The loss of population in ages between 15 and 49, due to forced displacement and death by facts associated to the armed conflict in Colombia. 2001 - 20061.

Nubia Yaneth Ruiz R.²

Key words: Forced migration, armed conflict.

1. Introduction

The study of forced migrations from a demographic perspective comes with great challenges. In

this discipline there are few analyses that shed light on the short, medium and long term

implications that the phenomenon of forced migration has on both national demography and

economy.

Migratory movements, in which the will of the migrant does not intervene, being internal

migration or crossing borders between countries, are increasingly influential realities in regards to

social, economical, political and demographical conditions in both origin and destination regions.

Therefore, populational movements become coincident with warlike processes affecting several

areas of the planet. Human beings are forced to migrate through the pressure of armed conflicts,

by economical conditions, nourishment crises and similar situations that threaten survival.

Migratory movements caused by these circumstances must be considered forced migrations.

Economic structures and sociopolitical conditions began internal conflicts of immense magnitude

in Colombia that have been taking the life of its citizens for nearly six decades. Some analysts say

that masculine mortality, forced migration and an intense populational movement are some of the

main expressions of this conflict. One of the biggest humanitarian crises of the world has been

developing with the contemporary conflicts in Colombia, with millions of people becoming

forcefully displaced and thousands violently killed. The conflict is so profound that the country

ranks as second in volume of internally displaced persons.

The loss of young and young-adult population in productive and reproductive ages has a negative

impact on social and economical dynamics in any territory. The consequences of this condition of

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2 Psychologist. PhD on Demography. Research Professor. Instituto de Estudios Urbanos de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia. nyruizr@unal.edu.co.

loss are shown in both the long and short term: a greater impact hits smaller populations due to the increase of abandonment, poverty and the possession of vast territories by a reduced number of landowners.

Investigated Issue

After analyzing forced displacement and its demographical and territorial particularities³, it was found after sorting age and sex of the displaced population, that the most affected group was that of women and under-aged children. Likewise, territorial studies show the existence of zones where the volume of persons being forced out of their residence is highly raised and focused on young and young-adult female population. The demographical and territorial patterns displayed by forced displacement allow us to become aware of and to deepen our understanding in its origins and consequences, and also allows us to strengthen our perspective in order to determine the concrete impact that such displacement has on population and territories.

The massive emigration of young, lone women is an important fact that leads to the question "What happens with the masculine population of those territories?" We inquire into another phenomenon that is linked to violence and that forbids the exit of men by means of displacement. Such phenomenon is the Masculine Over-Mortality.

This research deepens the loss of young and young-adult population in those territories with higher forced displacement effects and establishes a couple of prior determinant variables: the displacement of female population and the mortality amongst men in the same age groups. Therefore, the loss of population between 15 and 49 years of age, in 77 Colombian municipalities during the 2002 - 2006 lustrum is analyzed.

Besides having some of the highest rates of violence and forced displacement due to conflict, the aforementioned municipalities are those that register a higher volume of displaced female population between the ages of 15 and 49 without masculine companionship and, at the same time, a high level of masculine mortality through violent means. Because of these conditions the territories lose young and young-adult population as a result of the lack of demographic balance. This disequilibrium comes with a severe social and economic disarrange and with a systematic violation of human rights against these social groups.

³ Internal Displacement in Colombia: Sociodemographical Characterization and Territorial Distribution Guidelines 2000 Đ 2004. Nubia Yaneth Ruíz, PhD Thesis. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona 2008.

In order to explain the higher feminine displacement in ages between 15 and 49, masculine overmortality by violent means in the same age group is used as an explanatory variable. Thus, the relationship between these two violent facts is shown. They produce the loss of productive population in the researched territories, the death of a large volume of male population, the displacement of lone women that move toward big urban centers, and the condition of poverty and pain that consequently is caused by the conflict in Colombia.

Information Sources

There is no reliable source of permanent information on internal migration in Colombia. By inquiring into the displacement population records, sources with very different information appear, making it harder to obtain reliable data. The context that surrounds the forced displacement issue is that of a social, political and military conflict occurring in Colombia. This situation makes even more problematic the obtainment of accurate and continuous information even further.

