

**THE ANALYSIS OF COLOMBIA GOVERNMENT DECISION MAKING  
IN ACCEPTING VENEZUELA REFUGEES IN FIRST TERM OF JUAN  
SANTOS PRESIDENCY 2010 - 2014**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**UNIVERSITAS  
ISLAM  
INDONESIA**

Written by:

**RAHMAT FADHILLAH MAKSUM**

**19323193**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL  
SCIENCES UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

**2023**

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences  
Universitas Islam Indonesia  
As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn  
Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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## AUTHORIZATION PAGE

The Analysis of Colombia Government Decision Making in Accepting  
Refugees from Venezuela in Juan Santos Era

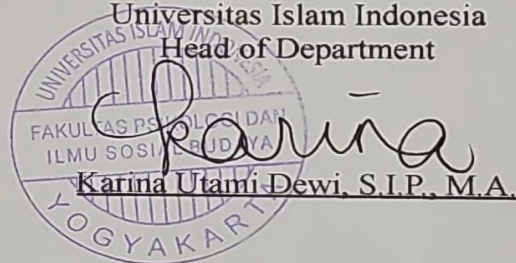
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in the Department of International Relations  
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Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences  
Universitas Islam Indonesia  
Head of Department



Board of Examiners

Signature

1 Mohamad Rezky Utama, S.IP., M.Si.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mohamad Rezky Utama', written over a horizontal line.

2 Hadza Min Fadhli Robby, S.I.P., M.Sc.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Hadza Min Fadhli Robby', written over a horizontal line.

3 Karina Utami Dewi, S.I.P., M.A.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Karina', written over a horizontal line.

## **STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**

I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

26 October 2023,

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background

Inflation is a part of economic events in which the value of a country's currency depreciates, causing the prices of goods to rise at an unexpected rate due to an imbalanced flow of money and goods within the country. Inflation is caused by a number of variables, including an imbalance in the amount of money in circulation compared to the amount of goods available. Furthermore, a country's political and economic factors have a significant impact on the advent of inflation. From the beginning of the establishment of inflation, the form of government that does not pay attention to the country's economic balance has been the most important cause. There are numerous effects of inflation events, one of which is a decrease in the value of money, which has an impact on community welfare. For example, normally \$5 money can buy 2 liters of oil, but after inflation, \$5 money can only buy 1 liter of oil. if inflation is not dealt with as soon as possible, it could lead to greater economic chaos. and if not handled properly, inflation can cause social unrest, it can even cause a country to go bankrupt. (Oner, n.d., 1)

Venezuela, one of Latin America's countries, is seeing a spike in inflation. This occurrence occurred as a result of government officials who were unaware of the economy's balance and the country's current status. Begin with the government's over-subsidies to the citizens, which can lead to financial instability in the country.



and further exacerbated by the dictatorial Venezuelan government led by President Nicolas Maduro. Hyperinflation in Venezuela began in 2016, which coincided with the ongoing socioeconomic and political crisis. This event further worsened the economic situation in Venezuela. The Crisis became the largest economic crisis in history, beating the crisis in Zimbabwe at the end of 2000. In early 2016, hyperinflation in Venezuela began, with an inflation rate of 800% and increasing from year to year. The highest inflation rate occurred in 2019 which reached a 2,000,000% inflation rate. In fact, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that by the end of 2019 the inflation rate will reach a lift of 10,000,000%. (Carmody, 2019)

In response to this crisis, the government conducted an economic experiment by issuing a currency devaluation. The government devalued by 95% in order to balance the price of oil. This was an experiment conducted to show the strength of the Venezuelan economy, and became the largest devaluation in world economic history.

As a result of the Inflation that has occurred in this economic sector, various areas of the people of Venezuela, such as their welfare and human rights, have been impacted. As a result, many Venezuelans are unable to meet their basic demands. One of them departed Venezuela and settled in neighboring nations such as Colombia, Chile, and other Latin American countries. Being an immigrant in a neighboring nation, it's impossible to know whether Venezuelans are living appropriately. As an immigrant in a country, there are numerous requirements that must be met. Such problems finding a place to live, hunting for work, and obtaining equal treatment, to name a few.

Venezuelans have continued to seek "safety" in Colombia. because Colombia's president, Juan Manuel Santos, stated that his country is open to Venezuelan refugees fleeing the country's "economic disaster." In addition, Juan Santos issued 442,462 residence permits to Venezuelans who had fled to Colombia. Colombian President Juan Santos took this step because he considered it as a sign of humanity and collaboration among South American nations. As a result, many Venezuelans are regaining basic rights, such as finding a good place to live, finding work, and allowing their children to complete their education. Colombia's government has also set aside pesos 20 million to help fund the construction of a special hospital for Venezuelan refugees. (IOM UN MIGRATION, 2021).

The influx of refugees from Venezuela certainly has both positive and negative effects on the receiving country. The influx of Venezuelan refugees is something that the receiving country must pay attention to. some aspects must be very concerned as a recipient, the danger if the receiving country does not have enough preparation. it can even become a new threat by the receiving country. some things that must be prepared by the receiving country such as food, health facilities, shelter, education, and employment. Therefore there must be such a thing as an economic integration strategy whose purpose is for Venezuelan refugees to have independence to live their lives in the receiving country, and not become a burden on the receiving country. This is also a matter of strengthening the relationship between humanitarian assistance and the development of a global response. The concept of economic integration strategy is needed by all communities, immigrants and local residents. For immigrants, of course, this is a crucial thing for them, because as

immigrants they must have an attitude as immigrants, and remain in the concept of immigration, namely still getting their rights as immigrants in the receiving country. And for local residents, this concept must be socialized evenly, so that local residents do not feel threatened by the arrival of immigrants from Venezuela, and even to hopefully collaborate between immigrants and local residents with the aim of forming a stable economy.

Colombia, is the country with the highest number of immigrants from Venezuela, followed by Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil. as the country with the highest percentage of immigrants, Colombia as a receiving country and also a country that opens its borders freely to Venezuelan immigrants must already know the risks that will be faced. The Colombian government has responded positively to the arrival of Venezuelan immigrants, such as providing administrative facilities, temporary camps for immigrants, proper food, and other assistance. with the facilities provided by the Colombian government, many Venezuelan immigrants have earned a decent life in Colombia. There are already 550,000 Venezuelan refugees who have registered and obtained permits to live in Colombia. This is certainly a good thing for both parties, Venezuelan refugees and Colombia. With the issuance of these permits, Venezuelan refugees can get facilities such as getting proper education, housing, and getting a job or running a business. And with this legal permit, it can also benefit the Colombian economy. With this legal permit, the Colombian government can collect taxes for Venezuelan refugees who have found jobs, which can also increase 0.3% - 0.6% of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). (IOM UN MIGRATION, 2021).

This economic crisis, which has also led to a human crisis, has also attracted the attention of international organizations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for example. Seeing the good intentions of the Colombian government in accepting refugees from Venezuela, UNHCR provided a lot of assistance to the Colombian government, such as providing staff in the administration of immigrants at the border, building temporary camps, creating offices at the border, and providing cash to asylum seekers and vulnerable people. With this assistance from UNHCR, the Colombian government felt greatly helped, and also the process of entering refugees from Venezuela to Colombia became smooth. Not only that, UNHCR also collaborated with local partners, to provide assistance to refugees with needs (vulnerable). and open a wider network so that information on procedures for migrants so that the administrative process runs on target. (UN Human Right, 2022).

The president of Colombia, Ivan Duque, said on February 8, 2021, that he will ensure 950,000 undocumented immigrants will get temporary housing. This decision will definitely have a regional and international impact. So far, the acceptance of refugees in Colombia is still justified as assistance to countries with the same history. With this decision, the Colombian government is considered to have good humanitarian values. and this decision is certainly also very concerned about the impact that will occur, and it is hoped that its application can run according to plan. (Parra, 2021)

## **1.2 Research Question**

How did Colombia government make a decision to accept Venezuela refugees?

