplied up to five new IDP household from their network. By reaching until 7 subsequent rounds in this snowball sampling method, the data set is hence representative for all IDPs within respectively

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Few households have started the restitution process and even less made any concrete measure to return. A rather long residence in urban areas, loss of agricultural practice, new livelihood strategies as well as now becoming accustomed to more urban way of life with access to infrastructure reduces their willingness to return. The RDS dataset is a unique representative source of information on IDPs and the land restitution process in Colombia as no large scale representative survey on IDPs has taken place since 2008 (IDP-Commission, 2010). The presentation will give gender related descriptive statistics, for example reflecting how the displacement experience destroys families. 19 percent are single male headed households (of which more than half only consists of one individual), 27 percent single female headed households and only 54 percent of the household consists of a couple. Such lack of matrimonial unity is probably a hindrance for return.

Only a small share indicates an intention to return to their community of origin. 21 percent of the RDS sample says they could like to claim land and then return if they are given the opportunity to do so, and women are considerably less interested than men. Women are however reasonably informed about the process and do not report less confidence in the process. It is not possible to conclude from our RDS survey whether the women receive differential and preferential treatment, but our qualitative investigation indicates such does not take place.

There is a clear gender difference when it comes to actions taken. Only 1.5 of the single women headed households has registered a claim of land restitution, compared to 9.3 percent for single male headed households and 10.5 percent for couple headed households.

The RDS survey indicates that women are included in the land restitution application, but the imposition of joint land titles is refuted amongst the subgroup of respondents who have inherited their land. Only one of the female inheritors would include their husbands in the application, while 30 percent of the male inheritors.

The land restitution process is furthermore an implicit land reform since the state will now become the guarantor of property rights through the accompanying land titling process. Until now, the ultimate property right is in the hands of local powerlords in a semi-feudal system in the countryside (Wiig, 2008). The land demand side analysis from this RDS survey on land restitution reflects and test hypothesis' that is relevant for the ongoing peace negotiations between the Colombian government and the FARC guerrilla in Havana facilitated by Norway. An “integral rural reform” constitutes the first element of a future peace agreement which will probably include a land reform redistributing 10 million hectares of agricultural land and pastures. Networks of IDPs to the countryside, level of education and work experience, etc. will probably impact their willingness to start farming as for other landless poor people in rural areas that will potentially benefit from such land reform.

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## 2 Women in the Colombian land restitution process

### 2.1 Intention and main features of Victims' Law

The Victims' Law (LdV) covers victims of illegal armed groups such as paramilitaries and guerrillas, as official representatives of the state in the armed forces and police. The victims are given different rights depending time since the offence took place, i.e. collective reparations if before and individual reparation if after 1 January 1985. Land and property restitution applies only for displaced after 1 January 1991.

LdV does not affect the judicial processes implemented under the preceding Law of Justice and Peace. Compared to the Justice and Peace process, the threshold of proof is significantly reduced in favour of the victim.

The definition of 'victim' is established by Art. 3 in LdV, which takes as its point of departure violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law committed after 1 January 1985. Victims include those who suffered violations, as well as their closest relatives, independent of status or identification of the perpetrator. Members of armed groups are not considered victims; the sole exception being children or youngsters who demobilized while still minors. Relatives of illegal armed groups can be considered victims only if their individual rights have been violated.

Persons whose rights were violated in the context of armed conflict prior to 1985 are entitled to the right to truth, symbolic reparations and guarantees of non-repetition, but only as part of collective measures directed at society at large. Articles 13 to 27 of

LdV establish principles to guide implementation of this law, the most relevant in this context being the principles of differential treatment (Art. 13), progressiveness (Art. 17), gradual implementation (Art. 18), and the rights to truth, justice and integral reparation (Art. 23–25). Article 28 explicitly addresses what is to be considered as victims' rights in the framework of LdV, highlighting twelve specific rights, including 'the right to truth, justice and reparation' and 'the right to return to one's place of origin or relocate out of free will, in conditions of security and dignity'.

The scope and mechanisms for land and property restitution are established in great detail in Articles 71–123. Formal owners (*owner*), persons in possession of the land (*possessory*), or those using state lands (*occupier*) who have been disposed or forced to abandon the land due to the armed conflict after the cut-off date are entitled to the right of restitution of land and property (Art. 75). Restitution encompasses the return of the property lost, as well as the formalization of legal entitlements (Art. 72). The law envisages the possibility of monetary compensation or relocation to land or house of similar characteristics to that which was lost only as a secondary measure and in cases where material restitution is not feasible (Art. 97).

## 2.2 Qualitative gender experiences with restitution

### 2.2.1 Differential and preferential treatment

There was a great fear that women would not be included in the land restitution and land titling process since agriculture is normally perceived as a male activity and the man considered the household head in Colombia. The law hence imposes joint titling between the man and woman (at the moment of displacement) to secure that women was left without land right and hence the most important form of capital/wealth for the rural population.

As discussed in section 2, women – in particular, single mothers who head a household – are to receive differential and preferential treatment in accordance to the Victims' Law at all stages of the process: in the application and administrative phase (Art. 114), at

the judicial phase (Art. 115), and during the liberation and transfer of property (Art. 116). They are also to be the first to receive other types of additional support like credit, productive projects, education and other individual goods of limited supply. The requirement of joint property rights between the couple who originally abandoned the property is apparently gender-neutral. However, agriculture is mainly a male activity and land is normally perceived to be the property of men: most inherited land is passed on to sons rather than daughters. The Victims' Law implicitly defines its provisions on joint property as being a gender-equalizing policy by including Article 118 under the section heading 'Norms for women in the restitution processes.

The emphasis on differential treatment in general and preferential treatment towards women has been followed up by the various institutions created by the law in terms of special procedures and internal guidelines. A state policy on the protection of women victims of the armed conflict, where the issue of land restitution and access to land forms part of a priority area, was approved recently. A direct follow-up has been the signing of a cooperation agreement between the Specialized Unit for Land Restitution (URT) and the Presidential Commissioner for the Equality of Women in June 2014, aiming, *inter alia*, to mainstream gender indicators in the restitution process, providing capacity-building on gender differentiation among judicial and administrative staff working at various stages of the restitution process, and strengthening female victims of armed conflict.<sup>1</sup>

Public discussion concerning joint titling in the Victims' Law and contradictions with the Civil Code has been almost absent in Colombia. Few are aware that joint titling overruns the individual right of spouses who have brought property into the marriage or inherited as defined in the civil law. Gender activists consider joint titling as a means to counter structural gender discrimination (SismaMujer 2013). While the law states that both sons and daughters should inherit equally, men continue to inherit land more often than women do. In practice, what joint titling does is to balance a daughter's unlawful loss (not having inherited) with

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<sup>1</sup> 'Nuevas alianzas fortalecen los derechos de la mujer en la restitución de tierras', <http://restituciondetierras.gov.co/?action=article&id=1215>, accessed 23 June 2014.

the transfer of property rights to her brother's wife. While this logic may make sense at the structural level, the rights of the individual woman may not necessarily be protected. In this perspective, women are considered more as a group rather than as individuals.

Differential and preferential treatment to women in the restitution process is guided by two policy documents. First, the 'Programme for special access for women, girls and youngster in the administrative stage of the restitution of disposed land process' was approved by a resolution in late 2013 (URT 2013). While mainstreaming female preference is treated in very general terms, the resolution refers to a 'technical document' to be produced by the URT, and explicitly opening for the possibility to access non-governmental funding sources to finance the 'programme'. The second policy document is a recent government White Paper providing perspectives on the protection of female victims of the armed conflict and their rights (DNP 2013).

### 2.2.2 Outcome

According to interviews carried out by the project team, it has been difficult to implement preferential treatment for women in the restitution process as intended.

The first challenge is to make women claim land. Through special information campaigns and collaboration with gender-focused NGOs, the URT is attempting to get women, especially heads of household, to come forward to claim land that belonged to the household. This has proven difficult because both men and women in the countryside normally consider agriculture to be a male activity, and see land as being the property of men. For instance, a widow might not even know the exact locality of the plot or the position of its boundaries. Weaker connection to the land also makes it harder for women to overcome the psychological barriers involved in returning to areas where they may have experienced horrendous atrocities. However, the few available figures on the content of the land restitution rulings indicate reasonable success in reaching out to women.

The three selection criteria for micro-focalization, i.e. security of operation, concentration of cases and economic viability of return are not directly related to gender. The concentration of potential

female applicants could have been an additional selection criteria for micro-focalization, e.g. the number of widows, for example proxy by the number of recorded male deaths, would *de facto* put women first in line to be included in the process if such is the aim of the policy

It is also difficult to prioritize women in the administrative phase due to the practical implementation of tasks in the micro-focalized areas. The URT finds it more time efficient to include all claimants in one identified area before they move to the next. Selecting women first, and then men, would imply more travelling for the institutions involved and hence a loss of valuable work-time.

However, informants indicate that the URT and other institutions involved in formalization do make greater efforts to help women compared to men in similar situations, as well as seeking to help the most vulnerable – who tend to be women. Actually, the degree of gender awareness has increased in most of the Colombian state administration in general. For example, INCODER previously often adjudicated land only to male applicants; today they would immediately ask about any female partner to be included on the title deed with joint ownership.

The URT normally represents women, as well as male applicants, at the judicial phase. Our informants expressed that the URT had high gender awareness and willingness to use resources to help women. Furthermore, that restitution judges and restitution magistrates are trained to take into consideration the special circumstances that affect women, both as claimants and partners to be jointly titled with male claimants. The top-down signal from URT and SNARIV to prioritize women seems to have trickled down to people working on the ground. However, the need for the local URT offices to meet annual targets as to number of land plots might lead them to prioritize male claimants, as these tend to be better informed about the property being claimed.