The impossibility to accurately establish the amount of forced displaced persons is a reflection of the political aspect of phenomenon. But the problem has such magnitude that in non-governmental databases as well as in governmental information the record goes beyond three million people displaced during the last ten years. The phenomenon is so overwhelming that the government, whose interest lies in covering up the situation, has found it impossible to do so, due to the millions of uprooted people wandering day after day around the mid-sized and big cities of Colombia.

The information source consulted for this investigation was the Single Record of Displaced Population (Registro Único de Población Desplazada, RUPD), an official record managed by the governmental office in charge of the situation. This source gathers three million, seventy-three thousand records of displaced people up to the year 2009 for a period of 10 years. One of its weaknesses has to do with the procedure and criteria used to include people that declare themselves as displaced and are officially recognized as such⁴; it is estimated that this source has a lag of 20%, meaning that only a portion of displaced people is registered in it⁵.

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⁴ There are some elements that restrict the registration of displaced persons in the system. Some of them are the lack of knowledge about the existence of the system itself, lack of credibility in State institutions and the insecurity surrounding the circumstances in which the person was expelled from his/her municipality, among others.

The reasons for choosing such a source instead of other non-governmental systems for the estimation of displaced population have to do with the need of comparison between different municipalities and regions of the country. Furthermore, because this source has information on the territorial distribution and has a social and demographic description of the population, all this information allows the execution of comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon. The information related to data on mortality was taken from the records of Legal Medicine (Medicina Legal) and the vital statistics from the National Department of Statistics (DANE) as information sources on mortality caused by violence in the chosen lustrum.

2. Armed Conflict in Colombia

Hidden behind the argument brandished by the Colombian bourgeoisie, the one that says that Colombia is the oldest democracy in Latin America, lies the price that the majority of the population has been paying for almost 60 years now, bearing an armed conflict of continuous violence.

Colombian society has moved about through paths of great hardship due to its particular characteristics as a nation and to the secularity of a violent conflict that oppresses the country in the present. This conflict has been the mechanism used to catapult economic accumulation, social classes' configuration and the diverse roles played by them in order to outline the current type of nation, republic and political regime, especially during the last six decades.

Unlike the rest of Latin American countries, Colombia lacks an extensive period of military regime during the last fifty years, a period which is normally known as a peak for murders, disappearances and violations to human rights. Nevertheless, the country has been living under permanent conditions of violence since the fifties. Three generations of Colombians have practically been born, grown up, and died without knowing a different way to live, another kind of society,

The Gray Amount, a piece of information that will never be accurately settled. Whether it is three or four million the problem is a humanitarian drama of great impact to the country. It is clear that behind the numeral differences lay the governmental interests in reducing the problem. It also shows the absence of a permanent and continuous instrument

for its registration and measuring.

 $^{^{5}}$ The information on the quantity is a problem in permanent discussion; it fluctuates between the official amount that surpasses three million and the NGOs amount that is over four million. Researchers such as Maria Teresa Uribe named it

different from the one marked by the violent practice of power carried out by the ruling classes, a practice that has denied the most basic rights to its citizens and that has made death a daily natural matter.

The elite class of Colombia did not have the need to resort to a military regime to rule for it has cyclically practiced violence using the security forces of the State or creating its own paramilitary groups which have replaced military forces in such a dreadful role. To implant and strengthen the models of dependent capitalism from the high spheres of the country, speculative accumulation of capital and a growing concentration of land ownership have become the central manners of operation.

The trigger that released the violence endured by the Colombian society was the murder of the liberal leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitan in 1948. His murder stands like the ending, but also the beginning, of a series of political events that irritated the two-party feeling of the population, giving birth to the current armed conflict. The conflict suffered a transformation in the sixties when new actors appeared on the scene, developing their actions in a cyclical way, with moments of more or less worsening of the conflict and who have three generations of Colombians as direct witnesses of their permanence.

The violence that was unleashed in the mid twentieth century, known as "the two-party violence" took thousands of victims and hatched many of the violent expressions known nowadays, marked by the dispute of land property, with plundering as a common tool and the consequent accumulation of rural property and the indiscriminate slaughter of the population, mostly but not exclusively in rural areas.