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

The objectives of this research are:

1. Explaining the situation and conditions in the area that became the border of Venezuelan immigrants to Colombia.
2. Analyzing of Colombia Government decision making process in accepting Venezuela refugees

## **1.4 Research Scope**

With the running of this research, which is based on using the theory of decision making by William D Coplin in examining the acceptance of Venezuelan refugees by the Colombian government during the first Juan Santos administration 2010 - 2014. The author will set boundaries in this study. in order to narrow and provide a focus on the discussion of the study in this study. Thus, the scope of this study is the analysis of the formation of regulations by the Colombian government in accepting refugees from Venezuela. In this case, Venezuelan refugees came to Colombia for the first time in early 2010, and during the first term of Juan Manuel Santos, Temporary Protection Status was also established in 2014 as a form of concern and help for Venezuelan refugees who came to Colombia. During the transition period of refugees from Venezuela, Colombia was designated as the country that received the most Venezuelan refugees. (UNHCR 2019)

## 1.5 Literature Review

The article discusses the effect of the Colombian government's refugee admission policy on the conditions of Venezuelan refugees residing there. It should be noted that the refugee crisis in Venezuela is the largest in the world. The Venezuelan refugees are living with low monetary conditions and ultimately become a burden on the social protection system in developing countries in Latin America. Colombia is one of the countries that feels the impact because it is the main place for refugees. However, Colombia's high poverty rate makes it difficult to deal with the impact of refugees from Venezuela. So the Venezuelan people in Colombia have to face a lot of poverty, food shortages, and racism. Not to mention the problems with the local community where they do not have equal access to health care, education, the job market, and housing.

The author assumes that there are several reasons underlying the Colombian government's legalization of refugees from Venezuela. First, Colombia considers that the existence of legal refugees from Venezuela will receive support from other countries as the United Nations calls the decree an "act of solidarity" and a "global example". Second, the pandemic requires more vaccine supply, which is both an economic and moral reason. Third, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates that migration will lead to higher Venezuela GDP growth of 0.25 percent annually over the next 10 years. Fourth, to keep the Colombian state safe due to high levels of poverty and social inequality. As more migrants in Colombia are identified, it will be easier to bring them to justice.

The effects of this new policy reform in Colombia are difficult to predict but it could be the right decision. This is because it may ease the pressure on the labor market with many informal jobs, and may close some of the welfare gaps that Venezuelans in the country currently face. People from Venezuela living in Colombia are young and productive in their work. The government has an interest in bringing them out of the shadows and getting them to pay into the welfare system. Venezuelans are also willing to work for lower wages, but this could change if they join the formal labor market and have access to wage protections such as the minimum wage. This is important because many Venezuelans are children, and their long-term plans for a good life in Colombia depend on their success in the short term. As the history of refugees shows, most of them end up staying. (Eigner et al., 2021)

This article aims to examine the factors behind Colombia's inauguration of a refugee policy towards Venezuelan refugees that is widely seen as a generous response to a growing humanitarian crisis. The article sets out to ask why certain countries welcome refugees with open arms while others do not? Is it purely a matter of humanitarian ethics or is it a matter of political control techniques over refugees? This is because many states or other actors often use discursive aspects to hide the application of subjectivization tactics and political control that actually defy humanitarian ethics. Even Colombia itself had rejected the presence of refugees from Venezuela who came to the country. Therefore, Colombia's changing attitude towards refugees is a big question mark and the basis of this article.

The author assumes that Colombia's generosity during the Santos era, which was implemented through the legalization of Venezuelan refugees, was motivated by many complex things ranging from power movements, interests, and calculations. The humanitarian narrative has only served as a tool for political legitimization in the Santos administration for the past year. The use of humanitarian narratives aims to respond to the phenomena caused by the regime that have an impact on human rights abuses. The Santos administration then needed to find a way to show the rest of the world that Colombia had defended human rights in order to forge a stronger Colombian national identity on the international stage. In short, humanitarian values are the discursive shield for the refugee legalization policy inaugurated since 2015. Interestingly, the 'generous' policy eventually attracted the interest of many migrant organizations who then brought it into the larger political discussion. Thus, these organizations exercise control and supervision over the course of decision-making in the Colombian government.

In the end, the use of humanitarian narratives in Colombia's legalization policy had a good impact on Venezuelan refugees. From the elimination of refugee conflicts to allowing refugees to exercise their right to political choice in a setting of extensive control and subjectivization. Policy makers do not seem to consider the rights of refugees during decision-making. They only focus on making refugees a method of achieving their governmental interests. It can be concluded that Colombia's refugee legalization policy from 2015 to 2018 was shaped on the basis of pragmatism, with a focus on consolidating a particular governing scheme. This was done by invoking three interrelated processes: the imaginary construction of



migration from Venezuela as a risky process, the consolidation of an irregularization strategy, and the focus on the narrative of "generosity" as the main basis for justifying political interests. (Gutierrez, 2021)

This research is written to show the results of a study related to the impact of the Venezuelan refugee crisis in Maicao (La Guajira), a Colombian municipality as the city most affected by the migrant flow due to its geographical and cultural proximity to Venezuela. It will further look at how the government and non-governmental organizations are responding to the humanitarian crisis, the needs, attitudes, and experiences of the refugees and to look at the Colombian perspective regarding the influx of Venezuelan refugees in the country. The purpose of this research stems from the complicated social, economic and political situation in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela that has led to an unprecedented humanitarian crisis. At least more than one million Venezuelan refugees have crossed the border into Colombia. Even so, the Colombian government and a number of international groups have taken a number of steps to ease the humanitarian crisis and make it easier for refugees to integrate into society and the economy.

The results show that while Colombia has been praised around the world for its generosity and hard work in helping Venezuelan refugees, there are still some problems in practice. There are gaps in areas ranging from socio-economics, to effective aid delivery, to social exclusion and social cohesion between refugee communities and Colombian society. These gaps may worsen over time, as they have in other weak states that have experienced similar shocks such as Lebanon and

Jordan. There is also socio-economic anxiety among Colombians about the large influx of refugees as they assume that refugees will "take jobs" and deplete public resources, increasing the country's crime rate.

The author emphasizes the importance of close cooperation between the Colombian government and non-governmental organizations to coordinate strategies. The aim is to make these strategies work to help a wider range of people in need and last longer, as well as to create programs to help migrants find work. The authors recommend that public policies, programs and actions implemented by government and non-government actors focus on the most vulnerable populations in host communities. Not only for refugees but also for Colombian communities that face similar social and economic marginalization. A policy for socio-economic development that includes everyone is essential if Colombia is to close some of its existing development gaps and ease tensions in local communities caused by the awarding of public and private resources to foreign residents. (Pineda & Juliana Jaramillo, 2018)

This article was written to determine the impact of the reopening of Venezuela's border with Colombia in 2016 on the Colombian labor market. At the very least, the arrival of refugees from Venezuela will have an impact on Colombia's wages, employment, unemployment rate and informality. The Venezuelan exodus was caused by an armed conflict carried out by illegal Venezuelan armed groups that caused chaos in the country. Not to mention the emergence of many leftist guerrillas, the rise of drug cartels and paramilitary groups that worsened the situation in

Venezuela. As a result, there have been many massacres, kidnappings, murders, and temporary takeovers of cities by illegal groups through violent means. All the violence and criminality in Venezuela forced people to leave their homes and become refugees. According to UNHCR there will be at least 8 million refugees in Colombia by 2019, which is about 15% of the country's population. This is the highest number of refugees in the world. The large number of refugees has affected the welfare system and the labor market in the areas where they have moved to.

