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Navigating the Paradox of Fear: Collaborative Research Exploring Resettlement and Vulnerability with Displaced Women in Colombia

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NAVIGATING THE PARADOX OF FEAR:
COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH EXPLORING RESETTLEMENT AND
VULNERABILITY WITH DISPLACED WOMEN IN COLOMBIA

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Abstract

In April of 2008, the Colombian Constitutional Court issued a report based on women's
testimonials that identified gender-specific risks associated with forced displacement as
result of armed conflict. This study explores the coping strategies employed by
Colombian women to address socio-economic vulnerability and improve living
conditions during resettlement in Bogotá. Specifically, the research tracks the process of
adaptation during the struggle to achieve economic stability. The findings suggest that a
prevailing culture of fear influences multiple aspects of adjusting to the city and
constricts the participants' access to new social networks. Lessons gathered from the
participants using collaborative anthropological methods have important implications for
aid donors who aim to support this vulnerable population. The study is timely because the
Colombian government has made progressive attempts to support the internally displaced
people, however there has been little qualitative research on the perception of this
population, specifically mothers, as to whether this support is reaching them.

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GLOSSARY

***Adaptation*:** the longer-term, dynamic process of changing a behavior or mechanism to respond to a new condition. As Yehudi Cohen describes, "adaptation is the human's ability to respond to the habitat in order to meet a range of survival needs including livelihood" (1974 [1968]: 2). It can be understood as a population's ability to meet their needs within a given habitat and a given historical context (Cohen 1974 [1968]: 3).

***Adjustment*:** the changes necessitated by an alternation in environment. An adjustment may involve balancing conflicting needs in order to respond to the given environment.

***Cohesive Variable*:** a variable that was not pre-determined to be a dependent variable, but that is common to the entire sample. The commonality is highlighted by the term "cohesive variable."

Coping Strategy: a behavior or set of behaviors developed in response to immediate constraints that may minimize the negative consequences of exposure to a risk.

***Cultural Capital*:** an asset that includes material cultural expressions, such as media and art, as well as knowledge that can encompass institutionalized academic knowledge as well as social norms (Bourdieu 1986).

***Economic Capital*:** a form of capital that is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized into the forms of property rights" (Bourdieu 1986: 242). Interchangeable with financial capital.

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Financial Capital: "the financial resources available to people (including savings, credit, remittances and pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options (*in* Radoki 2002 citing [Carney 1998: 7]). Interchangeable with economic capital.

Human Capital: an asset is similar to cultural capital, but Coleman's use of human capital focuses on the importance of formal education to develop human capital (Coleman 1998).

Livelihood: "comprising…'the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living'" (in Rakodi 2002 [Carney 1998: 4]).

Machista culture: A facet of patriarchal society found in some parts of Latin America characterized by a traditionally imposed restriction in women's ability to be mobile and engage with different spheres of public life including formal education and employment.

Natural Capital: is "the natural resource of stocks from which resource flows useful to livelihoods are derived, including land, water and other environmental resources, especially common pool resources" (*in* Radoki 2002 citing [Carney 1998: 7]).

Physical Capital: "physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communication) and the production of equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods" (*in* Radoki 2002 citing [Carney 1998: 7]).

Risk: possible negative outcome; "the probability that exposure to a hazard will lead to a negative consequence" (Redlener cited *in* Arsdale and Smith 2010: 124).

Social capital: As defined by Pierre Bourdieu, "social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (*in* Halpern 2005 [Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 119]). More specifically, it is a "social resource…on which people draw in pursuit of livelihood" (*in* Radoki 2002 citing [Carney 1998: 7]).

Subaltern: a population whose knowledge and voice are systematically excluded from hegemonic discourses (Humphries and McNicholas 2009; Spivak 1998).

Subaltern Project: an anthology of subaltern perspectives of Indian independence as an attempt to fill in the gaps left by the elites who recorded the struggle to be decolonized (Guha 1982).

Strategic Essentialism*:* For lack of better alternatives, Spivak presents the idea of "strategic essentialism," which would allow a subaltern group to generalize about itself in order to have a larger voice despite individual differences. This is done in recognition that just speaking for yourself as a subaltern may also not allow your voice to be heard (1998).

Sustainability: the extent to which a family or individual is able to manage or access assets in order "to cope and recover from stresses and shocks" (Scoones cited *in* Rakodi 2002: 18). This definition is useful in regards to urban livelihoods.

Threat: a force that brings a vulnerable person closer to a risk. Van Arsdale and Smith describe a threat as "involv[ing] force and/or intrusion, intended through human agency or unintended through natural or human-caused events" (Van Arsdale and Smith 2010: 122).

*Vulnerability***:** is a term which explains the "factors and conditions which make life

tenuous" (Van Arsdale and Smith 2010: 124); it "exists in the cohort," and can be

understood as conditions or attributes that may enhance negative exposures to

risk.

*Vulnerable Situation***:** where they have a heightened exposure to a certain risk.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AI Amnesty International
AUC United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia
ELN Army of National Liberation
FARC Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
GoC Government of Colombia
HRW Human Rights Watch
IDP internally displaced person
NGO Non-Governmental Organization
UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO TOPIC AND PARTICIPANTS

One does not have to look hard to find evidence of suffering in the world. On any given day, the newspaper offers details of war, poverty, human rights injustices, and pending environmental disasters, that describe the threatening conditions that a considerable proportion of the world's populations face. Faced with this reality, we are often compelled to act. We may choose to help by trying to reduce the threats or decrease the risk to which vulnerable populations are exposed. In the field of international development, we often respond by considering a solution to the perceived problem in relative isolation from the effected population.

In this thesis, I advocate for a different response: to listen to ways in which a given population is attempting to reduce its vulnerability. Like other applied anthropologists, I assert that the participatory tools of anthropology can be used to enhance understanding of grassroots coping strategies that populations are employing to reduce their vulnerability to risks. Furthermore, because of the value given to academic writing and research, I contend that anthropologists are in an excellent position to amplify the voice of marginalized populations.

Statement of Problem

In this thesis, I examine the current socio-economic conditions of displaced women in Bogotá, Colombia. Colombia is a country in the north of South America that has coastline along both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The fertile land of Colombia

offers a range of ecological terrain, from the low laying flatlands near the coast to the high Andes Mountains. In comparison to the five countries that boarder Colombia, Colombia has the highest unemployment rate (12%) and the largest percentage of the population living below the poverty line (46.8%) (Central Intelligence Agency 2010).

Since the 1960s, Colombia has suffered from an ongoing-armed conflict fueled by a thriving cocaine trade. The armed conflict has been characterized by violent massacres, kidnappings, rapes and the use of child combatants (Human Rights Watch 2005; Tate 2007; Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict 2004). Civilians have been subjected to a range of human rights abuses over the last several decades. This thesis focuses on the population of people who have been forcibly displaced from their land because of violence or threats imposed by the armed actors. Though the numbers vary, a recent study estimates that approximately 4 million people have been displaced in Colombia due to the armed conflict (Romero and Rojas 2008).

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) reports that displaced people are subjected to extreme economic difficulties in comparison to the national population of Colombia. The majority of displaced people migrate from rural to urban areas. UNHCR finds that internally displaced people "suffer an unemployment rate that is three times higher than for the urban poor in general" (2008: 325). The displaced population also suffers from a higher percentage of the population who live below the poverty line. The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (the Women's Commission) estimates close to 60-65% of displaced people live below the poverty line (2006). Hence, the condition into which displaced people are forced is characterized by socio-economic vulnerability in comparison to the larger population.

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Studies find that the displaced population is disproportionately women (Meertens 2003; Women's Commission 2006). This is important considering that women from rural areas of Colombia have limited formal education or skills training that would help them to secure employment in an urban setting (Green 2006; Meertens 2003). Further confounding their condition of socio-economic vulnerability, many displaced women arrive into urban areas with children who depend on them for their livelihood.

My study examines the experiences of women in Bogotá, a destination city for many after forced displacement from their land. To narrow my research, I limit my exploration to the conditions which women face after they arrive in Bogotá. However, the conditions cannot be isolated from their experience of displacement. Research on displacement in Colombia reveals a generalized culture of fear resulted from violent displacement (Moser and McIlwaine 2004a; Riaño-Alcalá 2008; Tate 2007). Hence, displaced women in Bogotá are faced with the problematic pressures of attempting to provide sustainable livelihoods, in the form of food and shelter, for their children and themselves in a foreign city within a culture of fear.

The socio-economic vulnerability of displaced women is associated with the threat of exploitation. Researching conditions that proceed human trafficking, Cathy Zimmerman finds that if a woman is not able to access any sources of economic support, she may accept extraordinary risks in order to provide for her family (2003: 32). Research carried out by the Colombian Constitutional Court finds that displaced woman are at a higher risk of exploitation than displaced men (Espinosa 2008). As such, socio-economic vulnerability in this setting is correlated with the threat of exploitation in

addition to other threats such as not being able to provide food or shelter for their families.

In my thesis, I examine how displaced Colombian mothers who were displaced to Bogotá from rural areas have coped and adapted to socio-economic pressures in order to develop sustainable livelihoods. As I explored the question of how the participants adapted socio-economic needs in an urban setting, the valuable yet problematic role of informal social networks emerged as a potential resource to aid women during the adaptation phase. Research shows that in certain contexts social networks have the potential to help ease the transition for migrants to a new area (Harpviken 2009; Massey and España 1987; Vásquez-León 2009), yet if displaced women are fearful of creating new social bonds, their ability to form social networks could be compromised.

Three research questions guide both my study and my exploration of the role of the anthropologist in international development work. The questions are: How have displaced women capitalized on available resources, specifically social networks, in order to address the socio-economic vulnerability that faces them during the resettlement process in Bogotá? Does the prevalent culture of fear in Colombia affect their ability to access relevant capital embedded in social networks? And finally, while doing research with a population of vulnerable women, how can anthropologists move towards facilitating open space for participants to have more voice in academic research?

This study is timely because the Colombian government has recently made advancements to refine the support of internally displaced women in Colombia. However, there has been limited qualitative research on the subjective experience of displaced women as to whether this support is reaching them, or if certain factors are

preventing them from accessing this support. My research approach is a shift from the norm of human rights scholarship on Colombia. There is extensive research regarding the frustrating and often difficult process for displaced people to register with the government of Colombia (Amnesty International 2009; Human Rights Watch 2005; Meertens 2001; Tate 2007). The recommendations of scholars often highlight ways in which the dispensing of aid could be restructured.

In this study, I treat the current system that the state uses to dispense humanitarian aid as a fixed variable. My research is in line with a new wave of international aid work like the work being done by *CDA Collaborative Learning Projects* based out of Cambridge, MA. In 2005, this non-governmental organization (NGO) launched the *Listening Project*, a field-based project to listen to the experiences of people on the receiving end of aid in conflict zones. The motivation of their work is to develop new monitoring and evaluation (M&E) paradigms to ensure that international aid is not harming the recipient population (CDA Collaborative Learning Projects 2007). While traditional M&E rubrics tend to focus on quantified aspects of the distribution of money and tangible outcomes, it is also important for donors to evaluate the subjective experience of recipients.

In line with the work of the *Listening Project*, my study is highly emic as I am concerned with the subjective experience of affected women and explore the strategies they have employed to be active agents in reducing their socio-economic vulnerability. Although etic factors, such as location within the city and economic resources, will be considered, the primary concern of the study is to uncover emic perceptions.

Beyond the details of my analysis, I offer contributions to the field of anthropology by incorporating the academic discussion of the *subaltern project* into my work (Guha 1982; Spivak 1988). The subaltern project is concerned with exploring the ways that traditionally marginalized voices can be heard and how non-hegemonic ways of knowing can be legitimized. The subaltern project is relevant to my work because one of the objectives of my research is to learn coping strategies from the participants that can than be disseminated relevant aid organizations and to other populations in similar situations. In line with the current discourse on subalternity, I attempt to establish creative ways for the participants to express their voice within the framework of my study.

Organization of Thesis

Chapter 2 offers important background information regarding the concepts of vulnerability, the armed conflict in Colombia, displacement, government policy and gender. This information is important to provide details of the broad picture of the conditions in which the participants live. Chapter 3 offers an exploration of social capital as a conceptual backdrop for my analysis. This chapter also offers a review of work on social networks and migration as well as research on the culture of fear. Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the subaltern project and the ethical considerations of anthropological approaches that inform choice of methodology. Chapter 5 details the project design and the methods used in this study. Chapter 6 presents the research findings and analysis. Chapter 7 is a non-traditional ethnographic story of a displaced woman in Bogotá generated from my research findings. Finally, Chapter 8 situates my

findings within other research, offers a further discussion of my findings, and outlines my recommendations.

Before introducing further background or theoretical information, I will introduce the participants. The risks to which the participants are exposed originally motivated my research. The possibility of representing their voices took me to Colombia. After building friendships with them, their stories and strength inspired me to craft a thesis that honors them.

Echoing Nancy Scheper-Hughes' assessment of how to conceptualize victimhood, I do not situate the participants as *either* empowered feminists *or* victims. This binary fails to capture their full experience. She writes, "human nature is *both* resilient *and* frail" (Scheper-Hughes 2008: 42). Scheper-Hughes explains that through years of research on oppressed populations, she concurrently finds both vulnerability and resilience. She writes,

> In conclusion, while theories of human vulnerability and trauma acknowledge the weight of the world on the lives of the poor, the excluded, and the oppressed, human fragility is matched by a possibility even bio-evolutionary derived, certainly historically situated, and culturally elaborated capacity for resilience [Scheper-Hughes 2008: 52].

The women who participated in this study are *both* vulnerable to certain risks *and* have agency. They are not just victims of the armed conflict. Rather, they engage active coping mechanism to combat threats.

Participants

The broadest classification to offer the participants is that of women. Gender is different from biological sex. Gender roles are dictated by culture and society. Monica Boyd writes, "In feminist theory, gender is seen as a matrix of identities, behaviors, and power relationships that are constructed by the culture of a society in accordance with sex" (2003: 1). Hence, biological sex allows women to bear children but all other divisions of men and women are cultural constructions. They are reshaped and reinforced in our daily performance of gender (Boyd 2003; Conquergood 2002).

The next important classification is that of women living in the developing world in conditions of economic hardship. A description of this larger population with regards to the experience of gender and socio-economic vulnerability offers insights into some of the ways that the participants are subjected to marginalization. This discussion is relevant to my study because I examine strategies that participants use to access economic resources to which, as women, they have traditionally been denied access.

Throughout the developing world, women's educational opportunities are limited and they are not able to develop the same formal skill training as men. Citing case studies in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl Wudunn observe that women's access to education is often restricted, leaving them in compromised positions to gain formal employment or a legitimized voice within society (2009: 170).

In Colombia and other areas of Latin America, the traditional patriarchal culture often restricts women from gaining the education and experience needed to enter the formal workplace. Commonly referred to as the *machista culture*, women from the countryside are traditionally restricted in their ability to be mobile and engage with

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different spheres of public life (interview, Diana Guzman January 14, 2009). Colombian Professor Donny Meertens describes that Colombian women who have migrated from rural to urban areas "had a childhood and adolescence characterized by geographical and social isolation, with little access to the market economy, information or formal institutions" (2001: 138). Hence, women raised in areas where the *machista* culture is pronounced are systematically excluded from the opportunities to gain stable incomes from the formal sector.

Because of these restrictions, women in urban settings often resort to informal employment to earn money (Green 2006; Sen and Grown 1987: 37). *Formal sector* employment, such as contract work at private or government organizations, offer a level of employment protection in the form of regular pay, medical benefits or workman's compensation for injury (Green 2006: 114). As opposed to the formal sector, *informal sector* jobs offer the worker little to no employment protection. Selling tamales on the street, domestic house work, or recycling are examples of the myriad of jobs that fall under the broad category of informal work. This work is can be competitive and highly subject to changes in the market economy (Green 2006: 115). Indeed, this marginalized economic activity is usually not even included in national statistics of productive work (Ward 2003 [1996]: 9).

The question of who is responsible for the work of production, or wage earning, and who is responsible for work of reproduction, or the household, changes from culture to culture (Ehlers 1991; Mosse 1993; Ward 2003 [1996]: 9). Generally, men take on productive roles and women are reasonable for reproductive roles. Yet, increasingly, the trend is that women hold both the productive and reproductive role in families. This

means that women are responsible for both earning an income and taking care of the household. Describing the experience of urban women in India, author Martha C. Ward finds women generally lack reliable employment that would help them contribute to the productive responsibilities of caring for a family unit (2003 [1996]). As such, they call upon whatever resources are available at the moment to "piece together" an income that can support their families (Ward 2003 [1996]: 250).

In Latin American literature, it is found that increasingly women need to take on both reproductive and productive roles. This phenomenon corresponds to the trend of men being progressively more absent in the family unit (Ehlers 2000; Green 2006; Mosse 1993). Duncan Green cites a recent study in Latin America that finds "men are increasingly shadowy figures, drifting in and out of families and avoiding responsibility" (2006: 152). Consequentially, women must not only take on the traditional reproductive responsibilities of feeding the family and caring for the children, but also they are becoming more sustainable wage earners for the family, effectively pulling a "double shift" to make up for the absence of a man in the family (Green 2006: 157).

This "double shift" is complicated by the reality that families depend on the income of women more than in the past, yet their access to reliable employment remains restricted. Julia Cleves Mosse writes, "paradoxically, women who support their own households and have more power over their own decision making are also the poorest, and have very little economic security" (1993: 46). Hence, women are asked to do more for the household often without the societal changes that might provide them with more access to resources. Women's abilities to make choices, to exert agency and to craft a

future for themselves is extremely limited as developing "countries get poorer, [and] the pressure on women to earn intensifies" (Mosse 1993: 38).

For women with little education coming from rural to urban areas in Latin America, domestic house work is often one of the few opportunities for employment available to them (Green 2006). The informal domestic work is not only insecure and unpredictable, but it also leaves women vulnerable to verbal and sexual exploitation. Writing about Latin America, Green writes, "Usually young unskilled migrants from the countryside, servants are among the most exploited and invisible of the region's women" (2006: 155). Furthermore, in order to work, women have to secure childcare if a family member is not present to help her (Green 2006; Sen and Grown 1987; Ward 2003 [1996]). Hence, in addition to the challenges of finding work, women weigh threats of exploitation and household reasonability in order to earn money.

The pressure put on women in the developing world is further complicated by other factors that marginalize them. Describing black women in South Africa, Mosse describes that in addition to being women in developing nation, the added oppression of racial marginalization creates a "triple yoke of oppression" (1993: 107). The context-specific, multiple marginalities that women have to navigate are important to recognize as these pressures influence the conditions in which they live and, therefore, affect their ability to develop coping strategies.

To conceptualize the challenges faced by displaced women in Colombia, I call upon Patricia Hill Collins' interlocking paradigm of oppression. Writing about Black Feminist Thought, Collins advocates for a re-conceptualization of privilege and activism with regards to groups of people who share a particular, non-dominant standpoint. She

presents a paradigm where race, class and gender are conceptualized as components that influence thought as integrated spheres of influence, as opposed to layers that build upon each other. Drawing upon this interlocking paradigm, she argues that race and/or class does not merely add another layer to a woman's experience of oppression as conceptualized in feminist theory. Rather these influences reconfigure the entire construct because power is engaged in a different manner in response to multiple influences (1990: 537).

Following Collins' paradigm, I approach the participants with the awareness that they must navigate conditions of displacement with limited formal education, restricted access to material resources, pressures of discrimination, and the need to provide for children who depend on them. All of these conditions may interlock in a manner that leaves them with limited choices, and in turn vulnerable to exploitation and socio-economic insecurity.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

The introduction of the broadest categorizations of the participants as women, women in the developing world, and women living in a *machista* culture, emphasize that the participants are part of a larger population of women who are marginalized and oppressed. In the following sections, I add to this list of factors that influence their experiences, such as a description of the nature of forced displacement in Colombia and the culture of fear. The participants' particular stories of displacement and their struggles to develop livelihoods offer insight into the way that these influencing factors are not simply a list of layers that build upon each other. Rather their stories demonstrate that

these factors interlock in a manner that reconfigures the landscape of their experience,

exposing strategies that can be used and constraints that are considered insurmountable.

CHAPTER TWO: KEY TERMS, HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND

LOCALIZED CONTEXT

I approached my fieldwork with the intent of exploring how displaced women in

Colombia capitalized on different sources of support in order to work towards sustainable

livelihoods. I collected life histories to gather data which elucidated how they adapted

and responded to the specific conditions in which they live. Following Clifford Geertz's

model of a "thick description," I emphasize the historical context from which support

systems have emerged in order to understand how the participants gain access to material

resources (Geertz 2006; Jacobsen 1987).

In this section, I present a macro picture of the historical context gathered from a

background research. This will help to create the boundaries that directed and constrained

the participants' ability to act (Francis 1993). The background includes a brief historical

outline of the 50 years of armed conflict in Colombia and the resulting massive forced

displacement. This section concludes with a discussion of the differential effect that

displacement has on women. The widespread and long-standing human rights abuses that

have occurred during the course of the armed conflict are important, as they have fueled

not only physical displacement, but also generalized mistrust and fragmentation of

community (which is discussed further in Chapter 3). Before presenting further historical background, I review the key terms employed in my thesis including vulnerability, risk, threats, sustainable livelihoods, and coping strategies.

Key Terms

I call upon the works of Peter Van Arsdale and Derrin R. Smith to define three important terms in my work: risk, threat and vulnerability. In their book, *Humanitarians in Hostile Territory*, they note that *risk* is "the probability that exposure to a hazard will lead to a negative consequence" (Redlener cited *in* Van Arsdale and Smith 2010: 124). They note that risk is best understood as a set of factors "in the environment." For example, a risk that the participants of this study navigate is the risk of violence if they were to return to the countryside.

Vulnerability is a term which explains the "factors and conditions which make life tenuous" (Van Arsdale and Smith 2010: 124). In other words, vulnerability "exists in the cohort," and can be understood as conditions or attributes that may enhance negative exposures to risk. Socio-economic vulnerability, or restricted access to material resources, is the primary vulnerability that I explore in this study. This socio-economic vulnerability is closely linked to factors that restrict the participants from entering the formal sector. A stable income offered through the formal sector can help to minimize daily threats that may compromise the ability to feed a family (Ward 2003 [1996]). The informal sector is linked to economic instability. Hence, economic stability is correlated with a reduction in socio-economic vulnerability.

Finally, a *threat* can be understood as a force that brings a vulnerable person closer to a risk. Van Arsdale and Smith describe a threat as "involv[ing] force and/or

intrusion, intended through human agency or unintended through natural or human-caused events" (Van Arsdale and Smith 2010: 122). One of the threats I explore in this study is the lack of a stable income to provide food and shelter for the participants' families. This socio-economic threat is also connected to the threat of exploitation. Thus, women who are not able to secure reliable earnings need to routinely navigate the risk of not being able to provide a sustainable livelihood in the form of food or shelter for their family.

Like Van Arsdale and Smith, anthropologist Marcela Vásquez-León defines *social vulnerability* as the degree of exposure to a risk, the detrimental effects of the risk and the ability to "recover from the negative impacts of current and future events"" (Adger cited *in* Vásquez-León 2009: 290). Her definition adds to Van Arsdale and Smith's by emphasizing the ability of people to recover after being exposed to a risk. As she discusses, though people may or may not have the ability to control their exposure to risk, they are able to develop coping strategies.

Building upon the idea of how people can respond to risk, she defines *coping* as "short-term, temporary responses to immediate constraints that allow the most vulnerable to get by during difficult times" (Davis cited *in* Vásquez-León 2009: 290). For the purpose of this paper, I expand on this definition, and define a *coping strategy* as a behavior or set of behaviors developed in response to immediate constraints that may minimize the negative consequences of exposure to a risk. The approach of exploring strategies is useful as it emphasizes the ability of people to be active participants in effecting the outcome of their actions, not just "passive victims" (Rakodi 2002: 7).

Coping strategies emerge in response to the conditions in which people live. A strategy can be understood as one form of adaptation. An *adaptation* is the longer-term, dynamic process of changing a behavior or mechanism to respond to a new condition. As Yehudi Cohen describes, "adaptation is the human's ability to respond to the habitat in order to meet a range of survival needs including livelihood" (1974 [1968]: 2). In can be understood as a population's ability to meet their needs within a given habitat in a given historical context (Cohen 1974 [1968]: 3). This process of adaptation is the outcome of a series of shorter-term *adjustments* or changes necessitated by an alteration in environment. An adjustment may involve balancing conflicting needs in order to respond to the immediacy of the given environment. In short, a coping strategy can be understood as the cumulative sum of successful adjustments uncovered in the process of adaptation (Vásquez-León 2009: 290).

The concept of sustainable livelihoods is useful to frame the problem explored in this thesis. Simultaneously, the academic discussion concerning these terms—sustainable and livelihood—highlights and informs a discussion on problematic aspects of conceptualization of academic terms and differential access to resources. Reviewing the livelihood approach, Carole Rakodi defines *livelihood* as "comprising…'the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living'" (*in* Rakodi 2002 [Carney 1998: 4]). Rakodi describes that livelihood is a complex and dynamic idea. She argues that livelihoods can best be understood through an assessment of the strategies used to capture tangible and intangible assets to meet household living needs. She categorizes tangible assets as physical capital (such as transport, shelter), financial capital (such as monetary resources), and natural capital

(such as land). Intangible assets are social capital (such as social networks) and human capital (such as an education that helps one to secure employment) (Rakodi 2002: 11). She conceptualizes livelihood strategies as a dynamic process of accessing these five forms of assets. Depending on what is available to a household at any given time, livelihood can be developed using as many assets as possible. Her research shows that if access to one asset is restricted it places increased importance on accessing alternate forms of assets. For example, the participant's access to education (human capital) was limited and their natural capital (their land) was taken away. According to this model, this places increased importance on accessing financial, physical and social capital. Though an in-depth description of each form of capital is beyond the scope of this paper, the model is useful as an approximate gauge of the assets people can use to develop livelihoods.

In the field of international development, the term sustainable often refers to the ability of a population to meet its needs while minimizing detrimental effects on the environment and preserving natural resources for future generations (Harcourt 1994: 2-3). As reflected in the United Nations Millennium Goals, the concept of sustainability is often used in reference to ecological environmental sustainability (United Nations 2010). However, as Wendy Harcourt notes, the term sustainable should be considered to be dynamic as it has different definitions depending on what population are being discussed and their perception of needs (1994).

In consideration of an urban poor population, considerations of environmental sustainability are problematic because change in the negative environmental effects of a dense, industrialized population tends to occur at a policy level. An individual may be

able to change his or her impact on the environment in an urban setting, but this may not be a core concern for populations who are principally concerned with survival (Rakodi 2002). Similar to Harcourt, my work explores the ability of women to sustain their families. In reference to livelihoods, it is most relevant to consider *sustainability* in terms of the extent to which a family or individual is able to manage or access assets in order "to cope and recover from stresses and shocks" (Scoones cited *in* Rakodi 2002: 18). Hence, the definition I use for sustainability seeks to capture the participants' subjective reality, rather than employing a general definition from an external source (Harcourt 1994:21).

The following sections offer background information on the armed conflict, displacement, governmental policy and gender-associated risks in Colombia. This information informs the context specific risks to which the participants are exposed while trying to develop sustainable livelihoods in resettlement.

<div align="center">Historical Background: The Armed Conflict</div>

For the past 50 years, Colombia has experienced armed conflict that is connected to both an explosion in the narco-trafficking trade and prolific human rights abuses. The Government of Colombia (GoC) has emphasized the importance of demilitarizing armed actors and offering humanitarian aid to victims of the conflict (Human Rights Watch 2005). This section offers background into this aspect of Colombia's history.

The Army of National Liberation (ELN), the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrilla armies, the paramilitary, narco-traffickers, and the Colombian military have all contributed to the violence. A brief history of the major

actors of these groups and how they engage in conflict is necessary in order to obtain a clear image of the current state of affairs.

The FARC movement began in the 1920s as a communist peasant uprising supported by Russia (Gottwald 2003; Tate 2007). Growing in numbers and influence into the 1980s, the FARC became increasingly violent and independent. Funded by taxation of the illicit drug trade and extortion through kidnapping, they currently control numerous areas of Colombia and are principally based in the southern region along the border to Ecuador. There, they function outside of the reach the state apparatus. Functioning with their own system of taxations, laws and social norms, the FARC is comparable to a republic within Colombia (Brett 2003; Gill 2008; Human Rights Watch 2005).

The paramilitary groups are not strongly unified like the FARC, but are "loosely tied" under the name United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia (AUC) (Brett 2003). In the 1970s and 1980s, the paramilitary began as a group of civilians trained by the Colombian military as a counter-insurgency effort to fight the drug cartel. Over time, the paramilitary leaders became increasingly involved with the cocaine trade and are now principally funded by narco-trafficking. Despite this illicit activity and the plethora of human rights abuses committed by this group, the military continues to occasionally coordinate efforts with the paramilitary (Brett 2003; Gill 2008; Gottwald 2003; Human Rights Watch 2005).

The ELN has smaller numbers than the FARC or the paramilitary but has exerted a strong influence. Current reports show that their numbers are shrinking (Brett 2003). The Colombian military is also a significant agent in this violence. A Women's

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Commission Report states, "the Colombian military and national police have also perpetuated violence and abuses against civilians, including extrajudicial killings and disappearances" (2006: 11).

A stream of ongoing human rights abuses characterizes Colombia's armed conflict. In addition to civilian casualties and kidnappings, forced displacement and the use of child soldiers have become commonplace in the ongoing conflict. The FARC, ELN and paramilitary groups commonly use kidnapping to extort money or create political influence. In 2002 alone, Colombian NGO *Fundación Pais Libre* reported to Human Rights Watch (HRW) that they tracked 936 kidnappings by the FARC (Brett 2003: 99). Indeed, Colombia has one of the highest kidnapping rates in the world (Brett 2003). The use of child soldiers by the FARC and paramilitary is well-documented by reputable human rights groups like HRW, Amnesty International (AI) and the UNHCR (Amnesty International 2009; Brett 2003; Gottwald 2003; Human Rights Watch 2005; Meertens 2003). Kidnapping and civilian deaths related to the conflict have slowly decreased, but remain significant issues. Forced displacement, however, has been increasing. The following section provides a more in-depth exploration of this phenomenon.

<div align="center">Forced Displacement</div>

The paramilitary, the FARC and the ELN commandeer land and seaports to fuel the thriving coca trade (Meertens 2001). Land seizure has also become a way to increase their influence both on civilians and the government. As a result, forced displacement has become a key characteristic of the armed conflict. More recently, the actors have begun announcing their take-over of land, giving civilians the chance to flee before being

<div align="center">21</div>

violently removed (Gottwald 2003; Human Rights Watch 2005; Muggah 2000). As a result of the warnings the number of civilian deaths is decreasing, but the number of people displaced from rural areas by armed conflict is actually rising (Amnesty International 2008).