One paradox found during implementation, is that even in those cases where a plot is owned by a couple, the law presumes to be only *one* claimant; which is usually a man. Various actors perceive this as an unreasonable practice that reduces gender equality, and have proposed innovative, practical ways to bypass this situation. Local URT offices may formally register a given plot as two separate claims, one for the husband, and the other for the wife. In

processing the claims, these two are administratively treated as one property. While this creative solution makes women more visible, it also increases the number of claimants to the same property.

Women are also supposed to receive preferential treatment and more attention in the post-ruling/follow-up stage. Land restitution is only part of the comprehensive package of measures involving court rulings. The claimants and their families can be entitled to individual help, such as education, psychological assistance, or productive projects, or collective benefits like the provision of infrastructure. There is no information available on the gender perspective in such assistance. However, respondents stress that measure to make returning a viable enterprise, for example productive projects, would assist more profitable agricultural activity which is culturally dominated by men.

Whether the URT has been successful in identifying potential female claimants and convincing them to register is difficult to assess, as we do not know the distribution of potential claimants. However, as many as 40% of the 54,063 claims for land restitution registered by 31 December 2013 were made by women (URT, 2014). However, the URT annual report does not indicate how many female claims were accepted in the RTDAF or later actually given a title.

Joint titling between applicant and the spouse at the time when they abandoned the land is another important gender equalizing policy. It seems reasonable to assume that most of the 40 percent female claimants are widows and hence without a male spouse with whom to share the land title. On the other hand, most of the 60 percent male claimants do probably have a spouse. SismaMujer (2014) refers to URT statistics which indicate that for all claims involving the claimant's spouse, 72 percent are made by men and 28 percent by women (unfortunately, the number of total claims is not known). The URT is reported to put considerable effort into identifying female companions, whether they are still in the household or have formed a separate household, in order to issue joint property rights. A partial review of early court cases indicates that half of the plots are given a joint title, a quarter individual titling and a fifth is restituted to an undefined group of inheritors

of the deceased original rights-holder.<sup>2</sup> A woman is normally the main beneficiary, but the restitution judges implicitly grant rights to children, parents and other family members.<sup>3</sup> The explicit distribution is to be decided later.

Gender outcomes are difficult to identify in statistics based on settled land restitution cases published by URT. According to URT informants, about 3500 individuals have so far benefitted from restitution, 49 percent of these being women and 51 percent men. While judge's order joint titling in 90 percent of the court decisions, this figure might encompass different types of households and include several family members. The extent of imposed joint titling and co-ownership between husband and wife at the moment of displacement is still unknown.

One possible explanation for the rather high share of land titling to women mentioned above is that the URT chose to start with land reform farms that were handed over to poor peasants in the 1960–70s after land occupations. INCORA, and later INCODER, often issued joint ownership in these cases and both spouses hence recognize their dual ownership rights today. It can be expected that there will be less acceptance of joint property rights as the restitution programme proceeds with more cases where land was inherited and brought into the family by one spouse Single.

The Victims' Law establishes preferential treatment for women. URT informants express concern about the lack of explicit regulations applicable to the paragraphs addressing this during the restitution process as well as concerning joint titling. Accordingly, the law's general approach in this matter leaves preferential treatment up to the interpretation of local URT offices and individual judges. Judges tend to be conservative when it comes to establishing the rights of women, often requesting explicit, material proof of a marital relation to the man. Since many couples were never officially married, a formal marital connection is hard to establish. Men and women may have changed partners after displacement, and may even lack formal identity papers; The URT puts great effort to demonstrate the contribution of the woman in farming, taking care of the family or her participation in other

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<sup>2</sup> The residual are smaller categories.

<sup>3</sup> The cases of orphaned children are normally put in this category.

economic activities to contributing to the family livelihood. When such contribution is acknowledged at the court, the judges tends to approve property rights to the woman either through joint titling or by splitting the land into two properties with both the man and the woman as owners if they no longer constitute a single household. The preferential treatment seems to be more a question of differences in knowledge and ability, both on the part of restitution authorities as well as women claimants, rather than gender per se. One example is the tendency for women not to be able to give the exact position and demarcation of the plot. The URT hence often rely on the social mapping exercise to prove land right for women whose men died or disappeared during the conflict, e.g. in practice the neighbors indications are taken at face value.

Idiosyncratic interpretations, however, seem to play a major role in final court decisions. URT informants inform that some male occupant restitution claimants are titled individually in spite of the clear rule of joint titling when state land is adjudicated to households. On the other hand, many judges establish joint titling for individually owned land (*bien propio*), brought into marriage or inherited, in contradiction to the partial common property rights (*gananciales*) clause of the Civil Code. There have been cases where the judge grants monetary compensation to the woman for “improvements to the land while living together” when outright property rights are not admitted.

### 2.2.3 Specific effects for women

Fear and psychological effects: The return of IDPs to their original homes is held as the ultimate aim of the land restitution process. The rural population has lived very difficult lives during the conflict. Direct intimidation or a specific act of violence made people pack all their belonging and flee, often overnight, driven by fear. These fears, or feelings of insecurity, remain vivid in their minds, overriding the urge to return – especially for women. The men, as the principal agriculturalists in Colombian households, are more connected to the land itself and may often be more willing to take risks.

Some quantitative surveys indicate that few IDPs actually want to return. CCPPDF (2008) found that only 3.1% of the respondents

actually wanted to return. Part of the explanation is probably that IDPs who farmed on marginal land on the agricultural frontier had not developed deep family roots in the colonizing areas that were most affected (Saffon 2010). They would gladly accept compensation or replacement land somewhere else.

## 3 Survey results

### 3.1 RDS methodology and survey construction

We try to quantify the gender effect and differences in the land restitution process through a RDS household survey. Internally Displaced People (IDP) represents a so-called hidden population. There is no complete registry of the IDP, and a large share of them would resist identification and request for interviews if one apply conventional household surveys methodology. Snowball sampling is one possible solution to both identify respondents and persuade them to take part, e.g. asking some initial respondents within this population to identify friends, family and acquaintances with the same hidden population characteristic with request of interviews on behalf of the researchers. Salganik and Heckathorn (2004) developed the Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) methodology which makes it possible to calculate unbiased incidence of a given variable in such snowball sampling datasets, but we will mainly apply simple sample mean values in this analysis as we want to quantify the difference in behavior between different household categories.

We identified the initial group of IDP respondents in round 0 through NGOs which works closely with this hidden population. The contacted IDPs by these initial respondents represent round 1 and are supposed to recruit new respondents for round 2. The more rounds of “new” IDPs that have not be included in preceding rounds by other respondents are collected, the shorter will the estimated confidence interval of the estimated variables be. The rounds can be illustrated as a tree with different branches that are split in each round (see figure 1 in appendix 6.2.1). Some branches are dead ends as the respondent are not able to recruit new IDP within his network, while other branches can last for several rounds before it stops. The main reasons for stopping are

that the respondents are not really willing to recruit new IDPs, have a limited network or the one suggested are already included in the survey by others. The participants are given a small amount of money to participate in the survey, and furthermore a monetary incentive to recruit new IDP for the following rounds.

We expect IDPs with claims in areas where restitution have started would be reasonably informed about the process and have considered their options. We hence restrict our universe to IDPs with property, possession or rightful claim (excluding tenants) in a municipality where parts of the territory have already been micro-focalized. The land restitution institutions have probably been in such municipalities to collect information and more important tried to contact IDPs from such areas living outside the municipality. The micro-focalized zones normally cover a share of the municipality, but the URT intends to continue with the rest as soon as they have finalized the process the first group. People seldom know the exact borders of the micro-focalized zones, while they identify closely with the municipality as a territorial unit. The enumerators would hence easily verify if the new IDPs identified by a respondent belonged to our universe by checking a complete list of municipalities with micro-focalized zones published by URT.

Certain characteristics of the hidden population are required if a RDS sample should be representative of the hidden population and hence produce unbiased estimates. Heckathorn indicates that the social bonds between the IDPs should be frequent and reciprocal and constitute a convex group, e.g. there can possibly be a connection between any members of the group. Such would not be present at national level, and the RDS methodology is hence not suitable to calculate national figures. We hence concentrated our investigation to the two city regions of Barranquilla and Bogota including municipalities close by. Our universes of respondents on which we make inferences are IDPs living in or within a few hours' drive by car from each other in these two city regions and have a rightful claim to land restitution in any part of the country.

Most conventional surveys today are stratified and weighted with the population to produce unbiased estimates for the chosen universe. The RDS methodology uses a similar, although more

sophisticated, mathematical technique. It estimates proportions of respondents of the total universe and the corresponding confidence interval of respondents of the total universe (Salganik y Heckatorn, 2004). The following analysis is often based on variables that are constructed by combining different questions from the survey in order to identify gender differences. Due to the cross-continental collaboration in this project between Norway and Colombia, I do not at this moment in time have the means to calculate the weighted percentages using the RDS technique but rather report figures from the unweighted survey sample.

Gutierrez Sanin (2014) report the correctly weighted average for some of our variables, and by comparing some of them I fortunately find they do not differ that much, e.g. they report that 86.13 percent of the sample fear repeated displacement compared to 84.5 percent in my unweighted sample (see table 17).

RDS studies traditionally only report incidences of categorical variables, e.g. the share of households with respectively 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 or more plots to be claimed in restitution. However, our interest is to know whether such differs between types of households, e.g. whether consists of only woman, only man, couple with male respondent or couple with female respondent.