The results of this study show that the increase in the number of workers caused by the mass exodus of Venezuelans led to a 0.4 percent decrease in wages and a 0.1 percent decrease in employment for low-skilled workers. There was a 0.18 percent decrease in the average employment rate of low-skilled Colombian workers in 2015, just before the Venezuelan exodus. In a case study of the regions of La Guajira and Norte de Santander, the authors found a 10 percent drop in wages and a 3.4 percent drop in total employment in 2015. It is known that like many other Latin American countries, Colombia has a large informal labor market. Data from SEDLAC (CEDLAS and the World Bank) show that in 2018, about 34.4% of Colombian salaried workers had no formal job and the unemployment rate in Colombia reached 9.4% in 2019, one of the highest in the region. The addition of refugees from Venezuela will certainly have an impact on male wages, the wages of low-skilled workers, and the wages of informal workers.

Considering these results and the fact that the regions most affected by the Venezuelan exodus are socially and economically disadvantaged, it is important for

the Colombian government to implement policies that can mitigate these adverse effects. Integration and regularization policies for Venezuelan immigrants will be important to capitalize on the human capital gains that may come from the Venezuelan exodus. Such policies could make it easier for Venezuelan immigrants to gain access to public services such as education and healthcare and join the formal economy. If the negative effects on labor market variables for informal and/or less qualified workers continue, poverty and inequality will increase in the medium and long term. (Pacheco, 2022)

This article aims to describe the efforts made by the Colombian government to assist Venezuelan refugees from 2014 to 2018. Colombia has been the main destination country for Venezuelan immigrants, due to its history as a former Spanish colony. However, in 2014 the crisis led to an increase in Venezuelan immigrants to Colombia. Another reason is because Colombia has ratified the 1951 UN convention on the status of refugees since October 10, 1961 and acceded to the 1967 Protocol on the status of refugees on March 4, 1980. Then Colombia signed the Cartagena Declaration on November 22, 1984 and issued Decreto 2450 which contains the determination of the definition of refugee, defines the composition of the eligibility commission, requirements and asylum applications, and elements of the procedure for determining refugee status.

The results of this study show that the Colombian government tried to help Venezuelan refugees by making several policies. First, a border mobility card that allows Venezuelans living near the border to enter Colombia. The second is the

granting of a special residence permit called Permiso Especial de Permanencia (PEP) which allows Venezuelans to stay for two years and can enroll in study activities, work and access institutional services. Third, the creation of a special group for migrants called Grupo Especial Migratorio (GEM) or Migration Special Group (MSG) composed of the Colombian National Police, Colombian Migration, the official family welfare agency, and the National Tax and Customs Directorate. The fourth is the administrative registration of Venezuelan migrants to expand information on Venezuelan migration. Finally, working with local and international organizations for emergency response in the areas of humanitarian, basic needs and protection, as well as actions to promote integration, social cohesion, and strengthening government capacity.

These efforts are the first step for the Colombian government to help and support the handling of its problems related to the influx of refugees from Venezuela. Efforts made by the Colombian government for the protection of Venezuelan refugees in Colombia came for example from the Colombian Red Cross and Colombian Civil Defense. The forms of protection assistance provided include the delivery of snacks and drinks, transfer of patients, medical consultation and first aid, health counseling, delivery of food supplies, care, and sanitation facilities, bedding, psychosocial support. All of these efforts by the Colombian Government were noted by the European Parliament in a 2018 joint resolution of appreciation. The resolution states that Colombian Governments are working in a commendable manner to provide human rights fulfillment, such as basic education and basic health services, to those fleeing Venezuela, regardless of their status. (Sulistya, 2022).

In this article, the author tries to create a new perspective on the decisions made by the Colombian government in accepting refugees from Venezuela. How is the process of policy formation, the effects and impacts of the Colombian government's decision to accept refugees from Colombia. In this study, we will also take the objectives of the Colombian government in accepting refugees who come to their country. Whether there is a specific purpose or just pure concern for neighboring countries.

## **1.6 Research Framework**

### *1.6.1 Coplin Model on Decision Making Process*

William D. Coplin is a researcher in the decision making process theory in the scope of international relations. As a writer, I found a match with William D. Coplin's theory with the research I wrote. In this case, the Colombian government made a policy related to Venezuelan refugees who came to Colombia with the aim of seeking asylum since their country experienced an economic crisis, hyperinflation, which made almost half of Venezuelans flee from Venezuela and seek a more decent life. With the refugees from Venezuela coming to Colombia, there are certainly many things that need to be considered in order to maintain stability in Colombia. With the arrival of Venezuelan refugees to Colombia, there are many things that need to be considered in order to maintain stability in Colombia. By using Coplin's theory in this case, the author hopes to find the reasons or aspects that

influence the Colombian government in making regulations related to Venezuelan refugees who come to Colombia.

Decision making process according to William D.

Coplin Foreign policy is influenced by three determinants;

- a. Domestic politics ; Domestic political conditions are conditions that occur in a country. which includes national security stability, interest group capabilities and several other aspects. These political conditions determine the results of foreign policy made by decision makers in a country that is useful for fulfilling domestic interests, such as maintenance, acquisition, and anticipatory forms.

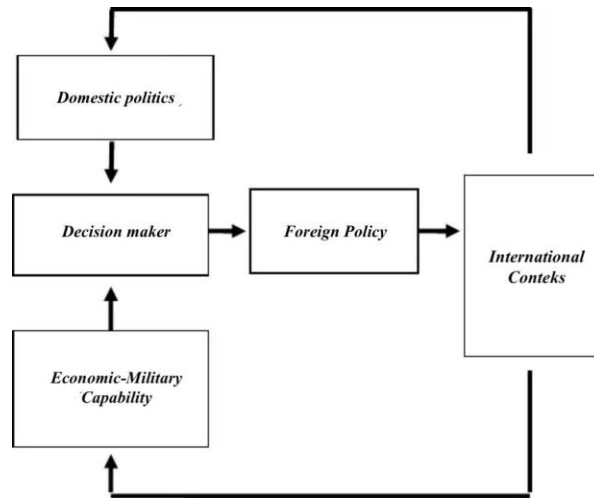
There are 4 policy influencers in domestic politics. First, bureaucratic influencers are individual institutions who help decision makers create and carry out policies. Second, political parties in the legislature that serve as both supporters and opponents of state government programs, their job is to mediate conflicts between the executive branch and the wishes of the general people. Third, interest influencers, often known as informal groups or organizations representing certain interests and work to persuade the nation to adopt or reject a policy that meets their needs, many organizations and informal groups from various interests, both economic and non-economic , have large financial resources so they are able to influence policy makers. The four mass influencers refer to the general consensus that the public holds and that policymakers take into account when determining foreign policy, policy makers formulate various decisions

by taking into account the impact on public opinion and the next general election.

- b. Economic and military capacity; This cosmetic economic and military aspect means that whether the state makes a foreign policy must consider the national economic and military aspects. whether the impact of decision making will affect the national economy and military. Decision makers must balance their commitment and state capabilities with an understanding of the limitations imposed by economic and military conditions.
- c. International context; Coplin explained that geographical, economic and political considerations are very important when studying how the global environment influences a country's foreign policy. The location each country occupies compared to other countries in the system, as well as the economic and political ties that exist between that country and other countries, shape each country's international environment. Coplin also explained that the international context is the foreign policy actions of all countries in the past, present and future that may or will be anticipated by decision makers. Powerful countries are one of the reasons why the international context is one of the determinants of decision making by Coplin.



