



The Social Construction of Systemic Risk: Towards an Actionable Framework for Risk Governance

COUNTRY CASE STUDY: COLOMBIA

United Nations Development Programme



This case study is one of five case studies (Bangladesh, Colombia, Dominica, Uzbekistan and Zimbabwe) to examine distinct aspects and expressions of systemic risk. It was prepared to inform the UNDP Discussion Paper “The Social Construction of Systemic Risk: Towards an Actionable Framework for Risk Governance” (June 2021).

INTRODUCTION

Colombia, located to the very north of South America, bordering on the Caribbean and Pacific Oceans with their island components (principally the San Andres archipelago), is over a million square kilometers in extension, has over 6,500 kilometers of borders with Nicaragua, Venezuela, Brazil, Ecuador, Panama and Peru and 3,500 kilometers of coastline.

The country is crossed by numerous rivers, including the Cauca and Magdalena, running south-north and flowing into the Caribbean Sea, and the Amazon which runs west to east on the southern border of the country. Two major mountain ranges transverse the country north to south and maximum heights of over 5,730 meters are recorded at Mount Cristobal Colón. Numerous intermontane valleys and plains (sabanas) and high mountain steppes are to be found. Bogota, the countries capital city is located on the Bogota Sabana, 2600 meters above sea level.

Figure 1: Map of Colombia (source: 2021 mapsofworld.com)



With 15 active volcanos, the Nevada de Ruiz, Galeras, Huila (5,361 meters), Tolima, Purace and Quindío are amongst the highest and most well-known due to their more recent eruptive processes. The country is located at the intersection of three major tectonic plates, the Nazca, Caribbean and American and highly active seismically. In Colombia, weather and climate are affected by the meridional oscillation of the inter-tropical convergence zone, the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, the Amazon basin, and the Andes Mountains. Colombia is among the South American countries that experiences large climate anomalies because of ENSO. However, the hydrologic response in Colombia to a particular ENSO event is highly complex and non-linear. Flooding and drought are common in the country.

Amongst the most ecologically diverse countries in the world Colombia has over 62,000 registered animal and plant species. It is the second most ecologically diverse country in the world after Brazil, first as regards orchids and birds, and fourth with regard to mammals. At the same time, it is among the 8 countries that together contribute to over 50 percent of environmental destruction in the world and many conflicts exist between local groups and private multinational interests in

ecologically protected areas. An estimated 50 percent of its ecosystems are under threat (in a country with 59 designated protected areas), placing one third of plants and half of animals at risk (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biodiversity_of_Colombia).

With a total population of a little over 50 million, 81 percent are urbanized. The country has five large metropolitan areas ranging from Bogota with almost 8 million, to Cali with 2.5 million, Medellin with 2 million, Barranquilla with 1.4 million and Cartagena with 1 million. The first three are located inland in river valleys or on intermontane plains and the latter two on the Caribbean coast. Thirty six cities range from 100,000 to a million and 265 between 10,000 and 100,000 (see <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/cities/Colombia>). Urban growth is most rapid today in small and intermediate sized cities.

City growth has been fed historically, (between the 1950s and the present), by migration due to rural violence associated with political insurrection and civil war, land grabbing and drug related activities. An estimated 8 million people migrated from rural areas to towns and cities over that period (Cuervo Ramirez, et al 2017). The mass immigration of Venezuelans to Colombia (estimated at 1.8 million) from their economically and politically ravaged country since 2016 has mainly been concentrated in cities.

Despite the recent mass in migration of Venezuelans, Colombia has historically been an exporter of population. From the 1960s onwards over 4 million people migrated to Venezuela in search of better living conditions and opportunities, while many more migrated northwards and to other Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration_to_Venezuela). Poorer families expelled by violence from the countryside have migrated to Ecuador and beyond in significant numbers. Economic remittances from abroad according to the Colombian Central Bank have varied between 944 million and 162 million per month between 1996 and 2021, and were at 654 million in June 2021 (see <https://tradingeconomics.com/colombia/remittances?user=licaorwell/survey>).

Colombia is a member of the OECD, is industrialized (27 percent of GDP in 2019), has a wide-ranging service industry that grows more rapidly than other sectors (58 percent GDP in 2019), and commercial through to subsistence agriculture production (6.7 percent GDP). The country has important oil and gas reserves and a high hydroelectric potential particularly on the Cauca and Magdalena rivers.