The Bogotá-based branch of the UNHCR emphasizes that displacement is not a problem owing to being poor or vulnerable. Rather, it is a condition forced upon people because the areas where they live have been affected or targeted by armed actors (2007: 37). Madel González Bustelo reiterates this point, writing, "displacements tend to take place in areas rich in natural resources, plagued by violence and fighting, where violence is used as a tool to control the land" (2001 [2005] : 201). In Colombia, the massive urban migration has not been accompanied by an industrial revolution where a large work force is needed and the displaced can easily "be absorbed into the formal sector" (Bustelo 2001 [2005] : 202). These conditions create an inherently problematic and challenging environment to which displaced people must respond.

Ravaged by violence and exhausted from living in fear, millions of people have left their homes for the urban centers to escape violence. Though numbers are difficult to estimate, AI estimates that between 1985 and 2006, nearly 3 million people were forced to move from their land (2009). A more recent survey puts the number since 1985 at close to 4 million (Romero and Rojas 2008).

Displacement occurs for a range of reasons, mostly having to do with fear, violence, and insecurity. A national survey completed by the Monitoring Commission of the Public Policy on Forced Displacement for the Colombian Constitutional Court found that the majority internally displaced persons (IDPs) report the cause of their

displacement as resulting from the FARC presence (33.4%) and paramilitary presence (24.1%) (Romero and Rojas 2008).

Forced displacement in Colombia is characterized by violence or the threat of violence that leads to unplanned migration towards cities or commerce centers. Displacement is usually marked by psychological stress or trauma as well as a loss of socio-economic resources. As I discuss in detail in later chapters, displacement in Colombia is generally reflected in long-term resettlement rather than temporary escape (Human Rights Watch 2005; Meertens 2003). This adds to the challenge of displacement. In addition to adjusting to the immediate demands of surviving in an unknown city with few resources to call upon, displaced people need to develop coping strategies in order to develop a sustainable livelihood. The immediate need for and lack of ready access to food, shelter, healthcare, and education, characterizes the vulnerable conditions that face many displaced people.

<div align="center">Governmental Policy</div>

In the late 90s, Colombia commenced the process of defining and addressing the problems that face displaced people. Adopted in 1997, Law 387 offers a definition of displacement and details the process by which victims of the armed conflict would be compensated for their losses (Human Rights Watch 2005). The law defines:

> A displaced person is any person who has been forced to migrate within the
> national territory, abandoning his place of residence or habitual economic activity,
> because his life, physical integrity, security, or personal liberties have been
> abridged or are directly threatened by one of the following factors: internal armed
> conflict, internal disturbances or tension, generalized violence, massive violations

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of human rights, infractions of international humanitarian law, or other circumstances resulting from the foregoing factors that can alter or have altered drastically the public order [*in* Human Rights Watch 2005: 28 [Ley 387 of 1997]]. This definition guides a legal assessment process concerning whether a person seeking emergency humanitarian assistance is displaced or not. In accordance with this law, a displaced person must come to the Social Solidarity Network (the Network) within a year of displacement in order to register with the government. The Network, a government organization, is responsible for administering humanitarian aid. The process of registering with the Network, often called *declaring*, involves many steps to prove that the person or family are indeed displaced by the armed conflict. If this is completed successfully, then they are granted *cartas* (papers). A *carta* allows one to access aid in the form of money for food and housing in three-month allotments, as well as access to free health care and education (Human Rights Watch 2005).

In 2004, following a comprehensive study on the conditions of displaced people, the Constitutional Court of Colombia passed ruling T-025. This ruling declared that the federal support offered to displaced people was insufficient. Specifically, the ruling labeled the low level of support as unconstitutional (Meier 2007). The Court decreed:

> The design of the emergency humanitarian assistance, which places emphasis on temporal factors, turns out to be too rigid to meet the needs of the displaced populations effectively. The time limit of three-months does not correspond to the reality of continued violations of their rights, in that the continuation of assistance does not depend on objective conditions of the population's necessity but rather

the simple passage of time [*in* Human Rights Watch 2005: 28 [Sentence No. T-025 of 2004]].

The ruling marked a progressive step in the process of detailing how to confront the issues highlighted in 1997. It critiqued the GoC for the design and implementation of the programs administered through the Network. The government and the Court are still in the process of defining the issues and strategizing a response to them.

As part of this process, the Court began to explore whether there was a differential experience of displacement based on gender and race. Activists and academics used the opportunity to highlight the vulnerabilities that different displaced communities experience (Gottwald 2003; Meertens 2001; Pérez 2008; Women's Commission 2006). Research on race and gender has affirmed that communities are affected differently by displacement.

Gender and Associated Risks

"War exacerbates and deepens the inequities,
discrimination and violence
already in place in a given society"
[Pérez 2008: 37-38].

Meertens finds that resettlement efforts are dissimilar for internally displaced men and women (Meertens 2001). First, he notes, that direct victims of Colombia's conflict tend to be men. A 1997 study estimated that 90% of deaths in the war were males (Meertens 2001: 133). The repercussion of this is that women account for a disproportionately high percentage of the displaced population (58.2%, seven points higher than the national population) (Meertens 2001: 133). Furthermore, the percentage of families with female heads of household is higher than the national average. Studies

estimate that on the national level, female heads of houses constitute 28.1% of the population, but for displaced households the number reaches between 38-46% of households (Meertens 2001; Pérez 2008). Without prior experience engaging in the public sphere and, for many, the added necessity to provide financial security to a family in a new city, the differential vulnerability of women comes into focus as a vital issue. Meertens summarizes this point:

> These traditional peasant women, displaced and widowed, may from these accounts be seen as triple victims: of the trauma produced by the murder of their spouses, of the loss of their subsistence goods (house, belongings, crops, animals), which implied a rupture with the known elements of their daily domestic life, and of the social and emotional uprooting brought about by their displacement from their world of primary relations in an isolated peasant region to the anonymity of an unknown urban realm [2001: 140].

On April 14, 2008, the Constitutional Court of Colombia passed Auto No. 092. This *Auto*, or sentencing, ordered the GoC to implement programs that would help reduce risks that have a disproportional effect on women displaced by the armed conflict (Espinosa 2008). This Auto was issued in response to a series of 600 public hearings where testimonials were given to the Court by women regarding their experience of displacement (interview, CODHES, March 3, 2009). From information gathered at the hearings, the Court identified ten gender risks which are either specific to women or women are exposed to more extensively than men. The list includes a heightened risk of sexual violence and/or exploitation, slavery or entrapment into domestic servitude by armed actors, a greater risk of being involved with human rights organizations and risks

associated with losing the person on which they are economically dependent because of displacement (Espinosa 2008).

In summary, the Court found conclusively that displaced women are more vulnerable to a variety of potential human rights abuses and forms of exploitation than displaced men. In addition to taking the proper steps to protect the fundamental rights of all displaced people, the Court ordered the GoC to implement a plan that would help to minimize or prevent these risks for women.

Other researchers who examine women displaced by armed conflict have also identified the risk of exploitation (Pérez 2008; Steele 2006; Women's Commission 2006; Zimmerman 2003). Zimmerman researches the phases associated with human trafficking. She finds that among other individual factors, socio-economic vulnerability informs decisions that women make regarding potential employment and risk. She writes,

> Women are driven from their homes by poverty, economic crisis, interpersonal violence, war, ethnic cleansing, and environmental destruction. The resulting loss of resources forces women, in particular, to accept risks and uncertainties that they might otherwise reject in order to support themselves and their families [2003: 32].

Hence, Zimmerman identifies loss of resources as an influencing factor that may affect a women's decision-making process on how to access a livelihood for her family.

Researching on Colombia and human trafficking, Abbey Steele also draws a similar connection, noting that a poor economy coupled with an armed conflict creates a void of economic opportunities (2006: 78). Reflecting this correlation, a 2006 report by the Women's Commission regarding human trafficking in Colombia estimates that

approximately 45,000-50,000 Colombians are trafficked each year. Of these thousands of trafficked individuals, the report estimates "that at least 15 percent of trafficked Colombians were first internally displaced within Colombia" (Women's Commission 2006: 21).

Answering a question as to why the threat of exploitation is high for displaced people, a key informant at Fundación Esperanza, a Bogotá-based NGO that works to prevent human trafficking, explained that when people migrate without a support network or any contacts to receive them in their next location they are more vulnerable. The informant explained that many displaced people who arrive in Bogotá lack the knowledge to make informed decisions about where to go or whom they can trust upon arrival to their destination city. Furthermore, they lack the skills needed to secure employment in urban area. All of these factors limit opportunities available to displaced people (interview, February 16, 2009).

Hence, research reveals a connection between socio-economic vulnerability and the threat of exploitation. A detailed exploration of this threat is beyond the scope of my thesis, however it is important to note that this risk has been identified among other associated risks for displaced women.

Summary

Overarching socio-economic threats, restricted access to income due both to being a woman and an IDP, the risk of exploitation, and the presence of children who are dependent on them, are all factors that create the conditions, or environment, to which displaced women in Colombia must respond. All of these "interlocking" pieces inform the coping strategies engaged by this vulnerable population.

CHAPTER THREE: SOCIAL CAPITAL, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE

CULTURE OF FEAR

Background research presented in Chapter 2 reveals some factors that limit the assets available to displaced women. Many rural women have limited education and experience in the formal sector because of being raised in a *machista* culture (Meertens 2003). Land seizures rob displaced people of tangible assets, such as their land and homes. As cited before, a nationwide survey found that the majority of IDPs live in conditions of extreme poverty (Women's Commission 2006). Situating this information within Rakodi's model depicting the network of assets that can contributing to securing livelihood (2002), the background information suggests multiple factors limit the availability of physical, natural, financial, and human capital. Less explicit information was found on the availability or limitations of social capital as a potential asset to IDPs in Colombia. One might assume that displacement causes dynamic shifts in social capital as people are rapidly removed from one community and enter a new one. I found minimal research on this shift and how it effected their construction of livelihood. Therefore, I explore the generative possibilities of social capital as an asset that the participants may engage to secure livelihoods.

Several academics who research migration and social capital find that the information embedded in social networks is an important asset for migrants. Yet researchers who focus on Colombia find that there is a culture of fear in the displaced community that is characterized by a generalized mistrust. In this section, I explore the background on social capital, social networks and the culture of fear.

Social Capital Theory

The term social capital evolved to encompass an extremely wide and often vague description of certain social phenomena. However, the academic discussion concerning the ways in which social ties facilitate access to resources provides a useful conceptual framework. The concepts and vernacular that have been refined through heavy debate on the applications of social capital offer generative possibilities to my study of socio-economic vulnerability.

The core questions of social capital theorist are: What is social capital? How do we identify it? And what role does it play in social life? Two themes emerge in an exploration of the debate on how to generally operationalize the term—one of many debates concerning social capital. The themes are the importance of trust within a given network and the benefits of localized social network analysis as a methodology.

Academics who explore this term generally agree on a loose definition of social capital as an intangible cohesive factor that is a component of the social fabric which facilitates a productive goal (Halpern 2005: 290). This definition, however, does little to further empirical research or grounded analysis of culture. When it comes to operationalizing the term, there is minimal consensus in the literature (DeFilippis 2001; Edwards and Foley 1998; Halpern 2005).

In my thesis, I use sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's definition of *social capital*. He asserts, "social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (*in* Halpern 2005 [Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 119]). As Radoki notes, social capital is a "social resources…on which people draw in pursuit of livelihood" (*in* Radoki 2002 citing [Carney 1998: 7]). I briefly review the history of the term and some of the applications of social capital. I then argue why, out of the myriad of definitions for the term, this definition is most applicable to my work.

Historical Roots of Social Capital

Many social scientists who explore concepts of social capital credit French historian Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) as one of the first intellectuals to isolate the importance of voluntary, social associations that were neither political nor industrial in nature. Without labeling it as social capital per se, he highlighted the crucial cohesive force of moral and intellectual connections as a form of intangible capital (DeFilippis 2001; Halpern 2005). The term social capital was most likely coined by L. J. Hanifan in the early 1900s as a means of making abstract notions of associations more comprehensible to merchants (Halpern 2005).

Throughout the following century, social scientists continued to explore the idea of networks, associations and social cohesion, but it was not until the late 1980s that the term social capital became a common term in academia in both the United States and Europe (Halpern 2005). During this time, sociologists James Coleman and Bourdieu began to refine the concept. Shortly thereafter, political scientist Robert D. Putnam began

to offer ways to measure it. Their contributions to the extensive literature are noteworthy as they highlight the different aspects of social capital that have variant implications for its operationalization.

In 1986, Bourdieu wrote a seminal article, *Forms of Capital*, in which he began to label and highlight features of intangible capital. He defines *capital* as an asset which has a "potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form" (1986: 241). Furthermore, he notes that capital takes time to accumulate and it is not equally accessible to all people.

Bourdieu and Coleman offer the opportunity to expand the vernacular of capitalism, such as investment, return, and profit maximizing, to the abstract realm of social and cultural capital. Coleman, writing at virtually the same time as Bourdieu, also explores the notion of social capital using economic terminology. Specifically, he uses a cost/benefit analysis to analyze the function of trust in building beneficial social associations (Coleman 1988).

In his paper, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, Coleman offers social capital as a strategy to merge sociological and economic explanations for what motivated people to make decisions. The sociological approach to explaining social action "lie in its ability to describe action in social context and to explain the way action is shaped, constrained, and redirected by social context" (Coleman 1988: S95). This approach to social action, Coleman observes, runs opposite to the economic approach to explain an individual's actions. In the economic approach one's actions are "wholly self-interested" (1988: S95). He argues that social capital can be thought of as a functional link between actors that facilitates action. He notes that when contemplating a particular

productive output, social capital has the ability to make action available to actors that would otherwise not be available (Coleman 1988: S98). Hence, Coleman concludes that while an individual may be motivated to act in order to maximize personal profit, he/she is able to act only as much as social norms either constrain or enable him/her to act.

Social Capital Conversion

Bourdieu's article draws important distinctions between economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Coleman uses similar distinctions, but he terms them physical capital and human capital. According to Bourdieu, economic capital is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized into the forms of property rights" (Bourdieu 1986: 242). *Cultural capital*, he argues, includes material cultural expressions such as media, art, and knowledge. In his definition, knowledge can include institutionalized academic knowledge as well as social norms. By including education in his definition of cultural capital, he attempts to emphasize that all forms of knowledge can be converted to economic capital, not just skills that might be acquired through a formal education. He prefers the term cultural capital to *human capital,* as cultural capital is more widely available to people from all socio-economic classes. A formal education requires access to the institution (Bourdieu 1986). In creating a larger umbrella for knowledge, he simplifies the process of analyzing how knowledge is disseminated (invested) or acquired (returned) within a formal or informal social network. Though Coleman notes that human capital may take multiple forms, his studies concerning human capital focus on formal education.[1]

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[1] Though she did not explicitly write on formal education, the ways in which Radoki (2002) uses the term, human capital, seems to encompass all form of knowledge.

Bourdieu, Coleman and Radoki all support a key theoretic premise of social capital: all forms of capital must be taken into account as each has the potential to be converted into another form of capital. Coleman argues that though social capital is difficult to analyze directly, it is an unmistakable part of mobilizing and accessing other forms of resources within a given social setting (Coleman 1988: S101). Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman places more emphasis on the cost benefit analysis of investing trust in a given relationship in order to maximize one's profits.

Drawing the Boundaries of Social Capital

Though the broadest notions of social capital overlap, issues arise when defining the boundaries of the term in order to empirically observe it. In fact, some critics of the concept assert it is useless because it is over-general (Halpern 2005). Much of the debate can be traced back to the variety of cultures in which social capital is being applied and the myriad of motivations people have for engaging with a social network (Halpern 2005: 13). Despite the problematic nature of measuring social capital, I maintain it is a useful concept to inform aspects of my analysis on how a social capital embedded within a social network of support can be converted to economic capital. I briefly present one of the many problematic elements of operationalizing social capital to distill my rationale for using social network analysis as a way to observe social capital in my research.

Putnam's work attempts to offer more definition to the nuances of social capital. In *Making Democracy Work* (1993), he details his comparative study of two communities in Italy. Putnam finds that there is a strong correlation between the strength of social capital in a community and economic development. Putnam measured social capital empirically in terms of the network of ties and levels of trust in the community. He finds

that there was more economic growth in the area with strong horizontal ties and high levels of trust. Conversely, he finds regions with less effective governments had a civil society with high levels of mistrust (Halpern 2005).

Over the next decade, Putnam refined his argument that social associations lead, overtime, to norms and trust which is the essence of social capital. He links the presence of this form of capital with civic engagement. In his work, Putnam asserts "the theory of social capital presumes that, generally speaking, the more we connect with other people, the more we trust them, and vice versa…this presumption generally turns out to be true: social trust and civic engagement are strongly correlated" (1995: 665). Working from this presumption, he operationalizes the social capital present in a society according to membership in organizations (Halpern 2005; Putnam 1995).

Bob Edwards and Michael W. Foley caution against the direction Putnam takes to research social capital. They advocate a return to a more structural approach to the social phenomena as Bourdieu and Coleman presented (Edwards and Foley 1998; Foley and Edwards 1998). Edwards and Foley find the way in which Putnam operationalizes the term to be problematic. They write, "Putnam and those who have followed his lead remain convinced that associationism per se produces habits of cooperation and trust, social networks and norms that, at least in certain groups, ultimately issue in the social trust and civic engagement that healthy democracies need" (1998: 12). Their concern is not whether membership, trust and cooperation can be observed in a social network, but rather whether measuring social capital using membership and levels of trust as indicators is appropriate.

Edwards and Foley are critical Putnam's use of associational membership as an indicator of social capital since not all people have equal access to capital that exists in a social network. They observe that power dynamics created by variations in race, gender and access to material capital will affect the extent to which an individual is able to convert capital. They write,

> No form of capital is distributed evenly in American society, nor do all individuals have equal opportunity to access the various forms of capital. Not all forms of social, cultural or human capital, finally, are equally valuable as resources to facilitate individual or collective actions [1998: 129].

They argue that if one is to reduce the concept of social capital to membership, the term loses any utility as it is too general and does little to capture how an individual engages in a social structure to access capital. Hence, when Putnam attempts to represent the amount of social capital by membership and civic engagement, he ignores that members have differential access to available capital. In turn, the term in the way that Putnam defines it loses its meaning (Edwards and Foley 1998: 130). Edwards and Foley caution against membership at the community-level as a meaningful indicator of social capital because all context-specific information of how people are able to access embedded capital and power dynamics are lost.

Furthermore, Edwards and Foley argue that social capital cannot be meaningfully captured by individually reported feelings of trust towards members of a group. To demonstrate this, they draw attention to the distinction Coleman makes between social and human capital. According to him, human capital can be considered as a capital that will travel with an individual when he/she departs a given social network. This differs

from a relational social capital which only has value in the specific social network (Edwards and Foley 1998: 129). This conceptualization of the role of trust cannot be captured by individually reported levels of trust, they argue, as the trust that may hold a network together and facilitate an exchange of capital is a feature of the network, not of the individual. They write, "what Coleman had in mind was not norms and values of individuals per se but norms and values available as a resource to those individuals who share access to a particular social context" (Edwards and Foley 1998: 129). They continue to say, "norms and values held by individuals become social capital only insofar as they facilitate action by others" (Edwards and Foley 1998: 129). This distinction echoes Bourdieu's delineation between cultural and social capital. Norms and values often fall under the umbrella of "culture" but they do not necessarily lead to capital conversion or cooperation. Hence, the boundaries that Putnam presents for social capital are problematic.

Following this line of reasoning, they advocate for using a social network analysis in its local (micro-level) context as a way to observe social capital (Edwards and Foley 1998; Halpern 2005). To do this, one must also consider what capital individuals are able to access from the network within the specific context of culture and power dynamics, and given the available resources. They maintain that due to the complexity drawn forth by norms and values of different cultural settings, social capital can only be properly conceptualized within a given local context and it does not exist independently of context (1998).

Elinor Ostrum, Halpern and Edwards and Foley all advocate that in order to properly assess how social capital is engaged, one must observe the conversion and

investment of social capital within the local context in which it occurs. Despite the lack of consensus in the field regarding the proper scope and definition of the term, the debate draws forth a common theme regarding the fundamental importance of a social network that can be mobilized by individuals or a group to achieve a goal.

Tying together the conversation on social capital, class, access to resources and social networks, Vásquez-León finds the concept of social capital particularly useful when applied to marginalized populations who may lack material resources to share. She writes, "despite having limited options, the critically vulnerable can generate structures that help reduce their vulnerability" (Vásquez-León 2009). She continues to explain that by investing in relationships, people can gain access to important information that may reduce their vulnerability to current or future risks. She writes that researchers can "focus on understanding the processes through which social capital is produced and maintained as a collective asset that enhances the options of group members" (Vásquez-León 2009: 290). Hence, Vásquez-León's research leads logically to a discussion of how social capital enables people to access vital resources as a strategy to reduce individual and collective vulnerability.

This discussion of social capital provides a foundation for analysis of the ways in which the participants interact and mobilize resources. Using Bourdieu, Coleman, Vásquez-León and Edwards and Foley's perspective on social capital, I approach social capital as a relational set of links that have emerged in the particular context of displacement in Colombia. This social network occurs in the context of a culture of fear caused by war and displacement. As I have refined the scope of my analysis, I have leaned upon the foundation of social capital creation and conversation as a tentative

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framework. Specifically, the most relevant use of social capital conversion that I draw

upon in my analysis is the possible use of interpersonal connections (social capital) in

order to develop knowledge of a topic (cultural/human capital) that can increase or secure

access to material resources (financial/economic capital). In line with Coleman,

Bourdieu, Edwards and Foley, I explore trust and mistrust as a cultural feature, rather

than a feature of social capital.

Following Edward and Foley's critique, I explore social capital through a network

analysis. In my work I focus less on the norms that bond the social network together, and

more on the value and accessibility of converted social capital.

Social Networks of Support

Individual strategies are important but social networks are crucial

[Vásquez-León 2009: 298].

Social capital, in the form of social networks, can be converted to other forms of

capital to develop livelihoods. In this section, I review literature on the role of social

networks in migration informal as well as information regarding women's networks in

the developing world. A theme that runs through this literature is that the support offered

in these types of networks can reduce vulnerability by facilitating exchange of important

information and access to resources. This is relevant because study is exploring how the

participants were able capitalize on this asset.

Generally, the literature concerning the role of social networks and migration can

be categorized into three chronological phases: the process phase, the

adaptation/integration phase and the return phase (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003;

Harpviken 2009; Massey 1986). The process phase includes the decision to migrate—

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either forced or by voluntary motivation—and the actual internal or international movement. The adaptation phase encompasses the reception, integration and survival strategies at the destination city. For some migrants, especially conflict-induced IDPs, there may be a return phase when the decision is made whether and how to return home (Harpviken 2009). The literature on social network formation and capital conversation during the adaptation phase offers the most relevant background for my study.

Kin Networks and Informal Networks

My literature review reveals that there are important differences between kin networks, which are often described in the migration literature, and informal women's networks. The bonds and trust in kin networks may be stronger and offer more security. However, the loose associations between women in informal networks may provide a greater variety of information and a dynamic structure that can efficiently adapt to changes. The most commonly cited literature on migration and social networks focuses on preexisting networks characterized by kinship or long-standing social ties that can ease an internal or international migration (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Massey 1986; Massey and España 1987). This assumes some degree of trust or rapport that connects individuals either before migration or through trusted networks bonds at the destination city. On the other hand, literature on women's informal networks focuses more on the use of a network as a strategy engaged by women who do not necessarily have long-standing friendships. Background information on women's informal social networks complements discussions of the role of social networks in migration as the participants were found to rely on informal networks more than kin networks.

Because the social networks I examine are newly formed upon arrival in the city, some of the information on kin-based social networks and migration does not apply to my study. Sociologists Bandana Purkayastha and Mangala Subramaniam write, "what poor women seek to change has to be understood within the context and conditions women rely on for survival. Frequently, kin (and local kin) networks are crucial for survival. But the kinds of relationships fostered by these networks may be experienced differently" (2004a: 125). This is a significant distinction, as the participants of my study do not have preexisting bonds with women in their networks.

Informal women's networks may involve kin relations, but they often are based on loose associations. Purkayastha and Subramaniam note that "informal networks have no formal membership requirements and may be dependent on bonds of empathy, obligation or sometimes even a conscious need to present a united front against 'others'" (2004b: 2). They emphasize that because of their informal structure, social network with loose bonds are flexible and dynamic, and are able to adapt quickly to changing environmental and social demands (Harpviken 2009; Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004a).

Researching social networks in wartime Afghanistan, sociologist Kristian Berg Harpviken finds that in times of uncertainty people have a high need for information related to physical and material security. He notes that in times of upheaval, "most people are likely to face an information dilemma: they must either rely on trusted sources in cohesive networks that are known to them, or look for brokers with access to wider flows of information, but whom it may be more difficult to trust" (Harpviken 2009: 19-20). The dilemma is that a small, trusted network may only have limited information. Although he

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conducts research in Asia, Harpviken's findings concerning the importance of reliable

information and the role of social networks during wartime inform my analysis.

Though the characteristics of the ties may be different in kin-based and informal

networks, research shows that organizing and coordinating activity is a strategy to

combat the challenges of the conditions which people face. Networks are also identified

as a coping mechanism for refugees (Harpviken 2009: 77; Massey 1986; Vásquez-León

2009). Harpviken argues for the importance of IDPs to make horizontal ties that reach

beyond immediate kin networks. He writes, "Reliance on a few small networks—as well

as the absence of contacts that can provide reliable information on the issues of vital

importance—interacts with factors in other domains to constrain the room for informed

choice, hence it also serves to exacerbate vulnerability" (Harpviken 2009: 75). The

following section explores literature on women's informal networks in more detail to

highlight the strategic use of organizations in the developing world.

Women's Informal Networks

There is a growing body of literature on how women are coming together in

developing countries in order to ease the pressures they face as impoverished women

(Adams, et al. 2004; Sen and Grown 1987; Ward 2003 [1996]). Using the terminology of

social capital, forming informal social networks can facilitate the access to multiple

forms of capital. In order to increase their access to resources, women can come together

to maximize their assets.

The marginalization of women in the developing world interlocks and amplifies

with the vulnerability associated with being forcibly displaced by the armed conflict

(Collins 1990). Ironically, the multiple marginalities women in the developing world face

seem to draw them together as well (Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004a; Vásquez-León 2009). Harpviken has a similar finding related to Afghan refugees in Iran. He writes, "One of the general conclusions, though, is that the conditions forced upon groups from the outside, such as discriminatory practices, can ironically prove to be beneficial for the success of the group" (Harpviken 2009: 31).

As Purkayastha and Subramaniam argue, gender roles and the definition of marginality change depending on the situated conditions and are constantly being shaped by social and economic pressures (2004b). As previously discussed, impoverished women in Latin America are increasingly forced to carry a "double burden" of productive and reproductive responsibility (Green 2006). Informal women's networks are identified in the literature as one strategy of coping with this added responsibility (Sen and Grown 1987).

Conducting research on informal networks and contraceptive use in Mali, Alayne M. Adams, Dominique Simon and Sangeetha Madhaven find that in a culture that excludes women from formal institutions, informal group affiliations help women to gain "social power and agency in a male-dominated society in which they lack access to control over economic resources and representation within formal institutional structures" (2004: 35). They find that to strengthen their position in the community, men look for material support. However, to strengthen their position, women look for support with chores, emotional support as well as information and advice. They find that women report they received these forms of support primarily from other women (Adams, et al. 2004: 38). Though the gender roles and needs for support are most likely different in

Mali and Colombia, Adams, et al.'s research provides further evidence that women's informal networks facilitate the exchange of needed support among women.

A comparison of the literature on informal women's networks to social networks during migration generates insight into the different levels of trust and different quality of information the two offer. According to existing research, kin-based networks are based on long-standing bonds of trust, but these networks may be limited in the amount of new information to which members have access. On the other hand, informal women's networks are based on loose bonds and commonality, but are more flexible and in times of war able to offer members a greater diversity of information.

Social Networks and Migration

Several studies provide evidence that social networks can ease the adaptation phase of migration. In the following sections, I explore how social capital can facilitate the exchange of different forms of capital through a given network. Specifically, I draw forth findings of several academics on the exchange of information and possible economic opportunities. I further discuss the function of social networks, including findings that these migrant and women's networks appear to be a form of solidarity amongst a vulnerable population.

Much of the literature that explores social networks engages the concepts and terminology of social capital. Douglass Massey is a prolific writer and frequently cited academic on social networks and migration. In various studies examining the process of migration of Mexicans to the United States, he finds that migrants decrease the costs and risks associated with international migration by calling upon a close network of ties (Massey 1986). He writes, "networks constitute a form of social capital that people can

draw upon to gain access to foreign employment" (Massey, et al. 1993: 448). Looking at

social networks and vulnerability in migrant Mexicans, Vásquez-León uses the idea of

social capital "to analyze how the critically vulnerable access and use resources

embedded in informal social networks of sharing and cooperation to reduce their

condition of vulnerability to climatic and economic uncertainty" (2009: 289).

Expanding upon how social capital is created in social networks, Massey and

España explain that people within a given network are "connected to one another through

a dense network of reciprocal social relationships that carry mutual obligations of

assistance and support" (Massey and España 1987: 734). Massey and España reference

an idea close to Putnam's in that norms and trust are part of the glue that holds a network

together. This is relevant to both kin-based and friendship networks. The focus of Massey

and España's work, in line with Edward and Foley's critique, is on what kinds of capital

people are able to access and convert through the social network. Like Harpviken, my

study is concerned with how participants have been able to access and convert capital

during wartime. In particular, I am interested in how reliable information can be

accessed.

Information

> *"Once war erupts, the demand for reliable information*
> *increases exponentially, while the supply of that information becomes*
> *constrained" [Harpviken 2009: 69].*

Depending on what resources are available to and through a given network, and

what is needed by the members, social capital can be converted to other forms of capital

such as financial capital through job opportunities (Massey 1986; Vásquez-León 2009),

or cultural/human capital in the form of important information on a given topic (Adams,

et al. 2004; Harpviken 2009). Adam's et al. calls this information exchange "social learning." They find that women's informal networks are in important forum for "'social learning,' which refers to the exchange of information and ideas within a network and their joint evaluation" (Montgomery and Casterline; Rosero-Bixby and Casterline cited *in* Adams 2004: 39). According to them, information exchange that often occurs in women's informal networks can initiate behavioral change that can improve the conditions in which women live.

Referencing informal women's collectives in India, Sangeetha Purushothaman, Simone Purohit and Bianca Ambrose-Oji note that when forums are created where marginalized voices can be heard, there is an increased capacity to identify needs and strategies together (Purushothaman, et al. 2004). This finding further supports the notion that women's networks can help women to address the conditions in which they live by facilitating an exchange of information.

Research has shown that wartime culture leads to a breakdown of trust and community fragmentation (Harpviken 2009; Moser and McIlwaine 2004b; Riaño-Alcalá 2008). Harpviken notes the effect of war on social networks is at times contradictory. He finds that though fragmentation occurs, the stress induced by war can simultaneously lead to the formation of new social ties and, at times, the strengthening of existing ties (Harpviken 2009: 3).