The survey is rich in detailed information and I will hence also report tables with average figures based on continuous variables, e.g. plot size, on the unweighted survey population without any claim of being representative of the whole universe. Furthermore, it is also interesting to know certain characteristics of subpopulations, e.g. share of households with only woman that had a spouse before they became IDPs and the reason behind that will be given in such non-representative tables.

## 3.2 RDS Results

### 3.2.1 Gender categories of interest

There are more female than male respondents in the sample, 271 vs. 228 of the 499 observations (table 1). The gender of the respondent in itself is however only relevant if the perceptions given are not affected by his or her family composition. This is normally not the case. We hence chose two typologies to report

responses from the survey. First, we split between households in which the responsible adult is man without spouse (Single Man), a woman without spouse (Single Woman), and a couple with male respondent (Couple man) and couple with female respondent (Couple woman). There is considerably more single woman and men, but a gender balance of respondents in households with couple. We split the latter category as information given, and choices made by the household, might differ depending on the sex of the respondent.

Table 1. *Household Head composition*

Respondent	Total	
	#	%
Single Man	96	19,2
Single Woman	135	27,1
Couple Man	132	26,5
Couple Woman	136	27,3
Total	499	100,0

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household Survey

### 3.2.2 Household composition

Table 2. *Summary of quantitative figures*

	Respondent	Mean #	Stand. Dev #	Min #	Max #	Observations #
Number of family members	Single Man	2,6	2,4	1	11	96
	Single Woman	4,8	2,3	1	14	135
	Couple Man	5,2	2,3	1	16	132
	Couple Woman	5,9	2,6	2	16	136
	Total	4,8	2,7	1	16	499
	Total Area of plots	Single Man	52,8	131,7	0	1000
Single Woman		11	22,4	0	143	135
Couple Man		29,8	61,8	0	409	132
Couple Woman		15,5	30,8	0	215	136
Total		25,2	70,3	0	1000	499

Mean, std. Deviation, minimum and maximum of family member and hectares of plots by household head composition. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household Survey.

The average number of household members differs a lot between the household categories with 2.6 in Single Man, 4.7 in Single Woman, 5.2 for Couple Man and 5.9 in Couple Woman (table 2). To our surprise, a large number of men live Single, 55 percent of Single Man has only one member. Such is very rare for women with less than 5 percent in Single Woman. Men appear to become lonely individuals when they split from their family through displacement, while women keep the responsibility for both children and elderly.

Table 3. *Couples now and before displacement*

Type of household	total	
	#	%
Different spouses	24	4,8
Same spouse	179	35,9
No spouse before, spouse now	65	13,0
Spouse before, no spouse now	106	21,2
No spouse before, no spouse now	125	25,1
Total	499	100,0

All possible evolutions of relationship status since abandonment.  
Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Qualitative studies indicate that displacement often leads to family break up. Only about a third of the sample had de same spouse now as before, but only 5 percent had remarried (table 3). As much as 21.2 percent of the sample had parted from the former spouse and not found a new. A rather large share did not have a spouse originally, so by recalculating the figure leaving this group out we find that of 42 percent of the 309 household that had spouse before displacement lost husband and remained single.

Table 4. *Reason for having lost spouse*

Reason for spouse lost	total	
	#	%
Natural death	14	11,1
Unnatural death	20	15,9
Lives in another place	7	5,6
Lives in another household	32	25,4
Other	53	42,1
Total	126	100,0

Subgroup: Those who lost their spouses.  
Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

The reasons for losing the original spouse natural death in 11 percent of the households, 15 percent died an unnatural death and

25 percent live in another household (table 4). The gender difference is clear, female respondents said their husband had died unnaturally in 28 percent of the cases while the similar figure for male respondents were only 3 percent. This verifies that men rather than women got killed in the conflict.

The gender difference in education is minimal as shown in the tables below.

Table 5. *Alphabetization by Household head composition*

Respondent	Knows how to write			
	Yes %	No %	Total	
			#	%
Single Man	81,7	18,3	93	100,0
Single Woman	82,0	18,0	133	100,0
Couple Man	84,6	15,4	130	100,0
Couple Woman	86,5	13,5	133	100,0
Total	83,8	16,2	489	100,0

Group: All respondents, excluded those that did not answer if they could write or read, write or read. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 6. *Education of respondent by Household head composition.*

Respondent	Education level					
	None %	Prim. Incomplete %	Primary %	Sec. Incomplete %		
Single Man	16,8	18,9	20,0	15,8		
Single Woman	13,4	20,9	17,9	23,1		
Couple Man	12,2	24,4	14,5	18,3		
Couple Woman	8,9	25,2	16,3	27,4		
Total	12,5	22,6	17,0	21,6		

Respondent	Secondary	Upper Sec.	Univers. Incomplete	Universitary	Total	
	%	%	%	%	#	%
Single Man	20,0	3,2	2,1	3,2	95	100,0
Single Woman	11,9	12,7	0,0	0,0	134	100,0
Couple Man	16,8	6,1	6,1	1,5	131	100,0
Couple Woman	16,3	3,0	2,2	0,7	135	100,0
Total	16,0	6,5	2,6	1,2	495	100,0

Group: All respondents, excluded those that did not answer to which was their educations level.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

The literacy rate is rather high, as only 16 percent of the respondents do not know how to read or write (table 5). 12 percent of them say they have not had any formal education (table 6). About 65 percent of respondents have at least completed primary education but the most repeated level of education in our sample was “incomplete primary education”. It is worth to note that 12 percent of single women have technical upper secondary education and 20 percent of single men have secondary education. Anyhow, education seems to be rather equal by gender.

### 3.2.3 Land

It is vital to know the existence of the Victims’ Law and to whom the land restitutions applies in order to make use of the program. The public seems reasonable well informed as 78.4 percent of our sample knows of the restitution program (table 7). There is a significant gender difference, although less than 10 percentage points. Couples are also better informed than Single households.

Table 7. *Knowledge of restitution program by Household Head composition*

Respondent	Knows about restitution program				Total	
	Yes %	No %	Missing %	#	%	
Single Man	79,2	20,8	0,0	96	100,0	
Single Woman	71,1	28,9	0,0	135	100,0	
Couple Man	84,8	14,4	0,8	132	100,0	
Couple Woman	78,7	19,1	2,2	136	100,0	
Total	78,4	20,8	0,8	499	100,0	

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

### 3.2.4 Land

Table 8. *Plots by Household head composition*

Respondent	Number of plots claimed in microfocalized municipalities						Total	
	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	6 %	#	%	
Single Man	90,6	5,2	4,2	0,0	0,0	96	100,0	
Single Woman	92,6	6,7	0,7	0,0	0,0	135	100,0	
Couple Man	86,4	12,9	0,0	0,8	0,0	132	100,0	
Couple Woman	85,3	12,5	1,5	0,0	0,7	136	100,0	
Total	88,6	9,6	1,4	0,2	0,2	499	100,0	

Number of plots reported to be in micro-focalized areas by respondents.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey

An overwhelming share of the sample of potential land claimants, nearly 90 percent, is peasants with only one plot of land in each household. There is no major difference by gender, but Couples tend to have more plots than Singles. More interesting, Single Men report to own nearly five times as much land as Single Women, and similarly does Couple report twice as much when the man is the respondent compared to the woman, e.g. 29,8 HA vs. 15,5 HA of land.

Table 2b. *Summary of land holdings*

	Respondent	Mean #HA	Stand. Dev #HA	Min #HA	Max #HA	Observations #
Area of plots	Single Man	52,8	131,7	0	1000	96
	Single Woman	11,0	22,4	0	143	135
	Couple Man	29,8	61,8	0	409	132
	Couple Woman	15,5	30,8	0	215	136
	Total	25,2	70,3	0	1000	499

Mean, std. Deviation, minimum and maximum of family member and hectares of plots by household head composition. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household Survey.

Single Man indicates to have far more land with right to restitution than both Single Woman and Couple HH, respectively 53 hectares (HA), 11 HA and 23 HA (table 2b). The mean for the whole sample is 25 HA, the maximum amount of land is 1000 HA and only 12 percent of the households claims to have more than one plot. Most IDPs in our survey are hence smallholders with one plot of land, and our detailed questions for the most important plot hence covers nearly the total land agricultural area. About 89 percent of the respondents say they have a single plot (table 8).

Table 9. *Property relation with land by Household head composition*

Respondent	Legal relation to plot						Total	
	Owner %	Possesor %	Occupant %	Tenant %	Other %	Missing %	#	%
Single Man	43,7	24,0	10,4	0,0	19,8	2,1	96	100,0
Single Woman	40,7	31,1	9,6	0,7	17,0	0,8	135	100,0
Couple Man	56,8	22,7	5,3	0,0	13,6	1,5	132	100,0
Couple Woman	51,5	23,5	8,1	0,0	16,9	0,0	136	100,0
Total	48,5	25,5	8,2	0,2	16,6	1,0	499,0	100,0

Legal relationship of the between respondent and the main plot (plot number 1). Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

True ownership is more common than expected as 48,5 percent report to be owners, e.g. title deed in their own name registered in the own name, 25,5 percent possessors, e.g. title deed exist but not in their name, and only 8,2 percent occupants without any or documentation that carries less judicial weight (table 9). Women are only marginally more vulnerable to informality since ownership for Single Woman is 40,7 compared to 43,7 percent for Single Men. Couples tend to do better, as the share of owners is above 50 percent for both men and women. One possible explanation is that the conflict was more intense at the agricultural frontier leaving more Single households where occupancy is more normal too.