Colombia is the 5th largest economy in LAC. In 2020 GDP was 271 billion US dollars and per capita GDP stood at 7,228 dollars. Between 1960 and 2020 the highest GDP recorded was 382 billion (Trading Economics Colombia GDP 1960 to 2020). Gross national income per capita stood at 14,257 dollars in 2019 having increased from 8,013 in 1990 (UNDP, 2020). With an average annual economic growth of 2.5 percent between 2015 and 2019, COVID has seriously affected and weakened this. An open unemployment rate hovering around 10 percent annually over the last quinquennium has been also seriously negatively affected by COVID. Inflation has varied between 3.5 and 7 percent over the last five years. Near to 51 billion dollars of exports were compensated by 70.9 billion of imports in 2019. The internal market dominates consumption and GNP (see World Bank, TC data 360).

Data for 2015-2016, revealed that 4.8 percent of the population suffered from multi-dimensional poverty (MDP) as compared to 7.2 percent in the LAC region as a whole, and 4.1 percent were below the income poverty line as opposed to 4.2 in LAC as a whole. The Human Development Index for 2019 was .767, at position 83 in the world, and 6th in Latin America (not including Caribbean islands). The HDI has grown constantly from 1990 onwards, when it was .603. The position worldwide has varied and while in 2003, 2005 and 2006 it was on 94th position, in 1998 with .662, it had achieved the 73rd position, the highest ever (UNDP, 2020). These figures and levels vary enormously regionally and city to city. The Choco region in the west of the country and bordering with Panama is the most disadvantaged by far. The COVID crisis has severely increased these pre impact figures

The country is a Republic, with executive (President), judicial (Supreme Court) and legislative branches (Congress). The Constitution was passed in 1991. A government controller and ombudsman exist. Thirty-two Departments, one capital district and 4 special districts and 1,123 municipalities, along with provinces, indigenous territories and collective territories make up the political-administrative division of the country. High levels of decentralization are dictated by the Constitution but fail in many areas due to lack of resources, both financial and human.

RISK, DISASTER AND CRISIS IN COLOMBIA: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Colombia, post Second World War, was marked by the civil war between conservatives and liberals between 1948 and 1958, sparked by the assassination of a major Liberal party politician. An estimated 200,000 civilians were killed due to political violence between 1948 and 1960 and 2 million displaced (Cuervo Ramirez et al, 2017).

From 1960 until the signing of peace agreements between government and armed guerrilla groups in 2017, conflict associated with alternative political ideologies, armed guerilla and alternative conservative groups, drug cultivation and commercialization led to an estimated 260,000 deaths. As highlighted in the introduction to this document, insecurity, particularly in rural areas, has led to massive movements of population to urban areas and outside of the country.

Civil strife and insecurity in the country, associated migratory processes and the insecure location and existence of many migrants in cities and elsewhere, with the impacts on welfare levels and social processes, cannot be underestimated and is one constant in analyzing and understanding the impact and effects of disaster and crisis triggering events as well as their impacts on asset loss and systemic risk. This includes the financial crisis of 2007-2011, the COVID 19 pandemic [which to date has registered, according to Ministry of Health figures, nearly 5 million cases, 125,000 deaths and at the end of August 2021, 30,000 active cases] and the numerous physical hazard-based disasters that have occurred over the last 60 years. The migrant populations, internal and external, comprise the most obvious segment of the poorer and most excluded, victims of severe conditions of income and service inequality which helps explain the exposure and vulnerability of vast segments of the population to disaster triggers of all types.

An estimated 90 percent of Colombia's population and assets are exposed to at least one source of hazard, with over 80 percent exposed to two or more (OECD 2020; OECD/UN ECLAC, 2014; OECD, 2014; GFDRR, 2017; DNP, 2018).

Iconic physical hazard-based disasters are exemplified by the 1868 earthquake off the Ecuador coast with an estimated 70,000 deaths; the 1985 Nevada de Ruiz lahar and the destruction of Armero, with 22,000 deaths; La Niña related flooding throughout the country in 2010-11 leading to the greatest ever financial impacts and losses in the country-estimated at 6 billion in direct losses; and the 2017 Mocoa landslide with 336 deaths and 200 missing (see https://wikipedia.org/wiki/natural_hazards_in_Colombia).

The major physical hazard-based events and disasters that have occurred over the last 40 years can be seen in table 1 along with their direct costs. Epidemics including the 2020-21 COVID 19 and the 1849 cholera event have caused the greatest number of deaths. The 1918 Spanish flu episode caused over 3,000 deaths in Bogota and Boyoca alone.