Harpviken argues that Massey's work on risk, international migration and social networks is highly relevant to conflict-induced internal displacement. Specifically, the two conditions of migration overlap when considering the risk of migration and uncertainty regarding information. He argues that like Massey's studies on Mexican

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transnational migrants who are driven by socio-economic pressures parallels wartime migration. In particular, in both conditions "high risk and difficult access to information are primary characteristics…" (Harpviken 2009: 29).

In his research, Harpviken finds that social networks are connected by several forms of exchange, or "flows" (Harpviken 2009: 19). Though his work relates more to the decision-making phase of migration, his analysis does explore these information flows during the adaptation phase of migration as well. Though all flows are relevant to the experience of the participants, I focus mainly on his idea of "information flow."

Economic Possibilities

Massey and España find that Mexican migrants are able to use social capital in the form of social networks to facilitate access to economic opportunity. They write, "having a tie to the migrant network thus increases the expected returns for a potential migrant by reducing the costs and increasing the gains to be achieved through foreign wage labor, tipping the balance of the equation decisively in the direction of international movement" (Massey and España 1987: 734). In other words, social networks are a form of social capital, which can be converted to other forms of capital depending on the context and available resources.

Since Massey and España's article, other academics have published research that corroborates their findings. Sara Curran and Estella Rivero-Fuentes as well as Harpviken all find that a vital role of social networks in migration is to help direct newly arrived migrants to employment opportunities, in turn reducing their economic vulnerability (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; 1987). Curran and Rivero-Fuentes find that in addition to helping migrants find work quickly, established social networks help provide a strong

social assistance while helping to ease the shock of assimilating to a new culture and environment (2003).

Unlike Massey and Curren and Rivero-Fuentes, Harpviken finds that in times of war kin networks can be a limited resource to migrants. He references the work of Mark Granovetter (1973) who finds that kin networks are less useful than loose ties when it comes to finding employment, as members of kin networks tend to share the same information. Hence, he suggests informal ties to multiple networks may be highly valuable. Yet the paradox is that in times of war, public information may be unreliable unlike the information provided by kin networks (Harpviken 2009: 24).

Although social networks can provide support, it would be incorrect to be overly positive about the role they play in people's lives. As outlined above, migrants and other vulnerable people have a need for information and different forms of support. If they are in an environment where support is not available through benevolent social networks, they may be vulnerable to exploitation. Harpviken writes that in the uncertain conditions of wartime, people in urgent need of information and support are more vulnerable to exploitative networks and information brokers (2009: 35, 167). Also emphasizing the potential for negative interactions, David Jacobson notes that social networks are not necessarily supportive, since social relationships can also be a source of stress (1987: 46).

The literature reviewed in this section shows connections between social networks and different forms of vulnerability reduction for members. Researching refugee Guatemalan Q'eqchi' women in Mexico, Faith R. Warner reaches a similar conclusion. She finds that women without a natal kin network experienced increased levels of distress and symptomatic traumatic stress while in refugee camps (Warner 2007: 209). Her

research references a population similar to that of the participants in my study. This is a population of women who fled their communities to seek physical security.

This literature review has highlighted access to reliable information and (to a lesser extent) financial opportunities as two important forms of capital than can help women in the developing world and migrants. Social capital conversion consists of both collective and individual coping strategies that help to buffer against current and future socio-economic and social risks (Purkayastha and Subramaniam 2004a; Vásquez-León 2009).

Towards a Methodology

Methodology, per se, is covered in Chapter 4. The research cited in this review repeatedly points to the importance of social networks in migration. As with social capital, however, there is controversy on how to best measure social networks. Jacobson argues that is it problematic to assess social networks of support by the extent to which ties are able to be mobilized if support is needed (Jacobsen 1987). He finds that this assumes a definition of support that may have a cultural bias. The same problem arises if one attempts to assess support systems by the types of support they offer or the "rules" of social network cohesion.

In different cultural groups, expectations of network members may vary greatly. He finds that one must assess a social network in terms of local definitions, expectations and perceptions of support. He concludes,

> In short, analysis of cultural context is critical to understanding both social support and support networks. It influences the perception of what constitutes support, who should provide it, to whom, and under what circumstances.

Moreover, networks are composites of social relationships, the characteristics of which are shaped in part by cultural beliefs, values and norms [1987: 49]. Hence, he emphasizes the importance of local perception of social networks when examining the role of social networks.

Faith Warner assesses social support through a questionnaire which asked participants to identify who they could ask for help, and who turned to them for help (2007: 200). Through these questions, she established a culturally specific idea of reciprocity. This method is in line with Jacobson's argument that perceived (emic) social support is one of the best indicators of support.

Conducting an extensive literature review on research concerning social support, he finds that a more interpretive framework is appropriate when assessing social support because the same traumatic event can affect the individual in different ways. He notes, "the stressfulness of an event reflects an individual's appraisal of it, rather than its objective attributes" (Jacobsen 1987: 45). Jacobsen's findings suggest that the context from which a social network emerges interlocks with the support that is accessible to members. The following section explores the localized context of a culture of fear.

The Culture of Fear

Violence erodes cognitive social capital in terms of

undermining prevailing levels of trust, while also generating

widespread fear

[Moser and McIlwaine 2004a: 156].

The "culture of fear" is important because of its direct and indirect influence on the ability of displaced people to resettle and adjust. The manifestations of mistrust and

fragmentation that characterize a culture of fear situate displaced women in a paradox of needs on both an individual and community level. On the individual level, research has shown that displaced people cope with generalized fear by opting to be anonymous in new cities, which isolates them from potentially supportive networks and the capital embedded within them. On a community level, fear acts as a barrier to either being involved with or leading networks that could potentially decrease the vulnerability of the members. I first introduce the phrase, "culture of fear," then I explore how it is used and defined in the literature on Colombia.

The phrase, "culture of fear," has been used in a variety of applications by academics and social commentators. It is often used to describe the use of a strategy to control or manipulate populations through a calculated fostering of fear. An example of this can be seen in the work of filmmaker Michael Moore when examining US American culture after the World Trade Center attacks on September 11th, 2001. In his documentary, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, Moore suggests that the government fostered fear among US Americans in order to gain their allegiance to invade Afghanistan, and later Iraq (2004). Another example appears in the literature on the Guatemalan civil war in the 1980s. In the testimony of Rigoberta Menchú Tum, an indigenous Guatemalan woman, a description is offered on how the guerrillas and government created a social environment where local resistance was highly unlikely owing to community fragmentation and random murders (Burgos-Debray 1983). This environment was marked by a culture of fear where trust was systematically destroyed within and amongst communities.

In academic literature on displacement in Colombia, high levels of mistrust and suspicion also characterize the phrase "culture of fear." The paramilitary and the FARC

cultivated a culture of fear, through threats and violence, to drive people from their land (Meertens 2001). Describing the landscape of violence in Colombia, anthropologist Pilar Riaño-Alcalá writes,

> The country has endured a long-standing, multipolar and mobile armed conflict in which the continual performance of violence in the form of massacres, selective assassinations, threats, disappearances, forced recruitments, rape and forced displacement inscribes terror in local landscapes and everyday life. These acts of violence have become a dominant language by which left wing guerrillas, right wing paramilitary, the army and drug traffickers communicate with civil society and regulate social life [2008: 2].

In her writing, Riaño-Alcalá emphasizes the everyday nature of violence and fear by comparing it to a language. As Riaño-Alcalá and other Colombia experts explain, violence and the resulting fear is an undeniable manifestation of Colombia's armed conflict (Guarnizo, et al. 1999; Meertens 2001; Moser and McIlwaine 2004a; Tate 2007). In my work, I explore the culture of fear as a context that influences interactions and decisions in the process of adaptation during resettlement. Less attention is given herein to the efforts of any group to use the culture of fear as a control tactic because at the time of my research, the participants lived in areas with minimal presence of armed actors.

Academics use slightly different wording to capture the mistrust and community fragmentation that have resulted from the threats and actualized violence in Colombia. I use the term *culture of fear* to refer to what other academics have differentially labeled: a "culture of terror" (Tate 2007: 22), a culture marked by "social fragmentation and generalized mistrust" (Guarnizo, et al. 1999), "memorialized fear" (Riaño-Alcalá 2008),

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"climate of clandestinity" (Meertens 2001) and the "'culture' or 'law of silence'" (Moser and McIlwaine 2004a). This literature is relevant to my work as it focuses less on the deliberate creation of a culture of fear, and more on the societal repercussions.

The culture of fear in Colombia is significant to my research for two reasons. The first is that it informed the methods I chose to employ in the field, and the second is that one of my research questions is regarding the extent to which the generalized mistrust affects the formation of new social networks for participants. To set the stage for a more detailed discussion of these two points, I review the literature concerning the culture of fear specifically in Colombia. I narrow the scope of my literature to Colombia as I assume the specific nature of the armed conflict in combination with Colombian culture make this a context-specific phenomenon. This localized inspection following the work of academics cited in this literature review who emphasize the importance of exploring the localized context of social capital and social network(Foley and Edwards 1998; Halpern 2005; Jacobsen 1987; Ostrom 2009). In this review, I focus on the creation of a culture of fear as well as the observed individual and societal responses to this culture.

Fear in Colombia

Writing on violence in Guatemala and Colombia, anthropologists Caroline O. N. Moser and Cathy McIlwaie combine definitions from D. Krujit and K. Kooning (1999) and M. A. Garretón (1992) to produce a definition of fear that is appropriate to a discussion of war-induced fear. They define *fear* as "'the institutional, cultural and psychological repercussion of violence' [which] has also been identified as an outcome of destabilization, exclusion and uncertainly" (Moser and McIlwaine 2004a: 5). Simply put,

the fear in this context has its roots in the decades of unpredictable violence which has taken a strong toll on the civilian population (Moser and McIlwaine 2004b: 159).

Riaño-Alcalá observes that the experience of fear for Colombian IDPs is amplified as multiple fear-inducing sources aggregate to heighten the uncertainty and insecurity that accompany fear. She argues that in addition to physical violence or threats from armed actors, fear is aggravated by the loss of material resources, possible changing gender roles, and the insecurity of the challenge to register (or declare) as a displaced person (2008: 15). With the convergence of multiple fears and uncertainty-provoking factors, she writes that during her research, she "observed that suspicion and distrust continue to mark and regulate Colombian refugees' everyday lives" (Riaño-Alcalá 2008: 15).

This fear is also fueled by the disorientation of losing familiar community and family (Guarnizo, et al. 1999; Riaño-Alcalá 2008). Robert Muggah describes that the observable conflict-induced disintegration of community in Colombia is marked by "horrendous loss" (2000: 136). He writes:

> These include losses in both productive capabilities and access to basic services. Specifically, local production systems are dismantled, kinship groups and established residential institutions disorganized. Trade networks are shattered and re-configured resulting in the disruption of labour markets. In addition to the distortion of producer-consumer relations, informal social norms—mutual child-care, food security, revenue transfer systems, short-term credit, labour exchanges—are dissolved…Traditional community and authority systems lose

leaders; symbolic markers are abandoned, dissolving the social mortar binding

people to their cultural identity [Muggah 2000: 136].

In other words, fear-inducing threats and violence lead to displacement that causes

fragmentation. In turn, the fragmentation itself also fuels further uncertainty and

insecurity that in turn heightens generalized fear.

In Colombia, in areas where a strong culture of fear has been developed, a

deterioration of solidarity and community fragmentation often follows. Moser and

McIlwaine quote E. Torres-Rivas' (1999: 294) summary of the experience of fear: "to

live in insecurity, with the sensation of a permanent threat, or close to pain and death, all

contribute to the breakdown of basic solidarity" (cited *in* Moser and McIlwaine 2004b:

164). Torres-Rivas notes that solidarity is an adhesive that holds a community together.

Living in fear and lacking solidarity, fragmentation is likely. The tension between

solidarity and fragmentation becomes increasingly important when observing how

women adjust to displacement.

Individual Responses to Fear

As Riaño-Alcalá and Guarnizo, et al. highlight, fear is provoked from multiple

sources. For displaced people in Colombia, it has resulted in a "deepening a climate of

distrust" (Riaño-Alcalá 2008: 6). It is evident that fear-induced displacement is

widespread throughout Colombia. Many academics also find that a more subtle response

to mistrust and fear in Colombia is silence—self-imposed isolation and a search for

anonymity (Meertens 2001; Moser and McIlwaine 2004a; Riaño-Alcalá 2008).

Describing her findings while studying the paramilitary-controlled city of

Barrancabermeja in Colombia, anthropologist Lesley Gill writes, "a pervasive mistrust

fuels residents' silence and corrodes social relations" (2008: 140). She describes how the violent, unpredictable and oppressive regimes of the paramilitary left many residents with no options but to "turn inward and seek individual solutions for their troubles" (Gill 2008: 140). Hence, she found that violence caused fragmentation and this led to self-imposed isolation as a coping mechanism for the prevailing uncertainty and generalized mistrust.

Riaño-Alcalá, Meertens and Moser and McIlwaine also find evidence for a desire for isolation and anonymity as a response to fear in resettlement areas where armed actors have less direct influence. Meertens reports that in addition to the obvious need for physical security, displaced people gravitate toward the large cities partially to "guarantee a certain degree of anonymity" (2001: 135).

Community Responses to Fear

On a community level, there is evidence that pervasive mistrust deters Colombian IDPs from forming networks and organizations. Guarnizo, Sanchez and Roach research the process of transnational migration from Colombia as a result of the armed conflict. They argue that the long-standing war has led to a "social decomposition" in Colombia where "fundamental notions of trust and honorable behavior are no longer central elements of the Colombian landscape, especially in larger cities…" (Guarnizo, et al. 1999: 381). In studies of international migrant communities from Colombia, they find that fragmentation and mistrust are social factors, among others, which act as barriers to organizing and mobilizing political parties of Colombians abroad (Guarnizo, et al. 1999). Their findings support the notion that there is a positive correlation between mistrust in Colombian culture and an inhibited capacity to organize into achieving an outcome.

However, their research does not address issues specific to women or how attempts to organizing within a culture of fear effects vulnerability.

Civil groups do attempt to organize and resist the oppressive the FARC and paramilitary control, but this is not done without personal risk. It has been well documented that in order to deter civil organizations, murders and kidnappings are used to instill fear (Gill 2008; Human Rights Watch 2008; Muggah 2000; Tate 2007). Gill writes that using a "campaign of terror…[the paramilitary has] eliminated or severely weakened trade unions, opposition political parties, community groups, and human rights organizations that they accuse of supporting insurgents" (2008: 134). Recognizing the threats that community leaders face, the GoC has offered a protection program for civil leaders since 1997. Though there is debate whether the program is effective, the existence of this long running program underscores the risks that leaders face (Gill 2008; Human Rights Watch 2008; Moser and McIlwaine 2004b; Tate 2007). Women's groups and female leaders are not excluded from this persecution.

Despite the associated risks, some groups come together to seek improved conditions or protections of their rights (Gill 2008; Human Rights Watch 2008; Tate 2007). The leaders of these groups are highly vulnerable to become targets for guerrillas and paramilitary, in resettlement areas as well as tightly controlled areas (Gill 2008; Muggah 2000; Pérez 2008). In some cases murders and disappearances of leaders have "led to invisible [female] leadership as a form of protection" (Pérez 2008: 33). In other cases, the fear of reprisals has been an insurmountable barrier. In a focus group in Aguazul, Colombia, participants reported to Moser and McIlwaine that "the violent death of community leaders had led to the absence of organizational management which, in

turn, resulted in lack of union and dialogue replaced by mistrust" (Moser and McIlwaine 2004b: 167).

Context of a Culture of Fear

In Colombia, the armed conflict and resulting displacement has fostered a culture of fear marked by mistrust and community fragmentation. This culture provides an environment in which paradoxical needs pull against each other. On one side, violence and threats forcibly drive people to find new, secure communities. The fear IDPs bring with them translates into mistrust of new community members and a resistance to form bonds of solidarity. Other the other side, there is a need to access information and other forms of capital that is available through social networks. Riaño-Alcalá finds that IDPs in Colombia are limited in their ability to form social networks that have been identified by migration specialists to aid the transition process. She attributes this to the paradoxical need for isolation and community: She writes,

> Field work…illustrated the paradoxes of living with fear when protection is sought, and suggested that responses of isolation and anonymity as a measure of personal protection are common among the IDPs and refugees…This response to fear, nevertheless, had a significant consequence on their accessing protection (in the case of the internally displaced) and their ability to learn to navigate new social systems [2008: 16].

My study builds upon the work done by Riaño-Alcalá and other social scientists in Colombia. Their research exposes the importance of social networks and migration, and the presence of a culture of fear in displacement. My research questions explore how women are adapting to these constraints while aiming to secure sustainable livelihoods.

Summary

This chapter offered a broad picture of the general conditions that face displaced women in Bogotá. Research highlights that social capital is an asset on which people can strategically draw in order to develop a livelihood. More specifically, social capital in the form of social networks has been repeatedly proven to help connect people to important information during migration and in vulnerable conditions. The generalized mistrust within the culture of fear may limit the capacity of an individual to build social capital, therefore potentially constraining the availability of this asset. The literature points to the paradoxical effects of these needs and fears.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

I use social network analysis in the context of a culture of fear to explore the limitations or accessibility of social capital to participants. My research is primarily concerned with behavioral strategies to access socio-economic resources; hence a materialist approach is most appropriate for this research. However, I uncover and describe my data drawing upon the methodological approach developed by Geertz that emphasizes a "thick description" of behavior and perceived experience.

Analyzing the cultural context of social support and social networks, Jacobson used Geertz's "thick description" approach to emphasize the "context" of how people create meaning of social support (1987). I generally follow Jacobson's approach to answer my research questions although I am more concerned with strategic behavior than meaning. I explore the context in which the social support networks have emerged (the culture of fear) in order to understand how the participants have or have not been able to mobilize resources of any sort embedded within their social networks. Although I am not using an interpretive approach, per se, my methodology emphasizes the perceptions and interpretations of the participants.

E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973) is considered to be one of the first anthropologists to strongly advocate for an interpretive approach. In contrast to his anthropological predecessors, Evans-Pritchard offers a move away from empirical science, and towards a "more 'cultural' direction by proposing that the best approach to investigating social structure was to frame it as a series of flexible, logical cognitive 'maps' giving form and meaning to social behavior" (Erickson and Murphy 2003: 105). In his work, he preferred to interpret culture as a constellation of various context specific aspects of life.

Drawing from the same approach of emphasizing the interpretation of culture, Geertz offered his research angle of a "thick description" in his well-known book, *The Interpretation of Culture* (1973). Though he nods to the value of empirically-based science with predictive validity, he sees culture as infinitely complex, hence "cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete" (Geertz 2006: 334). He advocates that the role of the ethnographer is to deeply explore the web of culture through a "thick description" of isolated elements and the relationship of elements such as significance, motivation and manifestation in a context-specific location. His work is relevant to my approach to the extent that he leads the anthropologist towards valuing the voice and opinions of the participant as a crucial part of research.

As opposed to an interpretative approach that focuses more on the agency of individuals, the materialist approach is to consider culture to reflect functionally reactive and adaptive qualities. To answer the question of why a certain culture has certain practices, the materialist first inspects the physical environment and investigates the resources available. This approach is appropriate for an examination of coping strategies

that have emerged within the culture of fear. In my research, I focus on the environment

created by the armed conflict as the principle influence that is constantly shaping

strategies.

In his review, *Materialists vs. Mentalists: A Review Article of Cultural

Materialism,* Eric Wolf describes that for a materialist, the source of scientific knowledge

of humankind is rooted in the "belief that human affairs are caused by the ways human

beings cope with nature" (1982: 6). According to the materialist, the demands of the

material landscape, such as competition for scarce resources, drive the development of

cultural practices (Erickson and Murphy 2003: 125).

A cultural materialist perspective takes a more scientific approach, valuing the

etic, or the observer's perception of behavior, more than the *emic*, the insider's

perception. Marvin Harris developed the framework of cultural materialism following the

empirically-based work of anthropologist Leslie White. White's thermodynamic law of

culture injected the field of anthropology with hard science techniques; hypothesizing

that culture is the result of a convergence of the use of technology to harness energy.

White's equation conceptualizes humans as energy capturing beings, stressing the

interaction of human kind with nature (Erickson and Murphy 2003: 118). Harris builds

upon White's ideas, but also recognizes the emic view. According to Wolf, however,

Harris gives "causal priority to the etic behavior sector" (1982: 150). This statement is

important for two reasons. First, it highlights the importance to the etic perspective or

view. Harris emphasizes the utility of etic behavior descriptions because he finds that

members of a given culture are not reliably conscious of the root cause of their behaviors

(2006 [2003]). Second, the phrase "causal priority" is important to the concept of cultural materialism as it reflects the positivist philosophy of materialism.

I explore access to scarce socio-economic resources; hence Harris' approach is influential. In my work, I consider both etic and emic data. Yet, I give descriptive priority to the emic. I developed my methods in a manner that I would be synthesizing, or as Scheper-Hughes (1995) suggests, witnessing, information presented by the participants such that I incorporate both emic and etic perspectives. This is as a modest shift on Harris' work as he does most of the uncovering of the etic perceptive through careful scientific observation (1985), but I place more value on the emic perception of accessible resources. The oral histories collected during research provided emic perspectives, as the women recounted their experiences and their perceived accessibility of support. The graphs are a representation of their behavior during the proceeding years, offering a self-representing angle of the etic component of this work.

Although I do not take a primarily interpretive approach, I do call upon the style of ethnography advocated for by Geertz to highlight the context from which strategies emerged and to present them in a rich and detailed manner. I describe their experiences in-depth through a "thick description" of their stories in displacement complemented by minimal objective assessment of their ability to access resources. Essentially, I am employing a materialist paradigm refocused on an emic perspective.

Voice and Methodology

Scheper-Hughes warns researchers against distancing themselves from participants in the name of scientific neutrality. She encourages anthropologists to understand their position of power as researchers and use that to advocate for needs voiced by the

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communities in which they work (Scheper-Hughes 1995). I agree with Scheper-Hughes regarding the obligation of anthropologists to engage with their subject matter. She writes, "Those of us who make our living observing and recording the misery of the world have a particular obligation to reflect critically on the impact of the harsh images of human suffering that we foist on [our readers]" (Scheper-Hughes 1995: 416). She urges young anthropologists to work with the tools of ethnography and narrow the gap between anthropologist and informant by becoming emotionally engaged with the subject matter. She writes, "like every other craftsperson we can do the best we can with the limited resources we have at hand: our ability to listen and observe carefully with empathy and compassion" (Scheper-Hughes 1995: 418). Through her work and writing, she advocates for an ethical reorientation to the "other," allowing the researcher to be touched, and possibly changed, by his/her work and relationships that are built during research.

The counter argument to Scheper-Hughes is that more subjective engagement will result in compromised objective, academic, grounded results. Yet she calls for anthropologists to move past the discipline's colonial and positivistic roots and into the work of activists and advocates. Furthermore, she argues that anthropologists should engage in moral relationships and put ethics at the center of all work. She encourages anthropologists to be primarily accountable to people, not to science.

In response to Scheper-Hughes article, Harris responds, "Without science, critical anthropology will dissolve into the postmodernist mainstream in which radical skepticism, relativism, and nihilism are the order of the day [Gross and Levitt 1994, Rosenau 1992]" (1985: 424). Yet, as Scheper-Hughes asserts, there is "little virtue in

false neutrality" (1995: 411). I made the conscious decision before entering the field to have a willingness to engage my passion for the subject, while simultaneously recognizing the biases and subjective view I have. At the same time, I agree with Harris' materialist perspective that without empirically-based science, a subjective report would just get lost in the abyss of passionate writing. This would be a disservice to the people I am hoping to help with my research.

Harris sees the value of anthropology in its scientific approach, and Scheper-Hughes in its ethical approach. These two perspectives are not mutually exclusive. As an applied anthropologist, I use a combination of anthropological tools to access etic and emic perspectives to benefit the participants. This is a statement that I believe both of these anthropologists would endorse.

As I began to design my research methods, I was concerned about the colonial roots of the field of anthropology as was Scheper-Hughes. To fully explore the ideas of voice, representation and knowledge, I explore the literature on subaltern voice and representation. This review encourages an active deconstruction of the "hierarchy of knowledge" which is often taken for granted in academics. I assert this is an important consideration to bring to this study as the crux of my work is learning from the knowledge of displaced women. In order to do this, I felt ethically and morally drawn to explore new ways for the subaltern voice to be expressed in my academic work.

The Subaltern

This section offers a systematic and in-depth exploration of the emergence and discourse concerning the term *subaltern*. I focus on themes of academic privilege, representation, and gender concerning subalternity. Though I will offer a more nuanced

exploration of subalternity, I use the term subaltern to refer to a population whose knowledge and voice are systematically excluded from hegemonic discourses (Humphries and McNicholas 2009; Spivak 1988).

In reviewing the literature on the subaltern, I find that the discourse rotates around two core themes: the issues of representation, and the role of academics in subjugating populations. Adding a critical perspective, I approach the literature with the intent to explore the extent to which the question of gender is addressed within subalternity. My guiding questions in this exploration are: How is academic discourse implicated in the muting of the subaltern voice? Within the subaltern discourse, how do academics treat the concepts of representation and voice? How can the subaltern be heard? Is the subaltern woman's voice conceptualized differently than the subaltern man's voice? In this section, I argue that academics should be proactive in making space for the subaltern voice to be heard.

In academia, there is still considerable debate concerning questions of power as it relates to knowledge and representation. These areas of inquiry are in constant tension, acting to shape and refine the conceptualization of the subaltern within a variety of academic disciplines. Though I present these themes in two sections, they can never be fully isolated because they exist in an interwoven relationship. This relationship represents the core of communication: who can speak and who is heard. This simple exchange is problematized by power dynamics: the establishment of "legitimate" academic discourse, imperialism, and oppression. As I review the subaltern literature, I focus on the tension between these themes, rather than trying to fully isolate one from the other.

I draw upon a diverse sample of academic writing to explore this subject. I have

selected authors from all over the world (India, South Africa, New Zealand and the

United States) who research the problematic expression of the subaltern voice. I call upon

authors from various disciplines, including intercultural communication, organizational

communication, history, psychology, anthropology, and cultural studies in order to

explore the relevant information these different fields offer the discourse concerning

subalternity. I explore how these theorists have conceptualized the idea of a marginalized

group who do not have voice within the hegemonic power system in which they live. The

hegemony may manifest in different arenas, such as academics, politics, the workplace,

or diagnostic tools in psychology, but the story is similar: subaltern voices are muted as

people in a position of privilege reinforce a hierarchy of knowing and communicating. To

begin this complicated journey, I start with an overview of how the term emerged.

The Emergence of the Subaltern Project in Academia

There is general consensus within the field regarding the philosophical use of the

term subaltern. The Latin root of the word is *sub + alternus*. The prefix *sub-* means

below or under and *alternus* means all the rest, or other. In the 1600s it was commonly

used to refer to a "person holding a subordinate position; *specif;* a junior officer (as in the

British army)" (Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 1993). The roots of the term do

not sufficiently reflect the contemporary notion that power is accepted as implicit. This is

important to consider as the struggle of the privileged group to maintain their position of

power and the struggle of the subaltern to be heard is central to the academic discourse of

this term.

Around the turn of the 19th century, philosopher and political theorist Antonio

Gramsci called upon this term to refer to the population whose voice was excluded from

the "bourgeois narrative" (Humphries and McNicholas 2009: 67). As the term evolved, it

became more nuanced than just a synonym for a marginalized population. The term has

grown to reference systematic exclusion by those in intellectual, economic or political

power, not simply through discrimination (Humphries & McNicholas 2009). According

to feminist philosopher Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, the subaltern is not just a minority

group on a college campus who has been denied the forum to speak, but rather they are a

people in a peripheral position outside of the hegemonic system who express themselves

in a way that is neither heard or included in the mainstream discourse (Humphries and

McNicholas 2009; Kilburn 1996; Spivak 1988).

The discourse on subalternity is firmly rooted in postcolonial theory. Ranajit

Guha's work provides both a historical and philosophical framework for the current

discourse on the subaltern. His work also exposes the problematic nature of creating

space for the subaltern within academia.

Ranajit Guha

In the early 1980s, Indian historian Ranajit Guha helped to compile an anthology

of articles concerning what he calls the *subaltern project*. The books were a compilation

of subaltern perspectives of Indian independence as an attempt to fill in the gaps left by

the elites who recorded the struggle to be decolonized. Guha describes that the

historiography of this resistance was written through the lens of the Indian elite, most of

whom took on political and structural characteristics of the colonizers. The elite's

selective documentation of events during and after that time shaped what is now a

commonly accepted notion of Indian nationalism (Guha 1982: 2). This problematic

nationalism, he argues, does not fully incorporate the influence of grassroots, subaltern

movements that shaped history. Guha calls for a renegotiation of Indian nationalism "on

the recognition of the co-existence and interaction of the elite and the subaltern domain of

politics" (1982: 7). The goal of the anthology, as historian Dipesh Chakrabarty

summarizes, is "to make the subaltern the sovereign subject of history, to stage them as

agents in the process of history, to listen to their voices, to take their experience and

thought (and not just their material circumstances) seriously" (1998: 475).

The details of Guha's project are important as he sets the stage for subaltern

scholarship. Following Guha's lead, the articles I reviewed that involve case studies

generally follow his foundational analysis; researchers identify a subaltern group, observe

how their voices are systematically muted in history, theory, politics, or other hegemonic

structures and articulate the wide scale implications of this muting (Brohi 2008; Dutta

and Kim 2009; Humphries and McNicholas 2009; Swartz 2005).

Ironically, Guha's work exposes one of the paradoxes of the subaltern studies—

the anthology was conceived of by Indian historians with a political agenda. Though the

idea was to write *history from below*, the historians who embarked on this journey were

literate academics positioned to articulate the consciousness of peasants rebellions

(Chakrabarty 1998: 475). In writing a history from below, Guha is forced to legitimize

subaltern truths (such as the role of the supernatural in their rebellions) for which he can

not provide empirical evidence (Chakrabarty 1998: 475). This requirement reveals

tension in the subaltern project. By asking the academic to negotiate the representation of

an alternative way of knowing, it makes fundamental the subaltern need for an advocate to represent them in the mainstream.

The Subaltern Project

The subaltern project not only seeks to present an avenue for the subaltern voice to be heard, but also highlights the question of "who speaks (or writes), when, to whom, and in what system of representation" (Swartz 2005: 509). Guha's anthology sets the stage for an analysis of an ongoing battle, as historian Gyanendra Pandey describes, "over the rules of appropriations, accumulation, preservation (and destruction) of resources, power, prestige and more; a struggle to institute and perpetuate subalternity or to put it in other words, relations of dominance and subordination" (2010: 6).

I operationalize this "battle" within academia by focusing on the interwoven spheres of hierarchy of knowledge and the question of voice. Both components of this dynamic are in a constant process of expression and resistance. The fundamental task of the subaltern project is to explore whether the landscape for this battle can be altered.

