

Trends and perception of security in the rural context, related to poverty, workforce, sex and education in Colombia: ECV-DANE 1997 – 2015

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ABSTRACT

The armed conflict remains a challenge in Colombia. The rural sector has been the main victim of the insecurity, massacres, displacement, and conflicts between military and illegal groups, which has negatively impacted the quality of life and well-being of the population. The Objective this study was to estimate the perception of security in the Colombian rural context during the period 1997 - 2015. Trend study based on periodic Quality of Life surveys by the National Statistics Department (DANE). Synthetic perception of security by period variables were created, with key variables being filtered and homogenized. A bivariate chi-square analysis was conducted between the variable effect contrasted with sex, education, poverty, and workforce. Data from 22,487 subjects interviewed in 1997, 2003, 2010 and 2015 were analyzed. The year with the highest level of perception of insecurity in the rural context was 2003 (19%) while the year with the lowest perception of insecurity was 2015 (9.8%), with a 95% CI. During the years of the study, the Pacific, Atlantic and Eastern Regions had the highest perception of insecurity. The perception of insecurity is related to poverty, which involves low educational attainment and unmet basic sanitation needs.

KEYWORDS: Rural area, security, poverty, education, sex.

INTRODUCTION

Colombia is one of the Latin American countries which, even in the 21st century, has a high percentage of rural population, together with Bolivia, Peru, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Honduras. In Colombia, this sector comprises poor farmworkers, and small, medium and a few large landowners. Rural inhabitants also include fishermen, artisans and those engaged in mining activities. Likewise, indigenous people and a large portion of members of black

communities make up the rural population. ¹ Studies on the socioeconomic development of the agricultural sector invariably include an analysis of the effects of the internal armed conflict and political violence on rural Colombia. For the past 50 years, the countryside has been seen almost exclusively from these two perspectives, yet even today, in the 21st century, the Colombian countryside remains an area of poverty and the scene of internal armed conflict, for which possible solutions have yet to be found. ²The phenomenon of violence in Colombia has claimed the lives of 262,197 people, of whom 215,005 were civilians and 46,813 fighters. This is one of the main conclusions of the Observatory of Memory and Conflict, of the National Center for Historical Memory (CNMH), which documented the events that took place in the Colombian armed conflict between 1958 and July 2018. ³Colombia has seen massacres caused by the armed conflict: the one in Mejor Esquina (Córdoba) being the first massacre on the Caribbean Coast, (April 3, 1988). A total of 27 people, mostly local farm workers, were killed by ‘Los Magníficos’, one of the 138 paramilitary groups whose existence had been denounced in Congress by the government of former President Virgilio Barco in 1987. ⁴ Other massacres by paramilitary groups that have impacted the social and political history of the country took place in “El Salado” and “Montes de María,” according to eyewitness accounts of survivors and onlookers. However, in an earlier period, described in literature such as Gabriel García Márquez’s “One Hundred Years of Solitude”, in 1928, there was a massacre of workers in the banana zone with over 1,000 deaths, known as the “Banana Massacre”. The most recent massacre occurred on May 2, 2002, when an illegal group launched a cylinder bomb in Bojayá (Choco). ⁵ The Historical Memory Center Report was a first step towards establishing the responsibilities of half a century of armed conflict. It documented the number of deaths and responsibilities, including 8,902 selective murders, 1,166 massacres with 7,160 deaths, 371 cases of torture and abuse, the recruitment of over 1,000 children and dispossession or abandonment. The United Nations Program (2011, p. 13) described Colombia as the country “suffering the greatest humanitarian crisis, and one of the four countries with the largest number of internally displaced persons, together with Sudan, Iraq and Afghanistan”. (2011, p. 13) ⁶ Colombia has a historical debt to the countryside, as stated in the Mission to Transform the Countryside Report. The rural population in Colombia has been the main victim of the armed conflict the country has suffered. Situations of violence, insecurity and displacement have been common occurrences in rural municipalities, negatively influencing their quality of life and well-being. Security in rural areas, based on the perception of the population, is key to understanding how rural people are protected and whether this influences the performance of their daily activities, which are largely related to agriculture, an important sector of the country’s economic activity. From a public health perspective, studying the perception of security is key to understanding the mental health of the rural population, while recognizing people’s capacity for freedom and engagement in their everyday activities. The promotion of health in relation to knowledge on the perception of safety would be useful for addressing real issues and needs. Moreover, variations in this perception over the years reflect the changes in the way the population thinks about the various significant events that have taken place in the country.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

History of the armed conflict and governments in Colombia.

Several of the authors consulted divide the Colombian armed conflict into stages, unanimously citing the period of violence. It is impossible to conceive of Colombian history in the first half of the 20th century without mentioning the Era of Violence. Also known as “Bipartisan Violence” or simply “Violence”, today this is known as one of the most tragic periods in national history, as well as the direct antecedent of current violence. ⁷

¹ Manuel Pérez and Edelmira Pérez, “Cuadernos de Desarrollo Rural,” *Cuadernos de Desarrollo Rural*, no. 48 (2002), <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=11704803>.

² Ministerio de Cultura, “Población Campesina y Cultura,” 2019, <https://www.mincultura.gov.co/prensa/noticias/Documents/Poblaciones/POBLACIÓN CAMPESINA Y CULTURA.pdf>.

³ Centro Nacional de Memoria Historica, “Muertos Del Conflicto Armado,” 2018, <http://centrodehistoriamemoria.gov.co/?s=muertos+por+conflicto+armado>.

⁴ Heraldo, “Masacre de La Mejor Esquina,” 2013, <https://www.elheraldo.co/local/el-fandango-de-la-muerte>.

⁵ Comisión Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación, “Una Guerra Sin Límites: Bojaya,” 2010.

⁶ Yolanda Alvarez and Diana Castro, “Desarrollo y Desplazamiento Rural En Colombia,” *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, ISSN 1133-6706, N° 47, 2016, Págs. 145-173 (Fundación Pablo VI, 2016), <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5835310>.

⁷ Laura Nieves, “Novela de La Violencia,” 2014.

(1994-1998)

The social leap program of the government of Ernesto Samper regarded peace as a fundamental issue for eradicating the objective causes of violence. This program comprises the Social Solidarity Network, the National Plan to Combat Poverty, the National Employment Plan, the strengthening of security, justice and human rights policy, and the policy of negotiating with armed groups. At the institutional level, there was a shift from the peace commissioner to the high commissioner for peace.⁸ The National Peace Council (Law 434 of 1998) is considered by some to be “an achievement of society” because in principle, it was not a parliamentary or presidential initiative and instead one involving broad sectors of organized civil society to regulate or enforce article 22 of the 1991 Constitution.⁹ During this period, however, rates of violence increased dramatically and the state was losing control of large areas of the country given over to the cultivation, processing and production of illegal substances¹⁰.