With the so-called National Front, this violence period had a small recess between 1958 and 1962 when war narrowed to the hunting of armed gangs left behind by the old violence and that ended with their complete eradication in 1966. The National Front was nothing but a mechanism to politically readapt ruling classes to mend their hegemony and governability in the country. The ruling class represented by two traditional parties, Liberal and Conservador, agreed on alternation of power every four years, for a period of sixteen years in which every political expression differing from that of the traditional parties was constitutionally excluded from power and violently silenced after being singled out as enemies of the democracy. This strategy of government never took account of the judgments and punishments against those responsible for the violence and

gave its blessing to impunity and to pacifying society, strengthening the landlord system on which the present-day electoral dynamics are based.

Thereby impunity and imposition of rulers have raised different consequences to national life. One of them was the reinforcement of popular, insurgent expressions opposed to the dictatorship, veiled by an image of electoral democracy in which ruling classes alone find their seat.

The absence of justice in the process of indemnification towards the harmed population during the two-party violence is a piece of information of most importance when trying to analyze the present-day armed conflict. From that moment on an enormous spiral of violence was set off, confrontations for power were sharpened, several political and social participants prepared to defy oligarchy appeared while at the same time criminal mafias, in alliance with those ruling, emerged and strengthened amid the current conflict.

Colombia has consolidated the occupation of its territories and built its populational history immersed in internal conflict. The timing coincidence between different types of violence and the introduction of a modernization process in almost every country in Latin America gave birth to a political, economical and social structure that is profoundly exclusive against the majority of the population. These large parts of the population have been subjected to such a radical model of society through a systematic use of violence focused on rural areas. However it has also had an important impact on urban areas in later years.

Along with the economic changes necessary for the modernization process promoted since the decade of 1930, an enlargement of the demand for goods and services, because of the developing of an internal market, was required. Thus it was necessary to commercialize the land, to develop an exporting agro-industry and speed up the urbanization process. Forced migration of a large amount of population from the countryside to the city helped in the solidification process of a middle-lay urban population that would become the main consumer of goods and services and a solid column for the modernization development. It was in that precise moment that the first major forced migration from rural areas to cities occurred (between 1950 and 1960), increasing the urbanization process and contributing to the expansion of the agricultural border due to the number of expelled Colombians that had colonized virgin territories.

Subsequently during the seventies and mid-eighties the country went through a period of relative calm even though the armed conflict was not finished. By the middle of the eighties, popular forces and insurgent organizations stiffened substantially. Armed conflict took a new path, marked by the toughening of drug trafficking and the appearance of paramilitary self-defense groups, a modified version of the old criminal groups that emerged during the two-party violence that, under the sponsorship and encouragement of the ruling class, carried out massacres and all kind of atrocities against civilians with the excuse of clearing the territories out of communists and criminals.

During the nineties drug trafficking rose like an unquestionable power in the nation by penetrating every layer of society with the indulgence and collaboration of the army and the liberal and conservative elite. A wicked alliance was then established, allowing, amongst other things, drug barons getting seats in the senate.

At the same time, paramilitary groups got stronger in almost every corner of the country due to the alliance between landlords, financiers, politicians, militaries and drug barons. Together they decided to "clean" rural zones where left-winged or insurgent groups were supported, or simply civil populations unrelated to the conflict inhabiting strategic zones of importance for large-scale projects such as African palm or reed plantations necessary to produce agro-fuels, big hydroelectric plants, or highly important territories such as cities' perimeters or borders. Then, a wave of violence that has not stopped ever since, was unleashed, causing forced displacement of millions and hundreds of thousands suffering from diseases.

3- Forced Displacement

After understanding forced displacement as a violent way of population mobility, peculiar to regions in conflict and affecting significant amounts of people due to landownership processes, wealth or territorial disagreements, it becomes necessary to consolidate newer theoretical advances. These improvements should be able to redirect investigations according to the singularities of every region and to include the effects of displacement on populational structures and its economical, social and political impacts on its analysis.

Forced displacement is not a daily trip to a nearby place but rather a movement that entails a transformation of normal life conditions. The distance established between departure and arrival

places is significant, not only geographically but socially. Banishment and dislocation of social networks caused by displacement force the inhabited milieu to break-off. The decision to migrate in this kind of mobility is determined by a complex web of highly negative factors.

The forced nature of populational mobility makes it unique compared to other types of migration. It is not voluntary or determined by an offering of better labor or social conditions. Instead, it is a displacement forced by violent conditions developing in the permanently inhabited location.