Table 10. *Existence of documents of land rights by household category*

Respondent	Documents of property exist			
	Yes %	No %	Missing %	Total #    %
Single Man	53,1	44,8	2,1	96    100,0
Single Woman	45,9	53,3	0,7	135   100,0
Couple Man	61,4	37,9	0,8	132   100,0
Couple Woman	54,4	44,1	1,5	136   100,0
Total	53,7	45,1	1,2	499   100,0

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Land rights might be documented in different ways. In table 10 we ask whether any written documentation exist and find such in 53,7 percent of the incidences. There is a considerable gender difference as the share is about 10 percentage points higher for both Single Men and Couple Men than their Woman counterparts.

Table 11. *Property documents registered at ORIP*

Do property documents exist	Documents registered at ORIP			
	Yes	No	Total	
	%	%	#	%
Yes	85,3	14,7	251	100,0
No	0,0	100,0	178	100,0
Total	49,9	50,1	429	100,0

Registration at ORIP excluding households with missing information  
Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

In table 11 we ask whether such is a formal title deed from the Property Registry (ORIP). The waste majority of document holders, 85,3 percent, confirms. As none of the non-document holders reply to hold an ORIP title, it turns out that the respondents have understood the questions well.

Table 12. *Restitution and return*

Respondent	Intention to apply and to come back					Total	
	Not apply	Apply, back	Apply, not back	Missing	#	%	
	%	%	%	%			
Alone Man	32,3	30,2	18,8	18,8	96	100,0	
Alone Woman	54,8	9,6	20,0	15,6	135	100,0	
Couple Man	32,6	25,8	30,3	11,4	132	100,0	
Couple Woman	44,1	20,6	23,5	11,8	136	100,0	
Total	41,7	20,8	23,4	14,0	499	100,0	

Whether respondent plans to apply (or has already applied) combined with their intention to return.  
Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Our data indicate that only 20,8 percent of the households has any intention of claiming land restitution and then actually return to their places of origin. We would expect such to be the aim of the restitution policy to legitimate the high cost of the administrative and legal process. However, this is not stated directly in any policy paper and in the successful restitution claimants will be allowed to sell their land two years after the delivery of judgment. Nearly as many, 23,4 percent, intend to apply for restitution but has no

intention to return. Qualitative interviews disclose that the large majority of this group would like to sell their land, while some keep it for recreation or possible future needs. As earlier discussed, about 40 percent say they have no intention to apply at all. At first glance, such seems strange as long as a claimant does not have to pay for the process and a positive outcome would represent a potential income from the sale of the plot. However, there seems to be considerable indirect cost through time spent on the process, the discomfort of threats that might appear from potential adversaries and the revival of possible unpleasantness experienced in the displacement episode. Furthermore, the need for the land is reduced for successful migrants to the cities. Sliwa (2015) find that displaced recipients of social housing apartments in Barranquilla demonstrate a willingness to claim restitution and even less return. With a roof over their head and possibly stable income, return does not represent an option and the potential economic gains from acquiring the plot carries less weight.

The gender difference is significant. Women are considerably more reluctant both to apply and then return if they do intend to apply. More than half, 54, 8 percent, of the Single woman do not intend to apply, while the similar figure is 32,3 percent for their male counterparts. The difference is less pronounced for Couples, 44,1 percent for Woman vs. 32,6 percent for four out of five Single Man who do intend to apply want to return, while the diametric opposite is true for Single Woman. It might appear as a puzzle that more applying Couple Woman than Couple Men would like to return. One possible explanation is that men rather apply and then sell, than not apply at all as women would tend to do.

Table 13. *Stage in restitution process for households with intention to claim restitution*

Respondent	Finished legal proceedings	In legal proceedings	Pending of URT	Applied to URT	Not started	Missing	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	#	%
Single Man	3,3	8,3	16,7	11,7	56,7	3,3	60	100,0
Single Woman	0,0	1,8	14,8	13,0	68,5	1,8	54	100,0
Couple Man	0,0	1,1	20,7	19,5	55,2	3,4	87	100,0
Couple Woman	0,0	0,0	8,1	17,6	68,9	5,4	74	100,0
Total	0,7	2,6	15,3	16,0	61,8	3,6	275	100,0

Percent of respondents in any of the 5 stages of the restitution program (and missing) by household head composition. Group: Those who have applied or plan to apply to the restitution programme.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Among the 275 respondents with intention to claim restitution, 61,8 percent has not taken the initial step of process by applying to the URT. The gender gap is more than 10 percentage points in the disfavor of women. In the other end of the scale, only two individuals of the potential 499 claimants have actually ended the legal proceedings. They are both Single Men, which hence constitute 3,3 percent of such claimants.

Table 14. *Who applied to restitution program in case of having applied, by Household type.*

Type of Household	Who applied to restitution program						Total	
	Woman	Man	Descendant	Other Relatives	Other	#	%	
	%	%	%	%	%			
Alone Man	0,0	85,7	0,0	9,5	4,8	21	100,0	
Alone Woman	62,5	0,0	0,0	25,0	12,5	16	100,0	
Couple Man	0,0	73,5	2,9	11,8	11,8	34	100,0	
Couple Woman	50,0	18,8	0,0	31,3	0,0	16	100,0	
Total	20,7	52,9	1,1	17,2	8,0	87	100,0	

Who in household applied to restitution by household head composition. Group: Those who have applied or plan to apply, have not finished the legal proceedings and have answered to who applied to restitution program. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Only one individual can be registered as the formal claimant to the land even though the other household members can, and will in case of spouse, be given formal property rights too. This duality of single claimant and joint ownership would potentially undermine the potential gender equalizing effect of the program. As expected, there is mostly male claimant in Single Men, but a rather high percentage of Other Relatives in Single Woman. More illustrating of the gender inequality is the male bias for Couples. No men report that their wife is the registered claimant, while women report that 50 percent is claimed by their husbands and only 18,8 percent of the cases by themselves. At the moment of exercise rights to land, men are the most active<sup>4</sup>.

There is hence a tendency that men contact URT on behalf of the household.

<sup>4</sup> To prevent such male bias, some local URT offices have split the parcel in two, denominating the man as the claimant for one part and the woman for the other. The two parts are then treated as one case in the administrative and legal process.

### 3.2.5 Return

The decision to return is in theory independent of the intention to claim land restitution. We find that 28,1 percent want to return (table 15). Among these about 1/5 does not care about the land.

Table 15. *Intention to return, by Household head composition.*

Respondent	Intention to return			
	Yes %	No %	Total	
			#	%
Single Man	38,5	61,5	96	100,0
Single Woman	15,6	84,4	135	100,0
Couple Man	37,1	62,9	132	100,0
Couple Woman	24,3	75,7	136	100,0
Total	28,1	71,9	499	100,0

Whether respondents intend to return to abandoned or dispossessed plot by household head composition. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

37,5 percent of the 275 HH who intend to claim restitution intend to sell the land and only 37,8 percent would keep it to farm themselves (table 16), which represents less than 1/5 of all potential claimants. The gender difference is considerable. 42,6 percent of Single Woman vs. 28,3 percent of Single Man want to sell the land, while it is slightly the other way for couples, e.g. only 36 percent of Couple Woman vs. 41 percent Couple Man. We can only speculate about the reason, e.g. maybe the respondent woman does not want to provoke their husband by stating she wants to sell the land.

Table 16. *Plans for plot if restituted*

Respondent	Plans for plot in case of being restituted						Total	
	Lease land %	Farming %	Stay away %	Sell plot %	Other %	Missing %	#	%
Single Man	0,0	48,3	1,7	28,3	13,3	8,3	60	100,0
Single Woman	5,6	24,1	1,9	42,6	11,1	14,8	54	100,0
Couple Man	3,4	39,1	1,1	41,4	5,7	9,2	87	100,0
Couple Woman	5,4	37,8	1,4	36,5	8,1	10,8	74	100,0
Total	3,6	37,8	1,5	37,5	9,1	10,5	275	100,0

Planned use for the plot if restituted. Group: Those who have applied or plan to apply to restitution program.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

IDPs were often forced to flee nearly by definition; otherwise they would be considered migrants. An overwhelming 84 percent of all household fear they would experience a similar situation in the future (table 17).

Table 17. *Fear to be displaced again*

Respondent	Fear of repeated displacement			
	Yes %	No %	Total	
			#	%
Single Man	81,3	18,8	96	100,0
Single Woman	88,1	11,9	135	100,0
Couple Man	84,8	15,2	132	100,0
Couple Woman	83,0	17,0	135	100,0
Total	84,5	15,5	498	100,0

Dummy variable for feeling fear to suffer displacement once again. Group: All respondent except one "Couple Woman" missing answer.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

The survey question is however ambiguous, and we do not know whether the respondent interpreted displacement at the current location or if they returned to their original residence. The gender difference is minor.

Table 18. *Fear in general, by Household head composition*

Respondent	Feeling fear in general			
	Yes %	No %	Total	
			#	%
Single Man	54,2	45,8	96	100,0
Single Woman	64,9	35,1	131	100,0
Couple Man	55,0	45,0	131	100,0
Couple Woman	65,4	34,6	133	100,0
Total	60,3	39,7	491	100,0

Dummy variable for feeling fear in general. Group: All respondents but those missing to answer this question.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

The enumerators indicate respondents made the first interpretation and are consistent with the high level of general insecurity sensed by 60 percent of the respondents (table 18).