(1998 -2002)

On his election as president in 1998, Andrés Pastrana engaged in dialogue with the FARC, directly with its leader and founder Manuel Marulanda. He also simultaneously supported a dialogue process already underway with the National Liberation Army (ELN), yet paid it less attention, focusing more on the process with the FARC. Thus it was that on November 7, 1998, Pastrana authorized the clearance of an area of El Caguán for ninety days (with the possibility of an extension)¹¹ As soon as the peace negotiations began, the military played the role of spoiler. It had not been consulted and its interests were not represented, so it opposed the negotiating strategy and the negotiators. On May 26, 1999, over 200 army officers, including seventeen generals, resigned due to the government’s lack of communication and consultation with them and their objection to the renewal of the period of demilitarized areas.¹²

(2002 -2010)

Between 2002 and 2003, the democratic security policy was formally developed.¹³ In 2007, some of the heads of fronts and key leaders were dismissed including one of the members of the Staff, the highest political leadership of the FARC.¹⁴ This government saw the internal weakening of these groups outside the law, through the demobilization and delivery of hostages. This included Operation Emmanuel, in which the FARC released Consuelo González and Clara Rojas. On February 28, four former congressmen who had been kidnapped for over six years were released: Jorge Eduardo Gechem, Luis Eladio Pérez, Gloria Polanco, and Orlando Beltrán Cuéllar. On March 1, just a few days after the unilateral release of the four congressmen, the government issued a statement confirming that the army, in an operation that had taken place 1,800 meters from the border between Ecuador and Colombia (on Ecuadorian territory), had killed Raúl Reyes, second in command of the FARC Secretariat.¹⁵ In 2008, through Operation Jaque, conducted in the Guaviare jungle, the Army rescued three North American advisers and former presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt without firing a single shot. Nayibe Rojas Valderrama, ‘Sonia’, who served for 14 years in the FARC, was sentenced to nearly 17 years in the United States for drug trafficking. Tomás Medina Caracas, ‘el Negro Acacio’, head of the FARC’s 16th front, was killed in clashes with the army in Vichada. Iván Ríos was assassinated by alias ‘Rojas’, his right-hand man in the FARC. As proof of the murder, he presented the authorities with one of

⁸ William Lopez, “Las Políticas de Paz y Los Procesos de Negociación En Colombia. Breve Balance y Perspectivas | Convergencia Revista de Ciencias Sociales,” 1991, <https://convergencia.uaemex.mx/article/view/1895>.

⁹ Jorge Soto, “Los Consejos de Paz y Su Posible Papel En El Postconflicto,” 2015, <http://www.ideaspaz.org/especiales/consejos-paz/descargas/informe-consejos-de-paz.pdf>.

¹⁰ Ximena Cujabante, “La Comunidad Internacional y Su Participación En Los Procesos de Paz En Colombia ,” 2015, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5580488>.

¹¹ *Ibíd*

¹² Nazih Richani, “Fragmented Hegemony and the Dismantling of the War System in Colombia,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 43, no. 4 (April 2, 2020): 325–50, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1462135>.

¹³ Francisco Buitrago, “Una Visión de La Seguridad En Colombia,” 2011, <https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/anpol/article/view/43704/44974>.

¹⁴ Mónica Pachón, “Colombia 2008: Éxitos, Peligros y Desaciertos de La Política de Seguridad Democrática de La Administración Uribe,” *Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago)* 29, no. 2 (2009): 327–53, <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-090X2009000200005>.

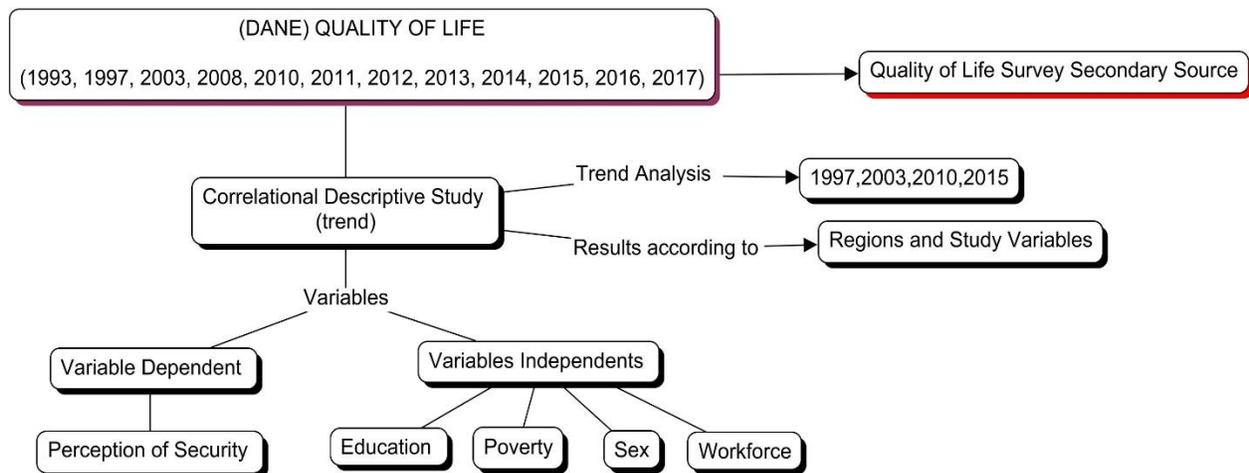
¹⁵ *Ibíd*.

Ríos's hands. Alias 'Karina', former head of the FARC's 47th front, gave herself in to the authorities, Manuel Marulanda 'Tirofijo' died, and 'el Negro Antonio', head of the 42nd front of the FARC was killed in Sumapaz.¹⁶ (2010-2018) This government passed the controversial Law 1448, also known as the Land Restitution and Victims Law, "which provided measures of care, assistance and full compensation for victims of the internal armed conflict."¹⁷ The law also provided full compensation for certain survivors of human rights abuses committed in the context of the armed conflict and contains measures that permit the return of millions of hectares of land snatched from its legitimate owners. Those responsible for the misappropriation of most of these lands were members of paramilitary groups that sometimes colluded with security forces. Moreover, as a result of the forced displacement of civilians by guerrilla forces, several people lost control of their land.¹⁸ October 2012 saw the start of negotiations between the government and guerrilla fighters from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia in the city of Havana, Cuba to find solutions that would put an end to the internal armed conflict that had plagued Colombia for over forty years.¹⁹ On October 7, 2016, President Juan Manuel Santos was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which not only promoted his image but also highlighted the gap between Colombian public opinion and international support for the peace agreements.²⁰

METHODOLOGY

Type of study: This is a trend study (see figure 1) based on historical data, in other words, the results of the quality of life survey, applied from 1993 to 2017, making it possible to conduct a time analysis. This time analysis was conducted in four strategically chosen years (1997, 2003, 2010 and 2015,) based on an analysis regarding the perception of security variable and its relationship with education, sex, workforce, and poverty variables. Each of the surveys is considered statistically representative at the national and regional levels and selected through probability sampling, by conglomerates, and multi-stage.

Figure 1 Study design: Trends and perception of security in the rural context, related to poverty, workforce, women and education in Colombia: ECV-DANE 1993 – 2017



Source: Author:

¹⁶ El tiempo, "Las Operaciones Militares Que Marcaron Historia En El Gobierno Uribe y Otros Asuntos En Seguridad," 2010, <https://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/CMS-7822110>.

¹⁷ Giohanny Olave, "La Construcción Retórica Del Conflicto Armado En El Discurso Del Presidente Juan Manuel Santos," 2012, <https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/anpol/article/view/43499/44785>.

¹⁸ Amnistía Internacional, "La Ley de Víctimas y de Restitución de Tierras," 2012, www.amnesty.org.