Colombia holds one of the highest displacement rates in the world, shared with Angola, Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq. In this South American country armed conflict is not the only issue causing forced displacement. It is a problem profoundly linked to landownership and the interests of influential landlords. Violence is a tool widely used to expropriate territories that are to become stockbreeding lands and, in a minor scale, lands for industrial and commercial production or the settings for infrastructural macro-projects. In that sense displacement can not be analyzed as a consequence or collateral effect of the actions carried out by armed forces; it is a war weapon and an economic accumulation strategy rather than a conflict "result" (Molano, 2000:22).

Economical and social contradictions at the basis of forced displacement are an unquestionable reflection of the prevailing development pattern in Colombia, its main characteristics being a growing accumulation of speculative capital and deep social inequalities. These factors outline the conflict that is producing this forced migration.

The evolution of landownership accumulation in Colombia is coincidental with the intensification of forced displacement. It is possible to say that a part of the reduction in small property and small proprietors is due to forced displacement. Of the entirety of displaced population, 76.5% declared they have been proprietors, while 78% declared they had to leave their landed property. It is estimated that the amount of land abandoned by displaced persons rises up to 4 million hectares (9.884.000 Acres) (World Bank, 2007).

The research developed by the World Bank says that "displacement has set a massive agrarian counter-reformation in motion and it is possible that it favours a significant and unproductive concentration of territory in some regions" (World Bank, 2004:7). The quoted research reckoned

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⁶ CODHES. National Characterization Inquiry on Displaced Population (ENDA), from January 2002 to June 2003.

the GINI index of rural property at 0,85 being qualified as the highest in the world compared to international standards (Korea with 0,35 or Japan with 0,38) (IBID.:6).

The strategy used in order to concentrate rural property has been forced displacement. Coercive abandonment of land is determined by the expulsion forces, meaning that the greatest motivations to displace are in the departure location and not in the possibilities offered by places of arrival. Expropriation of lands affects the most socially and economically vulnerable layers. It also increases the concentration of wealth. This increase has taken Colombia to occupy the third position after Brazil and Guatemala, in Latin America, and the thirteenth in the world, followed by small central-African countries, in disproportion of national wealth distribution.

The numeral statistic of displacement fluctuates between three and four million people uprooted from their territories in the last ten years. As shown on Graph 1, the complete displaced population during 2002 - 2006 rises to one million, four hundred eight-thousand, four hundred fifty-one (1,408,451) people, with an estimate of 34.3 out of every one thousand inhabitants. 42.2% of the displaced are young people between the ages of 15 and 49 years old. The relation of males with the whole displaced population is 0.96 with a significant decrease when analyzing groups between 15 and 49 years old that hold a 0.77% in the entire country.

Table 1: Analysis of forced displacement in the entire national structure Colombia 2002-2006

	Total of the	e displaced p	opulation	Displacem	ent of popul	ation in ages	Rate of the displacement			
	in the wh	ole country,	all ages.	between	15 and 49, ir	n the whole	population in ages between 15			
	Du	ring five yea	rs.		country.		and 49.			
Years	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
2002	218.532	224.756	443.288	77.344	88.819	166.163	7,38	8,1	7,75	
2003	121.060	126.816	247.876	45.846	58.672	104.518	4,3	5,28	4,8	
2004	109.992	110.078	220.070	39.928	54.315	94.243	3,69	4,82	4,27	
2005	124.880	130.154	255.034	48.198	68.458	116.656	4,39	5,99	5,21	
2006	132.928	140.255	273.183	49.046	67.839	116.885	4,39	5,86	5,14	
Total	707.392	732.059	1.439.451	260.362	338.103	598.465	24,05	30	27,09	
Index	x of total ma	sculinity								
	Structure	!	0,97							
Rate of masculine population in ages between 15 and 49.						0,77				

Source: Own made with information RUPD, and information of census 2005 Dane.

Keeping in mind that our study focuses on the loss of population by displacement and mortality, specifically on groups between 15 and 49 years old, 77 municipalities with the highest rate of female displacement and the highest amount of male mortality were analyzed. As shown on Graph 2, the relationship between displacement and men during the five-year period is 0.75, varying from 0.58 to 0.87. This index shows that 50% of displaced women leave their territories by themselves as head of households, with many children in charge and some of them in condition of widowhood.