Table 19. *Reason to abandon the plot*

Respondent	Reason to leave the plot				
	Fear %	Threat %	Force %	Total	
				#	%
Single Man	13,7	55,8	30,5	95	100,0
Single Woman	23,0	49,6	27,4	135	100,0
Couple Man	22,7	51,5	25,8	132	100,0
Couple Woman	28,1	47,4	24,4	135	100,0
Total	22,5	50,7	26,8	497	100,0

Reasons that made respondents to leave the plot by household head composition.

Group: All respondent but 3 missing answer to this question.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Some sort of violence was reported to be the reason for leaving abandoning the plot as nobody indicated the alternative of economic reasons. 22,5 percent of all household due to the general sense of risk in the area (women higher incidence than men), 50,7 percent after direct threats and 26,8 percent forcefully evicted (table 19). None of the respondents indicated economic reason as the main explanation to abandon the land.

Table 20. *Feeling sick or lonely*

Respondent		Has it been sick the last year	Has it felt lonely
Single Man	%	55,3	69,8
Single Woman	%	70,9	77,4
Couple Man	%	55,4	47,3
Couple Woman	%	63,4	62,5
Total	#	492	496
	%	100,0	100,0

Percentage of respondents that feel sick or lonely by household head composition. Group: All respondents but those missing answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

It is important to feel strong and inspired to entail in the rather laborious task of rebuilding a future in the original place. Unfortunately, more women than men report to be sick, and considerably more women than men report to feel lonely (table 20). Interaction with government officials is vital, and their relationship with such is hence important (table 21).

Table 21. *Ease of interaction with government, by Household head composition*

Respondent	Is it easy to interact with governmental officials?					Total	
	Yes %	No %	Do not know %	Missing %	#	%	
Single Man	39,6	47,9	11,5	1,0	96	100,0	
Single Woman	45,9	46,7	7,4	0,0	135	100,0	
Couple Man	28,8	66,7	3,8	0,8	132	100,0	
Couple Woman	29,4	65,4	4,4	0,7	136	100,0	
Total	35,7	57,3	6,4	0,6	499	100,0	

Whether respondent thinks it is easy or not to interact with government officials by household head composition.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

There is no major difference between men and woman when it come to the ease of interacting with government officials, but it seems like Single households find such contact more easy than Couple households (table 21). Single Woman is actually the highest rate with 45,9 percent, and indication that the differentiated and

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preferential treatment of women in LdV is successfully implemented.

### 3.2.6 Joint titling

The imposed joint ownership of land secures gender equality. Each of the couple at the time of abandoning the land is entitled to half the property as both names with equal rights will be included in the formal title deed registered at the Public Registry. However, the civil law states explicitly that all property being brought into marriage or inherited while married remains individual property. The Victims' Law does not distinguish between ways of originally acquiring the land. The following regulations do not specifically indicate who should be included in such cases, and in practice the judge is free to decide whether he/she will follow the Victims' Law or the Civil Code. The judge has in several occasions solved the problem by issuing the title deed to the spouse that originally bought or inherited the land, but including a claim to the "improvements" of the land, e.g. clearing and perennial crops, which follow the property. Whether the IDPs themselves embrace the principle of joint ownership is disclosed when we see whether only the respondent, the current spouse or the former spouse is included for the 87 households in the survey that had entered the restitution process so far. 60 percent include spouse if bought together while only 20 percent if the parcel is inherited by the respondent (table 22)

Table 22. *Individuals to be included in restitution claim*

How was the plot obtained?	Respondent	Respondent and same spouse	Respondent and second spouse	Total	
	%	%	%	#	%
Bought with spouse	40,0	53,3	6,7	15	100,0
Bought by respondent previously	50,0	50,0	0,0	2	100,0
Bought by spouse previously	100,0	0,0	0,0	2	100,0
Inherited by spouse	14,3	85,7	0,0	7	100,0
Inherited by respondent	78,6	17,9	3,6	28	100,0
Inherited by respondent after	0,0	100,0	0,0	1	100,0
Given to couple by spouse's parents	0,0	100,0	0,0	4	100,0
Given to couple by respondent's parents	33,3	66,7	0,0	3	100,0
Other	41,7	50,0	8,3	24	100,0
Missing	0,0	100,0	0,0	1	100,0
Total	49,4	46,0	4,6	87	100,0

People the respondent plans to include in the application of the restitution program by way of obtaining of the plot. Group: Only respondents that have a couple and have applied or plan to apply to restitution program.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

The willingness to accept joint ownership is especially relevant for the 28 cases where the respondent has inherited the land. We find that hardly any female respondent within this category had included the husband in the application, while the men on their side included women in some cases (table 23). If the respondents really had adapted the joint titling, more would have included their spouses in the application to URT.

Table 23. *People to include in application, by sex of respondent*

Sex of the respondent	People that applicant plans to include in application				
	Respondent	Respondent and same spouse	Respondent and second spouse	Total	
	%	%	%	#	%
Man	68,8	25,0	6,3	16	100,0
Woman	91,7	8,3	0,0	12	100,0
Total	78,6	17,9	3,6	28	100,0

People the applicant plans to include in restitution application. Group: Only respondents that have a couple, have applied or plan to apply to restitution program and whose plot was inherited by respondent before married.. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

### 3.2.7 Gender roles

Colombia is considered a male dominated society. We asked both about norms and expectations regarding specific situations to disclose the gender culture. The results are mixed, implying gender equality in some situations and others not. For example, 91 percent of our sample thinks that women can go alone to the store (table 24). This percent goes down to around 88 percent when our respondent is a single or married man.

Table 24. Respondent gender attitudes, by Household head composition

Respondent	Can women go alone to the store?			
	Yes	No	Total	
	%	%	#	%
Single Man	88,5	11,5	87	100,0
Single Woman	92,9	7,1	127	100,0
Couple Man	89,3	10,7	131	100,0
Couple Woman	92,6	7,4	135	100,0
Total	91,0	9,0	480	100,0
Respondent	Should women obey their spouses?			
	Yes	No	Total	
	%	%	#	%
Single Man	54,4	45,6	90	100,0
Single Woman	50,4	49,6	133	100,0
Couple Man	69,0	31,0	129	100,0
Couple Woman	64,2	35,8	134	100,0
Total	59,9	40,1	486	100,0
Respondent	Do you agree women should never make more money than spouses?			
	Yes	No	Total	
	%	%	#	%
Single Man	4,4	95,6	90	100,0
Single Woman	15,6	89,2	130	100,0
Couple Man	18,9	87,1	132	100,0
Couple Woman	17,8	88,1	134	100,0
Total	56,7	89,5	486	100,0

Respondent attitudes toward gender roles. Specifically, whether women can go alone to the store, whether they should obey their spouses and if they agree that women should never make more money than their spouses. Group: All respondent, excluded those missing to answer to each question. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

If we refer to more direct questions as whether the woman should obey the man however, our data reflects that most of respondents share the opinion that indeed women should obey men. There is one factor that seems to strengthen this view: to be married, increasing the percentages from 54 percent to 69 percent in the case of men, and from 50 percent to 64 percent in the case of women. We also can derive from this that this view is strongly shared by women but to a lesser extension than men (table 24).

Table 25. *Gender norms of public appearance in the street*

Respondent	How women and spouses should walk together			
	Side by side %	Women ahead %	Spouse ahead %	Total # %
Single Man	90,5	5,4	4,1	74 100,0
Single Woman	84,0	3,0	13,0	100 100,0
Couple Man	83,8	7,7	8,5	130 100,0
Couple Woman	85,9	5,2	8,9	135 100,0
Total	85,6	5,5	8,9	439 100,0

Respondent attitudes toward gender roles. Specifically, how should the couple walk together in public.  
Group: All respondent, excluded those missing to answer the question. Source: ColombiaLand Gender RDS household survey.

It is of some interest also to observe the answers provided to the question “How should walk man and woman in the street?” The majority of the sample, 85 percent, thinks that women and spouse should walk side by side but an 8 percent thinks that men should walk in front and a 5 percent the other way around. If we pay attention to the group formed by single women the results are slightly different, increasing the amount of responses saying that the man should walk ahead up to 13 percent (table 25).

Another proxy for the role of women in the household, especially the financial role, can be observed by the share of respondents that agree with the statement “women should never make more money than men. In this case 89 percent of the sample disagrees, being the group of single men who reaches the higher percentage of disagreement with a 95 percent, and married men the lowest with an 87 percent (table 24).

### 3.2.8 Household decisions

We also ask about actually behavior in decision making that will reflect true influence of the household members. The role that women play in the acquisition of goods by the household varies greatly on the kind of good or investment we refer to and the household category we put our focus on. Thus, we observe (table 26) how women have taken the initiative 48,6 percent of the times to buy school supplies. When the household head is a couple, 29,4 percent and 29,8 percent of man and women respectively say to

have taken the initiative together, while only 30 percent of the married male respondent say to have taken himself the initiative, against the 52 percent of the married female respondent.

Table 26. *Initiative to buy school supplies*

Respondent	Who had initiative to buy school supplies					
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	Total	
					#	%
Single Man	61,8	0,0	0,0	38,2	34	100,0
Single Woman	0,0	88,7	0,0	11,3	71	100,0
Couple Man	29,4	26,5	29,4	14,7	68	100,0
Couple Woman	4,8	52,4	29,8	13,1	84	100,0
Total	17,5	48,6	17,5	16,3	257	100,0

Who had the initiative to buy school supplies by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that bought school supply, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

When we ask who took the decision instead, percentages do not vary to a great extent, although we observe how men played a slightly bigger role in the decision process. The biggest change is for the married male respondents, where now a 36 percent claims having taken the decision themselves (table 28).