Table 1: Major disasters in Colombia from 1980 – 2017 (source: EM-DAT, 2017; Aon Benfield, 2017, from OECD, 2020)

Disaster event / location	Year	Fatalities	Direct damage (USD)
Earthquake/Popayan			
Volcanic eruption/Nevado del Ruiz	1985	21,800	1 billion
Landslides Villa Tina/Medellín	1987	650	not available
Earthquake/Armenia	1999	1,200	1.8 billion
Flood (La Niña) /Salgar, Gramalote)	2010/11	1,374	6.3 billion
Landslide/Mocoa	2017	329	not available

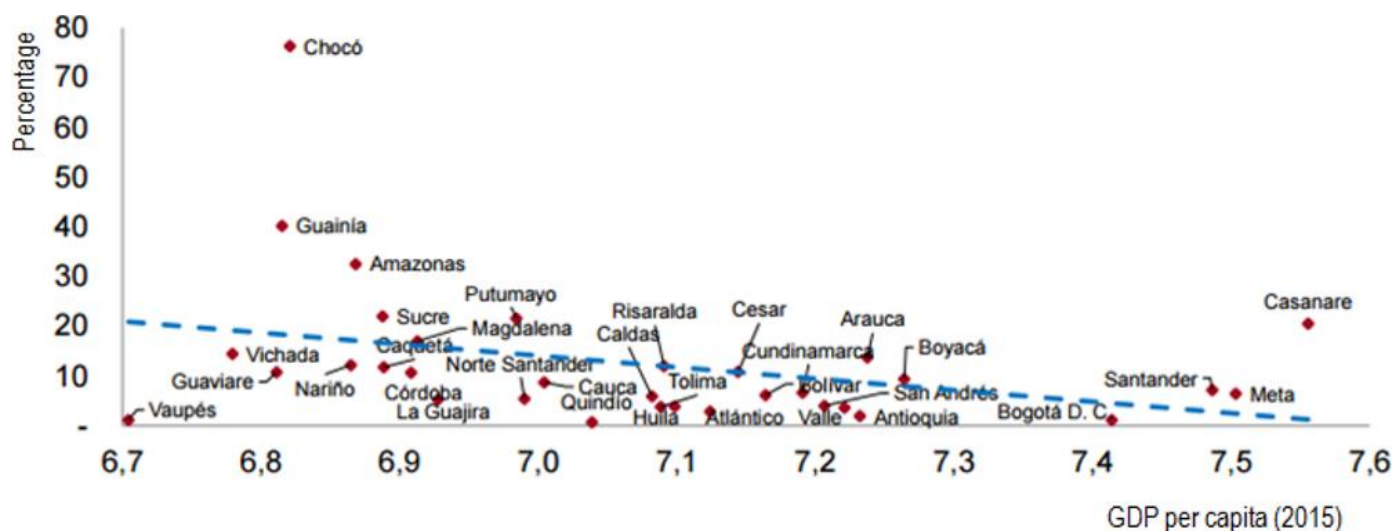
In 2020 the OECD published a scan of disaster risk and management in Colombia as part of its risk management series. Given the OECD role in stimulating concern for systemic risk, it is important to take this study into account. It concludes as regards economic losses: *"In terms of economic costs, estimates suggest that disasters in Colombia cause average annual losses between USD 177 million (Campos Garcia et al., 2011) and USD 381 million (Prevention Web, 2017), with specific events, such as the 2010/11 La Niña disaster producing cumulated damages of around USD 6.3 billion, equivalent to about 2% of Colombia's gross domestic product (GDP) (OECD/UN ECLAC, 2014; CEPAL, 2012).....Annual average disaster-related contingent liabilities for the*

government have been estimated at USD 490 million, equal to 0.7% of the 2010 government budget and 0.2% of 2010 GDP. Taking the 2010/11 La Niña events as example, only an estimated 7% of damages were insured (OECD, 2014). This makes disasters the second largest fiscal risk to the government of Colombia, after legal claims against the government (OECD/ World Bank, Forthcoming)."

Somewhat contradictorily no clear mention is made in the OECD study of systemic risk and indirect impacts and effects. As far as the social distribution of risk is concerned the following conclusion is important: "Vulnerable people, in particular, such as the poor, end up living in informal, hazard-prone housing, with lower-income households often overrepresented in hazard-prone areas. In Bogota, for instance, more than 200,000 people are estimated to live in high-risk areas, many of them living below the poverty level. As a result, the impact of disasters is comparably higher where per capita income is lower, calling for targeted policy action (Winsemius et al., 2015)."