1.6.2 Figure W.D Coplin Model on Decision Making Process



**1.7 Provisional Argument**

Based on the aforementioned Coplin's thesis statement, it can be concluded that, Colombian government decision to accept Venezuelan refugees is influenced by the following factors;

- a. Domestic politics; the government of Colombia accepted refugees from Venezuela to help a neighboring country with historical ties. At the beginning of the refugees from Venezuela coming to Colombia, the Colombian government did not make things difficult for the refugees, in fact it was very accepting of the refugees. With time, the Colombian government felt that it had to make a regulation for the smooth running of the locals and refugees and also the stability of the country. Therefore, the Colombian government made a regulation about

refugees coming to Colombia, the regulation discussed the life of refugees in Colombia, facilities for refugees, and so on. This regulation was made to create stability in Colombia, between local residents, refugees, and the economy and security of the Colombian state. This is the same as William D Coplin's theory that when making international foreign policy decisions, one must pay attention to domestic aspects. in order to maintain the stability of the domestic aspects of the country.

- b. Economic and Military Capacity; In this aspect, the Colombian government makes regulations also related to the economy, military, and also security for Colombia. This is useful for maintaining Colombia's economy and security. This must be considered by the Colombian government because the increasing number of people in Colombia will make the economic flow in Colombia fall apart. so it is important to pay attention to this aspect in making international foreign policy.
- c. International context; Seeing that Colombia is a superpower, accepting refugees from abroad can be a threat to Colombia's stability. In making international foreign policy, many things must be considered, one of which is the international aspect. In the international aspect, there are many things that must be considered, one of which is the geography factor. In this case, many Venezuelan refugees fled to Latin American countries. and Colombia became the country that received the most refugees from Venezuela. when making a decision regarding refugees

from Venezuela, the impact of the regulation on surrounding countries. This impact is in the form of international political, international economic, and environmental impacts.

## **1.8 Research Method**

### *1.8.1 Type of the Research*

This research will discuss the decision makers of the Colombian government regarding the influx of immigrants from Venezuela who came to Colombia to seek asylum. This research will use a qualitative approach, the research aims to find factors and reasons for the Colombian government to make international decisions related to Colombia as a recipient country of refugees from venezuela.

This leather approach explains that qualitative research is a type of research that produces findings, where these findings cannot be achieved by statistical measures or other means of quantification or measurement. This type of research can be used to research social life, history, behavior, etc.

### *1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research*

The object of the research is refugees from Venezuela due to hyperinflation that occurred in their country and fled to Colombia with the aim of seeking asylum's decent life. and for the subject is the Colombian government that makes decisions regarding the arrival of these refugees.

### *1.8.3 Method of Data Collection*

This research uses descriptive analytical research as its data collection method. This method is statistics used to analyze data by describing and recapitulating it in the aim to deeply study a certain issue (Valamis, 2019)

### *1.8.4 Process of the Research*

During the research process, the author will collect data from many different reliable sources: journals, theses, articles, books, etc. The author will then make comparisons between one source and another as a way to check the validity of the data. After that, the author will observe and analyze the data to complete the research question of this research.

## **1.9 Thesis Outline**

In order to make this research easier to read and follow, the writing of this research will be carried out systematically as follows:

### **1. Chapter 1: Introduction**

This section will explain and systematically explain the reasons why the author chose the topic related to the decision maker by the Colombian government in accepting refugees from Venezuela. The writing continued by explaining the urgency to conduct research on decision makers by the Colombian government. In this section, a brief description and main objective of the research on the decision making process by Colombia government in accepting refugees from Venezuela also written.

## 2. Chapter 2 : Analyzing Domestic Political Context of Colombia

In the second part, the author will provide data and information on the conditions post decision making by the Colombian government regarding accepting refugees from Venezuela. also describe the conditions of Venezuelan refugees post decision making by Colombia government, for example, does the policy positively affect the refugees. The effect in regional and international will be written in this chapter.

## 3. Chapter 3 : The Analysis of the Colombia Government Decision making in Economy, Military Capacity, and International Context

In this chapter, the author will provide from various sources of credible data and information. The author will explain the analysis of Colombia government decision making in economy and military capacity and International context. Economic and military capacity is one of the biggest affected sectors in Colombia for Venezuelan refugees entering Colombia soil. The effect of the cross country event also affects the international context for Colombia's government, and it is one of the prime lands to consider.

## 4. Chapter 4 : Conclusion

In the last section, the author will provide a brief comprehensive explanation of the results of research on the decision making by the Colombian government in accepting refugees from venezuela. In this section, the author tries to provide brief important information that can be used as a reference for further research

## **CHAPTER II**

### **Description of Colombia Government's Actions Toward Venezuela**

#### **Refugees**

##### **2.1. The reason of venezuela refugees fled to colombia**

In Venezuela, inflation is on the rise due to the government's over-subsidies and lack of awareness regarding the country's economic balance. This issue is further exacerbated by the dictatorial leadership of President Nicolas Maduro, and is occurring amidst an ongoing socioeconomic and political crisis. This economic crisis is now considered to be the largest in history. Hyperinflation in Venezuela has caused major disruptions in various sectors, leading to a sense of deprivation among citizens who feel they are not receiving their basic rights. Many Venezuelans lack access to fundamental needs like food, education, and healthcare, and there have been numerous human rights violations reported. This has resulted in a widespread feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction among the population. (Carmody, 2019)

Currently, Venezuela is going through a serious economic turmoil with its currency falling rapidly, high inflation rates, and scarcity of basic commodities. The International Monetary Fund has projected that by the end of 2019, the inflation rate in Venezuela could reach as high as 10,000,000%, while the economy is expected to shrink by 35% this year. Due to the crisis, the country is experiencing shortages of food, medicine, and other essential items, forcing many citizens to leave in search of better opportunities. The causes of the crisis are multifaceted, including declining oil

prices, governmental mismanagement, corruption, and economic sanctions. The COVID-19 pandemic has further worsened the economic conditions in Venezuela, resulting in increased socio-economic inequality. (BBC news, 2019)

Political instability has been a persistent issue in Venezuela, with frequent protests, unrest, and violence. The crisis began in 2013 after the death of former President Hugo Chavez, and escalated following the controversial election of President Nicolas Maduro in 2018. Maduro's election was met with accusations of fraud by the opposition led by Juan Guaido, who called for his resignation. The crisis has led to a deepening divide between the government and opposition, with both sides accusing the other of undermining democracy. This has resulted in widespread human rights abuses such as political persecution, arbitrary detentions, and torture. Additionally, the country is facing a humanitarian crisis, forcing many Venezuelans to flee the country. (The Guardian, 2019)

In recent years, there have been several reports on human rights violations in Venezuela, which include the abuse of human rights activists, journalists, and political opponents, as well as torture, arbitrary detentions, and extrajudicial killings. Human Rights Watch attributed the responsibility for these violations to President Nicolas Maduro's government. Additionally, the crisis in Venezuela has resulted in a humanitarian emergency, with millions of people lacking basic necessities such as food and medicine, and the healthcare system has deteriorated. This situation has led to a demand from the international community to put an end to the human rights violations and find a solution to the crisis. (UNHRC, 2019)

Venezuela is going through a major food crisis, marked by a lack of basic food items and steep increase in their prices. This crisis is said to be the result of various factors, including corruption, economic sanctions, and mismanagement of the economy. The scarcity of food has led to malnutrition and starvation, particularly among the more vulnerable sections such as children and the elderly. According to a study conducted by the National Assembly of Venezuela, over 90% of the population is unable to afford basic food requirements. This has prompted the international community to call for additional support and investment to address the food crisis in Venezuela. (Human Rights Watch, 2019)

To sum up, due to the current conditions in Venezuela, the government has failed to provide basic necessities for its citizens, leading to a large number of Venezuelans fleeing to neighboring countries such as Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Colombia. However, being refugees in a foreign country means they must start from scratch to fulfill their daily needs. The increasing number of Venezuelan refugees in Latin American countries has put additional pressure on these host countries to accommodate and support them.