The Role of Academics in Legitimizing and Reinforcing a Hierarchy of Knowledge

Tracing intellectuals' work to colonial times, postcolonial theorists implicate academics in epistemologically legitimizing and reinforcing a system of domination. During this time, a foundation was laid where Western academic knowledge became the sole legitimate form of knowing, and all other ways of knowing were subjugated. A lack of access to resources restricts the subaltern's ability to contribute to academia because scholarly writing is the primary means of communicating and reforming knowledge. Rooted on postcolonial critiques, the subaltern project can be seen as one attempt to integrate alternative ways of knowing in a more democratic fashion despite the existence

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of a stratified society. In general, the postcolonial critique calls for a systematic and holistic "re-thinking and re-formulation of forms of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and western domination" (Prakash 1992: 8).

An examination of academia during colonial times elucidates how the hierarchy that subaltern scholars are challenging today was first established. Through the concept of *orientalism*, literary theorist Edward Said provides a nuanced understanding of how the mold of what is considered legitimate knowledge was cast and reinforced (1975). Said is concerned with the idea of the non-Western, or the "Orient'" as a concept that is diametrically opposed to the West. He focuses on how the academic and scientific conceptualization of the East created an object for the Western mind to talk about, talk for, and deal with. Fundamentally, Said is concerned with the intellectual notion of the "Other" and how scholars have engaged this abstract notion to objectify those who are different—those who do not belong to the mainstream, Western hegemony. Through the creation of the Other, academics defined legitimate *against* illegitimate knowledge and through the imperialist process of domination generated a hierarchy of power and knowledge. Extrapolating on the use of difference to create Other, and Self, anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod asserts that the culture concept itself is a tool that emphasizes difference between coherent groups. She critiques anthropological writing for "freezing differences" observed in the Other, and placing that difference in a relationship of power (Abu-Lughod 1991: 470-471). Since white males colonized and actively persecuted people of difference, their notion of Self was established as central, and all Others were cast as peripheral.

During colonial times, a foundation was laid that established what constituted legitimate ways of knowing. Maria Humphries and Patty McNicholas assert that during the colonial legacy missionaries, anthropologists and natural scientists, traditionally white men, became the "recorders and arbitrators of truth" (2009: 59-60). The positivistic paradigm took hold and edged out indigenous and spiritual ways of knowing. Advocating for alternative ways of knowing, Dwight Conquergood writes, "the dominant ways of knowing in the academy is that of empirical and critical analysis from a distanced perspective: 'knowing that' and 'knowing about'" (2002: 146).

A historical understanding of the establishment of the hierarchy of knowing sets the stage to explore the consequence of "subjugating knowledge" (Foucault cited *in* Conquergood 2002: 146). Implicit in this hierarchy is the idea that only those who are legitimate can speak and contribute to intellectual discourse. Consequentially, the voice of those who are not allowed to speak within this power system are muted.

In her article, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, Spivak builds upon Guha and Said's work by further exploring the role of intellectual power in muting the subaltern (1988). Like Said and Conquergood, she observes that academic discourse during colonial times created a hierarchy of knowing where native knowledge possessed by the Other was less legitimate than European academic knowledge. This "epistemic violence" created a tone of speaking for, or speaking of, the Other (1988: 76). This epistemic violence is of primary concern to subaltern scholars because through this hierarchy, the subaltern's ways of knowing are shunned into a peripheral position in society. Said's work identifies the power rift that allows intellectuals to develop a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between "the Orient" and "the Occident"

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(1975: 88). The subaltern project's concern is to deeply explore intellectual components that hold this rift in place and consider ways in which other ways of knowing can be incorporated.

Said observes the binary that makes the subaltern project problematic. Spivak, Swartz, Brodhi and Broome, et al. are all concerned with a misconception that the subaltern voice, which in Said's work might be considered "the Orient," will emerge with a counter-hegemonic reading. Broome, et al. observe that it is hypocritical for an academic to attempt to become a spokesperson for the oppressed if they still consider themselves to be an elite representation of this voice (2005). Critiquing this type of scholarship, they write, "researchers thus essentialize themselves and their 'subjects' by positioning themselves as elite repositories of knowledge who possess and provide Truth, Reality and (correct) Interpretations" (2005: 167). They suggest that often in academia the subaltern's perspective can only be legitimized through a filtered representation by someone established as privileged within the hierarchy.

Research in the field of psychology on subaltern voice draws forth similar conclusions concerning how those holding positions of power mute the subaltern voice. Citing Spivak, subaltern psychology Sally Swartz argues that the subaltern voice (the mentally ill patient) is continually lost in the mainstream structure of diagnosing—a process that mirrors academic representation (2005). To explain this, she gives an example of a traditional psychologist diagnosing an individual as a lunatic. A non-traditional, counter-diagnosis might be that the patient is sane and society is maniacal. In order to represent the patient in a case history, she explains, we "inevitably" call upon theory or personal experience as a context in which they can be placed (Swartz 2005:

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511). However, she argues, in both diagnoses, the individual subject is not given agency to represent themselves. Hence, even a counter-reading is not giving the subaltern voice though it may offer a representation of their experience.

Representation

Swartz' illustration is an example of how the hierarchy of knowing bleeds into questions of representation. In psychology, the doctor holds the power of representing the client as they have been given access to the intellectual and theoretical framework to do so. Similarly, Brohi, Guha, Humphries and McNicholas, Spivak, and other subaltern scholars argue politicians, elite historians and academics are able to access resources that place them squarely in a position of power where they are able to choose who to represent and how to represent them. Swartz writes, "inequities of access to knowledge, to writing, to publication and to clinical training install hierarchy in these discussions of cultural difference, and this makes Othering inevitable" (2005: 518).

Returning to paternalistic themes of colonialism, the discourse regarding representation of the subaltern is concerned with the paternalistic act of speaking for another (Alcoff 1991; Broome, et al. 2005; Spivak 1988). Spivak and Broome, et al. argue that using the term "representation" reinforces the paternalistic nature of speaking for the "Other." Spivak writes that the word can be interpreted in two ways. In the academic sense, *to represent* means to act as a proxy for a party that could not be present. The paradoxical aspect of this is that the dominant cultural writers act as a proxy to describe the subaltern's voice because the subaltern is not allowed to be present. The second, and equally disempowering, reading of *representation* is aligned with an artistic notion of re-presenting the reality of another; to translate it through a secondary lens

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(1988: 70). In both readings, the notion that the colonial (and modern) academic can "represent" the subaltern in the writing of history reinforces their domination and claim to be the holders of the legitimate understanding of history. A similar concern is expressed in Abu-Lughod's deep concern that anthropologists are directly implicated in the process of reinforcing power through representing the Other as exotically different (1991).

Feminist philosopher Linda Alcoff asserts that an academic must constantly remind themselves of how power manifests in their writing. To do this, one must recognize how knowledge is organized based on who says what, who is heard and how they communicate (Alcoff 1991: 12). The key is to see the connection between power, knowing and voice. A central point of the subaltern project is to understanding that knowledge is a constellation of considering who says something, how they say it, and whether that source is considered to possess legitimate knowledge.

Alcoff writes that *speaking about*, *speaking in the place of* and *retreating from* representing others are all problematic strategies in the subaltern project (1991: 9). In exploring this thorny issue, she explains that if academics conclude that one should only speak for oneself then "we are abandoning [our] political responsibility to speak out against oppression" (1991: 8).

Spivak recognizes that exclusively speaking for oneself as a subaltern may also not allow your voice to be heard. For lack of better alternatives, Spivak presents the idea of "*strategic essentialism*" which would allow a subaltern group to generalize about itself in order to have a larger voice despite individual differences. Abu-Lughod argues the opposite: that in order to overcome the arbitrary lines of difference we must "refuse to

generalize" and only produce "ethnographies of the particular" (2006: 473). Her

approach, however, has been heavily criticized for not being academic and overly

particular. Although Spivak and Alcoff note problematic arena of only speaking for

oneself as an academic or as a subaltern, neither author gives a definitive answer on how

to best deal with this debate. Yet but both agree that academia must try to reconcile this

conundrum.

Ironically, the institution that is debating on how the subaltern voice can be heard

often is excluding the subaltern. This leads to the concerning realization that the

discourse on subalternity spins its wheels as it tries to cope with simultaneously

representing and critiquing a representation of the subaltern from within academia.

Seeking to refine the question of *who can speak*, communication academics Mohan

Dutta-Bergman and Mughuya Pal highlight that the question of *who* gains access to

discursive spaces is limited by societal position (2007). They argue that within

capitalistic civil society, access to education and material resources appear to be a

prerequisite for having a legitimate voice in the civil discursive platform. Hence, the

conditions which render the population marginal also inherently restrict their access to

representing themselves in this dialogic space (2007: 13). Therefore, subaltern studies

"demonstrates how [mainstream] knowledge continues to serve positions of power and

maintain social structures that sustain the conditions of marginality" (Dutta-Bergman and

Pal 2007: 2). This review highlights that academia has created and is actively reinforcing

subaltern status and the hierarchy of knowledge. Dutta and Induk Kim eloquently

describe this exclusion in a critique of crisis communications:

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As exemplified by the dominant crisis communication literature, systematic

erasure of the subaltern voice from the academic discourse not only signified

researchers' failure to recognize the subaltern existence, but also indicates that

academia has been an active participant of the oppressive system, as its primary

interest lies in protecting the interests of the exploitative corporate enterprise

[2009: 149].

Despite the discouraging findings that academia is actively subjugating the

subaltern, scholars are relentlessly perusing the philosophical, and hopefully applied,

question of how can the subaltern be heard? In doing so, they are simultaneously

exploring what academics can do to minimize the restriction imposed by the hierarchy of

knowledge.

Spivak draws attention to the subaltern woman in a discussion of how the colonial

rapport with subjugated countries was very paternalistic. According to Spivak, the

colonial relationship is characterized by a division of labor between the First and Third

world, where the imperialist Self or "subject" gains a position of power by creating a

shadow: the Other or the "object." She argues that if the subaltern is in the imperialist's

shadow, then the "subaltern woman is even more deeply in the shadow" (1988: 83)

because the woman is often in the man's shadow. She writes, "between patriarchy and

imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of the woman

disappears, not into pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the

displaced figuration of the 'third-world woman' caught between traditions and

modernization" (1988: 102). It follows that issues of race, gender and class can further

push the subaltern into a subjugated, peripheral position. Yet how these issues interact is not clearly articulated within subaltern scholarship.

Dutta and Kim advocate not only for solidarity within groups of subaltern people, but also they argue for solidarity in lieu of objectivity in academia when addressing concerns of the "politically less powerful and resource poor" (Dutta and Kim: 142). Like Scheper-Hughes, they encourage academics to willingly move towards the subaltern, engage with them, and to be open to transformation. This urging is contradictory to the traditionally lauded objective academic approach (Dutta and Kim: 151). The authors assert that academics and other privileged people should not ignore the power they possess, and they believe that any reflection on structural, racial and gender inequities by those in positions of power can be considered an act of resistance that could lead to social change (2009: 158).

How Can the Subaltern Be Heard?

The question of how the subaltern can be heard is important to me, as I feel ethically drawn to best represent the voice of the subaltern. Furthermore, I feel professionally obliged to produce the best research possible within academia so that I can disseminate important information. I recognize that the subaltern debate exposes many paradoxes and conundrums, and I am committed to refining my methods to do the best I can within the given barriers.

The discourse on subalternity demonstrates two things. The first is that there is an established hierarchy of knowledge. None of the authors I encountered argued that we could obliterate power structures within society. Second, they argue that the subaltern has legitimate ways of knowing and ways of representing themselves that are different from

the hegemonic ways or simplified counter-hegemonic ways. This discussion will highlight the knotted center of academic discourse on subalternity: if we accept that there will always be a power structure, and that the subaltern has a voice that wants to be heard, how can we "help clear a space for the subaltern to speak?" (Humphries and McNicholas 2009: 67). Furthermore, can the subaltern gain a legitimate voice? These questions reflect two main threads of recommendations to support the emergence of the subaltern voice. The first is that academics and those in power must make space for the voices to be heard, and the second advocates for legitimization of alternative means of expressing of voice. In this section I intend to articulate the "activist turn" possible in discourse on subalternity where the re-conceptualization of knowledge and voice in academia could have empowering implications for the subaltern (Broome, et al. 2005; Hedge 1998).

Creating Spaces for the Subaltern

As long as the academic institution reinforces an Othering of the subaltern, "he or she [will] remain in the subject position of the subaltern as a marker to be talked about, talked for and talked to; he or she remains as a site to be acted upon through top-down modes of communication within modern social systems" (Dutta-Bergman and Pal 2007: 13). Many subaltern academics argue we must attempt to dislodge power inequities within this system, yet none contend that this will be an easy process.

Dutta-Bergman and Pal, Humphries and McNicholas, Swartz, and Alcoff encourage academics to be self-reflexive about the role they play in maintaining this dominant/subordinate relationship through the creation of knowledge in dominant discourses. Dutta-Bergman and Pal advocate that an intentional act of *listening to* the

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subaltern will help create space (2007: 22). Dutta and Kim write, "Most fundamentally, listening to the voices of the subaltern communities creates alternative problem conceptualizations and solution configuration that resist the solution configuration imposed by the dominant framework" (2009: 151). Alcoff also asserts that dialogue with the subaltern can open spaces where we can broaden a narrow understanding of the world (1991). However, Swartz notes that considering psychologists are trained to *listen to* the patient, *listening to* will not be enough to dislodge the system (2005).

In *Economic & Political Weekly*, historian Dipesh Chakrabarty systematically highlights the paradoxes and struggles of writing "history from below," but he suggests that we at least "attend to the limits of history" (1998: 477). He advocates that if historians are starting to grapple with accepting traditional, spiritual or superstitious ways of knowing, then they should be transparent about this challenge.

In addressing issues of representation, Alcoff also advocates for academics to explore how the process of recognizing privilege may make us feel (1991). She concludes that though it is a difficult issue to *speak for* another, we must not retreat out of fear of criticism in misrepresenting the other. We must recognize our academic privilege and reasonability and foster spaces that we can "speak to" the subaltern in genuine dialogue. "The problem," she concludes "is a social one, the options available to us are socially constructed, and the practices we engage in cannot be understood as simply the results of autonomous individual choice" (1991: 11). Hence, we must not be afraid to make mistakes in order to progress in the subaltern project.

Current consensus within the field is as people in a position of privilege, we have the responsibility to proactively open spaces for voices to be heard (Alcoff 1991;

Humphries and McNicholas 2009). We should be open to alternative ways of knowing and encourage their expression. This may not be an easy road to take, but it may start a process of social transformation. Humphries & McNicholas (2009) encourage academics not only to listen, but to start appreciating different values (2009: 66). The following section explores the question of what we might be listening to.

Legitimizing Voices of the Subaltern

In considerations of the subaltern's voiceless status, Dutta-Bergman and Pal suggest that civil society and academia become more open to alternative ways of knowing and communicating (2007). They reframe civil society dialogue as *one* way of communicating, and academic discourse as *one* way of knowing. In lieu of making the subaltern gain access, they suggest that the dominant group can broaden the scope of who has access to dialogue by recognizing the expression of voice through alternative means such as song and protests. Dutta and Kim assert that academia must recognize the subaltern construction of knowledge even if it has not previously been a part of academic discourse (2009). By incorporating alternative ways of knowing, scholars can begin to break apart the dominant discourse and create space for academic and social transformation (2009: 151). This is somewhat circular reasoning because in order for alternative ways of knowing to be incorporated, we need to begin to break apart the dominant discourse. This is a challenge that we need to relentlessly pursue.

Highlighting another core challenge of legitimizing alternative ways of knowing, Conquergood reminds us, "subjugated knowledge has been erased because they are illegible; they exist, by and large, as active bodies of meaning, outside of books, eluding the forces of inscription that would make them legible, and thereby legitimate" (de

Certeau; Scott cited in Conquergood 2002: 146). The most important component of Conquergood's quotation is the lack of recognition within academia of alternative ways of knowing. Here, Conquergood draws a line between written work being legitimate and unwritten work (e.g. performance) being considered illegitimate. I assert that subaltern scholars would not draw this line, though they would agree that there is a hierarchy of knowing and communication that excludes the subaltern. Fiction and *testimonios* are two alternative ways of vocalization explored by subaltern scholars that are both written and not considered legitimate by others.

The American-Spanish *testimonio* is a relevant example of a written alternative way of communicating a subaltern experience (Dutta and Kim 2009: 17). Developed in the 1960s a *testimonio* is a short story, written in the first person to offer an alternative experience to mainstream narratives. Dutta and Kim describe,

> As a representation of the subaltern voice, the *testimonio* exists outside of the traditional boundaries of civil society and offers opportunity for dialogue by rupturing the modernist notions of what dialogue is and where it is made possible. As a communicative form, it challenges our assumptions of both literary texts and ethnographies [2009: 18].

The *testimonio* example is intriguing, as it demands the readers to be open to alternative ways of knowing and engaging in dialogue. It is a window of opportunity for the subaltern voice to be directly heard without any theoretic lens. However, the question remains whether the reader will consider it legitimate truth.

Feminist scholar Aimee Carrillo Rowe brings attention to the problematic nature of the process required for the subaltern to secure a legitimate voice outside of academia. She writes, "by drawing attention to the gate keeping function of academic publishing, Wallace provides a view to see the connections among location and the politics of speaking: that speaking place for black women is limited to writing novels or 'personality profiles for women's magazine,' but there is no space for those who wish to speak as black feminist intellectuals" (2005: 22). Though Rowe is writing from a stance of concern about the subaltern gaining an academic voice, her analysis brings up a larger question concerning the hierarchy of knowledge: is there a legitimate voice outside of academia? If the answer is no, than it would follow that the subaltern can only gain voice through an academic platform. Given the current power differentials that deny access to higher education to populations based on race, class and gender, this does not seem like a hopeful path to pursue in order to provide a space for the subaltern voice to be expressed.

Future of the Subaltern Project

There seems to be a rising concern with the question of how academics can relate to the subaltern on a personal level, and the question of whether the subaltern should be encouraged to form alliances as a means of empowerment. In addressing the question of subaltern legitimacy, Pandey introduces the "paradoxical category" of the *subaltern citizen* who is both subjected to subordination and a citizen who belongs to society without having to move up in social standing (2010: 4). By introducing this term, he asks how we can move towards a more inclusive democracy by incorporating voices from all citizens, regardless of power differences (Pandey 2010: 2). This is essentially a question regarding agency and inclusivity.

Pandey's inquiry is intriguing because his ideas of citizenship and inclusion are related to Dutta and Kim's the notion of subaltern solidarity. Using the post-Katrina crisis response of the organization *Common Ground Collective* in New Orleans as a case study, they identified solidarity within a subaltern community as a successful strategy for getting their voice heard (Dutta and Kim 2009). Based on their findings, they argue for the academic to stand in solidarity with the subaltern. Solidarity amongst subalterns is also reinforced in Spivak's support of strategic essentialization as a way for the subaltern to speak louder (1988). Abu-Lughod also advocates for the anthropologist to move towards the anthropologized, effectively shifting their position to be closer to the Other (2006). The idea of associations with and within the subaltern has not been fully addressed. It is interesting to note that the article by Pandey and the conference paper by Dutta and Kim are some of the most recently composed pieces of this review. It is possible these questions are indicative of a new direction for subaltern studies.

Implications of the Subaltern Project

Upon completing this literature review, I revisit the answer that Spivak offers to her inquiry, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* To this she concludes, "the subaltern cannot speak" (1988: 104). I modify this phrase to say that power systems in place are preventing the subaltern from being heard. Her question implies a question of agency on the part of the subaltern, but this review has exposed that muting is occurring as a form of subjugation from the top down. Subaltern studies address a concern for the subaltern and critiquing ways in which the subaltern voice is muted. Having a voice in this discourse requires, amongst other things, access to institutions that systematically deny the subaltern based on the very conditions that define them as such.

In response to my research questions of this section, I find that concerns with representation and voice of the subaltern are being approached slowly through a dissection of the hegemonic power that holds them on the periphery. There is a rising tide of interest within the field to delve into the issues of representation by academics. The issue is that change needs to come from people within the hegemonic system—from the top down while working with the oppressed. The subaltern is trying to be heard through a myriad of expressions of voice, but they are frequently being discounted as not being part of the legitimate discourse that feeds knowledge.

Subaltern scholars bring to my attention that I must enter into dialogue with the subaltern and remember the privilege I am granted by being part of the hegemonic power system. It reminds me of the way in which the foundation for legitimate knowledge rose out of imperialism, and still suppresses the ability of the subaltern to be heard. The subaltern project, however, is far from complete. Despite the formidable challenges the subaltern project presents, I hope to offer a dent in the deconstruction of the hierarchy of knowledge that excludes the voice of the subaltern woman.

The Subaltern Project in Anthropology

As Scheper-Hughes' and Adu-Lugod's work reflect, there is a strong and growing concern within the field of anthropology concerning the subaltern project, power, voice and representation. When formulating my research approach and methods, all of these issues quickly became concerns for me. When I began to form my research questions in 2008, I contacted several American and Colombian human rights activists and researchers to ask for help identifying current gaps in research. The consensus was that the voice of displaced women was missing from the dialogue in Colombia. Although they

nodded to the work of the Constitutional Court in listening to the testimonials of

displaced women, they recognized that by the time their stories filtered and generalized

by the time they were made public. Without using the term, subaltern, they expressed

concern that the voices of marginalized women in Colombia were not being properly

represented. These conversations lead me to include my final research question: while

doing research with a population of vulnerable women, *how can anthropologists move*

towards facilitating open space for participants to have more voice in academic

research?

Foreshadowing Field Methods

With this research question, as well as the recommendations of activists and

subaltern scholarship in mind, I constructed my field methods. I decided to work with a

small number of displaced women and work to build trust and rapport with them. Even

though I only had three months in the field, working with few participants allowed me to

spend more time with each one and create a space for dialogue. I developed a method to

have the participants co-create portfolios of their experiences with their own hands. The

objective of this design was to legitimatize and emphasize the importance of their

localized way of knowing without objective filtering from a researcher.

I recognize that as an academic researcher, I make the ultimate decision on what

to include in my thesis and data section. Although I am offering a representation of their

experiences, the methods I use create spaces for their voices and knowledge to be heard.

While navigating this conundrum, my thesis also addresses a gap in research identified by

the activists I contacted.

In order to move towards the participants (Scheper-Hughes 1995), and attempt to represent a form of subjugated knowledge (Conquergood 2002), I choose to call upon the work of applied and collaborative anthropologists. In the following section, I further detail the development of my methods as well as anthropologists that informed the methods I developed. I acknowledge that my achievements in minimizing my power are modest, yet they represent the ethical approach I apply in my work.

Action Research and Collaborative Anthropology

There is a trend in anthropology that echoes the idea of moving towards the participants, and to have research findings that can help to improve the conditions in which the participants live. Often thought of as having an advocacy slant, this trend has come through variously under the headings of action research, collaborative anthropology, participator action research, partnership research, public anthropology, policy-driven anthropology, and applied anthropology. I touch upon this diverse body of work as it has inspired and directed my methods. Underlying these threads of anthropology is a desire to minimize power differences and maximize work to benefit the community.

Action research (AR) as a branch of anthropology can be traced back to development of applied anthropology in the mid-nineteen hundreds. John van Willigen describes, "applied participatory research worked to minimize the authoritative power of the researcher and grant legitimacy to the local knowledge of community members" (2002: 78). The ideas of AR bring a new focus to the motivations and intentions of anthropological research, advocating for power to be shifted from the researcher to the community. Expanding on the historical roots and significance of AR, van Willigen

writes, "the core idea of AR is that research will be more valid and there is a greater likelihood of it being used by a community when the community has meaningful participation in the research process" (*in* van Willigen 2002 [Argyris and Schon 1991: 86]). Hence, the act of involving the community can significantly impact the implications of the research.

A collaborative process also can encourage community empowerment in addition to uncovering quality research. Anthropologist Jean Schensul extrapolates on collaborative research methods, stating "partnership research provides the basis for identifying local ways of conceptualizing and defining problems, needs, and resources; it clarifies local ecological knowledge and local theory" (2005: 206).

Collaborative research values localized knowledge and ways of knowing. The methods seek to incorporate these ways of knowing from the onset. Even while refining the research topic, a researcher may contact the participants and ask how their time could be spent to best aid the community. Approaches to data collection may be conducted in collaboration with participants, or training participants as researchers. This approach blurs the power lines between the traditional "subjective researcher" and the "object of research." It reframes the role of the anthropologist from that of an outside researcher to community collaborator. Though I recognize that various forms of anthropology may serve communities in different ways, collaborative anthropological approaches align the most with my ethical and professional interests.

Summary

This chapter outlines the emically-oriented yet materialist approach I chose for my work. This approach is an appropriate choice to uncover the experiences of displaced

women with regard to their ability to achieve a sustainable livelihood. I offered an in-depth review of the subaltern project and how it relates to academic representation. Finally, I situate my work and chosen collaborative methods within a consideration of the ethical and empirical discussions in academia.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODS AND PROJECT DESIGN

In Chapter 5, I discuss my sampling technique and the approach to gathering data more specifically. This chapter offers a description of the methods and project design. The ways in which a collaborative research approach was used is addressed throughout the chapter. Additionally, I highlight some of the limitations inherent to my chosen methods, and describe approaches I used to minimize these limitations.

Approach to Data Collection

I use a case study approach to better understand how the participants have been able to cope with economic vulnerability during the resettlement process within a prevalent culture of fear. The case study approach is a systematic investigation, analysis and description of a phenomenon as it is appears in a real life context (personal communication, Van Arsdale, October 17, 2008). I primarily relied on life, or an oral history approach to data collection complemented by quantitative data collection. I will present both of these approaches, and then offer a rationale for combining the two.

An oral history is best applied after a researcher has done significant archival and background research to gain a broad understanding of the phenomenon or case in question. Writing on the life history technique, Elizabeth Francis asserts that "the

researcher needs to have a thorough understanding of the macro-developments which provide context of constraints and opportunities within people have acted…Without this context, it can be difficult to interpret the reasons informants give for their actions" (1993: 93). Reflecting on their findings concerning the value of oral histories in development research, Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson assert that oral histories can offer compelling insights into an individual's experience of historical or cultural phenomena. Indeed, in cultures that value oral traditions, this may serve as a highly valuable means to access local knowledge (Slim and Thompson 1993).

Slim and Thompson argue, however, that the method of "listening to" a participant hinges upon their memory of the event (1993: 140). Hence, an oral history is not only subjective, but also it may be influenced by factors that impact the recollection of the event in question. Because information gathered in oral histories is subject to judgment, they recommend that it be considered "insight" as opposed to "data" (Slim and Thompson 1993: 150).

Slim and Thompson argue that is its best to combine this method with quantitative methods that can complement and anchor the insights. In this regard, valuable local knowledge can become richer when analyzed in conjunction with empirically-based data (Slim and Thompson 1993). They write,

> When oral testimony can be set against other evidence, or one testimony can be compared with another, the variations in accounts, which might be thought of as a weakness, can be turned into a special strength, an insight into how people make sense of their lives and social worlds. Indeed, it is a mixture of the subjective and objective which makes oral testimony such a rich source of information, revealing

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as much about values and perceptions as material realities" [Slim and Thompson 1993: 141].

Aligned with Slim and Thompson's findings, the insights gathered from oral histories were complemented by quantitative data collected from a portfolio approach. This approach involved a co-creation of visual, quantitative representations of access to economic resources, perceptions of support and network analysis. Specifically, the portfolios included co-created graphic representations of longitudinal access to material resources, longitudinal perceptions of support, and a map of the participants' current access to their support networks. The participants also offered an analysis of their portfolios in response to open-ended questions we asked after they completed their portfolios. The data that I gathered than analyzed serves to anchor the qualitative insights.

Despite efforts to minimize the inherent limitation of the life history approach, I am not able to make generalizations about the larger population of displaced women from my small judgmental sample. The limitation on my ability to generalize, however, does not minimize the importance of their individual struggles and achievements. Indeed, my thesis is designed to learn from experiences of displaced women despite a wide potential variance among them.

<div align="center">Snowball Sampling</div>

I contacted participants using a snowball sampling technique. This technique begins with a few trusted key informants who refer the researcher to an associate or friend who might be interested in participating. If good rapport is built with this participant, upon request they may introduce the researcher to another participant. The

new participant may then introduce another until the desired sample size is reached (Burnham, et al. 2004: 207; Sturgis 2008).

Accessing a sample in this manner was appropriate for this study because of the generalized mistrust that exists in the displaced community. Though I had previously visited Colombia several times before commencing my three-month long research, I had limited contacts with NGO workers and no contacts among the displaced population. Given these conditions, I sought to access participants through established chains of trust. The process of following a series of established, trusting relationships and interviewing each person along the way to gain their confidence eventually produced introductions to willing participants. The participants in a snowball sample are a judgmental non-probabilistic sample, which again limits my ability to generalize about their experiences. Using snowball sampling, I contacted a group of 11 participants.

<div align="center">Fostering Trust</div>

Gaining trust and rapport is a crucial part of gathering oral histories (Francis 1993). Trust is arguably a central component of this study considering the vulnerability of the population. My counterpart, Edna, played an essential role in helping me gain the trust of the participants. Additionally, she collaborated with me to refine my research methods and interview questions, helped translate when needed, transcribed interviews, and guided me safely through rough areas of town. Reflecting upon my research, I assert that the success of my study hinged upon the presence of Edna.

Initially, I contacted Edna though my supervisor at Dejusticia because I was concerned for my personal safety in the outskirts of Bogotá where most displaced peoples resettle. My supervisor recommended that I contact Edna because she knew the areas of

Bogotá where I wanted to work and she was confident navigating transportation through the dangerous areas of town.

Though she was not fluent in English, Edna was able to translate when needed. As a trained field sociologist, she was able to ask the prepared questions with an organic and sensitive flow. As a single, young, Afro-Colombian mother who grew up in the outskirts of Bogotá, she brought an element of connection and empathy to our interviews that I would not have been able to bring. She became very interested in my topic of exploration, so during the hours on public transportation to and from the southern outskirts of Bogotá, we would debrief and analyze the contents of the day's interviews.

An unanticipated aspect of having a counterpart was that we became good friends and our interactions put the participants at ease. We shared a light-hearted friendship, and developed a fluid way of communicating during interviews. Several participants told us that our interaction and friendship helped them to relax more quickly with me, a foreigner. One of our shier participants later revealed she had a hard time trusting people and that she had no intention of allowing us to interview her until she saw how we interacted and that we made a great team. No amount of preparation could have pre-arranged this friendship. I consider her to be more of a co-researcher than a counterpart.

Beyond my relationship with Edna, developing and maintaining trust with the participants was a sensitive element of the research. I had limited ability to do participant-observation because of the participants' fears. Though they felt comfortable talking with us in their homes and meeting multiple times, most of the participants seemed to prefer to limit the amount of time we spent in their homes and neighborhoods. Several participants vocalized a concern for my safety and a preference that we did not

wander around the neighborhood. Throughout the evolution of my study, considerations of risk to the participants and myself constantly resurfaced as factors to weigh.