Figure 2 taken from the OECD report demonstrates the relation between affectation by hydrometeorological events and GDP per capita in different areas of the country.

Figure 2: Population affected by hydro-meteorological hazards 2010-2015 vs. GDP per capita (source: DNP, 2018)



Systemic risk concerns are also revealed in the following statement: "Another man-made hazard that is expected to drive Colombia's future exposure to risk is the exploration of new sources of energy, such as hydraulic fracturing – or fracking – and hydropower. Among other factors, the rising exploration of oil and gas through fracking and the significant expansion of hydropower through major hydropower plants are expected to create major interconnected, Nattech risks. The recent Ituango hydropower (Hidroituango) project illustrates the potential threat these interconnected risks may pose (Villamizar, 2018; National University of Colombia, 2018)." The latter statement refers to the 2018 down-stream flooding emergency due to a blockage and sudden release of water from the river Cauca deviation channel at the Ituango hydroelectric power site.

Since 2010 a significant increase in attention has been given to the difference between intensive and extensive risk losses. This is due in good part to the influence of the UNDRR Global Assessment Reports (GAR) on Disaster Risk Reduction and the DESINVENTAR database. A UNDRR PreventionWeb document (Colombia Disaster & Risk Profile) provides the following data on the impacts associated with intensive and extensive risk and disaster between 2005 and 2013, a short period, but which is illustrative of the recurrent nature of extensive damage and loss.

Table 2: Impacts associated with extensive and intensive risk and disaster 2005-2013 (Source: PreventionWeb)

8-year moving average 2005-2013		Extensive [%]	Intensive [%]
DataCards	2,141.50	99.95	0.05
Deaths	262.00	89.00	11.00
Houses destroyed	6,255.10	83.70	16.30

Houses damaged	154,661.50	99.82	0.18
Injured people	419.50	86.38	13.62
Displaced people	3,715.25	100.00	0.00
Combined economic loss (US\$)	1,009,219,275.00	97.16	2.84

The probable maximum economic loss for different return periods of hazard events, taken from the same report, is summarized in the following table.

Table 3: Probable Maximum Loss (PML) – Mean return period in years (Source: PreventionWeb)

Hazard*	20	50	100	250	500	1000	1500
Earthquake	9,685	20,856	33,929	58,126	80,338	109,393	124,730
Wind	4	17	30	40	44	50	55
Storm Surge	1	7	10	10	10	11	12
Tsunami	0	7	64	383	1,049	3,406	6,257

* Values for hazard are in million US\$

Available data on vulnerability and exposure as fundamental causes of risk and disaster illustrate that climate change, unplanned urban processes and urban informality, environmental degradation and lack of land-use and local planning are significant drivers of risk.

RISK GOVERNANCE AND DISASTER RISK MANAGEMENT IN COLOMBIA

Colombia has always been known as one of the most advanced countries in terms of the concept and practice of disaster risk management and risk management in general, in the LAC region and beyond.

The Armero, Nevado de Ruiz lahar disasters of 1985 (preceded by the 1983 Popayan earthquake disaster and the impact of the Mexico City event in 1985) led to increased government and public concern for risk and the impact of disasters and a deep preoccupation, in particular, for the inadequacies of the working of the existing information dissemination and early warning system in a situation where this could have saved most of the lives lost. Failings in information dissemination and decision making led to legal action against those responsible.

Following the Armero tragedy, an overall concern for disaster prevention, preparedness, and other pre impact actions, was promoted by the then President of the country, who, with support from the UN and other agencies and the dedication and expertise of a select group of Colombian professionals, promoted and passed a new disaster law in 1989, creating a National System for the Prevention and Attention of Disasters, linked to the Presidency of the Republic.

The notion of system forever changed the previous single organizational approach to dealing with disaster response and prevention and would have impacts throughout LAC and in other regions. The Colombian system was construed on an inter-sector, decentralized, participatory, interdisciplinary basis and covered preparedness, response and reconstruction and prevention and mitigation.