## **2.2. The Colombian government action towards Venezuelan refugees in 2010 - 2014**

The years 2010-2014 saw a significant increase in the number of Venezuelan refugees and migrants entering Colombia, mainly due to the deteriorating economic and political situation in Venezuela. The Colombian government recognized the severity of the crisis in Venezuela and took significant actions to provide assistance to Venezuelan refugees during this period.

One of the most notable actions taken by the Colombian government was the establishment of the Temporary Protection Status (TPS) for Venezuelan refugees in 2014. The TPS provided a legal framework for Venezuelan refugees to live and work in Colombia for up to two years, allowing them to access basic services such as healthcare, education, and social security. This action was crucial in ensuring that Venezuelan refugees could live with dignity and security in Colombia, without fear of being deported or discriminated against.

In addition to the TPS, the Colombian government worked with international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and non-governmental organizations to provide humanitarian assistance to Venezuelan refugees. The government also established special migration offices to provide support and guidance to Venezuelan refugees seeking to regularize their status in Colombia. The government's efforts to work with international organizations and non-governmental organizations were instrumental in ensuring that the needs of Venezuelan refugees were met in a comprehensive and coordinated manner.

Furthermore, the Colombian government provided financial and technical assistance to municipalities and departments that were hosting large numbers of Venezuelan refugees. This assistance was aimed at improving the infrastructure and services in these areas to accommodate the influx of refugees. The government also provided funding to local NGOs that were providing humanitarian assistance to Venezuelan refugees. Colombia stated they would be providing immigration services for refugees from Venezuela. The government of Colombia wishes for improved economic and living conditions, and assisting with the reunification of families, public housing, and free education for their kids.

The Colombian government's actions towards Venezuelan refugees during the period of 2010-2014 were commendable. The government recognized the severity of the crisis in Venezuela and took a comprehensive and coordinated approach to address the needs of Venezuelan refugees. The establishment of the TPS, working with international organizations and NGOs, and providing financial and technical assistance to host communities were instrumental in ensuring that Venezuelan refugees could live with dignity and security in Colombia. The Colombian government's actions serve as an example for other countries facing similar crises to adopt a humane and compassionate approach towards refugees and migrants.

In conclusion, the establishment of the Temporary Protection Status (TPS) program for Venezuelan refugees in Colombia has been a significant step towards addressing the needs of refugees and ensuring their rights are protected. The TPS program has been instrumental in providing legal protection, access to essential services, and legal certainty to refugees. The Colombian government's commitment to humanitarian values and the protection of refugees' rights serves as a model for other

countries facing similar crises. The TPS program underscores the critical role that governments can play in addressing humanitarian crises and providing assistance to refugees in need.

### **2.3 Public reception toward Venezuelan Refugees in Colombia**

One of the most significant instances of forced migration in history occurred in Venezuela, where 4.5 million people fled to other countries. Colombia is the most popular destination for migrants leaving Venezuela. Due to the economic and political crises in Venezuela, there were roughly 1.8 million Venezuelans living in Colombia as of 2019. This indicates an increase in the percentage of Venezuelans living in Colombia relative to the national population from 0.07% in 2015 to 3.6% in 2019. (UNHCR 2019)

Policymakers who want to comprehend and quantify the potential economic and social repercussions of such a vast intake of immigrants, especially for host nations like Colombia, have a problem as a result of this significant event of migration.

Refugees from Venezuela have received a comparatively warm reception from the Colombian administration. It has organized a significant humanitarian response and implemented actions to integrate Venezuelans into its society and economy in collaboration with international organizations, donors, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the business sector. This indicates that individuals have access to fundamental rights and services, including, for the majority, the right to work, and have secured legal documentation allowing them to live in the nation.

Following the entrance of Venezuelan refugees, a number of events occurred, which became the topic of conversation among the residents. The locals were divided into pro and con groups. Some people perceived the arrival of the refugees as being advantageous, while others saw it as a threat. They believed that because they had to compete with the refugees, there were less opportunities. The political, educational, health, and economic spheres were only a few of the topics that were discussed.

In practice, the Colombian government has been relatively welcoming to refugees. Through various actors such as international organizations, NGOs, and the private sector, the Colombian government has been able to carry out humanitarian actions in a coordinated and appropriate manner. As a result, almost half of all refugees entering the country have legal permission to stay and have access to basic rights and services as citizens. However, there are various obstacles such as social, political, and legal barriers that prevent refugees from obtaining their rights or realizing their rights on the ground.

However, there are social, political and legal barriers that prevent refugees from obtaining their rights or realizing their rights on the ground. There is a bit of tension between Colombians and Venezuelans in the area. With the refugees, native Colombians are feeling the pinch of changing economic conditions since the influx of refugees from Venezuela. Venezuelan refugees continue to try to improve their new lives in Colombia by being economically inclusive, with the aim that they can equalize their quality of life with the conditions that exist in Colombia. Likewise, local Colombians seem to compete between two lives, between Colombians and Venezuelans.

Colombians feel that the inclusive movement of Venezuelan refugees threatens to make Venezuelan refugees self-sufficient in their primary needs and earn more than local Colombians. This will continue to depress the economy of Colombians. In fact, the inclusive movement of refugees is making the Colombian economy better and has a significant movement, but also at the risk of depressing the unemployment rate for local Colombians. The difference between the two groups becomes a task for Colombians.

The difference between the two groups is a new task for the government, so that conditions between the two populations in Colombia become more coordinated and fair. A lot has to be done about the things that have happened since the influx of refugees from Venezuela. But there are also positive sides to these refugees, such as increased gross domestic product (GDP) growth, reduced unemployment. This is a little answer to the challenges that exist in Colombia related to the influx of refugees from Venezuela.

It is unquestionably the start of a new life for Venezuelan refugees that Colombia has accepted them, especially Iván Duque's approval, which makes it simpler for refugees to obtain a residency status and live respectably in Colombia. Consider 26-year-old Isaias Bello, who arrived in Colombia in 2018. Bello arrived in Colombia without documentation as a refugee, and after going through several procedures to get a residency permit, Bello is now employed as a farmer in a gooseberries farm. He receives a paycheck from his employer and a respectable place to live. Many refugees, like other refugees, are appreciative of the government programs in Colombia that support refugees in living decently and obtaining their human rights.

The ongoing economic and political crisis in Venezuela has led to a mass exodus of its citizens to neighboring countries, including Colombia. Among those fleeing the crisis are thousands of women and girls who are particularly vulnerable to sexual violence and exploitation during their journey to safety.

The plight of Venezuelan women is a grave human rights issue that deserves urgent attention and action. The sexual violence they face is a violation of their dignity and their basic human rights. It also perpetuates gender inequality and discrimination, as women are disproportionately affected by the crisis and its consequences.

The article highlights the efforts of various organizations and activists who are working to support Venezuelan women and provide them with the resources and protection they need to prevent sexual violence and ensure their safety. These efforts include providing safe spaces for women, distributing hygiene kits and contraceptives, and raising awareness about the issue. (International Crisis Group, 2022)

However, more needs to be done to address this issue and protect the human rights of Venezuelan women. The governments of Venezuela and Colombia, as well as the international community, must take concrete steps to prevent sexual violence, hold perpetrators accountable, and provide support to survivors. This includes investing in education and awareness-raising campaigns, providing access to healthcare and legal services, and ensuring that women's voices and perspectives are included in decision-making processes.