Experience showed me that the trust we developed with participants was fragile. While asking one participant about institutional support systems, she began to describe an NGO that offered her training on how to care for her baby. In exchange for her attendance, she received bi-weekly bags of food. Curious about this NGO and the clients they serve, I asked if I could come to the next meeting. Immediately, her demeanor shifted and she became more withdrawn. The interaction we had over the next few moments indicated to me that my question had threatened her and may have diminished her trust of me. Although I had previously explained my motivation for research, I realized that accompanying her to a meeting could put her at risk. During my study, I learned how displaced families are fearful of people taking advantage of them, and afraid to lose any source of aid they have secured. Her guarded demeanor following this interaction led me to speculate that she may have thought I had ulterior motives to attend the meeting. Eventually she said that she would ask if I could come, but I did not follow-up with her concerning this topic. After that interaction, she was very hesitant to do a second meeting with us. When we did meet, she was visibly uncomfortable and agitated, so we left relatively quickly without completing the final map in her portfolio.

This experience taught me how easily the trust we had established could be lost. We enjoyed casually socializing with participants before and after the interviews. However, experience taught me that maintaining the trust and confidence was more important than trying to obtain potentially valuable information through participant-

observation. Furthermore, I did not want to contribute to any risk of increased vulnerability for the participants.

<div align="center">Methods and Project Design</div>

To inform a "thick description" of the life histories of the participants, I used key informant interviews, semi-formal interviews with participants, a group discussion, non-participant observation and visual portfolios.

In the following sections, I describe my field methods and the flow of my project design in more detail. My selected methods are an appropriate fit for my interest in contributing to the subaltern project as they offer participants new ways to express their voice in academic research. The project design included six phases:

Phase 1: Archival research and preliminary research with activists

Phase 2: Key informant interviews

Phase 3: Introduction to participants

Phase 4: Semi-formal interview with participants

Phase 5: Portfolio and analysis creation with participants

Phase 6: Non-participant observation

In the following chronological description of each phase, I include a detail of the methods used.

Phase 1: Archival research and preliminary research with activists

My fieldwork was proceeded by extensive archival research that provided a "macro" context of their situation as displaced women (Francis 1993). A review of research on Colombia as reported by academics and human rights organizations helped to bring the conditions that displaced women face into focus. Before I entered the field, I

had collected data that indicated that displaced women are often socio-economically vulnerable and at risk to be exploited.

As previously mentioned, as I began to craft my project design, I contacted activists who were experts on displaced women. They acted as consultants to help me refine my research questions. They supplemented the background information I had collected. In reference to displaced mothers, they emphasized the importance and challenge of accessing federal aid. Having worked with displaced women themselves, they knew that adapting to the city and accessing support was challenging; however, they reported that there was little academic documentation of this process. Though my archival research did reveal that quantitative and qualitative research has been done on the situation of displaced women in Colombia, I did not find research specifically on how the culture of fear influenced their ability to access resources.

During this phase, I was able to begin to identify gaps in existing research and develop a project design to address those gaps. However, I wanted my research methods to be formed in a collaborative manner. Leaving room for refinement of my methods, I entered the field with an Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved outline of methods and a draft of my semi-formal interview questions. During the next phase of research, I refined and tested my methods in collaboration with key informants, my counterpart and participants.

Phase 2: Key informant interviews

Using the snowball sampling technique, I used the few contacts I had in Bogotá to secure interviews with other key informants. After I established rapport with them, they were able to both vouch for my status as a legitimate researcher and introduce me to other

key informants or potential participants who they judged to be competent and reliable contacts.

During my first month in Colombia, I conducted ten semi-formal interviews with key informants from a select group of Colombian activists and students, as well as the government and NGOs. These reputable and often cited NGOs included Dejusticia, Ruta de la Pacifica de las Mujers, Sisman Mujer, CODHES, AFRODES, Fundación por los Invisibles, and Casa de la Mujer (Casa). I was also able to secure one interview with an employee of the Colombian Ministry of the Interior, but I had no success when I repeatedly tried to interview other government employees.

According to James Beebe, a key informant should be selected based on his/her knowledge and experience with the topic of inquiry (2001). This person should be able to provide reliable, detailed information and ideally be able to offer the researcher new contacts within a community (Hefferan 2005). I selected these key informants because of their wealth of knowledge on displaced and exploited women, and their willingness to help me with my research. All of my key informants had years of professional or academic experience working with displaced people and were able to offer reliable information that helped bring my research questions further into focus and guide me towards more refined research methods.

Interviews with key informants were conducted using open-ended questions related to their area of expertise. An example of interview questions can be found in Appendix A.[2] The key informants with whom I met before commencing interviews with

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[2] Initially I was prepared to focus more of my work on my participant's vulnerability to human trafficking; hence several of my questions are regarding push factors for trafficking. I have since minimized that aspect of my research, as I was not able to draw causal conclusions or connections.

participants were also able to offer me guidance on the appropriateness of my interview questions. In this sense, they acted as cultural brokers, helping steer my study in the most culturally sensitive direction. I refined my design and interview question wording in response to their feedback. For key informants who were interviewed after my participant interviews began, these questions regarding methods and working were omitted. The key informants reinforced my working hypothesis that a gendered study of the support available to displaced women was relevant and timely considering the recent Court release of Auto-092.

Phase 3: Introduction to participants

To secure participants, I used three key informants who I had reached through different avenues to access three separate pools of potential participants. The pools of participants were associated with Dejusticia, Casa and AFRODES. Although the other NGOs also had potential participants, the contacts at these three NGOs took an active interest in my research. Furthermore, the nature of their work with displaced women was such that they had trusting bonds with their clients. To offer a detailed picture of my sampling process, I briefly describe these three NGOs, the services they offer and my connection with them:

The Center for Law, Justice and Society (Dejusticia):
(http://dejusticia.org/?lang=en) a social activism and research group based out of Bogotá. It offered scholarly social critiques and acts as a "watchdog" on the government's activities. During my three-months of research in Colombia, I was also an intern at Dejusticia. The Colombian lawyers, economists and sociologists

working at Dejusticia acted as gatekeepers (personal communication, Van

Arsdale, October 10, 2008) for me in this study, directing me towards the most

productive areas to study. Though Dejusticia, I was introduced to my counterpart

and an informal women's association called El Renacer de La Familia (El

Renacer).

El Renacer was formed a year before I came into contact with

them. They were a loose association of displaced or vulnerable women in Ciudad

Bolivar, an economically depressed and dangerous area on the southern outskirts

of Bogotá. El Renacer met informally on a semi-regular basis at a member's

house to discuss opportunities for employment, to conduct clothing and food

drives for vulnerable women. They also organized irregular trips to Corabastos

(Abastos), a major food distribution center that sells produce grocery chains and

often gives away leftover food. The women of El Renacer became an incredible

resource for me, and I detail more of their work in Chapter 6. We worked with

seven women from El Renacer. The women who attended our first meeting with

El Renacer later put me in touch with women who they thought would add

interesting information to my study.

Casa de la Mujer (www.casmujer.org/): offers educational courses and organizes

political activity with the objective of empowering women in all sectors of

society. Casa offers leadership training for vulnerable women and teaches

students about their rights. The courses are administered over several months,

meeting once a week the Casa's office near to downtown Bogotá. Though the

participants are sometimes offered financial assistance for transportation, this is not guaranteed. I came into contact at Casa de la Mujer through a professor at the University of Denver.

AFRODES (www.afrodes.org/afrodes/Idioma.html): an NGO that worked to raise awareness of and defend the rights of displaced, Afro-Colombian women. In addition to its activism work, AFRODES had begun offering capacity trainings for members. It had a main office in downtown Bogotá, in addition to smaller branches in Soacha and other suburb. AFRODES was an organization that my counterpart had worked with previously. Through her connections, we were able to arrange an interview with the director and eventually to meet with a group of displaced women with whom AFRODES works. Ultimately, two women from AFRODES became participants. These women lived Soacha, an area outside of Bogotá that was difficult to get to and dangerous to be in. It was much harder to access these two women, and I did not contact any further women through this venue.

Our contacts at Dejusticia and AFRODES preferred to introduce us to small groups of women with one of their representatives present. In this setting, the representative acted as a trusted liaison. During this initial meeting, the women asked my counterpart, the liaison and me questions regarding my study and motivations. Once the initial questions were answered and some rapport was built, we circulated a notebook and asked women who were interested to write down their contact information. This initial

meeting also gave us an opportunity to discuss any risks of participating as a group before they had committed to the study. Although I thought women might be hesitant to speak with us, women from each group with whom we met were generally eager to tell their stories. In the end, my counterpart and I had to turn away many potential participants because of time constraints.

My initial meeting with women at El Renacar was also a follow-up meeting for research Edna was completing on Auto-092 for Dejusticia. The topic of this group discussion was relevant to my study and I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the process of accessing state aid. The data gathered during this discussion group is included in my findings.

Through my contact at Casa, I was introduced to two women. My contact selected these women as she felt they were trustworthy, outgoing and had interesting stories. I initially met these two women at the Casa office and had a formal introduction there. Later we had follow-up meetings at their respective houses.

In total, we had 11 participants. All interviews except for one were conducted in their homes. When we contacted them after the initial meeting, all participants said they felt most comfortable having future meetings in their homes. I had anticipated this after reviewing the work of Gill (2008) as well as Moser and McIwaine (2004) who all found that displaced interviewees preferred interviews in the comfort, safety and privacy of their homes. Not only did this eliminate any financial costs to them, but also the participants vocalized a desire for us to see their houses so they could show us the exact conditions in which they lived.

Phase 4: Semi-formal interview with participants

During phrase four, I conducted a semi-formal interview with each participant obtain an oral life history. For all participants except one, I conducted a follow-up meeting in which we co-created a visual portfolio of their experience.[3] Between the two meetings I collected information including qualitative descriptions of their life history, ratio-level data reflecting socio-economic baseline information, ordinal-level data representing their access to material resources over time, interval-level data on the perception of the process of adaptation and access to support, and included a qualitative analysis offered by participants of their self-reported quantitative data.

Each interview began with the collection of socio-demographic baseline information such as age, race, monthly income level, and number of dependent children. The remainder of the interview, which usually lasted a total of one and a half hours, followed a thematic flow through questions regarding the familial, financial, community and federal support available to them. There were also several questions on their personal story of displacement and adjustment to Bogotá. For an English version of the guiding interview questions, see Appendix B.

Each interview was conducted in a private setting. Each participant independently took steps to ensure that she was in a setting where she could speak freely. Each married participants made sure we were in separate room from their husbands. Using the questions from the semi-formal interview that I developed in collaboration with key informants and my counterpart, Edna would ask the questions while I took notes. If consent was given, I would record an audiotape of the interview that Edna later

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[3] We were not able to complete a follow-up meeting with Estrellita because there was a death in her family and she preferred not to be contacted.

transcribed. Following a trigger question, we would both ask probe questions if a particularly interesting topic arose during the course of the interview. Before we began the interview process, I coached Edna on interviewing without asking leading questions. She had a tendency to make assumptions, and I frequently would ask questions to retrace her assumptions or line of reasoning. Despite these issues, her ability to empathize and connect to the participants outweighed her lack of experience with anthropological interview techniques.

Phase 5: Portfolio and Analysis Creation with Participants

I chose a portfolio approach to give the participants more direct voice in the research. This approach is inspired by PAR methodology is rooted in the work of anthropologists who felt the need to work "to minimize the authoritative power of the researcher and grant legitimacy to the local knowledge of community members" (2002: 78). Central to the ideas of PAR is the conscious effort of the anthropologist to give the power of researching back to the researched community.

It is noteworthy to mention the influential work of Riaño-Alcalá and Moser and McIlwaine's work in Colombia, as it is relevant to my portfolio method design. Moser and McIlaine found that asking focus group participants to draw visual representations to describe their experiences was a highly effective way of accessing meaningful information (2004a). They chose this process because it was a means for the participants to retain the power of self-representation in the research process. It also allowed for non-literate persons to gain voice. They found that due to the high levels of fear in the areas researched, participants tended to feel more secure drawing representations rather than making verbal or written statements (Moser and McIlwaine 2004a: 34). Riaño-Alcalá

also asked participants to draw and interpret their experiences of violence in Colombia and had great success with her methods (2008).

Subsequently, I developed two graphing and one mapping method to represent their experience. I combined models of Socio-Metric (Social Network) Analysis and Life Event Calendar's developed by Van Arsdale (2001) with mental maps to produce visual representations through which the interviewed women can describe their experiences.

Once I established the type of data I was looking to obtain from the graphs and maps, I worked through several iterations with my counterpart and a few willing participants before we agreed on versions that were meaningful, comprehensive and easy to understand. As a team, we developed and tested the ease with which displaced women who were not participating in the study could read the visual representations. This collaborative process not only ensured that the visual representations were yielding appropriate information that could be read by my target demographic, but it also sparked interesting revealing conversations about the research topic.

Description of Visual Representations

The first page of the portfolio is a graph of the extent to which participants have been able to meet basic material and emotional needs during three pre-determined times of their lives. This graph is helpful to assess their access to material resources. The second graph is concerning their perception of the ease of securing different sources of support. The third piece of their portfolio is a map of the distance between their home and different institutions or people who can help them. Although I drafted the basic outline for the graphs and map before the meetings, the participants filled in the meaningful content of the portfolios by hand. This was designed to give them agency to represent

their story without any interpretation from me. After we made each graph, we had a discussion and "self-analysis" session where we reviewed trends and possible explanations for themes that became apparent during the portfolio creation process.

The first step of the portfolio creation was to make a card that served as a legend to color code their support systems labeled *Fuentes de ayuda* (Sources of Support). We used a consistent color and categorization system for all participants so the portfolios would be easy to compare; the categorized sources of support were:

ORANGE- Family
BLUE- Community
GREEN- Non-governmental organizations
BROWN- Federal
PURPLE- Money earned from working (self)
YELLOW- Money earned from working (spouse/partner)
RED- Informal charity or loans

Given these categories, participants were asked to list all the specific sources of aid or support (emotional or financial) they had used or received under each category.[4] For example, *Yaneth*[5] wrote,

ORANGE- Family
- Husband
- Kids
- Mother
- Father
- Cousins
- Sister
BLUE- Community

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[4] As previously mentioned, during the creation of portfolios we categorized different sources of material and emotional support across the themes of federal (gov), NGO, community support (com), familial support (fam), and charity. For the first graph, we also had categories of personal income (P.I) and spouses income (S.I.). Upon reviewing the data and the lists of sources of support, I made one change in the data categorizations. When we originally made the lists, we had categorized credit offered by storeowners as *charity*. However, after comparing the interviews with portfolios, I saw that many participants identified the storeowner as a friend. In my data analysis, I re-categorized this source of support from *charity* to *community*.

[5] In accordance with the Institutional Review Board's request, all participants names have been changed and coded to protect their anonymity

- Neighbors
- Community welfare committee (Junta Acción)

GREEN- Non-governmental organizations (by name)
- Casa Emigrante
- Casa de la Mujer

BROWN- State
- Social Solidarity Network
- Hospital
- Schools
- Familias en Acción [state aid for displaced families with young children]

PURPLE- Money earned from working (self)

YELLOW- Money earned from working (spouse/partner)

RED- Informal charity or loans
- Local grocer

The next step was to complete the first graph titled, *Posibilidad de alcanzar estas necesidades* (Ability to Meet These Needs), herein called *Posiblidades*. The graph's objective was to create a representation of the participant's ability to access resources to meet certain pre-determined needs—food, rent, clothes, health, education, and emotional support—during three time periods of their adult life. The time frames were 1.) when they lived in the area from which they were displaced [prior to displacement], 2.) during their first month after arrival in Bogotá [first month in Bogotá], and 3.) their current ability to meet the basic need in question [current]. For each category, three lines of a bar graph represented their ability (marked in percent, though the information was not based in specific measurements) to meet the given need with available resources during the three delineated time frames.

For example, the first three bars represented the participant's or the participant's family's ability to provide food for her family. The participant's first task was to mark, from 0-100%, their ability to provide food for their family and herself in each time period. We gave the participants standard definitions from which to work in order to

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minimize subjective interpretation. According to the definitions we established, the percentage of for food consumed by families were defined as follows:

25%: indicated the family only ate breakfast, or just hot water and brown sugar (aguapanela) throughout the day

50%: indicated they could eat lunch and breakfast only, the other 50% of the time they were hungry

75%: indicated three meals a day, and nothing more

100%: indicated three meals a day including protein, plus snacks when hungry

Once the percentage was marked, they were asked to use the different colors, as marked on the legend, to represent what source or combination of support systems they called upon in order to secure the food. An example of a *Posibilidades* graph is provided to illustrate its utility.
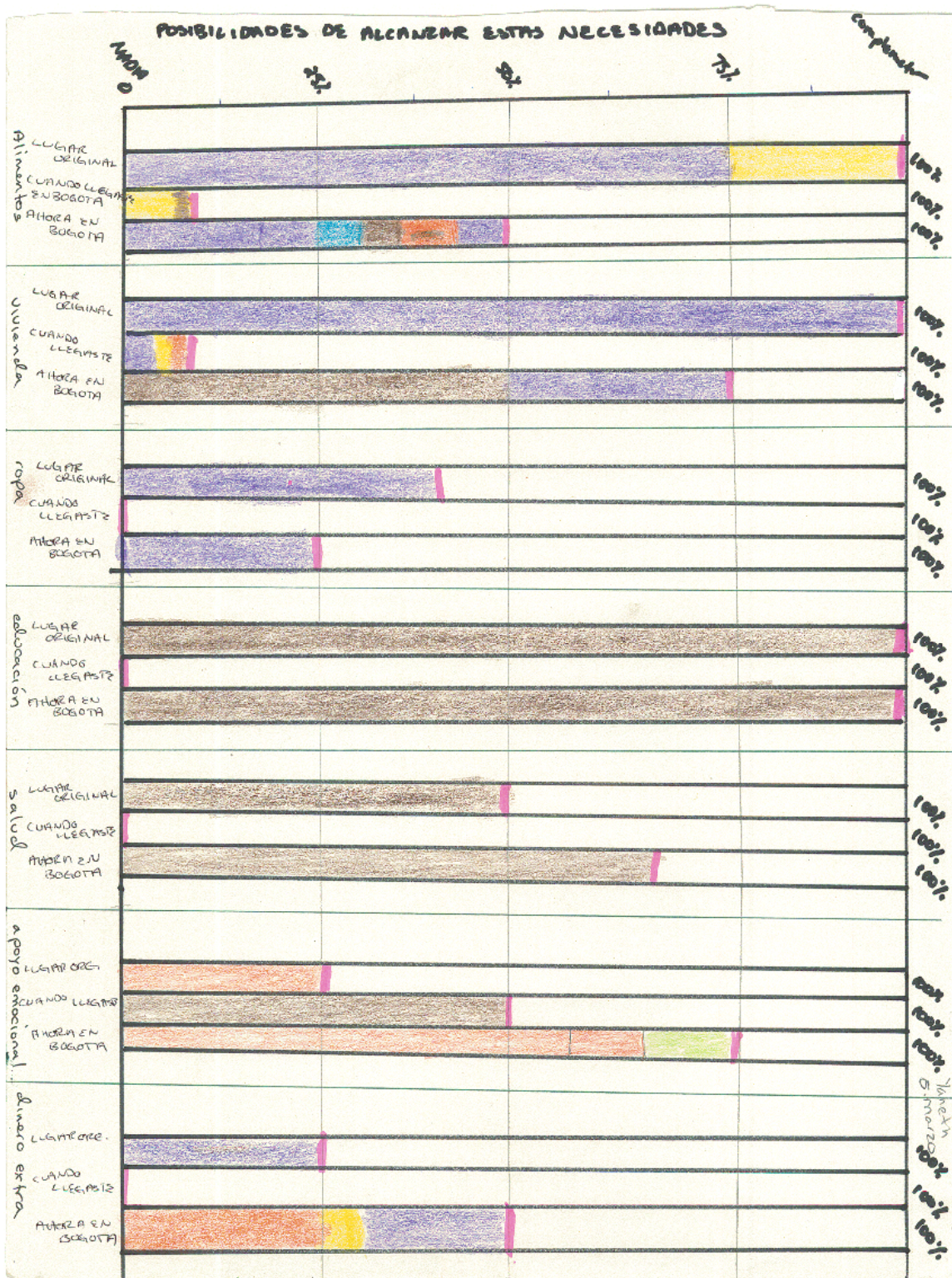
Figure 1. Yaneth's Posibilidades Graph

In Yaneth's case, when the food portion of her graph was complete, it provided a visual representation of the following information:

1.) When she lived in the area from which she was displaced, she was able to meet 100% of her family's food needs. Using yellow, she marked that 25% of food was provided for by her husband's labor (farming or cash income). Using purple, she marked that 75% of food was provided for by her labor (farming or cash income).

2.) The first month after arriving in Bogotá, she was able to meet 12.5% of her family's food needs. This indicated the family was eating less than only breakfast, or just water with sugar throughout the day. The food they had came mostly from her husband's labor, and a small portion came from federal aid.

3.) She is now able to meet 50% of her family's need for food, which means they can eat lunch and breakfast only, the other 50% of the time they are hungry. The graph reflects that over half of the food her family consumes is bought by money she earns. The other portion of the food, or money to buy food, comes from support from her family, federal aid, or her community.

The graphing process was then repeated using the same legend for the other pre-determined needs— rent, clothes, health, education, and emotional support. Appendix C provides a list of the standard definitions we gave for the percentages in each category. After the first graph was completed, it was easy to spot trends in what support systems were called upon to meet basic needs.

The second graph titled *Describe tu forma de ver* (Describe Your Perception), herein called *Forma de ver*, provided a representation of their perceptions of support and

the process of adaptation to the city as it changed over the same three time frames. The graph was a visual representation of a Lykert scale. In response to 11 cues, the participants were asked to mark on a scale of zero to five how hard or easy the given task was during different times in their lives (zero meant very difficult, five meant very easy). The English equivalent for the 11 cues are provided:

1. Secure food
2. Make money
3. Have a close family
4. Have a solid social network
5. Interact with the government (know how to access state offices, know your rights)
6. Access to education
7. Access healthcare
8. Adapt to your surroundings (feel good, know how to dress, know how to get places, feel comfortable where you are and with the people around you)
9. To make ends meet every day
10. To dream and think about you future
11. To dream and think about the future of your family

In lieu of writing the perceived difficulty on a Lykert scale in number form, we asked them to draw a line extending minimally just to zero, or maximally across the page to five if that was an appropriate representation.

The benefit of the resulting bar graph is that it created a visual representation of longitudinal change in their ability to access support in addition to offering insight into the way in which their attitudes towards hope for the future has changed. This graph in particular was a trigger for conversation. In Chapter 6, I present findings that also elucidate how this method benefited the participants.

The final map used a mental map, titled *Una Gráphica de la distancia entre tu y las fuentes de apoyo* (A Graph of the Distance Between You and the Source of Support),

herein called *Gráphica*. The map represented the distance between the participant's home and the physical location of each source of support marked on the legend. We standardized the map by creating three boxes placed inside of each other with the participant's home at the center. Working outward from the home, the boxes were marked to delineate the following physical distances:

1. *Cerca* (close): sources within walking distance
2. *Lejos* (far): sources you need to pay for a bus to access support, but only about ½ hour away
3. *Muy lejos* (very far): sources that necessitate paying for a bus, it takes all day to access the potential support, demanding that you leave your house at need 3:00 or 4:00 am, and usually need childcare. This also included sources that were outside of city, or too far to reach in a day if at all.

This map provided a visual representation of the relative difficulty or ease of accessing the potential sources of support marked on the legend. It provided cues for a conversation on why certain sources are difficult to access and what the barriers were to accessing them. For example, it was easy to see that most federal and NGO support necessitated money for transportation. For many participants, this was a substantial barrier.

When the portfolio was complete—with the legend, two graphs and a map—we asked a few further probe questions to encourage the participants to reflect and analyze on changes in their access to support and material resources. For many participants, the answers to these questions had been explored organically when creating the portfolio, but to be consistent we reviewed the probe questions before the end of this meeting. Before ending this second and final meeting, I asked the participant to review her portfolio and

tell us whether she felt this portfolio represented her story. When we arrived at a point where she said yes, we would clip the pages together and symbolically seal her portfolio.

The graphs we produced allowed each woman to represent her story with her own hands. Additionally, it allowed participants to express information that they might feel shameful about when using words. As Beebe notes, "mapping may provide for the participation of individuals who would not be comfortable" (2001: 53). Though in general, the participants were forthcoming, there were times that the mapping methods provided the option for participants to express potentially embarrassing information. For example, during one meeting a participant marked that she was only able to provide 6.5% of her family's need for food. Although we had already explained that less than 25% meant less than one meal a day, we were surprised and asked if that is what she meant. This normally outgoing woman nodded without saying a word and we moved on. I believe this created a decent way to access important information while still respecting the dignity of the participants.

The interviews and portfolio creation revealed information about their current conditions, but we also asked participants to reflect on experiences that happened several years prior. As Francis points out, the danger of asking participants to review their life story is nostalgia, or romanticism of the past (1993: 99). Most of the data I analyzed to answer my research questions is concerning relatively recent adaptations, therefore I feel there is minimal distortion from nostalgia.

There is consistency between the portfolios and the data we obtained from the semi-structured interviews, hence I assert that this attempt at collaborative anthropology was a success.

Phase 6: Non-Participant Observation

Participants described that sources of aid were scattered across the vast city. When I recognized this as an issue, I planned with Edna to spend a day visiting all the places that displaced peoples have to go to ask for help. This day was a method to conduct non-participant observation to experience some of the challenges of navigating Bogotá. Knowing that the trust we had with participants was fragile, I chose to do this only with my counterpart.

To do this, Edna and I designed a day to recreate the process that the participants had to undertake—waking up before sunrise, traveling multiple times across the city. During that day, we traveled on public transportation around to five of the major sites where the participants went to seek potential aid—Corabastos, Casa Migrante, Cruz Rojas, Bienestar Familiar, and one branch of the Network.. Upon arriving, we were able to talk to security guards and other people about what types of aid were available at that location and what people had to do to access the aid. This was a useful information gathering exercise, and it also allowed us to see the places to which the women kept referring while not being there with them, therefore respecting their autonomy cum dignity, and protecting their safety. Of course we were not traveling to these locations with the same level of disorientation or pressure as participants, but it was useful to know about the places they continually referenced.

Data Analysis

Following Geertz's model of a "thick description," I take a macro approach to the situation of displaced women. Their oral life stories are then situated within this macro setting. I then look at support systems they employed in the process of resettlement and

adaptation. Though I structured my fieldwork to focus on familial, community and institutional support systems, I found it most useful to use emergent coding system to best capture the perspectives of the participants (Creswell 2007). Analyzing the coded data, I used "categorical aggregation to establish significant trends or patterns" (Creswell 2007: 156). Through a content analysis and numerical information presented on the graphs, I established trends in the experiences of the participants. I established that an experience expressed or represented by six or more participants (more than half) was important enough to be considered a theme. Because I was only able to do the final portfolio with ten participants, a theme was considered if reflected in five or more. The participants' analysis of their portfolios was also very useful in identifying themes as we moved through the portfolio creation process.

For numeric data, I used Paired t-Tests to test for statistically significant changes. The quantitative data collected from *Posibilidades* was collected in percentages to facilitate the explanation of the questions we asked. This data are not true percentages, as there were no specific measurements taken. This datum is actually ordinal datum, or ranked datum, and was converted after collection (for all participants' *Posibilidades* graphs, see Appendix J). I converted the data by multiplying each percentage indicated on *Posibilidades* by ten (see Appendix H for converted data). Hence, ten representing what was indicated as 100% Information from *Forma de ver* was collected in ordinal form so no conversion was needed.

Through the use of this combination of methods, I crafted the "common story" of the participants. My findings offer a reconstruction of the participant's generalized story. In this process of aggregating data, I move towards a "strategic essentialism" in which I

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lose individual voice. Notable exceptions to the trend may also be highlighted as needed. In Chapter 6, I present an analysis of the extent to which the participants were able to develop sustainable livelihoods.

Informed Consent

I took several preventative steps to minimize the risks to which the participants could have been exposed to for participating in the study. One important preventative measure was to obtain informed consent from all key informants and participants. In compliance with the IRB, different consent forms were generated for the different populations involved in my study and the different interview formats.

For the individual interviews with key informants and participants, both consent forms gave background information about the research topic, explained measures to protect confidentiality, emphasized that participation was voluntary, and provided my contact information as well as contact information for supervisors at the University of Denver. Both requested a signature to indicate consent to participate in the study and provided an option for the interview to be audio recorded.

The forms differed in the explanation of the interview process and confidentiality options. For key informants (see Appendix D), I explained the objectives of my study and the type of information I wished to gather. Key informants were provided options for three levels of confidentiality. The first options was to have their name and name of their organization coded, the second was to have their name coded but the name of their organization given, and the third option gave permission for me to use their true name and the name of their organization. The reason for having the option to protect their confidentiality was to minimize unknown risks associated with being involved in my

research. The rationale for having options for their name or organization's name included is that it could be a benefit for them professionally to be cited in an academic paper.

For the participants, there were two consent forms: one for the individual interview and the other was for focus groups members. Due to time limitations, I was not able to conduct focus groups as I had originally planned. However, the forms were used to provide specified background information and protect confidentially at my discussion group meeting with the women at the initial meeting with El Renacer (see Appendix E).

On consent forms for participants, there were no confidentially options. Their forms detailed that I would code their names, and keep their personalized information at a secure location in my house. The participant's form also provided more detail about the multiple interviews and portfolio creation process so that participants were aware of the time commitment involved in the study (see Appendix F).

In accordance with the procedure approved by the IRB, I gave the participants the option of having Edna read the form out loud and marking a "X" in lieu of signing their name if they were non-literate. Though a few women preferred to have Edna read the form out loud, all women were able to sign their names. Furthermore, Edna signed a translator confidentiality form (see Appendix G). This form was a signed agreement that she would not reveal the names of participants or have access to their coded names. All key informants, participants and Edna were given a copy of the form once they signed a copy.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS

The proceeding chapters offered a picture of the general conditions that displaced women face in Bogotá. At the broadest level, there is evidence that women in the developing world increasingly have to take responsibility for both reproductive and productive needs of the family unit (Ehlers 2000; Mosse 1993; Ward 2003 [1996]). A literature review revealed that in certain contexts social networks help to connect people with important information during migration and while in threatening conditions (Harpviken 2009; Jacobsen 1987; Massey and España 1987; Vásquez-León 2009). Furthermore, studies in Colombia find evidence that a prevalent culture of fear exists as result of 50-years of armed conflict and violent displacement (Meertens 2001; Riaño-Alcalá 2008; Tate 2007).

My research suggests that the presence of a culture of fear in Bogotá reconfigures (Collins 1990) the landscape of experience for women in displacement, amplifying their socio-economic vulnerability. I had originally assumed that conditions were challenging for displaced women who arrive in Bogotá with limited education and children who depend on them to develop sustainable livelihoods. I assumed the culture of fear might be an added layer of difficulty to this process. I found that the culture of fear influences a considerable portion of the livelihood-related decisions the participants make that

influences livelihoods. Specifically, fear surfaced in decisions concerning employment, whom they talk to about their past, where they choose to foster social networks, whether or not they leave their children to work or for a day trip to apply for federal aid, whether or not they will consider returning to the countryside, and who they will ask for information on navigating Bogotá. My findings suggest that fears of physical safety, mistrust of new acquaintances, and desire to remain anonymous interlocks with the responsibility to provide for their family. In comparison with other literature on migration and social networks, this interwoven tapestry of experiences, needs and fear reconfigures the conditions to which they must respond. The pervasive manner in which fear affects their lives and the development of livelihood can be seen in their constant and ongoing assessment of risks.