Two interesting aspects, among others, related to the conception and creation of the system are important to mention here in the context of systemic risk concerns. Firstly, the way the conception of the system included many of the facets and characteristics now seen to be critical for systemic risk management. Second, as regards the concerns for disaster, conflict, and crisis in general in the country at the time the new law was being formulated and their relationships. The professional team working on the design of the system had suggested to the President that it would be relevant to create a system for crisis management in general, including disaster and internal conflict and crisis. This was not taken up on, given the feeling that doing this would lead to an ignoring or sidelining of the more common physical hazard-based disasters in favor of the

internal conflict process and its military aspects. This separation between disaster and conflict governance, despite clear relations and causal processes, subsists today and it is only with the 2017 Moncoia landslide disaster that the system for managing conflict and that for disasters came together directly in some interrelated working actions (see ODI, 2019). Sector and thematic silos have been mentioned often as barriers to systemic action and thought in the risk management sphere.

Over the period 1989 to 2012, both influencing and being influenced by the UNISDR and Hyogo agreements, Colombia made important advances in DRM concepts, strategies and actions, and formulated sequenced DRM plans at a national and local level. Preparedness and response were strengthened, but more importantly valuable innovations and advances were instrumented in a social and development-based approach to DRM.

One of the earliest innovations was experienced with the creation of the Nasa Kiwe Corporation in 1994 to respond to the reconstruction needs in a vast area inhabited by indigenous population in the Paez region, affected by a large-scale earthquake and landslides in which near to a 1,000 people died. Criticized on its inception due to the feeling among many professionals that it weakened the incipient national system by duplicating its functions, the Corporation promoted a novel, culturally sensitive, participatory approach, which marked a fundamental change in approaches to reconstruction, and which was widely recognized for its achievements and method. A process, as opposed to product, approach was particularly significant and of clear importance as an antecedent for considering systemic risk today.

In the years until the La Niña experience in 2010, Colombia would promote many novel approaches and actions in favor of disaster risk prevention and control, in which decentralized urban-metropolitan areas such as Bogota, Medellin and Cali, would play an important if not dominant role. Amongst these, extensive programs for retrofitting hospitals and schools, relocation of hazard prone populations, a local subsidized insurance scheme in Manizales for poor population, new and extended insurance programs for public sector facilities and CAT DDO parametric insurance schemes with the World Bank, regional based integral environmental and land use planning and much improved early warning for floods and volcanos have been promoted. Public consciousness and participation increased enormously as did the opportunities for education at pre and post graduate levels on DRM and related themes. Novel risk analysis and evaluation methodologies and practices have been promoted and many sector-based and territorial planning experiences have been undertaken. The active involvement and interest of the National Planning Department in DRM, territorial planning and climate change concerns led to the progressive development of schemes and norms for the integration of DRM, CCA and territorial planning aspects in the successive national plans for development.

The 2010 La Niña event and the country wide flooding experienced over the 2010-11 period led, as Armero had done in the 80s, to analysis and evaluation of the why and what of the impacts suffered, which amounted to over 6 billion dollars in direct losses. The outcome of this was the elaboration and passing of a new DRM law in 2012, the Law 1523/2012. The outcome of this law was described in the OECD 2020 study in the following way: *"Law 1523/2012 paved the way to establish a comprehensive, multi-hazard approach embedded across national sectors and levels of government. The National Unit for Disaster Risk Management (UNGRD) steers and co-ordinates stakeholder engagement, through inter-institutional platforms, towards a shared culture of risk. Several channels for whole-of-society participation in policy-making and a commitment to transparency, strengthen inclusiveness and accountability in Colombia's disaster risk governance."*

In fact, the 1989 law proposed all these things and is the real basis for the 2012 law. The major change was in the greater emphasis placed on risk as opposed to disaster and the proposal of approaches and measures to take on the challenges of corrective and prospective management as well as increased resilience through compensatory management processes.

Between 2012 and the present, the country has produced national strategy documents on DRM, and this is an integral, crosscutting issue in the national development plan. A national risk atlas was produced in 2018 using probabilistic, multi-hazard, holistic techniques at municipal and regional levels. And more recently a follow up study considering climate change has been developed. Accountability and transparency have been promoted by national and local governments

The OECD 2020 study provided a series of recommendations for the future, many of which reflect aspects identified in the Colombian national strategy documents (we highlight in black, potential aspects of relevance for systemic risk analysis and governance):

General:

- Reinforce the **effectiveness of cross-governmental co-ordination and co-operation**.
- Design sector-specific disaster risk management strategies, for those sectors most affected by disasters. The strategies should aim at fostering a risk culture, strengthening institutions, **including regulatory frameworks**, to carry out disaster risk management activities. Finally, sectoral strategies should establish clear plans to fund disaster risk management activities.
- Make room for learning. The results of the annual **monitoring report of the implementation of the National Plan for Disaster Risk Management** provide an excellent opportunity to suggest changes in the course of action. Similarly, **systematically assessing the lessons learnt** in the aftermath of a disaster can help improve the performance of Colombia's disaster risk management system over time.
- Make stakeholder engagement tools meaningful in the policy-setting process. To make policy processes truly open and inclusive, **a two-way communication process should be fostered that ensures that contributions of stakeholders are considered in the actions taken by disaster risk managers**.