In conclusion, the sexual violence faced by Venezuelan women as they cross into Colombia is a critical issue that requires urgent action and attention. It is a violation

of their basic human rights and perpetuates gender inequality and discrimination. They must work together to prevent sexual violence, provide support to survivors, and promote gender equality and human rights for all. (International Crisis Group, 2022

## **CHAPTER III**

### **The Analysis of Colombia Government in Accepting Venezuela Refugees in Juan Santos era**

#### **3.1. Domestic Politics**

The influx of Venezuelan refugees into Colombia has become a central topic of domestic politics, posing significant humanitarian challenges. Domestic politics factors such as state stability, decision-maker personality, and a country's customs play pivotal roles in shaping governmental policies. State stability is a crucial factor in understanding Colombia's refugee acceptance policy during the first period of Juan Santos' administration. Colombia had been plagued by violence for decades due to the drug trade, left-wing guerrilla groups, and right-wing paramilitaries (Bérubé, 2005). By the time Santos took office in 2010, Colombia had made significant progress in terms of security and stability. The government had been able to significantly reduce the level of violence, and the country was beginning to rebuild. Santos's administration initiated programs to ensure access to education, healthcare, and employment for refugees. These efforts were made possible because of the stable state environment that allowed for effective policy implementation.



Customs and cultural norms have a profound impact on a country's policies, including the approach to accepting refugees. Coplin's theory of domestic politics highlights the importance of a nation's customs in shaping its decision-making process. This theory asserts that a country's customs are a reflection of its cultural norms, values, and beliefs, thereby influencing its policies. In the context of Colombia's refugee acceptance policy under the administration of Juan Santos, it becomes evident that the country's deep-rooted customs have played a substantial role. Colombia's history of multiculturalism and respect for diversity has cultivated customs that prioritize the rights and well-being of individuals seeking refugee (Ruprecht, 2019). Colombia past history of conflict and violence, which has forced millions of Colombians to flee. In the 1960s, guerrilla groups and government forces clashed as results from the rise of cartels and paralitaries in the 1980s, resulting in millions of Colombians being displaced. Millions of Colombians were displaced over the past 50 years due to the ongoing armed conflict, many of whom sought work and peace in Venezuela, their oil-rich neighbor.

Another factor contributing to its domestic politics is the migration of former displaced Colombians and their binational families, who are migrating back to their homeland. Colombians have become more aware of the challenges Venezuelans face as a result of the rise of binational families, which makes many Colombians have family members who are Venezuelan citizens. Among these individuals is Arles Pereda, president of the aid organization Colony of Venezuelans in Colombia who was Born in Venezuela to a Colombian father. As a Colombian immigrant, he has watched as widespread instability crosses borders from one country to another.

As Pareda stated.

“Now when Venezuelans come, if [Colombians] were in the same situation, they are more accepting. They adapt faster to the Venezuelans when they come suffering because they themselves suffered years ago from displacement and from violence.” (Megan Janetsky, 2019)

Moreover, more than a million Venezuelans have settled in Colombia, not just in border areas, but also in urban centers across the country. Also, Colombians returning from Venezuela and Colombian-Venezuelan mixed families are settling there. Indigenous groups living in Venezuela (Yukpa, Mutilon Bari, and Wayuu) are entering Colombia in vulnerable conditions (GIFMM, 2018).

The bitter animosity between the Colombian government and Maduro played a significant role as one of the factors influencing Colombia's accepting refugee policy during the early years of the Venezuelan crisis. The Colombian government has been struggling to cope with the influx of refugees, and believes that a change in leadership in Venezuela would help to alleviate the crisis. Colombia's government is exerting pressure on Maduro's regime by welcoming Venezuelan refugees. By showing the world how Venezuela's crisis is negatively impacting the average citizen, the government hopes to isolate Maduro and bring about his fall. As President Juan Manuel Santos stated

“Venezuela is not a country accustomed to violence as Colombia has been. If there is a violent transition, the aftermath will be very difficult to administer, and that is going to have terrible repercussions in Venezuela and in Colombia, so by all means we need a peaceful transition” (Georgetown University, 2019).

This strong statement also followed with his successor, Duque, in a speech to the United Nations denouncing Maduro's regime as a dictatorship, referred to migrants arriving in Venezuela as "Venezuelan brothers." In other words, the country has always welcomed migrants with affection in spite of social and fiscal difficulties, since we are united by a common bond of fraternity.

Juan Manuel Santos, Colombia's former president from 2010 to 2018, may finish. Santos himself comes from a political family with a lengthy history. Santos has a wealth of knowledge and involvement in both internal and international affairs due to his long history in Colombian politics. Santos persisted in politics and was eventually appointed minister of international commerce in 1991, during the administration of Cesar Gaviria Trujillo. also rose to the position of leader in the Colombian Liberal Party (partido liberal colombiano), among other political roles and experiences. (Ray & Wallenfeldt, 2023)

Santos is concerned for people in addition to politics. As president of Colombia from 2010 to 2018, Santos encountered challenges while taking in migrants from the country next door, Venezuela. Colombia became the country that took in the most Venezuelan refugees as a result of the economic crisis in Venezuela, which forced many Venezuelans to leave to nearby Latin American nations. Santos has

urged regional countries to take action to halt the escalating humanitarian situation while granting 440,000 Venezuelan refugees temporary residency permits valid for two years. according to Santos' tweets

"I reiterate my condemnation of the Venezuelan regime. A regime that does not listen and that remains in a state of total denial. I insist on allowing a humanitarian channel to relieve the suffering of its people"

President Santos wrote on his Twitter. And for his action toward the refugees from Venezuela, he got many appreciations from other countries. (Al Jazeera, 2018)

Juan Santos is an advocate of a right-wing liberal conservative ideology. Additionally, the right wing is better known for its tight immigration policies since it believes that immigrants burden the government. While the left wing is well known for being welcoming to immigrants. Despite his ideological disagreements with the circumstances in Colombia, Santos maintained his commitment to humanity despite Venezuela's ideology. And in the end, Juan Santos' personality will triumph over the decision-maker's beliefs. Everything is overcome by humanity. And several kinds of influencers as a means of decision-making (Czaika & Haas, 2020)

1. Bureaucratic influencers: In this case, the Colombian government is one of the bureaucratic influencers, this is because the Colombian government participated in creating the Border Mobility Card to create a safer and more orderly migration mechanism. The Colombian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also issues a residence permit called a Special Stay Permit so that migrants from Venezuela can stay in Colombia for 2 years and work and get facilities like Colombian

citizens so that the Colombian Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be categorized as bureaucratic influencers. Another bureaucratic influencer is the President of Colombia who took part in creating a special migration group to control the entry of migrants so that they are registered at the Colombian Civil Registry Office. (Sulistya, 2022,)

2. interest influencers: In this case, the Colombian government is because the Colombian government worked with international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and non-governmental organizations to provide humanitarian assistance to Venezuelan refugees. (Sulistya, 2022,)
3. Mass influencers: And in this case, the Colombian population is also categorized as mass influencers, this is because some people perceive the arrival of the refugees as being advantageous, while others see it as a threat. They believed that because they had to compete with the refugees, there were less opportunities. The political, educational, health, and economic spheres were only a few of the topics that were discussed. (Sulistya, 2022,)

### **3.2 Economy and Military Capacity**

### **3.2.1 Economy capacity**

The economic strength of Colombia contributed to Colombia's acceptance of Venezuelan refugees during the Juan Santos era. Colombia's economy grew at an average annual rate of 4.3% during Santos' first term in 2010, which was the fastest growth rate in more than a decade. According to the President of Colombia, its GDP growth of 4.3% in 2013 ranked second in Latin America, ahead of Chile (4.1%), Mexico (1.1%), and Brazil (2,3%) (Invest in Colombia, 2014). The government of President Santos focuses its economic strategy on five key sectors that are seen as engines of economic growth: innovation, agriculture, transportation infrastructure, mining, and housing (ECLAC, 2013). As a result of Santos' economic growth, Venezuelan refugees were able to be welcomed more easily. In order to help Venezuelan refugees, the Colombian government provided food, shelter, and healthcare. Venezuelan refugees were also provided with more jobs, which helped to reduce the strain on Colombian infrastructure.