The index of feminine over-migration. This rate was estimated in 0.572 for the analyzed lustrum, in the 77 municipalities and in the same age group. This means that every 10 displaced women would only have 5.7 young and young-adult men to join them. Such composition constitutes an added risk for the members of migrant homes, who leave in conditions of poverty, with a female leadership and a high number of infants, to settle down in urban areas with more problems than those of departure. As it has been said, urban areas are the places with the highest reception of violently displaced population in Colombia.

Table 2: Analysis of forced displacement in 77 municipalities singled out.

Population in ages between 15 and 49. 2002-2006.

Index of feminine over-migration.

Years	Net income balance of forced displacement in the whole population.			Net income balance of forced displacement in population in ages between 15 and 49.			Percentage of the displaced population in ages between 15 and 49 with regard to the whole displaced population.			Index of masculinity population in ages between 15	Index of feminine over- migration. population in ages between
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	and 49	15 and 49
2002	-24.266	-25.675	-49.941	-11.263	-15.223	-26.486	46%	59%	53%	0,74	0,575
2003	-4.960	-5.575	-10.535	-3.311	-4.872	-8.183	67%	87%	78%	0,68	0,595
2004	-4.294	-4.484	-8.778	-3.317	-3.873	-7.190	77%	86%	82%	0,86	0,539
2005	-10.451	-12.252	-22.703	-8.184	-9.410	-17.594	78%	77%	77%	0,87	0,535
2006	-17.119	-18.542	-35.661	-3.709	-6.383	-10.092	22%	34%	28%	0,58	0,632
Total	-61.091	-66.527	-127.618	-29.784	-39.761	-69.545	49%	60%	54%	0,75	0,572

Source: Own made with information RUPD, and information of census 2005 Dane.

4- Masculine over-mortality by violent means

The mortality patterns in Colombia reflect the armed conflict occurring in the country. The first cause of death in the entire territory is homicide, linked in various ways to the conflict and the several forms in which it penetrates everyday live.

Masculine population in productive ages holds the largest number of deaths by violent means in the nation. The performance of demises in Colombia has been similar for over thirty years, showing critical moments with highly elevated mortality rates during the peaks of armed conflict.

A masculine over-mortality pattern is then exposed practically in every municipality and department of the country. As shown on Table 3, out of the total of deaths recorded in the country during the studied period by any reason and in all age-groups, 12.8% correspond to violent deaths. When this statistic is separated by gender, 20% of male deaths appear as being caused by violence. For women the ratio is 2,6%. Therefore, masculine over-mortality by violent means is clearly displayed as an overwhelming reality in the whole country.

Table 3: Analysis of mortality by violent facts in the whole country. Colombia 2002-2006.

Years	Mortality by all the causes in the entire structure				ty by violen ure of popu	-	Percentage of mortality by violence in the total mortality of the whole population.		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2002	116.024	76.194	192.218	29.643	2.542	32.185	26%	3,3%	16,7%
2003	113.346	78.719	192.065	23.910	2.230	26.140	21%	2,8%	13,6%
2004	110.693	78.213	188.906	21.077	1.883	22.960	19%	2,4%	12,2%
2005	109.516	79.481	188.997	18.060	1.704	19.764	16%	2,1%	10,5%
2006	111.276	81.507	192.783	18.983	1.881	20.864	17%	2,3%	10,8%
Total	560.855	394.114	954.969	111.673	10.240	121.913	20%	2,6%	12,8%

Source: Own made with information of mortality medicine and vital statistics, Dane.

The analyzed death rate for the population of ages between 15 and 49 maintains the same pattern as the general death rate, with an increase in the proportion amongst violently produced death and the whole number of deceases. Table 4 displays the results of the analysis on mortality applied on the population between 15 and 49 years old in the whole nation; it is clearly shown how masculine over-mortality by violent means increases in a significant manner. Out of the total of demises by any cause, 43% were related to violent deeds. By observing the relation of masculinity it is determined that out of every 100 deaths related to violence occurred to the population with ages fluctuating between 15 and 49, 93 are male and 7 are female.

With this detailed information on the relations between feminine and masculine mortality, **the Masculine Over-Mortality index** has been determined for the whole country, ages 15 to 49, in the mentioned five-year period. It is estimated that the index is over 0,91, showing that of every 10

violent deaths on young population, 9,1 corresponds to men. This indicator shows the loss ratio on young and young-adult male population by violent deeds.

Tabla 4: Estimación del índice de sobre mortalidad por hechos violentos en la población de 15 a 49 años en el total de la estructura nacional.