Table 27. *Decision of buying school supplies*

Respondent	Who took decided to buy school supplies					
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	Total	
					#	%
Single Man	69,7	0,0	0,0	30,3	33	100,0
Single Woman	0,0	88,6	0,0	11,4	70	100,0
Couple Man	35,8	25,4	26,9	11,9	67	100,0
Couple Woman	8,3	56,0	23,8	11,9	84	100,0
Total	21,3	49,6	15,0	14,2	254	100,0

Who decided to buy school supplies by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that bought school supplies, excluded missing to answer.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey

Related to the previous good is the initiative and decision of paying the children's enrolment fee to school. The following tables

are given in the appendix. When we refer to the initiative (table 28), we see how women, in spite of being the group that takes the initiative more often, lose some weight in favor of the “others” group. The fact that in the group “other” descendants are included might be the underlying reason of this change. Again, the answers about who took the decision (table 29) are consistent with those about the initiative, but the minor changes we observe are in favor of “other” instead of men as in the previous case.

In the case of the initiative for the 68 households that bought alcohol, 69 percent of those who took the initiative were men and when only 3 percent of married men say that the initiative was of the couple, the percentage goes up to 26 when asked the married women. In our sample, it seems that in most of the cases, those who took the initiative (table 30), made the decision (table 31).

To close the descriptive analysis of purchase initiative and decision, we look to “purchases in general”. In this case, initiative (table 32) corresponded to women 45 percent of times, men a 25 percent and the couples a 15 percent. Those who said that the initiative came from the couple more often were men and as expected, single respondents said the initiative was theirs most of the times making for a 75 percent in the case of men and 75,3 percent in the case of woman. It is noticeable that 69 percent of married women said the initiative was hers, in contrast to only a 34 percent of married men claiming the same. The decisions (table 33) are again taken in most of the cases for those who had the initiative.

Therefore, we see how the initiative and decision seem to be linked for all the 4 previous cases and how for every good listed, with the exception of alcohol, the initiative and decision came most of time from a woman. Thus, the provision of the household was responsibility mainly of women and, with exception of alcohol, what is bought is the women decision. In what follows we look at the role that gender has on the different investments that a household must face.

The initiative to invest on housing plot is distributed equally for single men and women in our sample with a 66 percent each one (table 34). However, when we look at the answer by sex of the spoused respondents we see how respondents say they have taken the decision themselves in approximately 60 percent of the cases

when married man and 20 when married woman. When we talk about the decision men made the final decision a 45,8 percent (table 35). In absolute numbers this is only five more man, but given the small size of household investing on a housing plot of our sample, the relative change looks bigger.

20 respondents of our sample invested on housing. Of these respondents, 25 percent said that was by the man's initiative and 40 percent by the woman's initiative and 60 percent of married men said was by initiative of the couple (table 36). When it comes to the decision however, men took the decision 35 percent of times (table 37).

The initiative to invest on material (table 38) was in 34 percent of occasions from a woman and 27 percent of times from a man. However, within households headed by a couple, the initiative came most of the times from the couple or the men. In the decision process however (table 39), there were as many respondents that said that was women's decision as respondents that said it was men's. Within couples, most of the times were the man who took the decision, followed by the couples and finally only the woman.

The initiative (table 40) and decision (table 41) about investment of furniture show a more traditional pattern. The initiative came from the woman 33 percent of times against 36 percent of times that came from men. However the decision was taken by the man in 46 percent of the households. If we look only to households formed by couples, women had the initiative most often, followed by the men if respondent was a man and couple if respondent was a woman, but the decision was most of the times, taken by the man.

Finally, if we take a look to who had the initiative to buy a cart or animals from transport (Table 42), we see that men were 53 percent who took the initiative, and to an even large extent were who decided if the investment should be done or not (table 43).

From the analysis of the answers about household investment, we observe how in our sample men take more decisions than they did about the purchase of goods. In the case of couples, were the men who usually decided if the investment was to be done or not, even if the initiative came from women.

In conclusion, there is some degree of duality when it comes to gender roles. On one hand, 60 percent of respondents and over 65 percent if we talk about married respondents, think that women should obey men (table 24). On the other hand, women play a more important role in financial issues and most of times they take both the initiative and have the final say about where the money should be spent on (table 33). In this direction points also the fact that most respondents (i.e. 89 percent of the sample, 95 percent if we refer to single man), disagree with the claim that “women should never make more money than men” (table 24).

## 4 Conclusions

Colombia's land restitution process is moving forward slowly. The comprehensive documentation of each individual case and resources required for the courts will make it impossible to help the more than 5 million IDPs (Gutierrez Sanin, 2013). A large proportion of the IDPs will probably never benefit from the restitution process, or perhaps the government will be forced to give monetary compensations, often based on collective judicial processes, instead.

If, contrary to expectations, the URT is able to reach all IDPs and formalize their property rights in the process, one may still question whether the state apparatus is strong enough to defend these rights later. The institutional presence in the countryside is weak, and vulnerable to pressure and corrupt practices that may undermine the achievements. Furthermore, land formalization processes tend to become single episodes of titling and the creation of a registry that is not updated afterwards. If information on land sales, inheritance and other transfers is not updated in the Public Registry because the actors feel the process is too complicated, time- and money-consuming, the registry will soon lose relevance.

Restitution of land does not necessarily mean that the IDPs will move back. A generation might have passed since they lost their land, and they may have now settled down in other areas, earning a living in other professions than agriculture. Their offspring often have no relationship to the area their parents left and will probably not consider relocating when they inherit the land. Preliminary fieldwork indicates three possible outcomes as the most common: the land remains idle; the land is used solely for recreational purposes; or the land is sold as soon as the two years of embargo have passed. In the course of our fieldwork we have not encountered any returning IDPs who have actually resettled on

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their original land. Those who take up farming again do so by migrating seasonally to conduct the farm work.

Our qualitative study survey indicates that both gender policies that should secure the rights for women to land do not necessarily work according to the intention. Our qualitative informants indicate that URT find it difficult to give women differential and preferential treatment as the restitution process considers all claimants within the small micro-focalized zone more or less at the same time. The URT are furthermore not able to target women specifically to make them claim land restitution. Our survey indicate that women are nearly as well informed on the restitution process as men and do not have less formal resources like education than their male counterparts. However, women do show considerably less willingness to claim land restitution, use the land themselves and return to the place of origin. The qualitative informants indicate women are less connected to the land and furthermore more traumatized by the experience of displacement than men. Our sample data verifies to a minor degree this gender difference in traumatisation.

Informality of land rights is considered one of the drivers of conflict in Colombia. Surprisingly, nearly half the sample report to be owners and number households lacking any documentation is rather low. Many have inherited the land, and we find that a majority such resists the inclusion of the spouse on the title deed, women actually more than men. This illustrates that people adhere to the civil law that states individual property rights in such cases rather than the joint ownership between the spouses as indicated in the Victims' Law. Wisely, to avoid resistance and discrediting the restitution process, the government has yet not introduced an explicit regulation of the Victims' Law that imposes such joint ownership in all circumstances. It is hence left to the land restitution judges to decide, and our qualitative informants indicate that they stick to the civil law when the plot is previously titled in only one of the spouses' name. However, if informality reigns, joint land ownership is normally imposed even if such land might also be "inherited" by one of the spouses.

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## 6 Appendix

### 6.1 Tables

Table 28. *Initiative to pay enrolment fee*

Respondent	Who had initiative to pay enrolment fee					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	63,6	0,0	0,0	36,4	11	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	87,5	0,0	12,5	16	100,0	
Couple Man	36,4	18,2	40,9	4,5	22	100,0	
Couple Woman	0,0	53,3	36,7	10,0	30	100,0	
Total	19,0	43,0	25,3	12,7	79	100,0	

Who had the initiative to pay enrolment fee by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that payed enrolment fee, excluded missing to answer.

Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 29. *Decision of paying enrolment fee*

Respondent	Who decided to pay enrolment fee					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	63,6	0,0	0,0	36,4	11	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	81,3	0,0	18,8	16	100,0	
Couple Man	22,7	22,7	45,5	9,1	22	100,0	
Couple Woman	6,7	46,7	36,7	10,0	30	100,0	
Total	17,7	40,5	26,6	15,2	79	100,0	

Who decided to pay enrolment fee by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that paid enrolment fee, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 30. *Initiative to buy alcohol*

Respondent	Who had initiative to buy alcohol					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	94,7	0,0	0,0	5,3	19	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	4	100,0	
Couple Man	83,3	6,7	3,3	6,7	30	100,0	
Couple Woman	26,7	46,7	26,7	0,0	15	100,0	
Total	69,1	19,1	7,4	4,4	68	100,0	

Who had the initiative to pay enrolment fee by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that payed enrolment fee, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 31. *Decision of buying alcohol*

Respondent	Who decided to buy alcohol					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	94,7	0,0	0,0	5,3	19	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	75,0	0,0	25,0	4	100,0	
Couple Man	82,8	6,9	3,4	6,9	29	100,0	
Couple Woman	20,0	46,7	26,7	6,7	15	100,0	
Total	67,2	17,9	7,5	7,5	67	100,0	

Who decided to buy alcohol by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that bought alcohol, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 32. *Initiative to buy in general*

Respondent	Who had initiative to make purchases in general					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	75,0	0,0	0,0	25,0	40	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	75,3	0,0	24,7	73	100,0	
Couple Man	34,2	17,7	38,0	10,1	79	100,0	
Couple Woman	12,3	68,5	15,1	4,1	73	100,0	
Total	24,9	44,9	15,5	14,7	265	100,0	

Who had the initiative to buy in general by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that bought in general, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 33. *Decision of buying in general*