These findings are similar to Riaño-Alcalá's research on how fear negatively affects the ability of displaced people to reconstruct their lives (2008). My research builds upon her work by observing how fear negatively influences the efforts to develop livelihoods in particular. Despite my findings that the participants were able to improve their access to food from the time they first arrived in Bogotá, and despite their relative success at accessing federal aid, evidence suggests that they were not able to reach socio-economic stability. Participants reported that providing funds for rent and food is an ongoing struggle and they must fight to piece together their livelihoods.

Information obtained from oral histories indicates that due to their fear of leaving children in order to work and due to their lack of applicable skills to secure employment, they seek federal aid to piece together their livelihoods. Participants reported that emergency aid was difficult to obtain upon arrival. This finding is similar to a national

survey conducted in 2008 that found that only 0.4% of displaced households received any sort of immediate assistance (Pérez 2008). Background research confirmed that the federal aid structure was designed to give short-term assistance to displaced people (Human Rights Watch 2005; Muggah 2000).

The lack of access to emergency aid was problematic for the participants as when they first arrived to Bogotá. Having recently lost their land and having little economic capital, their ability to independently house and feed their families on was limited. Participants reported that the lack of information on how to obtain aid restricted their ability to obtain support from federal agencies and NGOs during this first month.

Due to their fear of returning to the countryside, participants expressed a need for long-term assistance, in addition to short-term relief. Cernea and Guggenhein's research reveals that there is a difference in psychological adjustment and material needs of IDPs who are resettling to a new location, as opposed to those only seeking emergency refuge (1993). They find that a migrant looking to permanently resettle will be more concerned with the manner with which they interact with the environment, knowing they will be there for an extended time. Similar to HRW (2005) and Muggah (2000), I found evidence that this population should be considered resettled, as opposed to temporality displaced.

In the following section, I provide a description of how the participants navigated the challenges of providing livelihoods for their families within a culture of fear. I present my data chronologically, first reviewing the conditions women faced during their initial resettlement, then identifying constraints they faced and coping strategies they developed during the next several years of adaptation. During these two time frames, I highlight the

factors that restrained or eased their access to socio-economic resources and social networks.

Because I did not use a randomized sampling technique, my data will not be used to argue for comparative analysis or causal relations. My small sample of participants was a result of a double self-selection process that may have created a bias. I drew upon a potential pool of participants who were involved with a women's organization and who volunteered to be participants after an introduction to my work. Both of these layers of self-selection may have produced a bias in the sample of women who were more outgoing or willing to be engaged with the community, among other potential biases. To improve the utility of the analysis and estimate the difference between my sample and the larger population of displaced people, I offer some comparisons of my sample to data captured by community-level surveys carried out by reputable organizations in Colombia.

When possible, I complement the insights gathered from oral histories with quantitative data from their portfolios. I synthesize the various individual experiences of participants in order to expose the story of a displaced woman in Bogotá, which is presented in Chapter 7. As not to completely lose their individual difference, I offer quotations and longer excerpts from interviews. I also include excerpts from my field notes to help bring the reader closer to the ground in Colombia.

Sample Profile and Dependent Variables

I established two dependent variables when I sought out participants: I was looking for mothers who had been displaced to Bogotá by the armed conflict, and women with children dependent on them. I chose to focus on mothers, as their ability to secure stable employment would be influenced by reproductive responsibilities. All of the

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participants came from rural areas, so it was not surprising that many of the women shared similar characteristics. I classify these shared, but not selected, characteristics *cohesive variables*. These cohesive variables were not pre-determined to be dependent variables, but are common to the entire sample. Though I discuss each of these points in more detail, some cohesive variable are that participants:

- were unaccustomed to city life

- had minimal to no social network upon arrival

- had a lack of applicable skills for the job market

- faced economic hardship characterized by the urgent need to make money

Another important similarity is that when I initially contacted participants, they were all involved with a women's social network of some sort. Specifically, they were affiliated with AFRODES, Casa de le Mujer (Casa) or El Renacer de la Familia (El Renacer). Each of these organizations provided support in different ways to displaced women. AFRODES and Casa were formal organization with an established membership application process and specific trainings offered to members. These organizations also had funding from various sources. El Renacer was more informal in that membership was fluid and open to any women who was experiencing socio-economic hardship in the neighborhood. Furthermore, El Renacer was not funded and does not offer members any specific benefits. Detailing and comparing the difference in support participants were provided on an institutional level is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is important to recognize a potential sample bias due to the fact that all participants were involved with a women's network.

The participants' ages ranged between 27 and 49, with 35 as the average age. Only one participant was non-literate, and most had completed elementary school (average grade completed was 5th, in Colombia high school starts at 6th). Most participants identified their race as *mestizo* (mixed). Two identified as *blanca/española* (white or Hispanic), and two as *indígena* (indigenous). However, key informant interviewees informed me that ethnic or racial identification is a complicated matter in Colombia as racial mixing is centuries old.

All participants had been in Bogotá at least two years (range was between two and 12 years, with an average of 5.5 years). This amount of time in displacement was appropriate because the participants were in a good position to reflect upon their experiences of navigating the initial period of exacerbated vulnerability. Additionally, they had been in the city long enough to develope some socio-economic coping strategies.

The participants cited either direct or indirect interactions with the FARC or paramilitary as the cause of their displacement. Specific examples from the participants include:

- Property seizure either by the FARC, paramilitary or military forces

Margarita, from her story of displacement:
What happened was that there were a lot of guerrillas in my town. Then, in 2002, the paramilitary started to arrive and things started to get really bad. My dad had a big truck so the guerillas forced him to drive them around. At midnight during the holy week that year, the paramilitary came home looking for my dad….they were going to kill him because he was providing transportation for the guerillas. We had to run away into the bushes, we stayed hiding in a house and he left running and we never saw him again. My dad disappeared. The people we were hiding with told us that we had to run away and never come back to the town. So we moved to Cúcuta…and they came to look for us over there too. We never heard anything about my dad again.

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- Violent attack (rape and murder) by either paramilitary or FARC for suspected cooperation with the opposing armed actor

- Escaping FARC raids for child soldiers

- Severely limited access to food due to demands made by the FARC to trade coca for food

Another important commonality was the participant's fear of returning home. When we asked participants if they wanted to return, only one participant expressed an interest in returning. Similarly, a 2008 Commission Report on displaced populations found that the majority of displaced people in Colombia would not return to rural areas because of the persistent security concerns and the reality that many of them have lost their land to the armed actors. According to the report, only 20.7% of displaced people express any interest in returning home (Comisión de seguimiento a la política pública sobre desplazamiento forzado 2008).

Most participants cited concerns for physical security as the motivating factor to stay in Bogotá. Shakira explained that although it is not easy to live in Bogotá, she was unsure whether the FARC was still active in her home region. Based on this fear, she decided to stay in the city. Yaneth and Violeta emphasized that Bogotá was safer for their children and threats of violence from armed actors made returning too dangerous. Ruth told us it was calmer in Bogotá and she does not have to worry all the time. Azucena was the only participant who expressed interest in returning home. She explained that she would consider returning because it was easier to get food in rural areas. However, she continued, Bogotá was safer for her children. As such, she reflected the need to weigh socio-economic vulnerability of displacement with the fears of physical security created

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by the armed conflict. Because participants were afraid to return home, they sought

sustainable livelihoods beyond what could be provided by emergency assistance.

Into the Field (field notes, January 29, 2009)
A few of the women associated with El Renacer met my counterpart and me at the bus stop. This part of town was quite unsafe for us to be. On the advise of everyone I encountered in the North who heard I was headed South, I wore simple clothes and carried very little. As we approached the cement brick and corrugated iron house, wedged between dozens of similar looking structures, the man who accompanied us chuckled a little, and pointed out which one was theirs. It struck me that this house was not normal to his eyes, he did not think of this place as home, it was just an effort to make the best of what they had. Indeed as we sat inside, the group of women with whom we met reiterated that since displacement they were made into poor people, and have to live like poor people. As we sat in the room with chipped walls and an iron roof, rain started pounding on the ceiling, I was reminded that the safety of this warm room was only temporary. I was shocked by the openness of their stories and expressions of frustration. At first, people did not answer many questions that my counterpart and I posed. By the look in their eyes, it seemed to be fear and mistrust that kept them silent. Eventually an outgoing woman vocalized worries about confidentiality and told us how they have been taken advantage of by other researchers. To the best of our ability, we explained the confidentiality forms and the rationale for my research. Eloquently, my counterpart explained how she grew up in a similar home and had a small child. Her self-introduction served to open the conversation more than I could have expected. They were quick to share the laughs and tears of their stories. I was honored to share in the emotions. Before we left into the rain, I offered to teach a few English classes, as I had little else I could offer them during my time there…

Arriving from Displacement

Most participants were eager to tell their story of displacement. In fact, though we

developed sequencing for the interview, most preferred to start with their story of

displacement. Several participants later told us they had never told their story to anyone,

as they preferred to be quiet with regards to their displacement. Ruth told us that when

people know you are displaced, people look at you differently: they look down at you.

When most participants recounted their personal story, there was emotion and

upset. In our first interview, we had different participants recount personal stories of rape,

prostitution, thoughts of suicide, active pursuit by the paramilitary, and murder. They indicated that they were grateful to tell their stories. The desire to express their stories, and their choice to not speak about it with people in their communities provided us insight into the tensions that the participants navigate in a culture of fear. They told us that they felt comfortable talking about their traumatic experiences because we were not a part of their immediate community. In response to a different question, most participants reported that they did not know how many other displaced people there were in their neighborhood. They said that people did not like to share their background. These choices not to tell their stories to others indicated a strong preference for anonymity regarding their situation.

Livelihoods

Following their stories of displacement and escaping physical insecurity, many participants described the shock and fear associated with coming to Bogotá. To them it was a cold, unfamiliar, and difficult to navigate environment but they felt safe from immediate physical threats.

Many indicated that the external environmental shock was exasperated by isolation. Brigita described a fear of not knowing who to ask, and who to trust. Paula articulated that everyone looked at her with suspicion and that she did not trust others either. She

Brigita, from her story of arrival: *When I had just arrived in Bogotá, I had to go to therapy with a psychologist but this was not new for me. I did not want to be in Bogotá: the first couple days after I arrived stayed in bed and slept I did not have anything to do with those kids, my girlfriend was the one who told me to get up from bed, that life was giving me another opportunity because if that guys had not saved you, you would not be here. You would have died and who knows, without the Grace of God your kids might have been killed too.*

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continued to explain that if she just wanted to ask for directions, it was hard for her to know who might give her reliable information. As such, the subjective experience of arrival was marked by recent sudden displacement, coupled with environmental stressors and perceived isolation. Despite this context, each participant had at least one child dependent on her for food and shelter. The participants indicated a pressing need to navigate the conditions of displacement and need for livelihoods within the culture of fear.

Participants reported that they experienced severely restricted access to resources during this first month. The information they provided on the portfolio *Posibilidades* graphs reflected this same restriction (see Appendix I for all participant graphs). Table 1 offers a transcription of the ability of participants to meet basic needs over when they first arrived in Bogotá, then again at the time of interview.[6]

Table 1. Changes with Regards to Accessing to Basic Needs

Category	First month in Bogotá (approx. %)	Currently approx. (%)
Education	5	75
Health	5	72.5
Ability to feed family	31.3	67.6
Ability to pay rent	44.4	64.5

Note: The data are averages of the ability of the ten participants who completed the portfolio. For the expanded information see Appendix H. As previously noted, these percentages do not reflect any specific measurement, but are rather ordinal data.

Table 1 shows that on average each participant was able to provide her families with just above one meal a day (31.3%) and had enough money to pay for just under half of a month's rent (44.4%).

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[6] The "current" time of interview was different for each participant based on how long they have been in Bogotá. As previously mentioned, the average was 5.5 years.

Data provided in Table 1 indicate that the participants were able to increase their access to livelihood in terms of food and rent.[7] After transforming the data gathered regarding the participant's ability to meet food and rent demands (see Appendix H), Paired t-Tests were used to assess if the change was statistically significant (Thomas 1986: 227). The tests compared the ability of the participants to meet the two needs when they first arrived to their current ability.

The tests found that the ability of the participants to provide rent (including utilities) had not changed significantly (T=1.68, df=9, P=0.127537236) (see Appendix L). However, the change in the participants' ability to provide food for their families was very highly significant (T=3.52, df=9, P=0.006387436) (see Appendix L). These tests suggest that change in the participant's ability to provide more food to their families' is statistically significant.

There are several explanations for why there was not a significant change in the ability to provide rent. One possible explanation is that though participants have had to independently find food for their families since displacement, some participants were given temporary shelter when they first arrived. Those who had a family member to give them shelter marked that they were able to provide 100% of their family's need for rent in the first month. Therefore, the data on rent during the first month is higher than if participants had to provide shelter with their own money. Currently, each participant must provide the money for rent; hence a comparison of the rent variable in these distinct conditions may be inappropriate. It is also possible that the participants sought shelter before food, due to a cold climate or another reason. Considering that participants spoke

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[7] In my analysis, I chose not to focus on access to education and healthcare as most participants reported that these two needs were relatively easy to access with the appropriate *carta*.

much more about concerns of securing food, the rationale is probably the former. These tests serve to complement the information gathered in oral histories by using quantitative data tests to confirm statistically significant changes.

Sources Used

During the self-analysis portion, it was easy to review how each participant combined resources to address each need. By scanning the bar graph colors, we could see trends regarding the sources of support used during different time frames. Most participants stated the reason for their restricted ability to meet all the needs on the graph when they first arrived was they did not know where to go to access aid from NGOs or the government. Several participants explained that they did not know if information provided to them by an unknown contact was reliable. This is important as information is a form of cultural/human capital that could have been converted to financial capital (aid).

Upon completion of all portfolios, I counted the sources used in each time frame. I found that across ten participants and four categories, only three participants reported securing federal aid for any purpose during the first month. Similarly, only three participants reported accessing funds for food and rent from NGOs during the same time frame (see Appendix H and I).

Though most participants experienced restricted access to resources, each participant's story was different. The scattered experience they reported revealed that there was no organized reception of IDPs or institutional level guidance offered regarding the process of declaration. During our interview, Azucena reflected on the overwhelming challenge of walking into the city "knowing nothing." Those who lacked friends or family to help them were forced to rely on distant relatives or casual acquaintances for

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information. The person who first helped most participants offered a range of assistance from pointing them in the direction to the Red Cross, taking them to an NGO or a shelter, or directing one towards a job opportunity. Hence, the stories of the participants revealed that the initial month was characterized by highly restricted access to material resources and limited knowledge on the availability of institutional aid.

Social Networks

Participants expressed the need for reliable information on how to access resources; however, displacement removed them from trusted kin networks and into communities of strangers who they did not trust. Their experiences reflected that they constantly had to navigate the fear of making new contacts with the need for information on how to develop a livelihood.

Margarita: Answering a question on who helped her when she arrived to Bogotá: (interview, February 10, 2009)
Nobody. When you come here, like in my case, I was afraid. I was afraid of being rejected since you cannot talk to anybody because in any case people think you are a guerrilla or paramilitary, they think there has to be a reason you were displaced and that what happened to you happened for a reason.

When we asked about the transition to Bogotá, most of the participants immediately began to speak about fear. Independently, three participants recounted that when they first arrived, they felt everyone was suspicious of them, and they didn't trust anyone. Azucena, after six years in displacement, said that she could not trust anyone and that she felt afraid around most people. Ruth recalled thinking the city was different from the countryside because in Bogotá no one speaks to each other and no one offers help. Most participants explicitly report that one of the reasons they did not quickly build a new social network is

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because of their fear of creating contacts in resettlement. Hence, their experiences

indicate a restriction on cultural/human capital due to limitations on social capital.

When I reviewed all the participants *Gráphicas,* I was surprised to find that many

indicated that they lived in physical proximity to a number of kin as most reported a

perceived absence of supportive kin networks. The information presented in Table 2

shows that several participants live near to family members who are in the city. This table

shows the aggregated information from the *Gráphicas* created for the participant's

portfolios (see Appendix K for all participant maps).[8]

Table 2. Aggregate Data from Gráphicas

Source	*Cerca* (close): Within walking distance	*Lejos* (Far): Need money for transport	*Muy Lejos* (Very far): Need money, childcare, all day for a trip
Government	10	22	17
NGO	0	12	5
Family	16	6	15
Charity	2	9	1
Community	20	8	0

Although it is to be expected that participants have a number of family members who live

very far from them (15), it is noteworthy that many family members (16) also live close

by. It is possible that the participants indeed chose to live in relation to proximity of

relatives, however this was not confirmed in the interview process.

This finding was surprising as only two participants reported that they were in

contact with a family member. The majority of the participants did not receive socio-

economic support from family in Bogotá. Violeta explained that although her father

helped her when she first arrived in Bogotá, she is no longer able to ask him for help

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[8] These numbers may slightly mis-represent the actual number of family members in each distance interval as a few participants drew lines to represent each person, and others drew lines to represent an entire family unit.

because her father and husband do not get along. Luisa Fernanda told us that she has a sister in the city, but they are now estranged. She explained that her niece once lived at her house, but she set a bad example for Luisa Fernanda's kids. After she told her sister that her daughter was no longer welcome, they ceased to be in contact. Azucena reported that she is always able to contact her grandfather, who lived nearby, if she needs support. However, he does not have an income either. Data colleted in their portfolios confirms limited current support from families. A count of socio-economic source of support meet current needs is derived from found that currently family only appears once as a source of financial support for my sample (see Appendix I).

Several participants only have family in the countryside. Brigita, Yaneth and Shakira reported that though they can speak to family members on the phone, their families suffer from economic hardship as well and have no money to offer them. These family members who live far from Bogotá are not able to provide reliable information about the city, nor can they offer socio-economic support. Although some participants did have family members in Bogotá, none of the participants cited family members as important sources of information upon arriving in the city.

The restricted access to kin networks for participants who have family in the city, the limited socio-economic support from family, and the lack of information on Bogotá that a kin who lived far away can provide, suggests that family played a minimal role in helping the participants adapt to the city. This is an important finding considering the long-standing trust bonds usually present in kin networks.

As previously discussed, the participants came to Bogotá lacking information on how to access aid. The tension between a need for access to basic material resources and

a lack of reliable information was heightened by the lack of trusted kin networks with relevant information.

Having presented information concerning participants' socio-economic vulnerability, their lack of information and lack of a trusted social network that was characteristic of their first month, I now present information on how the participants made adjustments to the conditions in Bogotá.

<div align="center">Adjustment and Current Situation</div>

Livelihoods

During self-analysis, most women identified the reason for their increased ability to access aid and secure basic needs as *knowing* where to go. Several participants described that accessing aid is a multiple step process: first you need to know where to go for aid (the Network, a church or an NGO are the only places they reported to have available aid). If one is able to locate an aid organization, one has an opportunity to "learn your rights." The participants, like many displaced people, did not know originally know that they have the right to receive humanitarian assistance from the state. Next, one has to learn where to receive the aid to which you are entitled. Finally, many participants noted an additional step of this process is learning how to fight for one's rights. Participants described that this final piece of information is vital to accessing aid as the process of registration, finding money and time to access available aid is challenging. A common aspect of the participant's stories was that final step was often learned through trial and error or through casual acquaintances, such as people standing in line next to them at an aid organization.

Changing Role of Family

Before displacement, most participants relied heavily upon their families and spouses for food and rent. During resettlement, they had to learn how to be access and combine non-kin sources of support. Table 3 shows the average number of sources participants complied to meet needs for food and rent over the three predetermined time periods. The lists are a composite of the different sources combine to varying extents to meet the need, followed by the average number of sources used to meet the need. The following categories were provided: government (gov), family (fam), personal income (P.I.), spouses' income (S.I.) and NGOs.

Table 3. Number of Sources of Support Needed to Meet Basic Needs

Category of Need	Prior to displacement (# of sources)	First month in Bogotá (# of sources)	Currently (# of sources)
Ability to feed family			
	0 gov	1 gov	7 gov
	0 NGO	3 NGO	0 NGO
	5 fam	3 fam	1 fam
	8 S.I.	2 S.I.	5 S.I.
	4 P.I.	2 P.I.	10 P.I.
Average Number of Source Used:	1.9	1.4	3.1
Ability to pay rent			
	0 gov	0 gov	1 gov
	0 NGO	1 NGO	1 NGO
	5 fam	2 fam	0 fam
	5 S.I.	3 S.I.	4 S.I.
	5 P.I.	1 P.I.	8 P.I.
Average Number of Source Used:	1.4	1.2	1.5

Note: This information is compiled from a count of the number and type sources used for both needs from *Posibilidades* (see Appendix I for participant graphs). Participants' *Fuentes de ayuda* (Sources of Support) legends gave the exact institutions and people who are referenced by each categorization.

The information represented in Table 3 shows that currently only one participant received financial support from family for either food or rent. Prior to displacement, ten

participants reported receiving socio-economic support for food and rent from their families. Nine of ten participants who completed portfolios explained that their contribution to food before displacement was directly through farming, not generation of income. No additional information on how they contributed to rent is available because additional follow up questions were not asked. Upon losing socio-economic support from their families, the participants had to adapt and find new ways to gain income and access federal aid.

The information displayed on Table 3 was also confirmed in the stories of the participants. Their stories added an important reflection concerning the challenge to secure each source of support. What is not necessarily evident from the table, but did repeatedly emerge in the interviews and self-analysis, was that support from family before displacement was assumed. However, securing each source after displacement was a struggle. Participants told us how they had to piece together support from the government, spouses' incomes and currently all contribute with earnings from personal income.[9] Azucena explained to us that she has to "fight for each source; no one just gives it to [her]."

Socio-economic vulnerability characterized by unreliable income emerged as common condition in self-analysis and also in the initial interviews. When we asked participants for their average monthly income, several hesitated, and then replied, "It depends." Though all provided a rough estimate of their monthly income, the discussion concerning how they pieced together a living that followed our question was more revealing than the monthly income amount. For example, Margarita, a single mother

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[9] Only one participant was able to obtain food from an NGO.

who has been displaced for six years, was unsure how much money she earned in a month. She often tried to find domestic cleaning work. She explained that income always depended on how much an employer paid for a day's work and on how many jobs she could get. Edna prompted her to recall how much she made last week. She told us she had two cleaning jobs last week and was able to buy diapers, pay some rent, and purchase groceries. She qualified that sometimes she does not have enough money to even buy diapers. When we asked where she was able to get clothes, she explained that an old employer had given her some shoes. In sum, she expressed her story of attempts to piece her livelihood together as opportunities surfaced.

Margarita's story is an example of the financial insecurity that the participants face. Even after six years of living in the city, she was faced with a daily challenge to meet the most basic needs for herself and her children. Of our 11 participants, who averaged 5.5 years in displacement, few had reached socio-economic stability and, like Margarita, all reported that they had to continue to fight for the resources they were able to secure.

Although my data show that participants have been able to access some aid and material resources, they have not yet developed sustainable livelihoods. On average, they reported that currently they are able to feed their families two meals a day (see Appendix H). The provisions for this came from an average 3.1 different sources (Table 3). This data and the participants' stories suggest that they have been able to piece together more resources to develop a livelihood. Their stories attest to their resourcefulness in this process. Though their ability to secure food had improved, they still face socio-economic insecurity. In the next section, I explore some of the explanations for this phenomenon.

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Attempts towards Sustainability

The explanation for why they have not been able to secure sustainable livelihoods may be related to the culture of fear. Though the participant's lack of applicable skills to secure employment may partially explain this phenomenon, my data show that their fear of leaving their children also influences their decisions regarding employment.

Several participants indicated they had tried to acquire new skill training, but time restrictions, concerns regarding childcare, money for transportation, and social capital constraints were barriers to this process. Several participants had started a skills training course either with the state or an NGO, but had not completed it due to lack of money for transportation or concerns regarding childcare. Examples of skills course include sewing clothes, making soap, making jewelry, and classes on running a business.

Estrellita: on skill building programs
I like the training programs, I would like to participate in them, but the problem is that they are too long; you have to go everyday and there is no money to pay for the bus ticket to got to there…sometimes they take every single day for two or three months. At times you have to go to other workshops before you can go to the trainings, and those workshops are really boring. Those workshops are for people who don't have anything else to do. I am really busy taking care of lunch for the kids, washing the clothes etc. I really have too much to do at home for me to be over there…

Shakira was able to obtain a small loan directly from a bank and sold cooked fish every weekend outside of a local bar. She was the only participant who had a weekly schedule of receiving an income. Even though this was in the informal sector, she had a more regular source of income than any other single participants. She was very adamant about wanting to escape welfare. She told us after 12 years in displacement, she was still not been able to escape it entirely. All participants reported that they were able to generate

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some income for food and rent from employment (see Table 3). This money was sourced

from a variety of informal sources such as offering childcare, cleaning houses or offices.

During self-analysis, many participants were excited to see considerable

improvements represented in their portfolios. Brigita became elated when she looked at

the graphs and realized she had been able to improve the living conditions and support

provided to her children to a level similar to that she had in the countryside, without help

from her ex-husband. This was a particularly powerful moment as this was a participant

who reported that she was suicidal upon arriving to Bogotá.

Childcare

The informal work that the participants were able to secure hinged on childcare.

The majority of the participants chose work in close proximity to their children.

Margarita reported that she heard of an opening for a cleaning job at a hospital, but

concerns with childcare made her hesitant to pursue an application. Stories like

Margarita's indicate that there were some jobs possibilities for them despite the fact that

they had limited applicable skills. Yet none of the participants had reliable work and all

struggled to piece together money for basic livelihoods.

The lack of money for childcare was cited as an explanation for not wanting to

leave children in daycare, but more frequently participants were reluctant to leave their

children out of fear. Estrellita said she left her younger children in the care of her older

children. She explained that she did not trust adults to care for them and left for work

terrified that someone would discover her kids were alone and take them into state

custody. Three participants expressed that they could leave a child with a friend for a day,

but not on a regular basis. Azucena stated that she does not trust anyone and will not

leave her children. The stories of the participants' revealed insights into the how fear influences their decisions regarding livelihood. Though they expressed a need to make money, they also expressed that they have made decisions regarding employment based on childcare. Participants' stories indicate that at times being able to protect their children may be more important than addressing socio-economic insecurity.

Perhaps because of the perceived inability to gain regular employment, most participants replied to interview questions regarding money with insights into the importance and challenge of accessing aid. To better understand the accessibility and restrictions to accessing federal aid for the participants, it is useful to first compare the extent to which the participants have been able to access aid and material resources as compared to the larger community of displaced people.

Assessing Aid: Community-Level Comparison

In the process of displacement to Bogotá, IDPs must choose whether or not to declare with the government as a displaced person. Not all displaced people choose to register. Some never declare because they do not know how and others are fearful to associate with the government (Human Rights Watch 2005). By not having access to governmental aid programs, unregistered displaced people do not gain legal access to education and healthcare, nor are they able to access humanitarian aid from the government.

CODHES reported that only 75% of displaced people register (2008). Leonar,[10] a key informant who is a demilitarized guerrilla and now runs an NGO to support displaced women in Bogotá, offered that many people are afraid to register with the Network

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[10] Leonar requested that both her name and the name of her NGO be kept confidential

because they are a government association, and they fear that the government has ties with the paramilitary (interview, January 23, 2009). Those who take the needed steps to declare are subject to a waiting and review period while the government confirms if the individual is indeed a victim of the armed conflict. The UNHCR found that the average person had to wait 9.25 business days before they could receive emergency aid (Human Rights Watch 2005: 35).

Completion of the declaration process does not guarantee aid. According to a 2004 UNHCR study, of those registered, only 50% of registered people actually received any of the aid offered by the state (Human Rights Watch 2005: 35). Other sources estimated that less that 35 % of all IDPs in Colombia received any type of humanitarian aid (Muggah 2000: 138).

Table 4 compares data on registration and distribution of aid on a national level to the data I collected from the participants (see below).

Table 4. Comparison of Study Population to Larger Displaced Population

Registration
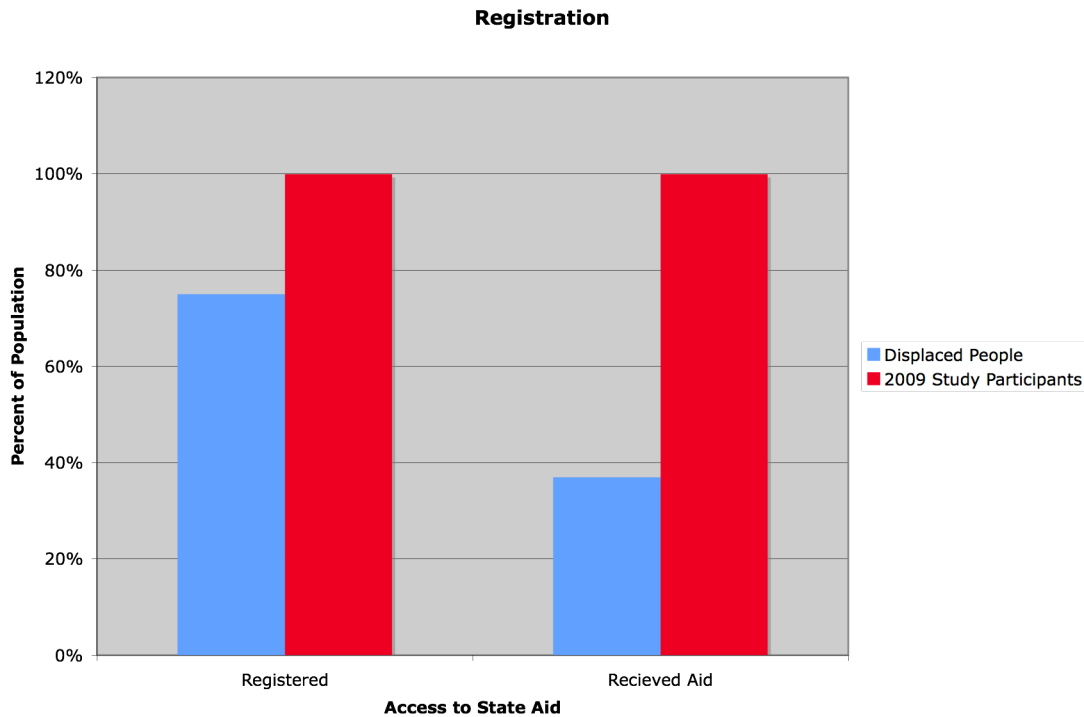
I found that all the participants declared to the government and received some sort of assistance from the state. Whether in the form of education, healthcare, housing or food subsidies, they were able to access support to some extent after declaring. As Table 4 shows, the participants exceeded the norm in terms of being registered and receiving aid. The difference between community level statistics and the experience of the participants may be due to the double self-selection process noted earlier. It could also be due to personality differences. The women who participated in my study may have been more likely to continue with the tedious and frustrating process of getting aid.