Whole-of-society engagement in disaster risk management:

- **Determine clear roles and responsibilities for households and businesses in disaster risk management.** Responsibilities for households and businesses could be more clearly formulated. This could include **the introduction of specific resilience requirements, such as business continuity plans or structural reinforcement measures** that go beyond the existing requirement to develop emergency management plans. Technical support by government agencies can help reinforce capacities.
- Strengthen the engagement of critical infrastructure owners and operators in resilience management. This can include a requirement to **conduct regular risk assessments on an infrastructure asset or operator level**. Government agencies can support this by sharing the results of public risk identification and assessment exercises. Supporting the development of insurance markets for critical infrastructure could increase the uptake of risk transfer measures.
- Explore public private partnerships in the process of strengthening resilience of non-governmental actors. **Public-private partnerships could be useful vehicles to strengthen resilience of all actors**, for example for working together on **conducting and sharing information on the results of risk assessments**, or for exploring the options for developing risk transfer markets.

Disaster risk identification and assessment:

- Encourage an all-hazards approach to disaster risk identification and assessment. This involves closing gaps in covering all areas of socio-economic activity with all-hazard maps. **Based on an identification of prevalent hazards, interconnected risks, including Natech risks, should be evaluated to improve the effectiveness of resilience measures.**
- **Consider conducting a national risk assessment.** A national risk assessment brings all stakeholders together to **assess risks in an integrated way to build consensus** across government concerning strategic investments and policy priorities throughout the disaster risk management cycle.
- Scale-up disaster risk assessment efforts. To prioritize disaster risk management measures, **hazard assessments should increasingly be complemented by risk assessments that take account of the exposure and vulnerability of people and economic assets to prevailing hazards**. To that end, an assessment of the capacities to generate and use risk knowledge by the different responsible entities might be useful, to devise areas that need technical reinforcement.

- *Promote the use of hazard and disaster risk information in policy making and implementation.* Consistently use hazard and disaster risk information in determining and prioritizing disaster risk management measures. **Harness hazard and disaster risk information in land-use planning as well as in building code development and application.**

Disaster risk reduction:

- ***Strengthen disaster risk reduction efforts by technical units and key sectoral institutions*** through capacity building activities and training programs.
- ***Set incentives*** for all government agencies to encourage disaster risk reduction investments. This could include using central funding mechanisms, such as the National Disaster Risk Management Fund, to co-finance disaster risk reduction actions by all government agencies, as well as by subnational governments.
- ***Take targeted action to avoid the creation of new risks through unplanned urbanization.*** Such action could include strengthening enforcement capacities for land-use regulations and building codes or the use of financial incentives to discourage informal settlements in hazard-prone areas.
- ***Address the specific vulnerabilities of the poor to disaster risks.*** This could include disaster risk communication tailored to low-income households and specifically designed training in emergency preparedness and response. Furthermore, technical assistance could be made available for building resilience into affordable housing programs. Finally, social protection mechanisms could be used more systematically to integrate support for low-income households affected by disasters.

Disaster recovery and reconstruction:

- *Maximize the disaster risk reduction potential with the available funding for recovery and reconstruction.* Post-disaster assistance should be provided in a way that clearly incentivizes betterment (i.e. build back better), **by requiring resilience measures as part of the supported reconstruction efforts** or by aligning the size of assistance with the implementation of disaster risk reduction measures.
- *Ensure transparency in the use of disaster recovery and reconstruction funding to increase efficiency in resource use.* This could include **publishing how the funds for public disaster recovery and reconstruction were allocated to recipients.**
- ***Establish clear cost-sharing mechanisms for disaster recovery and reconstruction across levels of government.*** Predetermined cost-sharing mechanisms help reduce the level of unplanned expenses in the aftermath of disasters and encourage disaster risk reduction investments by subnational levels of government.
- ***Evaluating options for disaster risk insurance to boost the financial resilience of households and businesses.*** Disaster risk insurance can be an effective mechanism to encourage investments in disaster risk reduction and nurturing a culture of risk among households and businesses. Such insurance mechanisms also reduce the eventual liability for the central government in case of a disaster.