¹⁹ Paulo Arboleda, "La Violencia Política En Colombia: Justicia Transicional En El Marco Del Proceso de Paz Entre El Gobierno Santos y Las FARC-EP," 2013, <https://revistas.unimilitar.edu.co/index.php/dere/article/view/754/506>.

²⁰ Alexis Espinosa, "Cuando Renacer Como El Ave Fenix Es Posible: El Caso Plebiscito- Nobel," *Estudios Sobre El Mensaje Periodístico* 24, no. 1 (April 17, 2018): 71–84, <https://doi.org/10.5209/ESMP.59938>.

Study population : The quality of life survey was applied in the period 1993 to 2017, as a result of which the sample for each year was different²¹. The population surveyed varied according to the year but belonged to two main groups: municipal capitals and rural areas, and the survey was answered by an adult in the household.

Data analysis: Respondents from rural areas were filtered from the databases and data that met the inclusion and exclusion criteria were used as the final sub-sample.

Selection criteria

- Inclusion criteria: Records from databases belonging to rural areas, which include the characteristics of the study variables.
- Exclusion criteria: Records from selected databases that contain “missing data” and therefore do not have information on the study variables.

Study variables

Dependent variable (synthetic V.):

The study variables were constructed based on questions in the survey related to them.

Perception of security

This variable was obtained from three survey questions, namely:

- Which of the following problems have you been a victim of in the past few months?
R / (Presence of gangs, drug sales or use, lack of police surveillance, robberies, homicides, injuries, kidnappings, abuse by authorities and / or evictions)
- How do you feel in the neighborhood, town, or village where you live?
R / Safe / Unsafe.
- Between last year and this year, do you think that the country has improved or remains the same as regards surveillance, security, and the timely, efficient reaction of the police?
R / Better, Equal, Worse, Don't know

Independent variables

Education

This variable was constructed based on the question in the quality of life survey:

- What is the highest educational level attained?
R / (None, Preschool, Elementary, High School, Technical or technological, University without a degree, University with a degree, Graduate without a degree, Graduate with a degree)
In the data analysis, the variable was regrouped, reducing the answer options to:
R / No studies, elementary, high school, technical studies, higher studies.

Work force

This variable was constructed based on the question in the quality of life survey:

- Job type
R / Private company worker or employee, government worker or employee, day laborer or field hand, domestic employee, freelance professional, self-employed worker, boss or employer, worker at their own farm or rented farm, unpaid family worker, unpaid assistant.

Poverty

In this study, the questions related to this variable are:

- Do you have electricity, sewerage, and drainage system?
R / Yes, No

²¹ Visor de microdatos DANE, “Visor de Microdatos Del Archivo Nacional de Datos (ANDA),” 2020, <https://sitios.dane.gov.co/visor-anda/>.

Through this question, based on Dummy Variables, a poverty classification was established (Poor - Not poor) based objectively on access to basic sanitation.

- Do you consider yourself poor?
R / Yes, No
Through this question, another type of poverty was established, based on perception (perception of poverty).
- Household Income
R / You cannot afford things, you can afford things, you can afford a lot of things
* This question is not found in the quality of life survey administered in 1997
- Your current living conditions are
R / Very good, good, fair, bad
- In comparison with your place of birth, what are your current living conditions like?
R / Better, the same, worse
- What is your current standard of living like compared with five years ago?
R / Better, the same, worse
- What is your most pressing problem?
R / Work or study, your family, your partner, the law, health, money, none of the above
* This question is not found in the quality of life survey administered in 1997
- Sex
R / Male, Female

Data collection: This research uses data from a secondary source (Quality of life survey) (DANE) (1993 to 2017).²² Data were reviewed, discarding illogical data or those with transcription errors.

Data Processing and Analysis: The questions contained in each year of interest in the administration of the quality of life surveys were reviewed one by one. In other words, those which, according to the literature, fit into the construction of the variables in this study and remained constant in the years of interest, were classified. Their codes were recoded to construct “Data macrobases for each year” using Microsoft Excel. The databases contained in each year were subsequently unified using “R” V 3.6.1 statistical software, enabling the respondent to be identified by reference codes from each database per year and to obtain a single data bank for each year of interest. These databases were subsequently imported into the SPSS V 26 statistical package, and Chi-square analyses were conducted between the dependent and independent variables.

Error and bias control: Possible biases in this study could be related to probable errors in the same secondary source due to the non-homogeneity of the survey administered. However, at least in this study, the variables of interest were preserved.

RESULTS

²² DANE.; 11

Table 1 Sociodemographic characterization of rural population in the years 1997, 2003, 2010 and 2015.

Characteristic	1997		<i>p</i> [*] value	2003		<i>p</i> [*] value	2010		<i>p</i> [*] value	2015		<i>p</i> [*] value
	Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security		
	Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe	
	3265 (87%)	488 (13%)		3615 (81%)	849 (19%)		4803 (84,3%)	892 (15,7%)		7737 (90,2%)	838 (9,8%)	
Age in groups (years):												
0-25	289 (8,9%)	66 (13,5%)	0,00	415 (11,5%)	87 (10,3%)	0,05	252 (5,2%)	52 (5,8%)	0,08	394 (5,1%)	47 (5,6%)	0,02
26- 36	830 (25,4%)	120 (24,6%)		886 (24,5%)	232 (27,4%)		944 (19,7%)	169 (18,9%)		1345 (17,4%)	167 (19,9%)	
37-47	800 (24,5%)	125 (25,6%)		878 (24,3%)	222 (26,2%)		1161 (24,2%)	250 (28%)		1734 (22,4%)	188 (22,4%)	
48- 58	618 (18,9%)	100 (20,5%)		637 (17,7%)	154 (18,2%)		1056 (22%)	194 (21,7%)		1753 (22,7%)	210 (25,1%)	
59-69	456 (14%)	48 (9,8%)		480 (13,3%)	84 (9,9%)		794 (16,5%)	120 (13,5%)		1410 (18,2%)	121 (14,4%)	
70 and over	272 (8,3%)	29 (5,9%)		313 (8,7%)	68 (8%)		596 (12,4%)	107 (12%)		1101 (14,2%)	105 (12,5%)	
Sex:												
Male	1539 (47,1%)	217 (44,5%)	0,27	1575 (43,5%)	371 (43,7%)	0,96	3708 (77,2%)	655 (73,4%)	0,01	5728 (74%)	593 (70,8%)	0,04
Female	1726 (52,9%)	271 (55,5%)		20140 (56,4%)	478 (56,3%)		1095 (22,8%)	237 (26,6%)		2009 (26%)	245 (29,3%)	
Marital status:												
Partnered	2490 (76,3%)	365 (74,8%)	0,47	2669 (73,9%)	634 (74,8%)	0,60	3452 (71,9%)	639 (71,6%)	0,88	5377 (69,5%)	592 (70,6%)	0,49
Lives alone	775 (23,7%)	123 (25,2%)		943 (26,1%)	214 (25,2%)		1351 (28,1%)	253 (28,4%)		2360 (30,5%)	246 (29,4%)	
Lived in municipality of residence:												
Always	1839 (56,5%)	268 (54,9%)	0,52	1916 (53,1%)	393 (46,4%)	0,00	2951 (61,6%)	534 (60,1%)	0,40	5543 (71,6%)	563 (67,2%)	0,00
Not always	1418 (43,5%)	220 (45,1%)		1695 (46,9%)	454 (53,6%)		1843 (38,4%)	355 (39,9%)		2194 (28,4%)	275 (32,8%)	
Previous place of residence:												
Urban	717 (51,1%)	111 (50,5%)	0,85	748 (44,3%)	196 (43,5%)	0,75	849 (46,1%)	166 (47%)	0,75	1103 (51,4%)	142 (52,4%)	0,75
Rural	686 (48,9%)	109 (49,5%)		941 (55,7%)	255 (56,5%)		991 (53,9%)	187 (53%)		1043 (48,6%)	129 (47,6%)	