The participants reported extreme frustration and discouragement during the process of defending their rights. As Table 2 demonstrates, 35 of the 45 government offices that they identified as a source of support were located either "far" or "very far" away. The ten "close" government sources were police stations, childcare centers,

schools, and hospitals. To access the "far" and "very far" offices, money for transportation is required in order to access aid. For many displaced people, this money is not available so the aid is not available. Accessing offices that are "very far" away is an all day trip, requiring participants to weigh the risks and monetary costs of bringing their children, balanced by their fear of leaving their children for an extended period. These same factors may have discouraged other displaced people from declaring or securing aid. Though I cannot draw causal conclusions, it is clear that the participants represent a group different from the average displaced person due to their ability to access state aid. In this respect, my sample is not representative of the entire displaced population. Despite difficulties, our average participant was able to significantly increase the ease in which she was able to interact with the government. A Paired t-Test of the data collected in *Forma de ver* showed that their perception of the ease with which they could currently interact with the state has increased significantly (T=4.95, df=9, P=0.000792108) (see Appendix M). Indeed, participants told us this come from knowing where to go now and what you need to do once you get there.

When Edna and I visited a branch of the Social Solidarity Network, a Colombian military officer stationed outside supported the participants' stories that women were the majority of the demographic making up the long lines that wrap around the building early in the mornings. He told us from his experience that women feel more urgency to take care of the children than men; hence, they try to fight for available aid. He confirmed that he had seen registered people returning to this branch after they were issued a check for rent and sent across town to cash it. They returned after being told at the destination bank that they are unable to cash it because of a missing signature. To cash it, they must return

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to the Network to wait in line again to get correct documentation. He told us of the extreme frustration of people who spend time and money during this process.

For those displaced people who have heard about Social Solidarity Network and are able to get money for transportation, a sign outside the government building explains that they can find additional information about their rights by calling a provided telephone number or watching a specific television station for more information. Using telephones and television broadcasts to convey information is inherently problematic because both methods require money to invest in the mode of communication. For the participants, this was problematic because although they all have cell phones, they often did not have money to buy a phone card that would allow them to call. Watching a television broadcast was problematic for the participants because only two participants had television. The problems of needing to access reliable information regarding the process of receiving aid and then needing money to access the aid reappear as a common experience throughout the resettlement and adjustment process for the participants.

When we visited the Red Cross and Casa Migrante, we were told that the principle way people hear about them is by word of mouth. Those two organizations are able to offer emergency short-term aid. However, the availability of this aid is not widely known and the process of registering for this aid is not widely advertised. The branches are also located very far from the principle resettlement areas for displaced people (2 + hours via multiple buses). For these NGOs, the issue of accessibility and the minimal effective advertising was a problem.

The discussion group participants explained that if one is able to register, the state aid only has limited usefulness. They explained the federal food vouchers that are

distributed are redeemable only at the most expensive supermarket in the city. Furthermore, the vouchers cannot be used for personal sanitation products such as soap. One participant reported that the Network offers support for displaced people for three months at a time. However, she had to wait two years between her last three-month support periods. These details are important when considering the efficacy of government support systems as it may be reported that aid checks are distributed, but the actual aid offered is limited.

Most participants expressed extreme frustration with the process of receiving aid and would rather earn money on their own, but encountered formidable barriers to holding a job or acquiring new skills. My data show that the participants had been able to gain considerable amounts of knowledge on how to access aid from the state. However, each participant had to discover that process through a long process of trial, error and frustration. Because they either lacked skills that would help them secure employment in the city or were fearful to leave their children with anyone, this aid was vital to reduce socio-economic vulnerability.

Exploitation

Leonar highlighted the connection between a lack of applicable skills, lack of aid, and a vulnerability to exploitation. Lacking options, she explained, a woman may turn to prostitution to support her family. None of the participants reported turning to prostitution, though Yaneth indicated she had considered it but rejected the idea as she did not want to expose her children to "that lifestyle."

Luisa Fernanda's story of arrival into the city was the clearest case of exploitation amongst the participants. Her story is not representative of my sample, but it warrants

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inclusion. On her second day in Bogotá, she was offered a place to stay by a man. The man then forced her to beg with her kids on the streets of Bogotá in exchange for shelter. Then the family kidnapped her son to beg for them.

A key informant interview with Ana Duque at the Colombian Ministry of the Interior and a representative at Fundación Esperanza confirmed that the form of labor exploitation to which more recently arrived displaced people were most vulnerable to was begging for pimps. Speaking specifically about displaced people, Duque reported that forced begging is the most pressing exploitative risk for displaced people. Government studies found that close to 70% of people begging on the streets of Bogotá are displaced people. Indigenous women or women with children are especially targeted by traffickers as they are able to gain pity quickly from people on the street. Luisa Fernanda fit this profile exactly. She was eventually able to rescue her son from this family by taking considerable personal safety risks.

Social Networks

As previously noted, several women expressed during the self-analysis that the one of the most obvious changes that had occurred while adjusting from the countryside to the city was that formerly they relied upon family for financial and emotional support. In the city, they have to rely on their friends and themselves. A statistical analysis of data collected from their portfolios confirmed that their ability to form a new social network has increased more than their ability to develop their kin network, though both have increased significantly since they first arrived.

Using the visual Lykert scale described in Chapter 5, ordinal values of their perception of the relative ease or difficulty of forming social networks and kin networks

were for different times frames along their displacement. Data collected from their first month in Bogotá and their current situation were tested using Paired T-tests (Thomas 1986: 227). It was found that in the tests of both variables, the changes were significant. The change in the ability of participants to develop kin networks was significant (T= 3.14, df=9, P=0.0118718) (see Appendix K). However, the change of their ability to form a new social network was highly significant (T=7.60, df=9, P=0.000033) (see Appendix N). A comparison of these results suggests that since the participants arrived to Bogotá, they have had a much higher probability of fostering new social networking than developing existing kin networks.

These statistical tests all indicate there were very important changes in the participant's lives since they arrived in Bogotá, an observation that is confirmed in their life stories. A comparison of the results of the two tests anchors the insights that the participants provided, thus complementing subjective insights with objective data (Slim and Thompson 1993).

Information from the oral histories provides evidence to why this is the case. As previously reviewed, the socio-economic support offered by families who live near to the participants was minimal. Interviews about their current situation revealed a commonality that most had at least one friend they felt they could *always* contact for support. Only two participants named a family member as the person they would contact.

Participants who identified family members as a source of emotional support referenced either children or family members whom live in a different area of the country. Five participants reported that they were able to talk to a family member on the phone several times a year. However, this support was only available if they had the

money to make the phone call. Hence, money was a barrier to this support source and it was not always available. Only two participants identified a relative in Bogotá who they could ask for financial or emotional support. Many participants expressed that their children provided a considerable amount of support. However, considering they mostly had young children, the support provided from them was limited to emotional support (no socio-economic or information on aid). Hence, using the insights provided in the interviews, the increase of participants' ability to foster kin networks may be attributed to their ability to make some money that allows for phone calls. Furthermore, as children have grown older over the years in displacement, they may now have increased capacity to provide emotional support for their mothers.

The participant's stories provide a number of possible explanations for the increased ease of fostering new social networks. Possibly the most important explanation is that participants said they could begin to trust people as the years past. As noted above, many participants indicated that they felt they had one friend that they could always call if they were in desperate need of support. Though most only indicated they had only one good friend, this information marked a change from when they first arrived.

Several women spoke about the tension between the desire to build a social network and the desire to remain anonymous. Lucia told us that she wanted to remain anonymous in her neighborhood but she saw the value in joining a women's organization, so she opted to join Casa in another part of the city. She said this was a good resolution of the two needs, but now she had run out of money for transportation to the group meetings. Three of the women from El Renacer spoke of the danger of building a network closer to home. They voiced fear of becoming "high profile" if the meetings

were too large, involved conflict, or if they took a position of leadership. According to them, if you become "high profile" you become a target. This threat is also recorded in the literature on Colombian organizations (Pérez 2008). In a key informant interview, a CODHES employee[11] echoed the danger for women who get involved with neighborhood groups comprised of displaced individuals. As a visible group, they become "easy targets for armed actors." There are indeed more and more organizations to support displaced women, but the risk they take to gain support is very real.

Table 2, which shows the aggregated information from the maps created for the participant's portfolios, suggests that participants chose to build social networks both "close" and "far" from their homes. As to be expected, the majority (20) of the physical location of community sources of support were within walking distance. Many sources of community support were also a bus ride away (8). Self-analysis that followed the portfolio creation provided further evidence that some of the participants preferred to have to pay for bus fare and create community further from home, rather than build those connections in their neighborhood. However, as Lucia told us, this source of support became inaccessible when the funds for transportation that Casa had provided were no longer available. I am not able to provide a causal explanation for how each participant weighed their fear with the pull to be a part of community, but my sample included participants who preferred finding community nearby and those who preferred to remain anonymous and seek community further away.

Despite the fact that some of the participants were a part of a formal women's organization, the participants reported that the most important social network they had

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[11] Though my interviewee opted to remain anonymous, consent was obtained to use the name of the organization she represented

which helped them with socio-economic resources had been informal: either storeowners who offered them credit, or acquaintances who pointed them in the right direction. Many people named a storeowner who would offer them credit at the store as one of the most supportive resources. Exemplary of the other participants, Shakira explained "sometimes I get credit at the little store in my neighborhood, but not too much because I do not have money to pay it back." According to the participants, the small amount of credit that a local store offered participants was the difference between feeding their family or not. However, a few participants reported that they did not ask a store for credit as they either doubted they could pay it back or they afraid of being indebted to someone.

My findings suggest that although participants have begun to build social networks, conversations regarding their community are repeatedly interwoven with a discussion of fear. The discussion of childcare offers another example of how the culture of fear appears to constraint the participants' ability to access social capital within a social network. Even though each participant voiced she can at least one friend she could call on for support, more than half said that they would not trust anyone with the care of their children, even to access important aid distributions.

Benefits of an Informal Organization

Stories gathered from the participants who were associated with El Renacer offered insights into how one informal woman's social network has become an important asset for members. Although many members were at first hesitant to join a neighborhood association, most reported that the other members helped them to feel more supported and secure. One noted that it helped her to stay positive.

Some participants added that although El Renacer offered support, their new network was not a replacement for family. They explained that immediate family used to be always available for them while friends here were not as reliable. Another explained that a friend in the network is most likely in a similarly stressful situation and often unable to offer support.

While discussing their current situations, the participants who belonged to El Renacer told us that things were now easier because they had begun to make friends and trust a few people. This local organization had no funding for them, but offered meetings for neighborhood women. I spent time with this group of women and heard them offering each other information and guidance; guidance the participants lacked upon their arrival.

In addition to holding informal meetings to discuss ways to help displaced women in resettlement, one of the activities of El Renacer is organize group trips to Corabastos, a grocery warehouse that at times gives away discarded food to people who ask for it. The members explained to me that the group trip shows more recently arrived people how to navigate Corabastos; sometimes they will bring back food for single mothers who are too frightened to leave their children. One of our participants, Estrellita, received some of this support (see insert).

Estrellita: in answering how she makes a living *I live on what the leader [of El Renacer] gives me sometimes, sometimes she gets food and she gives me a little bit of that…and sometimes I recycle items with my oldest son, and on this we just barely get by. My husband sometimes gets work and sometimes he doesn't; because you know, for someone who is displaced and who has not been to a lot of school and does not have skills, it is hard to get work.*

She explained that her husband had two families and was not able to provide for her family. This participant also expressed great fear of leaving her

children with anyone if she were to work. Paula told us that it feels like a great accomplishment to move from needing help, to helping other people.

The knowledge participants gathered at El Renacer, a form of cultural/human capital, was access through social network ties. However, there was a risk as they began to help other people navigate Bogotá. As they became more visible as a group, they increased their likelihood of being a target for the paramilitary and FARC. The thread of a culture of fear is woven into this organization's story, and each participant who described their membership to El Renacer mentioned both the benefits and risks of being involved. What is striking is that members are not only gaining support from the organization, but also they are involved in community outreach. Despite the fear, this organization offers an example of how members are both investing and receiving social capital assets.

Other Interlocking Factors: Personality, Discrimination and Husbands

There was little variation among the participants in reporting that they originally came to Bogotá to minimize physical threats to their family. Showing evidence of resilience, many participants reported experiencing forms of empowerment since arriving in the city. Many participants noted a change in self-image since arriving in the city, which was manifested in increased power within their family unit and increased ability to defend their rights or access state aid. This finding was demonstrates their agency despite being victims of displacement.

One of the most significant changes that participants reported was learning to adapt to the city where the *machista* culture is less pronounced. They framed this discussion in a manner that indicated they did not aim to be empowered rather this

empowerment happened out of necessity. It was a strategic empowerment process. Lacking support or resources, many reported that they had to overcome their previous shy nature and become more outgoing. One participant said she now had the confidence to go out and defend her rights, which was a change from how she acted in the countryside. Lucia told us she grew up thinking that a woman's rights were to have children and cook. At the time of our interview, she had become a leader in her community. She laughed as she told she now had "big nails and bites." Yet, when she was at home, she told us she had to act the part of a mother and a wife. Echoing Green's (2006) work on the Latin American woman's "double shift," she characterized this as a "double life."

Violeta, a participant who is also married, said that she had become a leader in her community, and was able to be elected into that position just by being friendly. She reported that, in turn, the power dynamic had changed with her husband. Now, she made the major decisions for the family. In a parallel case of resisting *machista* culture, Paula told us during her first interview that she wanted to work, but her husband did not want her to go far from the house. At our second interview a month later she told us that she had secured a job with a catalog merchandise company selling products to her neighbors. She told us her husband was pleased that she could do this from home.

The information that I collected from single women indicated a need to move beyond a traditional image of themselves in order to fight for access to resources. Some moved towards this change with enthusiasm, and others with reluctance. The common theme, however, was learning to be assertive in a way that would not fit the rural *machista* cultural system.

Brigita's story of adaptation is an example of a woman who was enjoying her newfound empowerment. She was separated from her husband during her violent displacement. He now had a new family in another part of the country. She was proud to recall how she used to just wait for her husband to create any opportunity for her, but now she did it all on her own. Not all of the participants were as enthusiastic with the opportunity for empowerment. Margarita, a shyer participant, said she *had* to overcome fear and her withdrawn nature in the process of learning about her rights and how to defend them.

These women did not convey to me that it was their intention to break the molds of the *machista* culture, but that necessity drove them into moving towards self-empowerment. It speaks to their ability to fight to access recourses, and to their ability to overcome barriers.

Discrimination

Adding to the restrictions placed upon women by oppressive societal norms, the participants also described fighting against other forms of discrimination and fear during their adaptation to the city. Many participants described a generalized stigma against displaced people. Some women reported that it was harder for displaced people to find jobs because there is a general perception that they already have enough money from state aid. Leonar described that television depicts displaced people as dangerous. Lucia reflected this sentiment, saying she is part of an "unwanted population." Estrellita also expressed that aid workers at the Network or the Red Cross were resentful of displaced people's complaints and they treated her like a child. This treatment discouraged her from following up to access aid.

Between the need to be outgoing, yet overcome discrimination and fear, my participant stories speak to the psychological components that resurface as a necessity in the process of accessing aid.

Husbands

Though I did not examine the role of husbands in depth, my findings are interesting in that they support the current research regarding roles the absence of men in the family unit in Latin America. As Green also found, several married participants (4) supported the notion that men were elusive figures in the family unit (Green 2006). Although the participants articulated this clearly, this finding was also highlighted in my attempt to code the economic and emotional support of a father/husband in a nominal fashion. There ended up being many more categories than married and single. Some single participants were completely separated from support of any kind from the father of their children, one received economic support from the family of the father who was gone, another received child support from an ex-husband after she courageously took him to court for beating her.

Violeta and Paula reported that though their husbands lived with them and held jobs, there was an emotional cost of having them around. Each spoke of her spouse as a "strategic advantage" rather than a "partner." Paula told us that she had to stay with her husband in order to maintain respect in the neighborhood. She would have more access to things and more liberty to form a future for herself and her children if she were married. In this way, she was framing her marriage as principally a way to open doors in the community, rather than a form of direct support. She emphasized this point by saying she feels no emotional support from her husband. She told us, "So, even though I have a

husband, I feel like I don't have one, I feel alone. I don't count on my husband; he is not worried about my kids or me."

They both expressed frustration that their husbands were not making enough money. However, they said that if they were to also take jobs, they felt their husband would stop working and start drinking. During the discussion group, a woman who had been displaced nine years emphasized that she had to take on the responsibility to provide for the family as her husband was "only around sometimes, and leaves when he wants to." The lack of contribution of these husbands is significant because the Network considers the presence of a husband an asset and may deny support to families with a husband present because "they should be able to earn enough money."

In my sample, it was noticeable that the struggle for a single mother is slightly different from a married woman, but the differences are small. For example, two participants told me of how it is difficult for a single mother to rent an apartment because the landlords were afraid they would constantly bring different men back to the house. Isolation, a theme that I will discuss further below, was referenced in all interviews, whether a respondent had a husband or not. Only two women said that they received any sort of emotional support from their husbands.

> *Field notes (March 12, 2009)*
> *Violeta joked with me as I was surrounded by a throng of students at her child's school, having just taught an English class there. She laughed with me as I had kids crawling over me, saying that I was lucky as I did not have any kids or a husband, and laughing harder, she squealed that her husband was much more responsibility to take care of than her kids. That comment was said offhand, but the essence remained with me and reminded me that the way that I viewed a family unit was starkly different from how she saw it. She later told me that she only stayed with her husband so that she could look after the kids and keep them safe while he worked. She knew that if he were the one to stay at home, he would drink and not watch after the kids.*

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Summary

My findings on the process of adjustment show that the participants were

successful in accessing some material resources offered through federal aid, but less

successful in building a stable income. In order to access this aid, the participants had to

learn the process of accessing aid, find money for transportation and childcare to actually

access aid, challenge cultural norms, while constantly weighing their fears of physical

insecurity. This adjustment corresponded to a dynamic shift regarding whom they turned

to for support. Seeking reliable information on how to navigate resettlement needs the

role of new social networks became more accessible than trusted family kin networks.

Though these are not mutually exclusive networks in many part of the world, in the

context of displacement in Colombia this is important as the participants were physically

removed from a trusted kin network, and had the choice to engage with new social

networks.

The context of a culture of fear plays a major role in constraining the extent to

which participants formed new social networks. However, their ability to provide a

livelihood for their family did improve since they arrived in Bogotá. My research

suggests that this improvement occurred mostly because of the information women

gathered over years of experience and resourcefulness in piecing together basic survival

needs. Information gathered from members of El Renacer indicates generative

possibilities on how informal women's networks are a valuable resource for members.

CHAPTER SEVEN

As opposed to the more traditional ethnography presented in Chapter 6 that combined quantitative and qualitative methods, this chapter provides a "strategic essentialism" (Spivak 1988) of a story of a displaced woman in Bogotá. Following Spivak's line of reasoning, the subaltern woman's voice offers important information to a context-specific and under-represented coping strategy in response to a given situation. To be amplified, the voice of a subaltern woman can be combined with others. This amplification holds the potential to raise awareness of and knowledge developed by subaltern women.

A strategic essentialism approach is similar to the story telling method used by Rigoberta Menchú Tum and anthropologist Elizabeth Burgos-Debray, who subsequently authored the book for Menchú's story (1983). In the book, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, Menchú's story was recounted in the first person as her experiences. Some of the details were later found to misrepresent her experience, yet arguably did not misrepresent stories of other indigenous women in Guatemala during the civil war (Grandin 2010).

Because her stories made public violent details of the civil war that prominent conservative politicians in the US would have preferred not be exposed, a heated debate ensued regarding the accuracy of her book. Responding to this interest, anthropologist David Stoll conducted extensive field research in Guatemala to explore the details of

Menchú's life. He reports that a few aspects of Menchú's story were false, such as her claim not to have had any education when she indeed had some formal education (Grandin 2010). He also presented information counter to Menchú's that gave an alternative recount of the civil war, placing less blame on the Guatemalan army and more on the Mayans.

The Conservatives used Stoll's evidence to defame her book as flush with lies. A United Nations Truth Commission later confirmed Menchú's depiction of the civil war was closer to the truth than Stoll's (Grandin 2010). Yet, the controversy that ensued offered an important exploration of subaltern communication, political affiliation, truth and representation (Sanford 2003). One of the reasons her testimony was questioned was because it offered a subaltern notion of truth that is different from a colonial, empirically-based idea of "truth" (Sanford 2003). Responding to the controversy, Menchú defended her telling of the story that later became her book. She had deliberate reasons to change the details of the story to protect the identity of individuals who could have been persecuted, and to offer details of her brother's death that she had heard about, but for which she was not physically present. Menchú's story telling method was typical of her culture, where empirical facts are not the emphasis of story and where the "collective voice" is commonly used (Grandin 2010).

Her intension was to expose the experiences of indigenous people in Guatemala, including her own, in order to convey the story in a compelling manner. The author who crafted the book of Menchú's story writes that her story is "exemplary: she speaks for all the Indians of the American continent" (Burgos-Debray 1983: xi).

Like Menchú, I aim to expose the story of displaced women in Colombia. I use a method that runs parallel to her storytelling method where the collective voice is emphasized. Learning from some of the problematic aspects of Menchú's work, I have been explicit about my process of combining the stories of 11 participants who are subaltern women, marginalized by their gender, socio-economic class, and the experiences of their lives. In this chapter, I weave together different aspects of participants' experiences that I collected in a series of interviews into a single story. My position is different from Menchú's as I am not part of the group of voices I amplify in my storytelling. Furthermore, to avoid any of the controversy concerning truth, I have been transparent in my method of combining experiences from multiple participants. I will tell the ethnographic story in the first person in an effort to move closer to the participants.

Wednesday Morning

By "Amelia," a single mother displaced from Putamayo in 2007

I wake up to pull the covers over my son, Rodrigo, and myself. I cannot see anything as it is still pitch black, but I hear the sound of rain outside. Despite the blankets piled upon us, it is still cold and damp. The biting cold reminds me that we are in Bogotá—far away from the in warm sea breezes that I used to wake up to near the coast. I sigh as I remember the village where we lived just over three years ago. When I was a little girl, we used to be able to swing into the fields to gather plantains to cook if our stomachs grumbled with hunger. My cousins and I loved being covered with dust by the end of a hot day playing in the dirt roads between the lush fields. My mother would

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smile and roll her eyes when we came home at dusk needing a bath. That was where I met Luis, before Rodrigo was conceived. At 15, everything seemed so easy and blissful. That was before the guerrillas started to make demands of my father and before Luis began to drink.

I hear snoring across the room. A thin sheet separates the section of the room I rent from my landlord's section. When I first moved in, I thought the snoring kept me up, but I soon realized that it was my worrying that kept me up. Night after night, I lay awake wondering how I will make sure my kids are fed. I stare into the darkness, wondering how I will make sure that we do not get evicted. We are okay until the end of the month, but I do not have any work that will help us make next month's rent. Maria, my older daughter lies on a smaller mattress nearby, also on the cement floor. She used to have trouble sleeping. She would wake up shouting into the night to warn her grandfather. Three years ago, he was murdered by the paramilitary after they found he did not resist the guerrilla's demands to use our truck. Maria had been walking home from school and saw them shoot her grandfather: my father. I had been hiding behind the tool shed, covering my infant's mouth. As soon as I saw her, I ran to her with Rodrigo in my arms. With shouting behind us, we ran in to the fields. Luis was at the bars, I never saw him again. I never saw our farm again.

I hold Rodrigo closer as I feel him shiver. He has grown quickly out of the jacket we found for him at the church near downtown. Soon he will be able to enter kindergarten. But will I have enough money to buy him shoes? How do I know that he will not be exposed to bad influences at the new school? What if I am able to get work but I cannot get home in time to pick him up?

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I peer around him to see what time it is. 3:30 am. Resting my head back on the musty pillow, I close my eyes trying to prepare for my day that will start in half an hour. A year ago, I would be in tears at this point. I used to be up all night asking myself how I had come to be in a situation where I had no one to help me, and how I lived so far from my mother. After I ran from our farm years ago, I stayed with an old friend in a nearby town. She let me use her phone after a few days. I called my mother. She had told me not to come back: it was too dangerous for Maria. The paramilitary had kidnapped three young girls after they killed my father. My mother told me she would live with my sister, but I should go to the capital where the government supports displaced people. I had never been more than a short bus ride from my house, now I was told to go across the country, up to Bogotá. I was displaced now. How could God have let this happen? I have accepted that this is my life now. I struggle everyday here, but I no longer struggle against the reality that I have no home to return home to. After three years in Bogotá, I know that I am not the only one in this situation. I am just another face in the long lines. A number called up to the government counter after hours of waiting at the Social Solidarity Network. Another person pleading for help that may or not come; another person who lost everything.

My alarm clock sounds and I urge Rodrigo and Maria out of bed. I have enough money from a house-cleaning job to pay for the bus for all of us today. We need to apply for more aid with the Network, as this was the third and last month of our last dispersal. The first time I went to the Network I had left Rodrigo with Maria, but I raced home after standing in line for only an hour. The bus ride and the multiple connections needed took two hours—longer than the woman who had spoken with me at the church had told me.

When I arrived there at 6 am, the line of people in need already wrapped around the Network building. A woman in line with me told me that the government had recently taken children away in her neighborhood who had been left alone for a day. The poor mother came home from work to be charged with neglect and find that her children were gone. The woman in line went on talking about the Red Cross. She had heard they also had aid for displaced families, but she did not know how to get there or what they would ask for. I think she had a story about someone she knew who did get help from them, but I could not hear anything she was saying after she told me about the children who were removed in her neighborhood. I left soon after I heard that. My mind racing and I could not focus on anything except getting back to my children after that.

Maria had been crying when I arrived home that day. She had become afraid that in the few hours I had been gone, something had happened to me. She ran to me with red eyes and held my waist like a vice. I reassured her while Rodrigo played with my phone. As I held her, I realized I needed reassurance as well. I did not know if my words were honest—I did not know if it was going to "be okay." I had not received any money for food that day; concerns for my kids had been the only thing on my mind during the excruciating two-hour bus ride home. Maria and I both soothed Rodrigo as he fell asleep that night, crying because he was hungry. We were all hungry, but Maria and I both knew that we were at least safe.

At times Maria has stunned me with how mature she can be at only 12 years old. She has opportunities that I never had. My father pulled me out of school after the fifth grade. "There is no reason for my daughters to go to school when all they will do is farm and care for the family." I had screamed and cried, but it made no difference. I loved

learning and wanted to stay in school. Instead, I looked over my brother's shoulder when he got home from school.

Maria likes school, but I am nervous because last night a neighbor told me that she saw Maria holding hands with an older boy. There is no telling who he is, or what he will demand of her. I have told her a hundred times to forget about boys and focus on her schooling. I pray every night that she listens and does not end up in my situation. I have no chance of getting a job. Even if both kids were in school, how can I work without any education or training? How can I get training without someone to watch my kids and without money for the bus? How can I get money to do anything?

I heat up water to mix with brown sugar as Maria helps Rodrigo get enough layers on. I think through the day. I have not even left the house and I can already sense problems. If we are able to get the check we were promised for rent, I do not have enough money for the three of us to get downtown to cash it…

I hear my landlord hush Rodrigo who is whining about the cold and the rain. I give Maria a pleading look as I pour the hot water. It was not easy to get this rental. Many other people had turned us away because I am a single mother and I don't have a job. One woman told me she did not rent to single women because she did not want strange men spending the night. She did not listen when I pleaded with her that I was alone and would not have men coming home. She gave me some excuse and shut the door. No one trusts anyone here. The countryside was different. There you could ask someone to borrow eggs and they would not think twice.

A squeal interrupts my thoughts; the kids have begun to play a game. I rush over to quiet them, but it is too late, the damage is done. My landlord bellows that he has had

enough. "This is the last time you kids will wake me up! I have to work until 2 am; I cannot handle being woken up two hours later. Amelia, you and your kids need to be gone by the end of the month." My heart races as I plead with him, "we have no place to go, no family to help us, where will we go?" He tells me that it is not his problem.

Tears well in my eyes as I look at my two children. Rodrigo's lip quivers. He knows we are in trouble. I have to keep myself together. I have to. I don't have an option. We leave the three cups of steaming water and walk into the rain towards the bus. I am quiet as I try and think of options. I wish there was someone who I could ask for advice— someone who could point me in the right direction. But I am alone. I instinctually think of calling my mother. But now that we have no place to live, I want to conserve whatever money we have. I can't afford to buy a phone card just for the comfort of her voice.

As a quiet group, we arrive at the bus stop. My heart begins to race as I see a figure dressed in dark colors moving around frantically nearby. It is still dark out and I cannot tell what is going on. Hold my kids close to my sides and step backwards so our backs are protected by the protective iron shade that has been drawn in front of the corner liquor store. I look up and down the street and only see a mangy dog rummaging through trash. No one else is awake yet. I feel my breath catch as the figure moves decisively towards us.

Maria whispers, "it's okay Mama, it is that lady we saw the other day in the park." She was right, I relax slightly, but I still am unsure. "I am so sorry," the woman starts in. I can see she is holding a young baby and I relax further. "I am sorry," she continues, "I just came here from the South and someone told me that I needed to get to the government Network from this bus stop, but I don't see any bus, is this right? Is this

where I stand for the bus? It was just a man in the store who told me to come here." I reassure her that this is the correct place and she can follow us as we are headed there.

Her baby begins to cry. As the light begins to spread across the sky, I can see his skin is tinted a bluish-white tone. Although he has clothes and is swaddled in her jacket, he is still cold and she is shaking as well. As we board the bus, I begin to give her a description on how to get to the church downtown where I was able to get clothes for my kids.

Another day has started.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Social Networks and the Culture of Fear

In response to my first research question, *how have displaced women capitalized on available resources, specifically social networks, in order to address the socio-economic vulnerability that faces them during the resettlement process in Bogotá?* My findings show that the participants experienced considerable constraints on their ability to develop a sustainable income that would reduce their vulnerability to socio-economic threats and the risk of exploitation. Displacement caused them to lose material resources. In resettlement, they had a limited ability to access urban employment. My findings connect this restriction to limited education in their youth, and fear of leaving their children in order to work.

Despite these constraints, participants demonstrated that they have been able to provide more food for their families and access aid, albeit difficult, from federal programs. Over several years in resettlement, they have been able to develop coping strategies to piece together aid and informal work to access new material resources. I found that the participants pieced together governmental aid, informal employment opportunities, money from NGOs, money from spouse's incomes and charity to develop

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livelihoods for their families. Despite the average 5.5 years in displacement and their

relative success at securing help from the government, they still have not achieved stable

income to protect themselves from socio-economic threats.

A comparison to the larger population of displaced people revealed that they have

been more successful than many other displaced families in accessing aid. Because I used

a self-selecting sample of participants, I am not able to offer comparison of personal

attributes that might offer a causal connection between their personalities and their

abilities to access aid. With regards to their strategy of resourcefulness, I do not have

enough data to build recommendations.