There is scope to improve the sharing of hazard and risk knowledge between public and private stakeholders, to increase the understanding of interconnected and systemic risks.

UNDERSTANDING OF SYSTEMIC RISK AND PROMOTING SYSTEMIC RISK GOVERNANCE

Important expressions of systemic risk may be found in the following different contexts:

- Expulsion of population from rural areas due to violence, settlement in insecure urban areas and social and disaster loss.
- Systemic risk in the context of Venezuelan forced migration to Colombia and beyond since 2016.

- Supply chain and labor force interruption due to natural and social hazard impacts, particularly relating to energy, agricultural and industrial inputs.
- Interruption of flows of agricultural products from rural to urban areas.
- Potential damage and impact due to failings in hydroelectric power facilities and mineral mining, including using fracking.
- Climate change effects and their impact on coastal areas and tourism development, water availability, drought.

In the frame of the UNDP promoted reflection on Systemic Risk Governance for the 21st Century, the migration of Venezuelans to Colombia and their short, medium and long-term circumstances and risk management needs was selected for greater consideration as one of five indicative case studies undertaken. The final part of this summary document deals with this particular systemic risk concern and context.

VENEZUELAN MIGRATION TO COLOMBIA AND SYSTEMIC RISK CONCERNS

Forced migration of people within and from outside the country, as well as voluntary migration of Colombians to other countries in search of better life opportunities, have typified Colombia's development over the last 75 years, with antecedents in earlier periods.

Migration is based on particular economic, social, cultural, historical and political contexts and drivers. It is often associated with immediate human, and humanitarian needs in the short-term (such as food and shelter needs) or medium-term (such as insertion-incorporation of populations in host areas and communities) but relatively rarely planned for in holistic sustainable development long term goals. Negative and positive effects of different types of migration may be found.

Migration and population movements in general may be triggered by complex and interrelated causal processes which constitute concatenated or compound hazards, which, when combined with different expressions of human vulnerability, lead to movement. This is an initial consideration in terms of understanding systemic risk and in terms of thinking preventive solutions to movement and migration. On the other hand, the process of movement by individuals, families or other social groups, expressed in different territorial and lifestyle options, leads to concatenated, ripple effects that go beyond the immediate social groups involved and impinge on processes of social, economic, environmental and territorial development or change. Migration and forced or voluntary movement are therefore inciters of systemic risk contexts where conditions relating to insecurity, violence, inequality, exclusion, health, livelihoods, disaster and political conflict, amongst other factors, interact and influence the process and its results.

The objective of this short scoping section is to identify in the Colombian case the contexts and characteristics of systemic risk concerns associated with migratory and forced and voluntary movements of population in and out of, and within country, with emphasis on the Venezuelan context. This involves a preliminary consideration of the existing and missing governance arrangements for tackling the processes and their results as such.

Migratory contexts in Colombia

The following five major types of significant migratory movement have been experienced by Colombia since the end of the 1940s.

- Post the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitan (former Colombian politician and leader of the Liberal Party) during the period known as the Violence, between 1948 and end of the 1950s, with conflict in rural areas and expulsion of population to major cities.
- Mass migration from country to city associated with the guerrilla movements, paramilitary forces and, following that, associated narcotrafficking and land grabs between the early 1960s and up to the present. This and the Violence period accounted for more than 8 million persons migrating over the years and influenced urban development in the country in important ways.

- Expulsion of rural population from conflict zones to Ecuador, in particular, but also to 25 other countries, during the 2000s.
- Intra urban to urban periphery movements, due to territorial conflict and control by paramilitary and guerrilla forces in major Colombian cities during the 1990s and 2000s.
- Mass movement of population from Venezuela to Colombia. This began with highly educated migrants expelled from the petroleum industry due to the sacking of 19,000 workers by Chavez in the early 2000s and, subsequently, post 2015, with the migration of less well-educated working- and lower middle-class migrants, due to Venezuela's ongoing political and economic crisis, all associated with the failing of the petroleum industry and mismanaged economic policy along with boycotts by Western developed nations. An estimated 1.8 to 2 million Venezuelans of over 5 million migrants in total, have moved formally or informally to Colombia since 2015 and this is accompanied by through migration of more than half a million searching to reach Ecuador, Perú and Chile. Moreover, millions of persons cross the border each year for short periods to purchase goods, medicines and other products.