As Colombia's president, Juan Santos took office in 2010 when the country was experiencing a significant economic upturn, with GDP growth reaching an average of 4.5% during his first term, surpassing the Latin American average (CRS, 2016). This economic growth was driven by various factors, including increased foreign investment and a boom in the oil and mining sectors. Consequently, such robust economic expansion provided a favorable environment for Colombia to accept a considerable number of refugees (Bogota, 2022). Mining and quarry exploitation, trade, industry, and transport contributed mainly to the strong performance of the economy. In addition to the remarkable buoyancy of the mining-energy sector, crude oil, natural gas, and

minerals' value added increased by 16.9%. Moreover, Colombia's labor market responded favorably to greater economic activity in 2010 and the unemployment rate dropped from 12.0% in 2009 to 11.8% in 2010. Under Santos' administration, foreign investment has also increased in Colombia, contributing to the construction of infrastructure projects, such as roads, bridges, and airports. There were a number of factors that contributed to this, including a rise in government spending on social programs like healthcare and education, as well as rising wages, which increased consumer spending (ECLAC, 2013).

The influx of refugees brought with it a potential labor force, which contributed to increased productivity and furthered economic growth. In addition, the increased demand for goods and services by the refugee population stimulated consumer spending and overall economic activity. During Santos' first term, investment inflows in Colombia grew by 115%, and employment rates experienced a significant rise (Janetsky, 2019). These factors substantiate the notion that Colombia's economic growth during Santos' first term played a pivotal role in the country's acceptance and integration of refugees. By harnessing the potential of refugee populations, Colombia was able to bolster its economic development while providing a safe haven for those in need (CRS, 2016).

Moreover, During Juan Santos' first term, the Colombian government faced numerous obstacles in providing economic support for refugees. These challenges included limited resources, high levels of unemployment, a shortage of job opportunities, and budget constraints (Bitar, 2022). The influx of refugees also placed a strain on Colombia's social services, making it even more challenging for the government to meet the economic demands of both refugees and the local population.

It is worth noting that Colombia has responded holistically to the unprecedented influx of migrants and refugees, further stepping up its work to address migration (World Bank, 2021). Since 2015, Colombia has remained committed to exemplary open policies for the social and economic integration of Venezuelan migrants, including issuing work, transit, and stay permits, extending access to health, education, and social programs and housing subsidies, and investing to benefit both host and migrant communities.

### **3.2.2 Military capacity**

During Santos's first term, Colombia faced a number of security challenges, including the ongoing armed conflict with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN), and other groups. Violence, kidnapping, and extortion have been long-used as leverage and sources of income by the FARC and ELN. A former culture minister was assassinated by the FARC in 2001, and a senator was kidnapped by rebels during a hijacking of a domestic commercial flight in 2002. According to the National Center for Historical Memory of Colombia, guerrilla groups kidnapped twenty-five thousand people between 1970 and 2010 (Klobucista & Renwick, 2017). Colombia was also experiencing a growing humanitarian crisis caused by the influx of Venezuelan refugees during this period.

Before Juan Manuel Santos took office, Colombia faced a complex military situation that had significant consequences for the nation. The internal conflict in Colombia began during the mid-20th century with a period known as "La Violencia," which was fueled by social and economic inequalities and was further intensified by the involvement of guerrilla groups like the FARC and the ELN (Graham & Scowcroft,



2000). According to a report by the Council on Foreign Relations, the Colombian military faced several challenges, including limited resources and funding, lack of proper training and equipment for military personnel, and inadequate information sharing among military branches. The dire state of Colombia's military can be exemplified by quotes from sources, showcasing the struggle to meet basic operational needs and the shortage of proper training and equipment (Graham & Scowcroft, 2000).

The emergence of paramilitary groups significantly impacted the pre-restructured military condition in Colombia. In response to the escalating violence between left-wing guerrilla groups like the FARC and the state, private individuals and landowners formed self-defense groups, known as paramilitaries (BBC, 2016). These groups gained power and influence over time, often with support from elements of the military and politicians. Their tactics included targeted assassinations, disappearances, and massacres, resulting in widespread human rights abuses. According to a report by the Congressional Research Service, the convergence with the military led to a distorted chain of command, lack of accountability, and corruption (Beittel, 2016). The paramilitaries' violent methods also instilled fear and intimidation among the population, hindering the government's ability to address the root causes of the internal conflict effectively.

Santos addressed these challenges by restructuring Colombia's military force by restructuring its doctrine, reforming its functions, and eventually sizing its manpower. The Santos government publicly announced in 2012 that a peace process with the FARC would be initiated one year later. Thus, it implied the possibility of disarming the biggest threat to national security so far some years later. Due to the changes in the national scenario, the army would also have to adapt to the new

challenges that may arise. Therefore, the Strategic Committee for Designing the Army of the Future (CEDEF) took over the responsibility of creating a plan to review the army's doctrine in 2013. As part of the “Minerva Plan,” implemented by the Education and Doctrine Command (CEDOC) in 2015, a doctrine and educational system was intended to be able to articulate basic components of doctrine, education, instruction and training, science, technology, and lessons learned in order to develop a more skilled and professional army force (Mijares & Gonzalez, 2021). By increasing Colombia's military capacity, the government was able to better safeguard its borders and prevent Venezuelan armed groups from infiltrating. Consequently, Venezuelan refugees were able to migrate to Colombia in search of safety and a better life in a more secure environment.

### **3.3 International Context**

According to Coplin, the international context can be seen from how the country collaborates with other countries. In this case, it can be seen that Colombia carries out several collaborations with other countries, for example Indonesia, Colombia carries out a lot of collaboration in various fields such as politics, economics and socio-culture. This cooperation between countries also provides benefits for both parties, where Colombia can take advantage of this cooperation to advance things in accordance with the field of cooperation being carried out and so does Indonesia. Colombia can also use this cooperation as the things that can add strength in receiving the refugees from Venezuela so that they can keep on accepting the refugees to live in their country. (Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 2018)

The Colombian government's decision to accept Venezuelan refugees was

also influenced by international factors. Colombia, as a nation deeply affected by its own internal conflicts, now finds itself confronted with the ramifications of international displacement. Hundreds of thousands of Venezuelans have fled over the border to escape the economic crisis in their country, and President Juan Manuel Santos said that Colombia needs international aid to deal with this humanitarian crisis. As Santo stated

“I appreciate the offers of financial and other aid from the international community. We are fully prepared to receive them. We need them because unfortunately this problem gets worse day by day” (VOA, 2018).

This acknowledgment underscores the significance of international support in addressing the challenges posed by the influx of Venezuelan refugees. Colombia's approach to refugees during Juan Santos' time as leader was significantly shaped by international factors and where the country is located on the map. One important reason is that Colombia is very close to countries like Venezuela and Ecuador, which were facing serious conflicts. Many of these people went to nearby countries like Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Brazil. This large number of new people coming in has caused difficulties for these countries and has also made the whole region less stable (Janetsky, 2019). One concern is that some of the refugees might bring not only their problems but also criminal activities and other security risks. If the refugee crisis is not addressed, it could lead to further instability in the region. Colombia's decision to accept refugees is a significant step towards addressing the Venezuelan refugee crisis. It shows that Colombia is committed to helping refugees and it also sends a message to other countries in the region that they should do the same. Colombia's decision to accept refugees is also a positive step for regional stability. It helps to relieve the pressure on neighboring countries and it also helps to prevent the spread of violence and crime.