Colombia 2002-2006.

Years				Mortality by violence population in ages between 15 and 49.			Percentage of mortality by violence in the total mortality of population in ages between 15 and 49.			Index of masculine over-mortality due to violence against population in ages between 15 and 49.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
2002	43.758	12.464	56.222	25.937	2.060	27.997	59%	17%	50%	0,926
2003	32.504	10.717	43.221	17.561	1.760	19.321	54%	16%	45%	0,909
2004	35.586	11.644	47.230	18.225	1.489	19.714	51%	13%	42%	0,924
2005	32.262	11.473	43.735	15.626	1.373	16.999	48%	12%	39%	0,919
2006	32.165	11.291	43.456	16.053	1.323	17.376	50%	12%	40%	0,924
Total	176.275	57.589	233.864	93.402 8.005 101.407			53%	14%	43%	0,921

Source: Own made with information of mortality medicine and vital statistics, Dane.

These numbers unveil the conditions of violence supported by the population and the lack of populatory balance that the elevated amount of masculine loss is creating inside structures of the population. The loss of male population among the young and young-adult becomes a demographical fact impacting populatory dynamics and the economical and productive conditions of territories.

The analysis of death rates in 77 municipalities singled out as those with the highest expulsion gauges, especially women between 15 and 49, is shown in table 5. A 31% of all deaths occurred in the five studied years in these municipalities accords to 15 to 49 years old population; violent deceases for the same age group meant 53%, showing the weight violence has on mortality in these territories. When analyzing this proportion sorted by gender we found that 65% of demises by violent means are men and 17% are women. The over-mortality index was determined at 0,92 for the researched lustrum in whole 77 municipalities.

Table 5: Estimate of the index of masculine mortality in 77 municipalities singled out.

Population in ages between 15 and 49. Colombia 2002-2006.

	1 optimization in ages between 12 and 15. Colombia 2002 2000.									
Years	Mortality by all the causes in the municipalities singled out. Groups of population in ages between 15 and 49.			Mortality by violence in the municipalities singled out. Population in ages between 15 and 49.			violence i of po	age of mor n the total pulation in veen 15 an	Index of masculine over-mortality due to violence against population in ages between 15 and	
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	49.
2002	8.837	2.528	11.365	7.430	612	8.042	84%	24%	71%	0,92
2003	7.846	2.562	10.408	5.009	420	5.429	64%	16%	52%	0,92
2004	6.857	2.467	9.324	4.332	435	4.767	63%	18%	51%	0,91
2005	6.339	2.293	8.632	3.408	284	3.692	54%	12%	43%	0,92
2006	6.616	2.367	8.983	3.706	269	3.975	56%	11%	44%	0,93
Total	36.494	12.217	48.711	23.885	2.020	25.905	65%	17%	53%	0,92

Source: Own made with information of mortality medicine and vital statistics, Dane.

It is evident then that a masculine over-mortality exists and is focused on the age groups between 15 and 49, both confronted to the countrys death rate and the municipalities rate.

The proportion exhibited as work hypothesis poses that one of the facts that joins forced displacement of sole women (Young and Young-Adult Feminine Over-Migration) in the municipalities with the highest rates of forced displacement is the death of men (Masculine Over-Mortality by Violent Means).

5- Ratio between the increase of feminine expulsion and masculine over-mortality in 77 municipalities highly-affected by displacement.

The demonstration of a significant connection between feminine over-migration and masculine over-mortality in some municipalities largely affected by displacement and assassination of the population in ages between 15 and 49 is one of the most important findings of the present investigation.

After establishing the indexes of feminine over-migration meaning the proportion between female displacement and the complete amount of displaced persons and masculine over-mortality Ñmeaning the proportion between violent masculine demises and the whole of violent deceases in the 15 to 49 population range in every municipality a correlation between these two phenomenon was stated.

1,00 Index masculine Over-Mortality 0,95 0,90 0,85 $R^2 = 0,5761$ Coef. Correl 0,759 0,80 0,75 0,45 0,50 0,55 0,60 0,65 0,70 0,75 0,80 Index of feminine over-migration

Graph 1: Correlation between the index of feminine over-migration and the Index of masculine over-mortality. 77 municipalities. Colombia 2002-2006.

Source: Own made with information RUPD, and information of mortality medicine and vital statistics, Dane.