Respondent	Who decided to make purchases in general					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	73,2	0,0	0,0	26,8	41	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	78,1	0,0	21,9	73	100,0	
Couple Man	28,9	21,1	43,4	6,6	76	100,0	
Couple Woman	12,5	65,3	15,3	6,9	72	100,0	
Total	23,3	45,8	16,8	14,1	262	100,0	

Who decided to buy in general by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that bought in general, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 34. *Initiative to invest on a lote*

Respondent	Who had initiative to invest on lote for house					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	66,7	0,0	0,0	33,3	3	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	66,7	0,0	33,3	3	100,0	
Couple Man	62,5	0,0	25,0	12,5	8	100,0	
Couple Woman	30,0	40,0	30,0	0,0	10	100,0	
Total	41,7	25,0	20,8	12,5	24	100,0	

Who had the initiative to invest on lote by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on lote, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 35. *Decision of investing on lote*

Respondent	Who decided to make invest on lote for house					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	66,7	0,0	0,0	33,3	3	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	3	100,0	
Couple Man	62,5	12,5	25,0	0,0	8	100,0	
Couple Woman	40,0	20,0	40,0	0,0	10	100,0	
Total	45,8	25,0	25,0	4,2	24	100,0	

Who decided to invest on plot by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on lote, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 36. *Initiative to invest on housing*

Respondent	Who had initiative to invest on housing					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	50,0	0,0	0,0	50,0	2	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	4	100,0	
Couple Man	40,0	0,0	60,0	0,0	5	100,0	
Couple Woman	22,2	44,4	33,3	0,0	9	100,0	
Total	25,0	40,0	30,0	5,0	20	83,3	

Who had the initiative to invest on housing by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on housing, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 37. *Decision of investing on housing*

Respondent	Who decided to invest on housing					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	50,0	0,0	0,0	50,0	2	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	4	100,0	
Couple Man	60,0	0,0	40,0	0,0	5	100,0	
Couple Woman	33,3	33,3	33,3	0,0	9	100,0	
Total	35,0	35,0	25,0	5,0	20	100,0	

Who decided to invest on housing by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on housing, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 38. *Initiative to invest on materials*

Respondent	Who had initiative to invest on materials					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	62,5	0,0	0,0	37,5	8	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	86,7	0,0	13,3	15	100,0	
Couple Man	52,4	4,8	19,0	23,8	21	100,0	
Couple Woman	8,3	37,5	54,2	0,0	24	100,0	
Total	26,5	33,8	25,0	14,7	68	100,0	

Who had the initiative to invest on materials by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on materials, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 39. *Decision of investing on materials*

Respondent	Who decided to invest on materials					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	62,5	0,0	0,0	37,5	8	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	80,0	0,0	20,0	15	100,0	
Couple Man	66,7	9,5	4,8	19,0	21	100,0	
Couple Woman	8,3	29,2	62,5	0,0	24	100,0	
Total	30,9	30,9	23,5	14,7	68	100,0	

Who decided to invest on materials by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on materials, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 40. *Initiative to invest on furniture*

Respondent	Who had initiative to invest on furniture					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	70,0	0,0	0,0	30,0	10	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	75,0	0,0	25,0	4	100,0	
Couple Man	31,3	37,5	25,0	6,3	16	100,0	
Couple Woman	22,2	44,4	33,3	0,0	9	100,0	
Total	35,9	33,3	17,9	12,8	39	100,0	

Who had the initiative to invest on furniture by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on furniture, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 41. *Decision of investing on furniture*

Respondent	Who decided to invest on furniture					Total	
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	#	%	
Single Man	70,0	0,0	0,0	30,0	10	100,0	
Single Woman	0,0	75,0	0,0	25,0	4	100,0	
Couple Man	56,3	18,8	25,0	0,0	16	100,0	
Couple Woman	22,2	33,3	44,4	0,0	9	100,0	
Total	46,2	23,1	20,5	10,3	39	100,0	

Who decided to invest on furniture by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on furniture excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 42. *Initiative to invest on transport*

Respondent	Who had initiative to invest on cart or animals for transport				
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Other %	Total # %
Single Man	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2 100,0
Single Woman	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	1 100,0
Couple Man	66,7	0,0	33,3	0,0	3 100,0
Couple Woman	42,9	42,9	0,0	14,3	7 100,0
Total	53,8	23,1	7,7	15,4	13 100,0

Who had the initiative to invest on transport by household composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on transport, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

Table 43. *Decision of investing on transport*

Respondent	Who decided to invest on cart or animals for transport			
	Man %	Woman %	Couple %	Total # %
Single Man	100,0	0,0	0,0	1 100,0
Single Woman	0,0	0,0	100,0	1 100,0
Couple Man	100,0	0,0	0,0	3 100,0
Couple Woman	42,9	57,1	0,0	7 100,0
Total	58,3	33,3	8,3	12 100,0

Who decided to invest on transport by Household head composition. Group: All respondents in household that invested on transport, excluded missing to answer. Source: ColombiaLandGender RDS household survey.

## 6.2 Technical aspects of RDS survey

### 6.2.1 Sampling RDS

The Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) method was designed by Mathew Salganik and Douglas Heckathorn (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004) to calculate prevalence within those known as hidden populations. These populations are not analyzable through conventional random sampling methods due to their following characteristics:

- There is a strong drive towards secrecy within members of the population due to limitations from social and cultural stigma or fear to be victims of threats.
- There is not a sampling framework of the population or it is very difficult to establish one.
- It is common that many of these individuals refuse to cooperate with the study and, if they do it, the provided information is of low reliability to preserve their privacy.
- There is a dense net of social interactions within its members.

The RDS methodology works in the following way: An initial group called “seed group” is initially selected from the population using preexistent contacts with notoriously recognized members of the population. The survey is applied to the members of this wave 0; they receive a monetary incentive for their participation and are explained that by referring to new members of the population for participation in the study, they will receive an additional monetary incentive.

The referred people by members from wave 0 are called “wave 1”. In the same way are defined waves 2, 3 and successively. With the members of each wave, the same process of survey application and recruitment of new members is repeated until the desired size of the sample is reached. The recruitment process is usually done through coupons with printed codes. The sampling process usually has the form of a tree, similar to the one in the next figure:

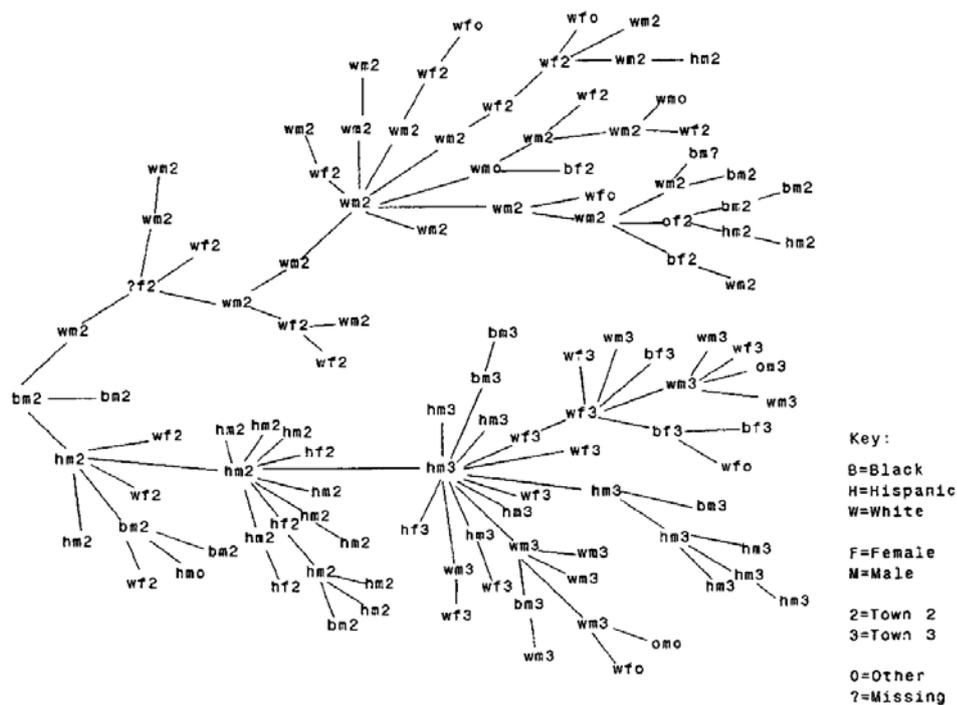


Figure 1: Recruitment in RDS sample. Source: Heckathorn, 1997.

Once the sampling has been completed, the computation of prevalences is done using the unbiased estimators developed by Heckathorn and Salganik. This results in an unbiased estimation.

### 6.2.2 Objective population and representativeness of the survey

As observed previously, the objective population has the limitation of territorial character: only those victims from displacement and/or forced abandonment that had lost plots within micro-focalized areas were included in the objective population. There are other limitations of institutional nature that need to be highlighted:

- a. Tenants are not considered, a different relation with property from that of owners, possessors and occupants. Examples of tenants are the following categories: tenants, usufructuaries,

sharecroppers and harvesters. They are neither considered by the Victims Law nor in the restitution process.

- b. Victims who did not lose their plots are not included. The process of restitution is not designed for those displaced that did not lose their realty. This is very important to note since it has elevated a very important debate on public policy: How many displaced people were dispossessed? In fact, the Colombian estate only has data for the first category, but not for the second. Given that there are many sources of underestimation, as well as of overestimation, with current data is hard to come to a conclusive answer. In spite of this survey not closing the debate, it provides very important inputs to it.
- c. From the beginning of the RDS's development technical (Heckathorn 1997), it has been clear that to make an RDS representative of its population, this population must satisfy the following criteria:
  - i. Friendship links are reciprocal and frequent.
  - ii. The net of hidden population conform a connected component, that is, there is a track of friendship between any two elements of the population.