(*) *p* valor <0.05 with Chi square Source: Imported data SPSS V 26, Data base. Sav

In the cut-off date for analysis of 1997, for Colombians in the rural context, 87% expressed a positive perception of safety (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the positive perception of safety, the profile is identified as being a woman (52.9%), having an age range of 26 to 36 years for the segments in the decades from 26 to 36 and 37 to 47 years respectively (25.4% approximately), and being partnered (76.3%). Most of these respondents have always lived in their municipality of residence (56.5%), with approximately half the participants having formerly lived in an urban area (51.1%). (See Table 1) The profile of those who felt unsafe was being a woman (55.5%), with no statistically significant difference from those who felt safe ($p = 0.27$), aged between 37 and 47 (25.6%), a value with a statistically significant difference from those who felt safe ($p = 0.00$) and partnered (74.8%) with no statistically significant differences from those who felt safe ($p = 0.47$). The majority of respondents who felt unsafe have always lived in their municipality of residence (54.9%; $p = 0.52$), with no statistically significant differences from the comparison group and, like those who feel safe, those who felt unsafe had previously lived in an urban context, a value without statistically significant evidence (50.5% $p = 0.85$) (See Table 1). In the cut-off date for analysis of 2003, 81% of Colombians in the rural context expressed a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the positive perception of security, the profile is identified as being a woman (56.4%), being aged from 26 to 36 for the segments in the decades from 26 to 36 and from 37 to 47 years respectively (approximately 24.5%), and being partnered (73.9%). Most of these respondents have always resided in their municipality of residence (53.1%), with approximately half the participants having formerly lived in an urban area (55.7%). (See Table 1)

The profile of those who felt unsafe includes being a woman (56.3%), for which there is no statistically significant difference regarding the perception of security ($p = 0.96$), being aged between 26 and 36 (27.4%), followed by the next age group (26.2%), from which it was statistically different regarding the perception of security ($p = 0.05$). On the contrary, they stated that they were partnered (74.8%) compared to 25.2% who lived alone, and there was no statistical difference from those who felt safe ($p = 0.60$). Approximately half the respondents with a perception of insecurity stated that in the past, they had lived in their municipality of residence (53.6%), which was statistically different from those who had always lived in the municipality ($p = 0.00$). Moreover, 56.5% had previously resided in a rural setting. No statistically significant differences were observed from those who had previously lived in urban areas ($p = 0.75$). (See table 1).

In the third cut-off date for analysis of 2010, 84.1% of Colombians in the rural context expressed a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the positive perception of safety, the profile is identified as being a man (77.2%), having an age range of 37 to 47 years for the segments in the decades of 37 to 47 and 48 to 58 years respectively (24.2% approximately), and being partnered (71.9%). Most of these respondents have always lived in their municipality of residence (61.6%), and in a rural context (53.9%). (See Table 1) Most of the population that felt unsafe were men (73.4%), meaning that there was a statistically significant difference between those who felt safe ($p = 0.01$), and were between 37 and 47 years old (28%) followed by the next age group (21.7%). No statistically significant differences were observed with respect to those with a positive perception of security ($p = 0.08$), or reported that they were partnered (71.6%) compared to those who lived alone (28.4%), with no significant differences being observed from those with a positive perception of security ($p = 0.80$). Most respondents who felt unsafe had always lived in their municipality of residence (60.1%) compared to those who had lived there for some time, with statistically significant differences ($p = 0.00$) being observed from those who felt safe. Conversely, like those who felt safe, those who felt unsafe had previously lived in a rural setting (53% $p = 0.75$). (See table 1) In 2015, 90.2% of Colombians in the rural context expressed a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they reside). Disaggregating the perception of positive security revealed a profile of being a man (74%), being aged between 48 and 58 for the segments in the decades from 48 to 58 and 59 to 69 years respectively (approximately 22.7%), and being partnered (69.5%). Most of these respondents had always lived in their municipality of residence (71.6%), with approximately half the participants having formerly lived in an urban setting (51.4%). (See Table 1)

The characterization of those who felt unsafe corresponded to being men (70.8%), with a statistically significant difference being observed from those with a safe profile ($p = 0.04$), being aged 48 and 58 (25.1%), with statistically significant differences from the group of those with a positive perception of security ($p = 0.02$). At the same time, they reported being partnered (70.6%) compared to (29.4%) who lived alone, and there were no statistical differences from those with a positive perception of security ($p = 0.49$). Most respondents who feel unsafe have always lived in their municipality of residence (67.2%), with statistically significant differences from those with a positive perception of security; ($p = 0.00$). On the other hand, like those with a good perception of security, those with a low perception of

security had previously lived in an urban context, displaying no statistically significant evidence (52.4% $p = 0.75$). (See table 1).

Table 2 Perception of security related to sex, education, poverty and workforce of the rural population, in the years 1997, 2003, 2010 and 2015.

Characteristic	1997		<i>p</i> * value	2003		<i>p</i> * value	2010		<i>p</i> *value	2015		<i>p</i> * value
	Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security		
	Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe	
	3265 (87%)	488 (13%)		3615 (81%)	849 (19%)		4803 (84,3%)	892 (15,7%)		7737 (90,2%)	838 (9,8%)	
Region:												
Atlantic	640 (19,6%)	75 (15,4%)	0,00	565 (15,6%)	94 (11,1%)	0,00	727 (15,1%)	166 (18,6%)	0,00	1169 (15,1%)	148 (17,7%)	0,00
East	669 (20,5%)	79 (16,2%)		565 (15,6%)	153 (18%)		887 (18,5%)	83 (9,3%)		1437 (18,6%)	98 (11,7%)	
Pacific	627 (19,2%)	122 (25%)		577 (16%)	203 (23,9%)		832 (17,3%)	212 (23,8%)		1233 (15,9%)	272 (32,5%)	
Central	631 (19,3%)	59 (12,1%)		630 (17,4%)	143 (16%)		869 (18,1%)	159 (17,8%)		1473 (19%)	111 (13,2%)	
Antioquia	598 (18,3%)	124 (25,4%)		657 (18,2%)	105 (12,4%)		794 (16,5%)	155 (17,4%)		1152 (14,9%)	78 (9,3%)	
San Andrés (1997) Valle del Cauca (Remaining years)	100 (3,1%)	29 (5,9%)		621 (17,2%)	151 (17,8%)		694 (14,4%)	117 (13,1%)		1273 (16,5%)	131 (15,6%)	
Education:												
No studies	779 (24,3%)	97 (20,2%)	0,11	751 (21,1%)	152 (18,3%)	0,07	800 (16,8%)	141 (16,1%)	0,9	1017 (13,4%)	115 (14%)	0,54
Elementary	1955 (60,9%)	295 (61,5%)		2123 (59,7%)	502 (60,5%)		2890 (60,9%)	530 (60,5%)		4476 (58,9%)	470 (57,1%)	
High school	417 (13%)	74 (15,4%)		600 (16,9%)	145 (17,5%)		924 (19,5%)	145 (17,5%)		1744 (22,9%)	199 (24,2%)	
Technical	34 (1,1%)	7 (1,5%)		35 (1%)	15 (1,8%)		74 (1,6%)	15 (1,8%)		231 (3%)	20 (2,4%)	
Higher studies	26 (0,8%)	7 (1,5%)		47 (1,3%)	16 (1,9%)		60 (1,3%)	16 (1,9%)		136 (1,8%)	19 (2,3%)	
Poverty												
Poor	1389 (85,5%)	210 (86,8%)	0,60	3427 (94,8%)	801 (94,3%)	0,59 5	2976 (62%)	659 (73,9%)	0,00	4071 (52,6%)	554 (66,1%)	0,00
Not poor	235 (14,5%)	32 (13,2%)		188 (5,2%)	48 (5,7%)		1827 (38%)	233 (26,1%)		3666 (47,4%)	284 (33,9%)	