As shown in graphic number 1, this correlation was $R^2 = 0.5761$ and the coefficient of correlation is 0,759. These data is statistically significant in order to show the existing bond between young, sole-women displacement and the death of a considerable number of men that were terminated before managing to escape.

In the following chapter the real loss of population in the analyzed municipalities is constituted taking into account the two main violent facts: displacement and death. The loss rates were estimated in ages between 15 and 49 years old.

6- Loss of population by violent events linked to armed conflict: Forced Displacement and Mortality.

In every society, warfare events punish population in a devastating manner; at the end it is always the general population who looses. If we talk about economical consequences we will find impoverishment. If we look at territorial conditions we will find despoilment and exile of a vast number of productive lands. If referring to human lives, there we will find the largest loss volume;

thousands and in many times, millions of people, being civilians or combatants become direct and indirect victims of conflict.

The price to pay, measured in human lives, is focused on the groups of young and young-adult in productive ages, although war and conflicts take the lives of thousands of children and aged men. These are the age groups that experience first-hand involvement in war. They are the ones carrying guns. They are the ones assuming the daily risk of death. And amongst the non-combatant population, they are the ones under direct risk of being attacked or dying through violent actions. It is not possible to accurately calculate violent deceases in Colombia caused by conflict. That is one more debt acquired by the State with the civil society.

This exercise allowed the determination of the volume of population lost in each one of the municipalities and the totality of them. It also helped to estimate loss rates caused by violent conflict and forced displacement between middle-aged populations.

Table 6 shows the lost populatory volume of ages 15 to 49 in 77 municipalities, with the result of women being the most affected in every year studied. The ratio is 39.761 of women against 29.784 of men. Out of the whole death rate, it is men who have the largest number, displaying an enormous disproportion when confronted to women: while 2.020 women are lost, 23.885 men die. This gigantic difference reasserts over-mortality.

Table 6: The loss of population in ages between 15 and 49. The 77 municipalities with the highest index of displacement. Colombia 2002-2006.

	The loss of population by			The loss	of population	on by	Total of the loss population in		
V	displacement. Net income balance			mortality.			ages between 15 and 49.		
Years	of migrati	on by displac	ement.	Deaths	by violent f	acts	Displacement plus mortality		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2002	11.263	15.223	26.486	7.430	612	8.042	18.693	15.835	34.528
2003	3.311	4.872	8.183	5.009	420	5.429	8.320	5.292	13.612
2004	3.317	3.873	7.190	4.332	435	4.767	7.649	4.308	11.957
2005	8.184	9.410	17.594	3.408	284	3.692	11.592	9.694	21.286
2006	3.709	6.383	10.092	3.706	269	3.975	7.415	6.652	14.067
Total	29.784	39.761	69.545	23.885	2.020	25.905	53.669	41.781	95.450

Source: Own made with information RUPD, and information of mortality medicine and vital statistics, Dane.

The three final columns of the same table summarize the two analyzed facts sorted by men and women each year of the five-year period. Through these columns it becomes clear that violent

actions determine why masculine loss surpasses feminine mortality. The fact that strikes stronger at people in these municipalities is masculine over-mortality.

Graphic 2 displays the volume of populatory loss, year by year, for men and women. After interrelating these two groups, the distance between them and the tendencies of displacement show behavioral differences, being the womens curve the highest, placed above masculine displacement every year.

16.000 - masculine displacement 14.000 female displacement masculine mortality 12.000 female mortality 10.000 8.000 6.000 4.000 2.000 0 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006

Graph 2: The loss of population by displacement and mortality. 77 municipalities. Colombia 2002-2006.

Source: Information table 6

The measure for loss of young and young-adult population is displayed in table 7, where actual loss out of every 1000 inhabitants, both male and female, in 77 municipalities appears. The female displacement rate is 16,44, exceeding mens rate by 1,61 and showing a total rate of loss of 15,67 for every thousand inhabitants.

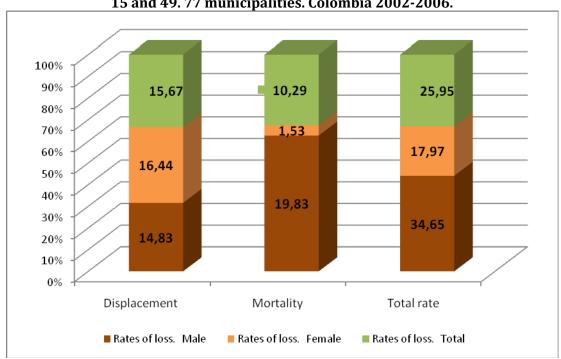
Table 7: Rates of loss for each one thousand inhabitants. Population in ages between 15 and 49. 77 municipalities. Colombia 2002-2006.