The above-mentioned movements have also been accompanied by voluntary out movement of Colombians to northern countries and, in the 1980s and 90s, to Venezuela, where greater opportunities existed for personal and family development at the time. Many of these migrants after long stays in Venezuela have returned with their Venezuelan family members due to the present crisis.

Forced migration of Venezuelans 2016-2021

Among the Venezuelan post 2016 migrants to Colombia, an estimated 70 percent of those now in the country are expected to seek to stay long term. Clear commonalities and challenges as well as differences exist as regards the demands and needs of this population as compared to those associated with longer established and still present Colombian rural to urban forced migrants. This refers to short term humanitarian services and demands, development demands associated with the establishment of populations in different territorial settings (primarily large city) and return movements to original or other areas. At present Bogota with 30 percent of Venezuelan migrants is their dominant location, while cities such as Medellin, Cali and Barranquilla are also important. Migrants are distributed in three major regions in and around these cities, along with urban areas in Colombia-Venezuela border regions. While the large cities have greater capacities to deal with the problem, smaller and intermediate cities in border regions and in conflict zones find greater difficulties as movement merges with conflict, trafficking, drugs and violence to further complicate matters.

The policy context

Over the period 2015 to date changing policy dictates and regulations have occurred with reference to Venezuelan migrants that have increased the opportunities for informal and undocumented migrants to achieve access to humanitarian services, to work and for overall social integration, along with those that entered the country legally through established border crossings. Policy is laid out in a 2018 document of the National Council for Economic and Social Planning (CONPES), the document of December 2020 "Welcome, Integrate and Grow" provided by the Colombian government, particularly by the latest March 2021 decree on the Temporary Status for Venezuelan Migrant Protection (ETPM).

This latter statute allows those who entered the country prior to January 2021, legally or illegally, to regularize their existence for the next ten years and thus increase their opportunities for legal occupancy, work, health and integration. It is estimated that nearly half of the estimated 1.7 million Venezuelans in the country had no legal status, thus the Statute will have a major impact on welfare and well-being of the registered population. The Statute has been hailed internationally as a major human rights contribution and example of good practice. A recent 2021 CONPES document on post COVID 19 sustainable recovery also mentions the sustainable development needs of migrants.

Systemic risk contexts and migrants

Aspects that comprise the systemic nature of the risk faced by and derived from Venezuelan migrant settlement in Colombia include the following:

- Impacts on health and welfare due to poverty, insecurity and insufficient access to work and income, especially relating to more vulnerable groups—women headed households, elderly, infirm etc.
- Downfalls and impacts on child education and their long-term futures.
- Social cohesion and coexistence issues associated amongst other things with growing xenophobia and negative attitudes towards migrants.
- Competing demands by migrants and nationals for access to social services, work, housing, etc.
- Potential impacts on the environment and natural resources.
- Problems associated with residential location of migrants in cities and an increase in risk factors associated with natural and socio-natural hazards and disasters that then increase vulnerability and the need for attention by the State and other agencies.
- The possible negative relations between migrants and host communities
- Fiscal deficit problems and fiscal discipline with associated spin off problems.

In principle the spin off effects of migration can be classified according to shorter term immediate humanitarian needs and demands and medium and longer-term development needs and contradictions. According to interviewed sources present and past policy is very much organized around more immediate humanitarian demands as opposed to development needs and integration in search of sustainability and resilience. Territorial organization, urban and land use planning, integrated social and economic planning at local levels, amongst other themes, are open to analysis from a risk perspective. The existence of various international and national civil society organizations for assisting migrants is critical serving as interlocutors between government and the population and transmitters of more longer-term development need.

This opens areas for further enquiry which policy makers and partners in country may wish to explore in order to address systemic risk concerns associated with migratory and forced and voluntary movements of populations in Colombia:

- How is policy set up viz a viz concerns for and incorporation of agencies dealing with short term humanitarian and more medium term national, local and urban development goals and contexts as they relate to migrants?
- What is the logic behind the orientation given to migration policy and changes over time?
- How does Venezuelan migrant policy and concerns coincide with, contradict or complement policy as regards forced rural-urban migration in Colombia and intra urban forced migration patterns and causes.
- To what extent are integrated planning schemes promoted that take up on systemic risk concerns and relations between different risk and vulnerability contexts?
- What level of attention is given to migrant impacts on environment and socio natural hazard construction and as to residential location and hazard risk zones in major cities?
- What are current UNDP focus areas and portfolio, and potential ways for them to enter and deal with this issue?

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