Characteristic	1997		<i>p* value</i>	2003		<i>p* value</i>	2010		<i>p*value</i>	2015		<i>p* value</i>
	Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security		
	Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe	
	3265 (87%)	488 (13%)		3615 (81%)	849 (19%)		4803 (84,3%)	892 (15,7%)		7737 (90,2%)	838 (9,8%)	
Perception of poverty												
Poor				3099 (85,7%)	744 (87,6%)	0,14	3880 (80,8%)	732 (82,1%)	0,37	6142 (79,4%)	692 (82,6%)	0,02
Not poor				516 (14,3%)	105 (12,4%)		923 (19,2%)	160 (17,9%)		1595 (20,6%)	146 (17,4%)	
Household income												
Insufficient				1795 (49,7%)	465 (54,8%)	0,02	2150 (44,8%)	524 (58,7%)	0,00	2562 (33,1%)	399 (47,6%)	0,00
Sufficient				1748 (48,4%)	366 (43,1%)		2418 (50,3%)	354 (39,7%)		4767 (61,6%)	414 (49,4%)	
More than sufficient				72 (2%)	18 (2,1%)		235 (4,9%)	14 (1,6%)		408 (5,3%)	25 (3%)	
Living conditions:												
Very good				49 (1,4%)	11 (1,3%)	0,00	118 (2,5%)	12 (1,3%)	0,00	292 (3,8%)	11 (1,3%)	0,00
Good	911 (27,9%)	103 (21,1%)	0,00	1488 (41,2%)	209 (24,6%)		2691 (56%)	286 (32,1%)		5001 (64,6%)	351 (41,9%)	
Fair	2038 (62,4%)	320 (65,6%)		1869 (51,7%)	555 (65,4%)		1844 (38,4%)	516 (57,8%)		2307 (29,8%)	434 (51,8%)	
Bad	316 (9,7%)	65 (13,3%)		209 (5,8%)	74 (8,7%)		150 (3,1%)	78 (8,7%)		137 (1,8%)	42 (5%)	
Living conditions compared with place where they were raised:												
Better	1258 (38,5%)	168 (34,4%)	0,00				2322 (48,3%)	350 (39,2%)	0,00	4044 (52,3%)	381 (45,5%)	0,00
Same	1276 (39,1%)	178 (36,5%)					1975 (41,1%)	369 (41,4%)		2991 (38,7%)	312 (37,2%)	
Worse	731 (22,4%)	142 (29,1%)					506 (10,5%)	173 (19,4%)		702 (9,1%)	145 (17,3%)	

Characteristic	1997		<i>p</i> * value	2003		<i>p</i> * value	2010		<i>p</i> *value	2015		<i>p</i> * value
	Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security			Perception of security		
	Safe	Unsafe	Safe	Unsafe	Safe	Unsafe	Safe	Unsafe	Safe	Unsafe		
	3265 (87%)	488 (13%)		3615 (81%)	849 (19%)		4803 (84,3%)	892 (15,7%)		7737 (90,2%)	838 (9,8%)	
Living conditions five years ago:												
Better	1024 (31,4%)	149 (30,5%)	0,24	1167 (32,3%)	268 (31,6%)	0,00	1879 (39,1%)	306 (34,3%)	0,00	3362 (43,5%)	320 (38,2%)	0,00
Same	1178 (36,1%)	162 (33,2%)		1424 (39,4%)	254 (29,9%)		2301 (47,9%)	389 (43,6%)		3444 (44,5%)	332 (39,6%)	
Worse	1063 (32,6%)	177 (36,3%)		1024 (28,3%)	327 (38,5%)		623 (13%)	197 (22,1%)		931 (12%)	186 (22,2%)	
Job type:												
Private firm worker or employee	195 (10%)	31 (10,5%)	0,02	264 (11,6%)	61 (10,6%)	0,01	821 (21,5%)	61 (10,6%)	0,01	1286 (21,3%)	128 (20,3%)	0,01
Government worker or employee	87 (4,5%)	24 (8,2%)		78 (3,4%)	32 (5,5%)		59 (1,5%)	32 (5,5%)		104 (1,7%)	9 (1,4%)	
Day worker or field hand	438 (22,5%)	63 (21,4%)		321 (14,2%)	57 (9,9%)		625 (16,4%)	109 (15,2%)		761 (12,6%)	80 (12,7%)	
Domestic worker	29 (1,5%)	8 (2,7%)		54 (2,4%)	6 (1%)		15 (0,4%)	57 (9,9%)		85 (1,4%)	8 (1,3%)	
Freelance professional	1 (0,1%)	0 (0%)		5 (0,2%)	2 (0,3%)		5 (0,1%)	6 (1%)		18 (0,3%)	2 (0,3%)	
Self-employed worker	437 (22,5%)	66 (22,4%)		877 (38,7%)	226 (39,1%)		1543 (38%)	2 (0,3%)		2271 (37,5%)	261 (41,3%)	
Boss or employer	58 (3%)	16 (5,4%)		108 (4,8%)	39 (6,7%)		151 (40%)	226 (39,1%)		324 (5,4%)	34 (5,4%)	
Worker at own or rented farm	637 (32,8%)	79 (26,9%)		460 (20,3%)	129 (22,3%)		653 (17,1%)	39 (6,7%)		1182 (19,5%)	103 (16,3%)	
Unpaid worker	62 (3,2%)	7 (2,4%)		95 (4,2%)	24 (4,2%)		28 (0,7%)	5 (0,7%)		18 (0,3%)	5 (0,8%)	
Unpaid assistant				6 (0,3%)	2 (0,3%)		9 (0,2%)	1 (0,1%)		1 (0%)	2 (0,3%)	