CO10111D1a 2002 20001									
Rates of loss.									
	Male Female Total								
Displacement	14,83	16,44	15,67						
Mortality	19,83	1,53	10,29						
Total rate	34,65	17,97	25,95						

Source: Own made with information RUPD, and information of mortality medicine and vital statistics, Dane.

On the other side, mortality loss rates reveal the already-mentioned masculine over-mortality. Out of every thousand, 34,65 men die in violent actions while 17,97 women die by the same means. Thus, the complete loss-by-mortality measure rises up to 10,29. Graphic number 3 shows the proportion between these measures.

Both mortality and displacement present a total rate of loss of 25,95 for every thousand inhabitants in the studied lustrum. Such a level of loss reveals that the biggest victims of violent actions are men with a total loss rate of 34,65 compared with 17,97 of women out of every thousand.

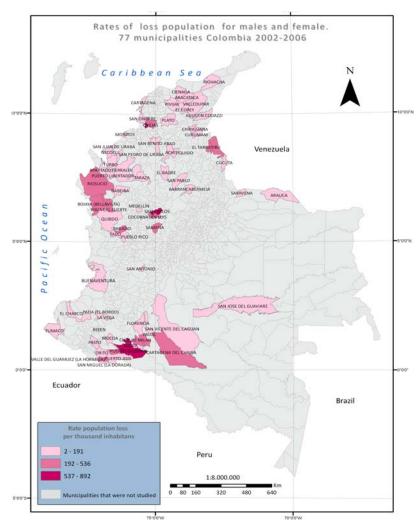


Graph 3: Rates of loss for each one thousand inhabitants. Population in ages between 15 and 49. 77 municipalities. Colombia 2002-2006.

Source: Information table 7

The next map shows the geographical position in the country of the researched municipalities. As displayed, the largest amount of municipalities where conflict is mutating the presence of population between 15 to 49 is located in border zones. Both in the south and north and in the Uraba Gulf Area, there is a concentration of municipalities where population decreases. Municipalities in the Caribe region, in the Pacific zone

especially in Chocó, Narino and Cauca and some territories in the Andes mountain chain are equally affected.



Source: Own made

It is important to emphasize on the impact of populatory loss in the southern municipalities, nearby the Ecuadorian border and those located in the Uraba area. These are territories of ferocious struggles that have had to face an intense conflict over territorial control and property ownership, mainly due to agricultural and mining exploitation.

7- Conclusions

Forced displacement is a social phenomenon with consequences of all kinds. On the one hand, 95% of displaced population enter informal economy and inhabit the marginal areas of big and

middle-sized cities. This situation increases the strip of population living in precarious conditions everyday. Therefore, during the recent process of forced migration (the last fifteen years) there has been a significant growth of the most depressed areas in arrival cities. Progression of misery belts and the settlement of migratory streams in marginalized urban spaces is a constant situation that increases the condition of social and spatial segregation in which life is developed to the majority of urban population in Colombia.

In the present time, especially since 1990, the processes of forced displacement, violence and urban growth have become enormously relevant in the national context. Aggravation of armed conflict, increasing of mafia and the paramilitary phenomenon that has spread out towards all national instances, specially among political and military elites, have been shaping a country where the exodus of millions, coming from rural areas to middle-sized and big cities, has become a daily issue that goes unnoticed to the general society.

The existence of millions of people banished from their home places, the indiscriminate assassinations of inhabitants, mostly young and young-adult males, the concentration of vast territorial extensions in few hands, are situations often yelled but rarely listened in the country.

The abandoned territories have been occupied by old and new landowners, paramilitary chiefs and multinational corporations that introduce great agro-industrial crops or intensive exploitations of natural resources, resulting in the highest GINI for rural property of the whole world, 0,85. This dynamic turns Colombia into the second country in the world for internally displaced persons. In the investigated municipalities the initial hypothesis of an existing relationship between forced displacement and mortality through violence, basically affecting middle-aged masculine population, is ratified.

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