These conditions make necessary to certify that members of the population have contact frequently. With respect to this (Heckathorn, 1997, p.7) establish that: "Like any chain-referral sampling procedure, RDS is suitable only for sampling populations with a contact pattern; the activities that constitute membership in the population must create connections among population members as when drug users purchase or share drugs, or when high-risk sexual activities take place. Therefore, this method is not suitable for drawing national samples. The size of the area within which sampling can be effective depends on the contact pattern's geographic extensiveness, which in turn depend on the availability of transportation to the respondents."

Given that, the examples of RDS sampling procedure done by the authors of the technic are, in general, hidden population in cities where the transport facilities are good. Is through this that samples of Latin gay population in Chicago and San Francisco, consumer of drugs in Ohio, Tijuana and Ciudad Juárez and Jazz musicians in New York are presented.

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In this exercise we carry out interviews in some municipalities of Magdalena and Atlántico close to Barranquilla, as well as in Bogotá D.C. and Soacha. The regional emphasis is picked by criteria of access and previous field work. Therefore, our population is composed of potential recipients of restitution policy that fulfilled the conditions previously listed and that, in addition, lived in any of the following municipalities:

- Barranquilla
- Bogotá
- Candelaria
- Galapa
- Malambo
- Palmar de Varela
- Ponedera
- Puerto Colombia
- Remolino
- Sabanalarga
- Sabanagrande
- Soacha
- Soledad

These municipalities can be grouped in to regions according to whether the closest capital is Barranquilla or Bogotá.

It is assumed that the objective population satisfies the cited conditions before given that being victim of dispossession and/or forced abandonment, potential claimant and coming from the same municipality produces multiple interactions (within the population and between this with the estate). It is also presumed that these relations hold to the extent that social relations are hold and, sometimes, strengthened and that estate policies create by design new spaces of interaction.

### 6.2.3 Work team

The project was financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway. It was developed in the following stages:

- a. Specification of the research questions and the choice of the nature of the survey.
- b. Elaboration of the survey.
- c. Correction of the survey.
- d. Pilot survey and second adjust of the survey.
- e. Field work in Barranquilla and Bogotá.
- f. Tabulation of data.
- g. Structuration of data.
- h. Analysis of data with RDS tools.
- i. Writing of progress reports and final inform.

Along the different stages, the project was coordinated by the following researchers:

- Henrik Wiig, PhD in Economics, Senior Researcher – Environment and Development Research Group – Norwegian Institute of Urban and Regional Research.
- Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, PhD in Political Science, Researcher at the Institute of Political Studies and International Relations – National University of Colombia.
- Paola García, PhD in Social Sciences, Researcher at the Faculty of Law and Political Science – Universidad del Norte.
- Camilo Argoty, Master in Mathematics and PhD candidate in Mathematics – Researcher at the School of Mathematics of the University Sergio Arboleda.
- Daniel Contreras Niño, Physicist at National University, Master in Physics by University of Los Andes de Venezuela, researcher at the Observatory of Restitution and Regulation of Rural Property Rights at University Sergio Arboleda.

The field work and developments related to the RDS technic were implemented and coordinated by the Observatory of Restitution and Property Rights in Colombia

(<http://www.observatoriode tierras.org/>).

## 6.3 Fieldwork

### 6.3.1 Field work in Barranquilla

The surveying process carried by the team with headquarters in Barranquilla started on December 12<sup>th</sup> of 2013 and finished on February 10<sup>th</sup> of 2014. In total, 240 surveys were covered along 7 waves.

Table 44. *#Waves and surveys.*

#Wave	#Survey
0	5
1	25
2	14
3	57
4	64
5	39
6	21
7	13
Unknown	2
Total	240

The forms were applied to a total of 12 municipalities located in the departments in Atlántico and Magdalena, as shown in the next table.

Table 45. *Place of application of surveys and number of surveys*

Place of application of survey	#Surveys
Atlántico	224
Ponedera	40
Palmar de Varela	32
Sabanalarga	30
Barranquilla	29
Galapa	26
Malambo	19
Calendaria	14
Puerto Colombia	14
Sabanagrande	14
Soledad	6
Magdalena	19
Remolino	13
Palamr de Varela	3
Total	240

Data of the 240 plots come from 41 municipalities in micro-focalized areas, situated in 11 departments. Of those, 125 are in the department of Magdalena, 77 in Bolívar, 13 in Antioquía, 7 in Sucre, and 3 in Tolima, while the others provide data from a single plot. The municipalities with most plots reported are, in order: El Carmen de Bolívar (54), Remolino (53), Pivijay (25), El Plato (17), San Juan Nepomuceno (12) and San Jacinto (10). The data is consistent with the characterization of the department of Atlántico as receptor of displaced population. Indeed, within all the plots from which data was available, only one was located at this department, while 224 of the 240 surveys were filled there.

Table 46. *Situation of plots according to survey*

Department/Municipality	#Plots
Magdalena	125
Remolino	53
Pivijay	25
El Plato	17
Zona Bananera	10
Chibolo	8
Ciénaga	8
Fundación	1
Sabana de San Ángel	1
Tenerife	1
ND	1
Bolívar	77
El Carmen de Bolívar	54
San Juan de Nepomuceno	12
San Jacinto	9
María la Baja	2
Antioquia	14
Apartadó	2
Necoclí	4
Turbo	3
Mutatá	2
San Carlos	2
San Alberto	1
Sucre	7
Ovejas	5
Colosó	2
Córdoba	6
Montería	4
Valencia	2
Norte de Santander	3
Ocaña	3
Arauca	1
Cravo Norte	1
Atlántico	1
Candelaria	1
Meta	1

Granada	1
Santander	1
Sabana de Torres	1
Tolima	1
Ataco	1
Valle	1
Jamundí	1
Unknown	2
Unknown	2
Total	240

### 6.3.2 Field work in Bogotá

The surveying process carried out by the team with headquarters in Bogotá started on February 4<sup>th</sup> of 2014 and finished on May 7<sup>th</sup> of 2014. In total, 258 surveys were applied along 5 waves.

Table 47. *Waves and surveys*

#Wave	#Survey
0	10
1	17
2	79
3	74
4	55
5	23
Total	258

The forms were applied to a total of 11 localities of Bogotá and 2 municipalities of Cundinamarca, as shown in the next table.

Table 48. *Place of application of surveys and number of surveys*

Place of application of survey	#Surveys
Bogotá D.C.	231
Unknown	14
Bosa	10
Calendaria	137
Chapinero	3
Ciudad Bolívar	1
Rafael Uribe	3
San Cristobal	3
Santa Fé	24
Suba	18
Usme	18
Cundinamarca	27
Soacha	26
Suba	1

Data of the 268 plots come from 65 municipalities with micro-focalized areas, situated in 14 departments. Of those, 8 are located in the department of Antioquia, 3 in Bolívar, 3 in Cesar, 3 in Córdoba, 3 in Cundinamarca, 6 in Magdalena, 6 in Meta, 5 in Nariño, 3 in Norte de Santander, 2 in Putumayo, 3 in Santander, 4 in Sucre, 7 Tolima and 9 in Valle del Cauca.

The municipalities with most plots reported are, in order: Pasto – Nariño (22), Granada – Meta (17), Ataco – Tolima (15), Carmen de Bolívar – Bolívar (13), San Carlos – Antioquia (10). The data is consistent with the characterization of Bogotá D.C. as receptor city of displaced population.

Table 49. *Situation of the dispossessed plots*

Department/Municipality	#Plots	Department/Municipality	#Plots
Antioquia	37	Nariño	32
Apartado	8	Unknown	1
Apartado (San José)	1	El Tablón de Gómez	2
Ataco	1	Pasto	22
Granada	3	Tablón	2
Mutata	4	Tangua	5

Necocli	1	Norte de Santander	6
San Carlos	10	La Esperanza	2
Turbo	9	Tibu	3
Bolívar	21	Zulia	1
Carmen de Bolívar	13	Putumayo	8
María la Baja	1	Valle del Guamuez	4
San Jacinto	7	Villa Garzón	4
César	14	Santander	11
Codazzi	4	Armero	1
San Alberto	4	Río Negro	4
Valledupar	6	Sabana de Torres	6
Córdoba	7	Sucre	6
Montería	4	Coloso	2
Tierralta	1	Lamundi	1
Valencia	2	Morroa	1
Cundinamarca	16	Ovejas	2
La Palma	6	Tolima	37
San Juan de Río Seco	1	Alvarado	3
Yacopi	9	Armero	1
Magdalena	11	Ataco	15
Aracata	2	Fresno	6
Ciénaga	2	Lerida	4
Fundación	1	San Luís	6
Pivijay	2	Suárez	2
Plato	3	Valle del Cauca	32
Zona Bananera	1	Bolívar	1
Meta	30	Bugulagrande	2
Acias	1	Cali	6
Fundación	1	El Dovio	6
Granada	17	Jamanai	1
Puerto Gaitán	8	Jamundi	8
Restrepo	1	Río Frío	1
Villavicencio	2	Sevilla	2
		Tulua	5

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The Victims' Law from 2011 in Colombia initiated a land restitution process and gives support to return. Women are supposed to be jointly titled and receive preferential and differentiated treatment. This RDS household survey sample of 499 IDP households show that especially women are reluctant to return.