Characteristic	1997		2003		<i>p</i> * value	2010		2015		<i>p</i> * value
	Perception of security		Perception of security			Perception of security		Perception of security		
	Safe	Unsafe	Safe	Unsafe		Safe	Unsafe	Safe	Unsafe	
	3265 (87%)	488 (13%)	3615 (81%)	849 (19%)		4803 (84,3%)	892 (15,7%)	7737 (90,2%)	838 (9,8%)	
Most pressing problems:										
Work or study			161 (4,5%)	37 (4,4%)	0,00	114 (2,4%)	13 (1,5%)			0,00
Family			515 (14,2%)	130 (15,3%)		279 (5,8%)	50 (5,6%)			
Partner			194 (5,4%)	52 (6,1%)		74 (1,5%)	15 (1,7%)			
Law			190 (5,3%)	78 (9,2%)		144 (3%)	36 (4%)			
Health			1070 (29,6%)	250 (29,4%)		2910 (60,6%)	501 (56,2%)			
Money			1170 (32,4%)	254 (29,9%)		1076 (22,4%)	255 (28,6%)			
None of the above			315 (8,7%)	48 (5,7%)		206 (4,3%)	22 (2,5%)			
Perception of improved surveillance and perception of security:										
Better			896 (24,8%)	191 (22,5%)	0,00	1308 (27,2%)	185 (20,7%)			0,00
Same			1056 (29,2%)	207 (24,4%)		2338 (48,7%)	380 (42,6%)			
Worse			566 (15,7%)	219 (25,8%)		585 (12,2%)	248 (27,8%)			
Don't know			1097 (30,3%)	232 (27,3%)		572 (11,9%)	79 (8,9%)			
How satisfied are you with the level of security?										
Very dissatisfied								24 (0,3%)	31 (3,7%)	0,00
Dissatisfied								462 (6%)	537 (64,1%)	
Satisfied								7027 (90,8%)	269 (32,1%)	
Very satisfied								224 (2,9%)	1 (0,1%)	

(*) *p* valor <0.05 with Chi square

Source: Imported data SPSS V 26, Data base. sav

In the cut-off date for analysis of 1997, 19,3% of Colombians in the rural context expressed a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the perception of positive security shows that they lived in the East region (20.5%), and that over half the population had completed elementary school (60.9%). They were poor because most of the population lacked at least one of the following services: electricity, drainage system and/or sewerage (85.5%). Regarding employability and living conditions, 62.4% reported fair conditions, with the same living conditions as those in their place of birth (39.1%) and having similar lives to those they had five years ago (36.1%), while 32.8% reported working on their own or rented farms. (See Table 2)

Those with a low perception of security were from the Antioquia region (25.4%) and had completed elementary school (61.5%), which is not statistically different from the group with a positive perception of security ($p = 0.11$). They were poor because they lacked at least one basic service (86.8%), with statistically insignificant differences from the comparison group ($p = 0.60$). Those who felt unsafe reported that as regards their employability and life status, they were workers on their own or a rented farm (26.9%) revealing a statistically significant difference from those who feel safe ($p = 0, 02$). Over half of those with a low perception of safety lived in fair or poor conditions (65.6%; 13.3%), respectively, a statistically significant difference from the group that felt safe ($p = 0.00$). Those who felt unsafe reported that they had the same living conditions as they had done in the place where they were raised (36.5%), revealing a statistically significant difference from the group with a positive perception of security ($p = 0.00$). Moreover, they declared that their living conditions were worse than they had been five years earlier, (36.3%), which is a statistically insignificant difference from the group that felt safe ($p = 0.24$). (See table 2).

For the year 2003, 81% of Colombians in the rural context reported a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the positive perception of safety shows that they lived in the Antioquia region (20.5%), and that over half the population had completed elementary school (60.9%). They were poor because most of the population lacked at least one of the following services: electricity, drainage system and/or sewerage (85.5%). Regarding employability and living conditions, 51.7% reported fair conditions, with the same living conditions as those in their place of birth (43%) and had similar lives to those they had had five years earlier (39.4%), while 38.7% reported being self-employed. Their two most pressing problems were money (32.4%) followed by health conditions (29.6%) and to a lesser extent, problems related to work or study (4.5%). Respondents said that they were unable to identify the variation in the perception of improvements in surveillance and security (30.3%): for 29.2% it remained the same while a lower proportion (15.7%) said that it was worse. (See Table 2)

Among the population with a low perception of security, 23.9% lived in the Pacific region, and 60.5% had completed elementary school, which was statistically significant in relation to the comparison group ($p = 0.07$). Most of them reported being poor (87.6%). They were poor because they lacked one basic service (94,3%), which was a statistically insignificant difference from the group with a positive perception of security ($p=0,59$). Moreover, approximately half those who felt unsafe reported that they did not earn enough to support their household; compared with those with a good perception of security, there is a statistically significant difference (54,8%; $p=0,02$). As for their job types and lives, they were self-employed workers, reflecting a statistically significant difference from those with a good perception of security (39,1%; $p=0,01$). Over half lived in fair to bad conditions (65,4% and 8,7% respectively); which was statistically significant in comparison with the comparison group ($p= 0,00$). Those with a low perception of security had the same living conditions as they had done in their place of birth, which is statistically significant compared to those with a positive perception of security (39,1%; $p=0,00$), and reported that their living conditions were worse than they had been five years earlier (38,5%), which is also statistically significant compared to the group that felt safe; $p=0,00$). The two most pressing problems for those with a low perception of security were money and health (29,9% and 29,4% respectively), statistically significant data compared with those who felt safe ($p= 0,00$). A total of 27,3% of respondents who felt unsafe were unaware whether surveillance had improved (25,8%) and thought it was worse, which is statistically significant compared to those who feel safe ($p=0,00$). (See table 2).

In the cut-off date for analysis of 2010, 84,1% of Colombians in the rural context expressed a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the positive perception of safety shows that (18,5%) lived in the East region and that over half the population had completed elementary school (60.9%). The majority regarded themselves as poor (80.85). They were poor because they lacked at least one of the following services: electricity, drainage system and/or sewerage (62%) and it is assumed that nearly half the respondents were unable to cover their household expenses (44.8%). Regarding employability and living conditions, 56% reported fair conditions, and having the same living conditions as those in their place of birth (48.3%) and having similar lives to those they