Furthermore, geopolitically, Colombia considered its reputation and image in the international community. As a member of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, Colombia sought to uphold its commitment to humanitarian principles and showcase its capacity to provide asylum to those in need (Ruprecht, 2019). The government believed that demonstrating a strong commitment to refugee acceptance would enhance its credibility and promote cooperation with international partners. This complex interplay of geographic proximity and geopolitical considerations serves as evidence of the significant role played by the international context in shaping Colombia's decisions regarding refugee acceptance during the Juan Santos era.

Colombia's acceptance of refugees during Juan Santos' presidency term is also influenced by its adherence to international refugee law. The country recognizes the importance of upholding humanitarian principles and promoting regional stability (Ruprecht, 2019). Colombia actively participates in international forums and conferences, advocating for increased support for refugee acceptance and gaining global recognition for its humanitarian efforts. This active engagement on a global scale showcases Colombia's commitment to the cause and further strengthens its position as a recipient of international assistance (Ruprecht, 2019). By adhering to international refugee law and actively engaging with the global community, Colombia demonstrates its dedication to protecting the rights and well-being of refugees, enhancing its reputation as a responsible and compassionate host country

In response to the increasing number of Venezuelans crossing the border, including unattended children receiving free vaccinations and education, Colombia

estimates it will need \$30 million to build an assistance center to offer temporary housing to migrant families before making their next move (VOA, 2018). Among the major stakeholders involved, Santos asserted that the United States, China, Russia, Cuba, and Latin American countries need to reach an agreement. A peaceful transition of power is of great importance to him, and he recommended the UN or the Catholic Church be consulted to assist in mediation efforts. Colombia developed strong relationships with neighboring countries like Ecuador, Brazil, and Venezuela, enabling better cooperation in managing the influx of refugees (Ruprecht, 2019).

These partnerships facilitated the sharing of resources, expertise, and best practices in addressing the challenges associated with refugee integration. The Venezuelan migration crisis, in particular, has had a profound impact on Colombia's approach to refugees, as millions of Venezuelans have sought refuge in Colombia (UNHCR, 2022). The magnitude of this crisis has highlighted the imperative of international cooperation and solidarity in addressing refugee challenges.

International organizations have played a significant role in supporting Colombia's refugee acceptance policies during Juan Santos' presidency. In 2018, UN Secretary-General António Guterres visited Colombia and met with President Santos. The United Nations Secretary-General commended Colombia for its "humanitarian leadership" during the Venezuelan refugee crisis, urging the international community to give Colombia more assistance in its efforts to assist Venezuelan refugees (Latorre, 2018). International pressure has persuaded the Colombian government to act in response to the refugee crisis. The United Nations has praised the government's humanitarian response, and the United States has provided financial assistance to assist

Colombia. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has been actively involved in providing assistance and guidance to Colombia in addressing the challenges posed by the influx of refugees. The UNHCR has worked closely with the Colombian government to develop and implement effective strategies for refugee integration and protection (Ruprecht, 2019). Similarly, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has provided technical expertise and financial support to Colombia's efforts in accommodating and integrating refugees. This assistance has been pivotal in strengthening Colombia's capacity to handle the increasing number of refugees and ensuring their well-being and protection (Ruprecht, 2019).

In conclusion, the international factors that have influenced Colombia's acceptance of refugees under Juan Santos' presidency are evident in the country's engagement with other nations, collaboration with international organizations, and adherence to international refugee law. Colombia's relationships with neighboring countries have enabled better cooperation in managing the influx of refugees, while international organizations like the UNHCR and the IOM have provided vital support in developing and implementing initiatives that promote the integration and protection of refugees in Colombia. By studying and addressing these international factors, Colombia can continue to formulate inclusive and compassionate refugee acceptance policies, moving towards a more inclusive and compassionate global society where the rights and well-being of refugees are protected and upheld.

## **BAB IV**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

The results of the research involving the Colombian government in accepting refugees from Venezuela, showed that the Colombian government considered many aspects in accepting Venezuelan refugees. Such as the theory of an expert used in this study, William D Coplin. Wiliiam Coplin outlines several factors in the decision making process. such as domestic politics, economy and military capacity, and international context. These three aspects are very helpful for this research.

In terms of domestic politics, apart from humanitarian reasons, the Colombian government in accepting refugees from Venezuela remembers their historical relationship as a latin american country. Colombians accepted Venezuelans for reasons of reciprocity. In the 1960s there was an internal conflict in Colombia, which required many Colombians to flee to neighboring countries, one of which was venezuela. With so many Colombians fleeing to Venezuela, there was a cross culture between Colombians and Venezuelans. Many Colombians were related to Venezuelans, and vice versa. For this reason, the Colombian government was able to accept refugees from Venezuela and did various ways to create stability between Colombians and Venezuelans in Colombia.

The second theory, economics and military capacity have different results. In the economic aspect, the government has seen a positive graph since the arrival of refugees from Venezuela. about 4.3% economic increase in 2010 during the government of Juan Santos' first term. Since the beginning of the presidency of Juan Santos, the increase in the GDP rate of Colombia reached 4.5%, making Colombia's economic movement positive. With this event, it had an impact on the Colombian economy. one of which was in foreign investment for the oil and mining sectors. And in military capacity, while the event that Venezuelans are entering Colombia, there is also internal conflict. Conflict between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN), and other groups. Because of this, the safety of refugees is a concern for the government in providing security and comfort for refugees who come to Colombia. The occurrence of this internal conflict has increased threats to refugees, such as murder, kidnapping, and rape for female refugees. the movement made by the Colombian government is to strengthen its military strength and create special forces to deal with all forms of threats to refugees and locals.

And the last one, the international context aspect. The Colombian government is affected by the adherence to international refugee law. Which is that Colombia supports the welfare of refugees who are seeking asylum. And without hesitation the Colombian government stated that they would accept refugees from Venezuela and provide maximum assistance. But with the shockwave of refugees coming to Colombia, the Colombian government felt a little difficult to cope with refugees. With that, the president of Colombia at the time, Juan Santos stated "I appreciate the



offers of financial and other aid from the international community. We are fully prepared to receive them. We need them because unfortunately this problem gets worse day by day" with the hope of international support to Colombia to deal with refugees from Venezuela, also as a form of humanitarian assistance to refugees.

#### **4.2 Recommendation**

Based on the results of the analysis and conclusions that have been presented above, of course, there are still limitations, suggestions and recommendations are expected to help further research to enrich related studies of similar themes.

Therefore, the authors provide several recommendations for further research.

As for some recommendations from the author, namely:

1. the research studied in 2010-2014 during the first term of the presidency of Juan Santos, the military capacity variable, the author really appreciates the real action by the Colombian government in caring for the security of Venezuelan refugees, by reconstructing national military forces. But it is a little unfortunate that the president of Colombia, Juan Santos only reconstructed the military forces in 2012 and realized in 2013. It is very fortunate if Santos did the reconstruction from the beginning, which is where the use of military forces that have been reconstructed is not only for the security of refugees, but can also be used for better national security and ready for any situation.

2. in accepting Venezuelan refugees in Colombia, there are several aspects that must be considered before decision making in accepting refugees. One of them is the international context. In this study, Colombia is open to various forms of assistance that come, such as assistance from international organizations and countries that have provided assistance. The actions taken by the Colombian government are very wise, where the government and partner NGOs are very open to a lot of assistance. This has helped the Colombian government's acceptance of refugees. The aid that arrived was very helpful and did not make it difficult for the government to take care of the refugees who arrived. International aid has created stability in Colombia, where there is no mix-up between the domestic field and Venezuelan refugees.

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