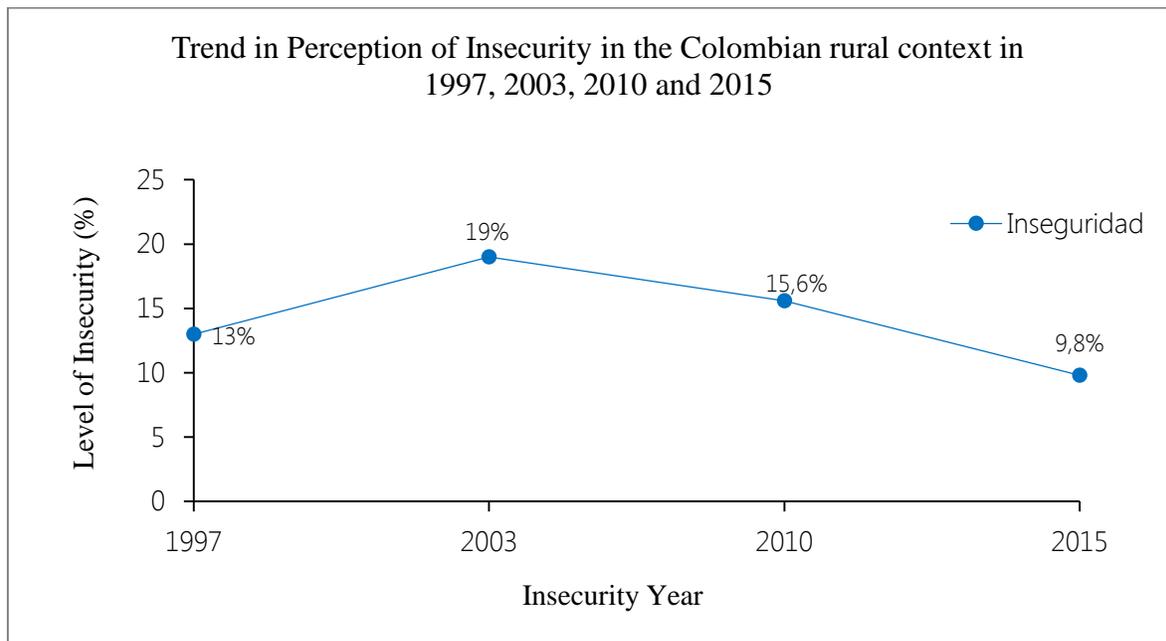
had had five years earlier (47.9%), while 40% reported being either owners or employers. Their two most pressing problems were money (60.6%) followed by health conditions (22.4%) and to a lesser extent problems related to work or study (1.5%). Respondents said they were unable to identify any variations in the perception of improvements in surveillance and safety itself (48.7%) and for 27.2% it remained the same while a lower proportion (11.9%) said that it was worse. (See Table 2)

The population that felt unsafe in the Pacific Region (23,8%) had completed elementary school (60,5%) with no statistically significant differences from those in the comparison group ($p=0,90$). The majority reported that they were poor (82,1%), which is statistically insignificant ($p=0,37$). They were poor because they lacked at least one sanitation service (73,9%), a statistically significant difference from those who felt safe ($p=0,00$). Over half those who feel unsafe said they were unable to maintain their household, a statistically significant difference from those who felt safe (58,7%; $p=0,00$). Regarding job types and lives, they were owners or employers (39,1%) with statistically significant differences from those who felt safe ($p=0,01$). Approximately half lived in poor or bad conditions (57,8% y 8,7% respectively; with statistically significant differences from the comparison group ($p= 0,00$). Those who felt unsafe said that they had the same living conditions as they had done in their place of birth (41,4%), with the same living conditions as they had had five years before (43,6%). Both living conditions showed statistically significant differences from those who felt safe ($p=0,00$). Their two most pressing problems were health and money (56,2% and 28,6%) respectively and to a lesser extent, work, or study (1,5%). These data had statistically significant differences from those with a positive perception of security ($p=0,00$). A total of (42,6%) of respondents who felt unsafe reported no changes in surveillance or their perception of security while 27,8% thought it was worse, displaying statistically significant differences from respondents with a positive perception of security ($p=0,00$). (See table 2).

For the year 2015, 90,2% of Colombians in the rural context reported a positive perception of security (declared they felt safe where they lived). Disaggregating the positive perception of security shows that 19% lived in the Central Region and over half had completed elementary school (58.9%), while the majority regard themselves as poor (80.85). They were poor because they lack at least one of the following services: electricity, drainage system and/or sewerage (52.6%) and it is assumed that over half the respondents would have been unable to cover their household expenses (61.6%). Regarding employability and living conditions: 64,6% reported fair conditions, and having better living conditions than those in their place of birth (52.3%) and having similar lives to those they had had five years earlier (44.5%), while 37,5% reported being self-employed. Participants expressed satisfaction with the level of security (90.8%). (See Table 2)

Those with a low perception of security correspond to the Pacific Region (32,5%); with those with elementary education accounting for approximately half the respondents(57,1%), with no statistically significant differences being observed from those with a positive perception of security ($p=0,54$). The majority said they were poor (82,6%) and were poor because they lacked at least one basic service (66,1%), with statistically significant differences from those with a positive perception of security ($p=0,02$) and ($p=0,00$). Those who felt unsafe said they were able to maintain their households (49,4%), followed by those who were unable to do so (47,6%) with statistically significant differences from those who felt safe ($p=0,00$). As for job type and lives, those who felt unsafe were self-employed workers (41,3%) with statistically significant differences from those who felt safe ($p=0,01$). Regarding their current living conditions, those with a low perception of security lived in fair or bad conditions (51,8% and 5% respectively) with statistically significant differences from those with a positive perception of security ($p= 0,00$). They reported having better living conditions than in their place of birth (45,5%), and having the same living conditions as they had done five years earlier (39,6%) with statistically significant differences from those with a positive perception of security ($p=0,00$); 64,1% of respondents who felt unsafe reported being dissatisfied with the level of security. (See Table 2)

Figure 2 Trend in perception of insecurity in the Colombian rural context in the years 1997, 2003, 2010 and 2015.



Source: Author:

The perception of insecurity of Colombians living in rural areas has changed over the years. In 1997 it was 13%, compared to 19% in 2003, 15.6% in 2010 and 9.8% in 2015 (See Figure 2).

DISCUSSION

The period of analysis in 1997 took place during the presidential term from 1994 to 1998: “during the Samper administration, there was a change in relation to the previous two years of Gaviria’s government, which was characterized by a comprehensive war strategy. Verbal aggression was replaced by a more moderate tone and the bases were established for creating a climate for negotiation”.²³ In this respect, three great milestones of peace stand out during this period of the Samper government. In a lightning campaign during the last weeks of July 1998, in other words, a few days before Andrés Pastrana was inaugurated as president and with the support of ten million votes from the Citizen Mandate for Peace, the National Council secured major agreements with the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the United Self-Defense Movements of Colombia (AUC) to begin dialogues for peace with the National Government and to pledge to humanize the war and respect Human Rights and International Humanitarian law”.²⁴ Nevertheless, according to the literature, rates of violence increased and the production of illegal substances rose.²⁵ This study, based on data analysis, showed that in 1997, the rural population of Colombia, had a negative perception of security of 13%, a lower percentage than in the subsequent year of analysis of this research, which is probably related to the recognition of an ongoing peace process and the start of dialogues for humanitarian engagement with the illegal groups operating at the time. However, it is important to note that the regions with the highest percentage of perception of insecurity in 1997 were Antioquia and the Pacific. This may be due to the fact that the rural areas most severely affected by massacres and homicidal violence due to the Colombian armed conflict were those in the departments of Valle del Cauca, Antioquia and Quindío.²⁶ Andrés Pastrana (1998 -2002) tried to continue the peace

²³ Lopez, “Las Políticas de Paz y Los Procesos de Negociación En Colombia. Breve Balance y Perspectivas | Convergencia Revista de Ciencias Sociales.”

²⁴ Soto, “Los Consejos de Paz y Su Posible Papel En El Postconflicto.”

²⁵ Anna Bayer, “El Papel de La Comunidad Internacional En La Construcción de La Paz En Colombia ,” 2010, http://viva.org.co/cajavirtual/svc0225/articulo1024_225.pdf.

²⁶ Camilo Echandía, “La Violencia En El Conflicto Armado Durante Los Años 90,” 2001, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/40440832_La_violencia_en_el_conflicto_armado_durante_los_anos_90.

process begun in the previous government. However, he was heavily criticized, particularly because of his decision to clear the Caguán area, as borne out by the resignation of over 200 army officers objecting to this action.²⁷ As a result of various crises in Pastrana's peace process, and the numerous deaths and kidnappings of farm workers, public figures and above all, the president of the Peace Commission, the dialogues were shelved.^{28 29} This study demonstrated that the year with the highest perception of insecurity in rural Colombia was 2003, and although this was the year President-to-be Uribe Vélez was elected, "he was only just formally developing his government policy (democratic security)"³⁰. Accordingly, this perception of security in 2003 is probably linked to Pastrana's highly disputed peace process. Although he strove to implement and internationalize it, all this achieved was to empower groups outside the law and numerous murders and kidnappings of the country's social leaders³¹³² Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2002-2010), a critic of the Pastrana peace process, based his government on the famous democratic security policy, strengthened the peasantry and gave it uniforms to protect its own areas.³³ During his government, military strategies were implemented that weakened the illegal groups in the country (Operation Emmanuel, Operation Jaque, the murder of Ivan Ríos, Raul Reyes and Manuel Marulanda, and demobilizations, among others.³⁴ The data analysis in this study shows that in 2010, the rural population of Colombia had a much lower perception of insecurity than in the previous year, a difference of 3.4%, which was most likely related to the satisfaction of Colombians at weakening the "enemy" militarily, as it had requested when it voted for Uribe as president.³⁵ The government of Juan Manuel Santos (2010-2018) constituted an important stage in the history of the country. It promoted the Land Restitution Law, with an emphasis on full compensation for victims of the armed conflict, especially in rural areas³⁶, and also consolidated public safety by deploying National Police to urban and rural neighborhoods.³⁷ In 2012, this government began negotiations with the FARC, achieving intervention and international support, as a result of which, although Colombian society rejected the process through the referendum, great strides were made and Juan Manuel Santos received international recognition through the Nobel Peace Prize³⁸³⁹ The data analysis in this study shows that the perception of insecurity in the rural context during the government of Juan Manuel Santos was the lowest (9.8%) in the period 1997 to 2015 and lower than during Uribe's term of office, with a difference of 5.8%, a figure probably linked in rural areas to satisfaction with the acknowledgement of victims, participation, the legal approach and guarantees of protection and national security provided during the Santos administration.⁴⁰ It is important to note that in 2010 and 2015, the Atlantic region had the second highest percentage of insecurity after the Pacific. According to several authors, this data is causally related to its natural geographical location, which encourages maritime traffic and illicit drug production. Likewise, the lack of formal employment in the past 10 years has led to the growth of criminal

²⁷ Richani, "Fragmented Hegemony and the Dismantling of the War System in Colombia.", 7

²⁸ Vicen Fisas, "El Proceso de Paz En Colombia," 2010,

<http://ibdigital.uib.es/greenstone/collect/cd2/import/escolaculturapau/ecp0022.pdf>.

²⁹ Harold José Rizo Otero, *Evolucion Del Conflicto Armado En Colombia e Iberoamérica*, 2013.

³⁰ Buitrago, "Una Visión de La Seguridad En Colombia.", 11

³¹ Adrián Bonilla, "Percepciones de La Amenaza a La Seguridad Nacional de Los Países Andinos: Regionalización Del Conflicto Colombiano y Narcotráfico," 1994.

³² Fisas, "El Proceso de Paz En Colombia."; 31

³³ Buitrago, "Una Visión de La Seguridad En Colombia.", 11

³⁴ El tiempo, "Las Operaciones Militares Que Marcaron Historia En El Gobierno Uribe y Otros Asuntos En Seguridad ."

³⁵ Rizo Otero, *Evolucion Del Conflicto Armado En Colombia e Iberoamérica.*, 31

³⁶ Amnistía Internacional, "La Ley de Víctimas y de Restitución de Tierras.", 9

³⁷ Luis Rodríguez, "Los Pilares de La Política Integral de Seguridad y Defensa Para La Prosperidad Con Elementos Determinadores Para Su Consolidación," 2014,

https://repository.unimilitar.edu.co/bitstream/handle/10654/12286/LOS_PILARES_DE_LA_POL%CDTICA_INTEGRAL_DE_SEGURIDAD_Y_DEFENSA_PARA_LA_PROSPERIDAD.pdf;jsessionid=555288BE9AFE5348D26410DDBFFF65DF?sequence=1.

³⁸ Fabio Sánchez and Sebastián Campos, "La Política Exterior de Santos: Estrategia y Diplomacia Por La Paz," *OASIS*, no. 29 (February 28, 2019): 81–104, <https://doi.org/10.18601/16577558.n29.05>.

³⁹ Espinosa, "Cuando Renacer Como El Ave Fenix Es Posible: El Caso Plebiscito- Nobel ."

⁴⁰ Fabio López de la Roche, "El Gobierno de Juan Manuel Santos 2010-2015: Cambios En El Régimen Comunicativo, Protesta Social y Proceso de Paz Con Las FARC," *Análisis Político* 28, no. 85 (2015): 3–37, <https://doi.org/10.15446/ANPOL.V28N85.56244>.

gangs specializing in robbery, particularly among the most touristy municipalities in the region.⁴¹⁴² The latter is related to the results of this study regarding the type of employment during these years, with employers or employees of private firms having the highest perception of security. At the same time, shortcomings in education and poverty in rural areas of Colombia are by no means a new issue. This study shows that the entire rural population surveyed in each of the years which felt most unsafe had completed elementary school, and was poor, since they lacked at least one basic sanitation service. According to the authors, this is closely linked to the dearth of educational institutions in these areas and their poor quality as well as the sharp inequality between those in urban and rural settings.⁴³⁴⁴ According to the authors, an end to the armed conflict and the construction of peace in Colombia will only be achieved through rural education.⁴⁵ This study has two major advantages that enhance its development. The first is the *Reliability* of the data, since they were collected by the same entity (DANE) in all the years the survey was administered. The second is the *traceability* of the data (years), which enables better observation of the study phenomenon and therefore makes it possible to predict its behavior. Possible biases in this study could be related to possible errors of the same secondary source in the non-homogeneity of the survey administered. However, at least in this study, the variables of interest were preserved.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research illustrates the trend in the perception of security in the rural context in four strategic years in the history of the country's armed conflict, relating it directly to the governments and the policies they developed at the time. It shows that 2003 was the period with the greatest perception of insecurity in the Colombian rural population and that 2010 and 2015 saw a return of hope to rural society that it would feel safer. Likewise, it uses correlational and trend analysis to record the perception of security of the rural population and the variables of education, poverty, workforce, and sex. The Pacific and Atlantic regions were perceived as being most unsafe during the period 1997-2015, with women having the highest perception of insecurity in 1997 and 2003 and men in 2010 and 2015. Moreover, the rural population that felt most unsafe during the years of this study had completed elementary education, was poor and self-employed or worked on its own or rented farms. It is important to note that although this research focused on the analysis of data from four strategic years in Colombian history, it has a database excluding all the other years when the Quality of Life Survey was administered (1993, 1997, 2002, 2003, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015) that has been recoded with the construct of the synthetic variables in this study (perception of security, sex, workforce, education and poverty).

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