However, my research revealed that the informal network formed by El Renacer

has begun to facilitate the movement of important information that can help to ease the

process of adaptation for displaced people. This finding is similar to Harpviken's findings

in wartime and migration. He wrote, "The literature on disaster and relief provides some

evidence of the importance of informal organization for the ability of social entities to

cope" (Harpviken 2009: 27). Like Harpviken's participants in Afghanistan, the

participants reported that the most important change that has helped them during their

adaptation to Bogotá was knowing where to go for different forms of support. They

needed, and still need, reliable information. I found that within the loose associations of

El Renacer, the participants have begun to circulate information they once needed to

more recently arrived women.

Research by Pérez and Meertens indicates that support offered by displaced

women's organizations may extend far beyond an exchange of useful information. Pérez

reported that the spaces created by women's collectives in Colombia gave women a

chance to examine their new lives, and their recent past, and encourages empowerment

and self-esteem building (Pérez 2008). Meertens also finds positive opportunities for

displaced women in local organizations. He writes, women's "participation in community

groups give women new elements for reconstructing their identities, their sociability, and

their social links and for establishing new goals that did not exist in the countryside"

(Meertens 2001: 144).

Similar to Pérez and Meertens, I found that the conditions of displacement

provided new opportunities for the participants to become active agents in their lives. My

data show that for some participants, the pressures of resettlement have urged them to

become informal leaders. As Meertens writes "Despite trauma, the poverty, the lack of

space to mourn, even widows have encountered new opportunities for personal

development" (Meertens 2001: 145).

In response to my research question: *Does the prevalent culture of fear in

Colombia affect their ability to access relevant capital embedded in social networks?*

Testimonies reveal that the culture of fear affects many of their decision, including the

decision of whether or not to form new social networks. I found that the participants were

reluctant to form new social networks because of a generalized mistrust and a desire for

anonymity. They expressed the need for certain forms of social capital (in the form of

information, support and reliable contacts), yet they desired to remain anonymous in

resettlement. Those participants who chose to foster a local community were subjected to

additional risks for being associated with organization (Espinosa 2008). I also found that

participants weighed fear in consideration of leaving children in daycare or with a friend in order to work, in consideration of whether to talk to anyone about their trauma and in consideration of whether or not to return home. Indeed, I found that the culture of fear played a larger role than I had initially anticipated. I found that participants had to struggle with the "paradox of fear" (Riaño-Alcalá 2008), responding to the greatest need they had.

My findings are similar to Riaño-Alcalá, who writes, "the presence of fear during the entire journey of displacement, and as individuals attempt to re-establish themselves in a new social environment, has an adverse impact on their attempts to reconstruct their lives" (Riaño-Alcalá 2008: 16). My study builds upon her work by offering more description of how fear is weighed into the decisions made by this population.

Like Harpviken, I found that social network formation during wartime is particularly problematic because of a pervasive culture of fear that manifests in a reluctance of people to trust others. My data indicates that the informal networks the participants formed to ease the transition and struggle for survival. I argue that based on my findings, informal social networks could play an even greater role in assisting displaced women during the resettlement to Bogotá. My findings offer a different perspective from Harpviken. Researching in Afghanistan he finds, "It may be a natural response when an armed conflict intensifies and a breakdown of trust makes it difficult to maintain relationships beyond those most immediate. The mutual support networks that have often been found to be effective in coping with disaster are the preexisting horizontal type" (Harpviken 2009: 180). Due to the limited trusted kin networks the

participants had, they found informal networks to be a more readily available resource than kin networks. In Harpviken's study, participants were forcibly displaced, but generally migrated with family members. Both populations displaced within the context of fear. A comparison of the utility of social networks during wartime migration could offer further insight into the role of trusted family members in comparison to a new social network.

My findings are important in light of the literature on migration that provides evidence that in certain contexts, social capital in the form of social networks are an important resource for valuable "adaptive" information (Harpviken 2009; Massey and España 1987; Vásquez-León 2009). Writing on Mexican migrants to the US, Massey finds that "kinship is the most important base of migrant social organization, and family connections provide the most secure network connections" (Massey 1986: 104). My findings demonstrate due to the characteristics of the context created by the culture of fear, our participant's ability to connect to social networks was limited. Experiencing restricted contact to kin, the participants sought information from informal social ties. Hence, my study adds to the growing body of research regarding social networks and migration by examining a different economic and cultural context.

<center>The Subaltern Project</center>

In answer to my third research question, *while doing research with a population of vulnerable women, how can anthropologists move towards facilitating open space for participants to have more voice in academic research?* I found that the portfolio method followed by a self-analysis that we developed during the study was not only a useful

research tool, but also allowed a small number of subaltern women to express their voice and analytic capacities in an academic study. Furthermore, the inclusion of each of their portfolios in this thesis provides one avenue for them to directly represent their experiences. This method has potential applications for aid recipient work undertaken by groups like the *Collaborative Learning Project*. The challenges of accessing federal aid became apparent by listening to the women who had navigated the process themselves.

I assert I was able to offer modest achievements in the subaltern project while recognizing that the production and dissemination of knowledge through academic means is important. I recognize that as a researcher, I held the power of choosing how to represent someone's experience, the ability to access information, the means to do field work in a foreign country and even the privilege of literacy. However, the participants are the experts on the topic of my research.

As my research acknowledges, the participants are experts on the situated challenges faced by displaced women with children. Their knowledge is now situated both indigenously and professionally. Their personal stories are a testament to the arduous process of acquiring the knowledge they now possess.

Though we tested multiple iterations in the field, the method could benefit from further refinement. Violeta's process of portfolio creation showed us a problematic aspect of the wording we used in our "Sources of Support" legend. She began to fill in the bar for "Current/percent of rent needs met" with purple, the color for "personal work." When we asked her how she earned the money for this, she explained that she did not earn any money for rent. After their house burned down a few years ago, she fought for two years

with the government and an NGO to secure a house. She explained, "It is because of my work that we have this house." In Spanish, like in English, "work" is often associated with income generating employment. However, the work that women do often benefits the family in ways that are not captured in monetary form (Mosse 1993). To bring attention to the work women do, a follow up study on the effort, time, and determination needed to draw upon the multiple sources which women use to provide for their families in resettlement could lend much deserved attention to the efforts of this population. We have made appropriate corrections for this misnomer in the future.

<center>Additional Findings on Resettlement</center>

My data shows that my sample's vulnerability persists despite the presence of governmental programs designed to help them. The participants' experience show that both emergency aid upon first arriving and long-term reliable aid is hard to access. Like Meertens, Muggah and the HRW, my findings suggest that this population should be considered resettled rather than temporality displaced. I found that the participants, like most IDPs, lack an interest in returning to expulsion areas. Similarly, Meertens writes, "the level of fear and the continuation of armed conflict in the expulsion areas makes returning an unrealistic option for many" (2001: 143). Despite criticism, the government of Colombia actively supports a return policy and has structured aid to support IDPs for an interim stay in Bogotá (Human Rights Watch 2005: 26).

After arriving in the city, the participants had to develop both short-term adjustment and long-term adaptation strategies. To access aid, reliable information is needed immediately. This information was not available to the majority of the

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participants. To secure a stable income, socio-economic long-term coping strategies are required. Considering this population is resettled to Bogotá, as are most displaced people, such long-term strategies should be a focus of further research. Furthermore, classifying this population as a resettled population has implications for the aid organizations. The aid structure should shift to support families who are seeking to secure sustainable livelihoods, in addition to providing emergency humanitarian relief.

Further Recommendations

In addition to the recommendations I laid forth in the summary above, I recommend that aid organizations should support the informal networks that women have begun to create in displacement. My findings are important as informal social networks are often overlooked by relief and aid organizations (Harpviken 2009: 2).

The synthesized story of the participants demonstrates that there is no organization that is guiding displaced people through the process of resettlement. Instead, the participants each had to piece together information and make mistakes in order to navigate this system. The women of El Renacer are beginning to understand a model of a mechanism that is emerging naturally in a displaced community to help other women to navigate Bogotá. This is built solely on the information of members that has been gathered by experience. They are forming a very informal association that can offer support to other displaced people. The paradox is that as an emerging group, they may now become targets. Further research should be conducted on how aid organizations can support the informal activity of women's groups in a way that does not further heighten their visibility as targets.

My recommendations build upon Muggah's conclusions that to best support displaced women, we must support and reflexively co-elucidate their dynamic coping strategies. He writes, "The focus of resettlement efforts [in Colombia] should not be on restricted solely to addressing IDP 'risks' but rather should include supporting their active networks of reciprocity, productive processes and coping strategies" (Muggah 2000: 160). I build upon this by suggesting that informal organizations that facilitate the exchange of coping strategies, and as such should be featured by aid donors. I am suggesting that aid organizations should consider supporting informal activity that displaced women engage as a strategy to streamline the process of accessing aid through sharing information. Informal networks can potentially help reduce the number of recently arrived displaced people who have to learn this process through years of trial and error.

My work has undertones of criticism of the GoC's programs for displaced people. This is not, however, a policy analysis. I am motivated by the prospect of calling attention to and amplifying the voice of a vulnerable population. In this study, I have considered the aid system in Colombia as a fixed variable that focuses on helping women access difficult-to-reach aid. Though my work is relevant to policy makers, I assert that I have a greater likelihood of making a meaningful impact by directing my recommendations towards aid and relief organizations. I do, however, contend that the qualitative, field-based research presented in this paper could help relief and aid organizations better understand the conditions in which vulnerable women live in Colombia.

Discussion of Socio-Economic Vulnerability and Associated Risks

My research describes how displaced women are subject to ongoing socio-economic insecurity as a result of the challenges to accessing federal aid and their inability to secure work in resettlement. This insecurity informs a discussion of vulnerability. Returning to Van Arsdale and Smith's definition of vulnerability as "a set of factors and conditions which make life tenuous" (Van Arsdale and Smith 2010: 124), socio-economic insecurity can be interpreted as a "factor that makes life tenuous" as the participants are unable to consistently and predictably provide food and shelter for their families.

Research connects socio-economic vulnerability with a number of threats including the risk of exploitation (Pérez 2008; Steele 2006; Women's Commission 2006; Zimmerman 2003). According to the Colombian Court, risks of sexual and labor exploitation continue to threaten this population (Espinosa 2008). In addition to putting systems in place to decrease these risks, aid organizations can help support women work towards developing sustainable livelihoods in order to prevent these human rights crimes.

Sustainable Livelihoods

Returning to Radoki's model of livelihood, the archival and field research provides evidence that the participant's experience restricted assess to all forms of assets that can help them to develop a sustainable livelihood. In addition to the restrictions of human, physical, natural and financial capital, this thesis shows that my sample of displaced women have limited access to social capital. In comparison with other IDPs, the culture of fear reconfigures (Collins 1990) the landscape in which these IDPs are

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attempting to sustain themselves. My research shows that my sample's ability to access capital is constricted and as such, their socio-economic vulnerability persists.

The localized conditions in which displaced people live and their perceptions are important to consider while approaching international aid work. My thesis provides a "thick description" of one localized condition and I hope other anthropologists will offer similar contributions to the field of international development to help refine how vulnerable populations can best support.

Conclusion

Much of this thesis deals with conundrums and paradoxes. My participants had to navigate interwoven influences in order to develop livelihoods. In my research methods and thesis writing, I dealt with the conundrum of wanting to represent subaltern voices without minimizing their individual voice. Although this is a thorny process, I assert that it is valuable for academics to continue attempting to deal with murky conundrums rather than splitting cultural phenomena into simple binaries. This thesis offers one approach to approaching this challenge. I hope that others will build upon this work.

While doing my background research, I was moved by the following passage from Pérez's work. She writes,

> Women are the main survivors of the Colombian war and bear most of the burden of restarting life in the midst of displacement. The magnitude of their daily struggles can render their efforts invisible. Emotionally and materially reconstructing and sustaining a family unit in the midst of war demands taking action in a very uncertain and conflictive environment [Pérez 2008: 37].

I designed research to help inform a better understanding of the how Colombia's survivors are adapting to the conditions caused by displacement. Though my research finds that my sample of displaced women had fears of creating new social ties in resettlement, I also found that that information exchange that occurs informally can direct other women to importance sources of material resources. As such, I saw evidence that social capital in the form of information can be converted to economic capital. In conclusion, I found that women are re-victimized by the resettlement. I also found that they have made important adjustments to improve their ability to develop livelihoods. It is my hope that this research shines a spotlight on the courageous efforts of these women and to urge aid organizations to support coping strategies they have developed during the arduous process of resettlement.

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APPENDIX A

Example key informant interview questions

Interview Ministry of Interior

1. Please tell us a bit about Ministry of Interior and your current work here.

2. How does Ministry of Interior define a "vulnerable population"?

3. What is the most important thing they need when people arrive?

4. Have any trends been observed with where people live and their vulnerability to prostitution or trafficking?

5. What kinds of adjustments do you see women having to make when they are forcibly displaced from the countryside? (Economic, cultural, interaction with community and family)

6. What are the primary "push factors" for prostitution and the commercial sex trade in Colombia?

7. How do you think displacement aggravates these push factors? How does displacement relate to trafficking in Colombia? Is it different from other countries that you have learned about?

8. Have you heard that is it common for displaced women to turn to prostitution? Stats? Does where they live in Bogotá affect this?

9. What is the attitude of people in Bogotá towards the displaced population? What effect do you see this having on displaced people?

Participant Semi-Formal Interview

Code Name:
Date:
Location:

First Meeting:

Information: basic (concerning your home in Bogotá and work):
1. How many children do you have?
2. Are you married?____divorced?____single?_____
3. How many children do you have?
4. How old are they?

        _____   _____
        _____   _____
        _____   _____

5. Do they all have the same father?
6. How would you classify your race?
        __Mixed
        __Afro-Colombian
        __White/Spanish
        __Indigenous (which tribe?_____)
        __Other (_____)
7. Who do you currently live with?

Information: life history

1. Tell me a bit about yourself: about your childhood. Where were you born?
_____
_____
_____
2. Have you had the opportunity to go to school? Yes   No
3. What was the last grade you completed?

Information: Family

1. Where are your parents from?
2. Are they still alive?   Yes   No
3. Do you have family in Bogotá?   Yes   No
4. Who? Where do they live? Where does your closest family member live?

Relative   Check the two who live closest to you
1. _____   ___
2. _____   ___
3. _____   ___
4._____   ___

    5. How often do you talk with your family? (face to face, on the phone, internet)

Parents: daily   weekly   monthly or a few times a year   once a year or less
Brothers: daily   weekly   monthly or a few times a year   once a year or less
Sisters: daily   weekly   monthly or a few times a year   once a year or less

    6. In your view, which family members are you closest with?

_____ very close   somewhat close   not very close   not close
_____ very close   somewhat close   not very close   not close
_____ very close   somewhat close   not very close   not close

    7. Out of your friends and family in the area, who can you contact if you need
       support? (only use the first name or code name)

How available are they to help you:

_____always   sometimes   rarely   never
_____always   sometimes   rarely   never
_____always   sometimes   rarely   never
_____always   sometimes   rarely   never

Information: work

    1. do you work?   Yes   No
    2. If you answered yes, where do you work?
    3. Do you have stable employment?
    4. What kind of work do you have?
         __manual labor
         __service industry
         __other (_____)
    5. When did you start this job?
    6. If you work, who provides childcare?
    7. If you have a spouse, does he work?   Yes   No
    8. If you answered yes, where does he work?
    9. Does he have stable employment?
    10. What kind of work does he have?
         __manual labor

   __service industry
   __other (_____)
11. When did he start this job?
12. What else do you do to earn income?
13. Approximately, how much do you make a month? (in Colombian Pesos)

( )   ( )   ( )   ( )   ( )
Less than 200,000 200-500,000 500-800,000 800-1,200,000 more than 1,200,000

14. Is that enough to support your family? Yes   No
15. How many hours do you work each week?
16. In times that you do not have a job, do you have other skills or talents that can help you earn money (sewing, knitting)
17. If you answered no to the previous question, is there any organization in your community where you can learn a skill that can help you earn money? Or anyone who can teach you?

Displacement: Personal information on displacement

1. When were you displaced?
2. Why were you were displaced?
3. How many times have you been displaced?
4. Who made the ultimate decision to leave your village?
5. When did you arrive in Bogotá?
6. Why did you come to Bogotá and not part of the country?
7. Who has been the person who has helped you the most in this situation? How have they helped you?
8. Do you feel like your children and the rest of your family support you enough in displacement?
9. Do you feel that your family (husband, children) are safe in your neighborhood?
10. Have you received any type of support from your community, neighbors, friends, community groups?
11. Are there many displaced people in your neighborhood? How do get along?
12. Are you a member of any organizations? What type? Why are you a member?
13. Do you think you will return to your land, village, house?

14. If you need help, who do you ask:
   - For help watching your children?
   - To make you feel better?
   - If you have a complaint or a problem in the neighborhood?
   - If you need a loan?
   - To earn money?
   - To report a crime?

15. Have you had to move houses since you have been in Bogotá? Why?
16. Could you talk about the difference between the support and comfort you felt in your home community and this community?
17. Can you describe a typical day in the country side and one typical day in Bogota?
18. What is the biggest change you see in yourself after coming to Bogotá?

Information: Court
1. Do you know about the T-025 sentencing of 2004?
2. How did you come to know about it?
   - Friends/Family
   - Acción Social
   - Radio
   - Organizations
   - Newspaper
   - Other
3. Do you think that displaced people know about this sentencing?
4. Do you know your rights?
5. Have you filed a *tutela*?
6. How did you come to learn about the way to file a tutela?

APPENDIX C

Posibilidades Graph Standard definitions of percentages

Food Needs:
100% 3 meals a day, plus snacks when hungry and protein
75% 3 meals a day, and nothing more
50% lunch and breakfast only, the other 50% of the time you are hungry
25% only breakfast, or just aguapanela throughout the day (hot water and sugarcane)

Living Expenses: (rent, electricity, water)
100% can pay every month on time
75% can usually pay 8 of 12 months
50% can usually pay 6 of 12 months
25% can usually pay 4 of 12 months
0 unable to pay

Clothes:
100% can buy whatever you want, whenever (in the country side this was less of a demand)
25% closer to just once a year

Education:
100% easy access, teachers were good, no problem with tuition

Health:
100% easy access and good quality, specialists on hand
50% hardly waited on and poorer quality

Emotional Support:
100% always have someone to ask for help, feels supported when sad or stressed
50% sometimes have options, but not always

Extra money (to go the park, buy ice cream, eat out, go to the movies)
100% whenever you like
50% at times it is available

APPENDIX D

Informed Consent Form: key informants

English version of form given to key informants

Project Title:

Assessing Empowerment of Displaced Women: a study of opportunities for self-empowerment in Bogotá, Colombia

You are invited to participate in a study that will assess the possibilities for self-empowerment for displaced mothers in Bogotá. The purpose of this study is to examine and assess the capacity for self-empowerment, opportunities for employment and perception of community support held by mothers who have been displaced from rural areas to Bogotá as result of armed conflict in Colombia.

Project:

In order to examine and assess the situation of displaced mothers, I plan to conduct a series of interviews with a select group of mothers over a period of six weeks. During the interviews, I am attempting to gain an understanding of their perceptions of their current situation in Bogotá. I will ask the mothers questions about how they ended up in Bogotá and the new struggles that they face in needing to support themselves and their family. I hope to gain a better understanding of how they may or may not be supported by the judicial system, the community, and family. Furthermore, I exploring any options they have for employment, or barriers they see to securing employment. The objective of my study is to gather a significant amount of information regarding the current situation of displaced mothers in Bogotá and bring that information to policy makers. I believe the policy makers here in Colombia would benefit from having a better understanding of the people directly affected by the conflict. My understanding is that often policy is made to support displaced people, but the displaced people are not given a chance to voice their perception about those policies.

Participation:

Participation in this project is strictly voluntary. You are free to answer questions as you feel comfortable. I respect your right to choose not to answer any questions that may make you feel uneasy.

Through discussions of your involvement and understanding of the hardships faced by displaced mothers, your participation will help guide my study. I will not be able to compensate you for your involvement in this project. Our interview will take no more

than one and a half hours. Please let me know if you are willing to be contacted as the project develops.

Confidentiality:

In my research notes, I can code your name and protect your anonymity. This can be done to protect the confidentiality of your responses. If you would prefer to remain anonymous, your name will not appear in any written materials I produces as a result of this study. Materials for this projects and information from our interviews will be kept in a secure location at my house. Only I will have access to your individual data.

Please initial one line:

___ I prefer to have my name and place of employment/activism organization coded and complete confidentiality maintained. This applies to all written and shared information regarding this project and our interviews.

___I prefer to have my name coded to maintain personal confidentially, but give permission to use the name of place of employment/activism organization. This applies to all written and shared information regarding this project and our interviews.

___I give permission to use my name and place of employment/activism organization. This applies to all written and shared information regarding this project and our interviews.

Researcher Details:

This study is designed to better understand your perception, and other mother's perception, of the current situation in Bogotá. Results will be used to write a thesis paper analyzing the situation of displaced mothers. The study is conducted by Emily Braucher as a part of her graduate degree in Anthropology at the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado, USA. Emily Braucher can be reached at any point at emilybraucher@gmail.com or by cell phone in Colombia at 315-808-3569. This project is supervised by two professors at the University of Denver: Dr. Tracy Ehlers in the Department of Anthropology (001-303-871-2406, tehlers@du.edu), and Dr. Peter Van Arsdale in the Department of International Studies (001-303-871-3281, pvanarsd@du.edu).

If you have any concerns or complaints about how you were treated during the interview, please contact Susan Sadler, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (001-303-871-3454, ssadler@du.edu) or Sylk Sotto-Santiago, Office of Sponsored Programs (001-303-871-4052, ssottosa@du.edu) or write to either at the University of Denver, Office of Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208-2121 USA.

This consent form has been approved by the Institutional review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Anthropological Research at the University of Denver.

If you do not understand any part of the above statement, please ask the researcher any questions you have.

Please sign if you understand and agree to the above and to the following statement: I have read and understood the foregoing descriptions of the study called *Assessing Empowerment of Displaced Mothers* conducted by Emily Braucher. I have asked for and received a satisfactory explanation of any language that I did not fully understand. I agree to participate in this study, and I understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time. I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____

Signature   Date

Printed name   telephone   email

___ I agree to be audiotaped.

___ I do not agree to be audiotaped.

Signature   Date

Informed Consent Form: focus groups

English version of the consent form for focus group with participants

Project Title:

Assessing Empowerment of Displaced Mothers: a study of opportunities for self-empowerment in Bogotá, Colombia

You are invited to participate in a focus group for a study that will assess the possibilities for self-empowerment for displaced mothers in Bogotá. The purpose of this study is to examine and assess the capacity for self-empowerment, opportunities for employment and perception of community support held by mothers who have been displaced from rural areas to Bogotá as result of armed conflict in Colombia.

Project Design:

In order to examine and assess the situation of displaced mothers, I have done a series of interviews with a select group of mothers over a period of six weeks. During the interviews, I aimed get an understanding of their perceptions of their current situation in Bogotá. I asked questions about how they ended up in Bogotá and the new struggles that they face in needing to support themselves and their family. I aimed to gain a better understanding of how they may or may not be supported by the judicial system, the community, and family. Furthermore, I discussed any options they have for employment, or barriers they see to securing employment. The objective of my study is to gather a significant amount of information regarding the current situation of displaced mothers in Bogotá and bring that information to policy makers. I believe the policy makers here in Colombia would benefit from having a better understanding of the people directly affected by the conflict. My understanding is that often policy is made to support displaced people, but the displaced people are not given a chance to voice their perception about those policies.

Participation:

Participation in this project is strictly voluntary. You are free to answer questions as you feel comfortable. I respect your right to choose not to answer any questions that may make you feel uneasy.

Your participation will help me accomplish the goals of my research, which is to better understand support systems available to displaced mothers in Bogotá. The focus group discussion will not exceed one and a half hours. I will ask a number of discussion questions to the group and ask the group to share perceptions on the issues I raise regarding the current available support systems in Bogotá. I will also ask the group to share and reflect upon their personal experiences. I will not be able to compensate you for your involvement in this project.

Confidentiality:

In my research notes, I will code your name and protect your anonymity. This is done to protect the confidentiality of your responses. Your name will not appear in any written materials I produces as a result of this study. Materials for this projects and information from our interviews will be kept in a secure location at my house. Only I will have access to your individual data and any reports generated as a result of this study will use only group averages and paraphrased wording.

As a group, I ask that people refrain from sharing the personal information discussed in the group with people after the focus group is completed. As a researcher, I am not able to guarantee that the other members of the group will not discuss personal information; hence I am not able to ensure complete confidentiality.

Researcher Details:

This study is designed to better understand your perception, and other mother's perception, of the current situation in Bogotá. Results will be used to write a thesis paper analyzing the situation of displaced mothers .The study is conducted by Emily Braucher as a part of her graduate degree in Anthropology at the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado, USA. Emily Braucher can be reached at any point at emilybraucher@gmail.com or by cell phone in Colombia at 315-808-3569. This project is supervised by two professors at the University of Denver: Dr. Tracy Ehlers in the Department of Anthropology (001-303-871-2406, tehlers@du.edu), and Dr. Peter Van Arsdale in the Department of International Studies (001-303-871-3281, pvanarsd@du.edu).

If you have any concerns or complaints about how you were treated during the interview, please contact Susan Sadler, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (001-303-871-3454, ssadler@du.edu) or Sylk Sotto-Santiago, Office of Sponsored Programs (001-303-871-4052, ssottosa@du.edu) or write to either at the University of Denver, Office of Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208-2121 USA.

This consent form has been approved by the Institutional review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Anthropological Research at the University of Denver.

If you do not understand any part of the above statement, please ask the researcher any questions you have.

Please sign if you understand and agree to the above and to the following statement: I have read and understood the foregoing descriptions of the study called *Assessing Empowerment of Displaced Mothers* conducted by Emily Braucher. I have asked for and received a satisfactory explanation of any language that I did not fully understand. I agree to participate in this study, and I understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time. I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____

Signature   Date

_____

Printed name   telephone   email

___ I agree to be audiotaped.

___ I do not agree to be audiotaped.

_____

Signature   Date

Informed Consent Form: participants

English version of consent from given to participants

Project Title:

Assessing Empowerment of Women in a Displaced Situation: a study of opportunities for self-empowerment in Bogotá, Colombia

You are invited to participate in a study that will assess the possibilities for self-empowerment for women in a situation of displacement Bogotá. The purpose of this study is to examine and assess the capacity for self-empowerment, opportunities for employment and perception of community support held by women who have been displaced from rural areas to Bogotá as result of armed conflict in Colombia.

Project Design:

In order to examine and assess the situation of displaced women, I will do a series of 2, 2-hour interviews. We will do the interviews in a location where you feel the most comfortable talking about your experiences. During the interviews, I hope to get an understanding of your perceptions of you current situation in Bogotá. I will be asking questions about how you ended up in Bogotá and the new struggles you face in needing to support yourself and your family. I hope to gain a better understanding of how you may or may not be supported by the judicial system, the community, and your family. I would like to discuss any options you have for employment, or barriers you see to securing employment. During our third interview, I would like to visit the place where you and your family live, and co-create a map of your neighborhood. I hope that during this visit you will show me different places you could go to for support such as police stations, NGOs, friends and family and so forth. During the course of the interviews, we may cover a lot of information about personal hardships. Some of this information may be upsetting. Please know that you are free to only share information you feel comfortable sharing. At any point, if my questions make you feel uncomfortable, please let me know. In my research notes, I will code your name and protect your anonymity. My hope is that I will be able to gather a significant amount of information regarding the current situation of displaced women in Bogotá and bring that information to policy makers. I believe the policy makers here in Colombia would benefit from having a better understanding of the people directly affected by the conflict. My understanding is that often policy is made to support displaced people, but the displaced people are not provided a chance to voice their perception about those policies.

Participation:

Participation in this project is strictly voluntary. You are free to answer questions as you feel comfortable. I respect your right to choose not to answer any questions that may make you feel uneasy.

Your participation will help me accomplish the goals of my research, which is to better understand support systems available to women in a situation of displacement in Bogotá. I will not be able to compensate you for your involvement in this project.

Confidentiality:

In my research notes, I will code your name and protect your anonymity. This is done to protect the confidentiality of your responses. Your name will not appear in any written materials I produces as a result of this study. Materials for this projects and information from our interviews will be kept in a secure location at my house. Only I will have access to your individual data.

Researcher Details:

This study is designed to better understand your perception, and other mother's perception, of the current situation in Bogotá. Results will be used to write a thesis paper analyzing the state of women in a situation of displacement. This study is conducted by Emily Braucher as a part of her graduate degree in Anthropology at the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado, USA. Emily Braucher can be reached at any point at emilybraucher@gmail.com or by cell phone in Colombia at 315-808-3569. This project is supervised by two professors at the University of Denver: Dr. Tracy Ehlers in the Department of Anthropology (001-303-871-2406, tehlers@du.edu), and Dr. Peter Van Arsdale in the Department of International Studies (001-303-871-3281, pvanarsd@du.edu).

If you have any concerns or complaints about how you were treated during the interview, please contact Dr. Susan Sadler, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (001-303-871-3454 ssadler@du.edu), or Sylk Sotto-Santiago, Office of Sponsored Programs (001-303-871-4052, ssottosa@du.edu) or write to either at the University of Denver, Office of Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208-2121 USA.

This consent form has been approved by the Institutional review Board (IRB) for the Protection of Human Subjects in Anthropological Research at the University of Denver.

If you do not understand any part of the above statement, please ask the researcher any questions you have.

Please sign if you understand and agree to the above and to the following statement: I have read and understood the foregoing descriptions of the study called *Assessing Empowerment of Women in a Situation of Displacement* conducted by Emily Braucher. I have asked for and received a satisfactory explanation of any language that I did not fully understand. I agree to participate in this study, and I understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time. I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____

Signature   Date

_____

Printed name   Telephone   Email

___ I agree to be audiotaped.

___ I do not agree to be audiotaped.

_____

Signature   Date

APPENDIX G

Translation Confidentiality Form

English version of the translator's confidentiality form signed by my counterpart

Project Title:

Assessing Empowerment of Displaced Women: a study of opportunities for self-empowerment in Bogotá, Colombia

I agree to translate for the researcher, Emily Braucher, in a study that will assess the possibilities for self-empowerment for displaced mothers in Bogotá. The purpose of this study is to examine and assess the capacity for self-empowerment, opportunities for employment and perception of community support held by mothers who have been displaced from rural areas to Bogotá as result of armed conflict in Colombia.

In order to protect the individuals involved in this study, I agree to keep the names and identities of all individuals involved in the study confidential. I understand that anonymity is valued part of their study and I will work to uphold the need for confidentiality. I understand the researcher will be coding the names of the participants and I will not be allowed to access this information.

_____

Signature   Date

_____

Name   Phone number   e-mail

These interviews contribute to research of an academic thesis paper. This study is conducted by Emily Braucher as a part of her graduate degree in Anthropology at the University of Denver in Denver, Colorado, USA. Emily Braucher can be reached at any point at emilybraucher@gmail.com or by cell phone in Colombia at 315-808-3569. This project is supervised by two professors at the University of Denver: Dr. Tracy Ehlers in the Department of Anthropology (001-303-871-2406, tehlers@du.edu), and Dr. Peter Van Arsdale in the Department of International Studies (001-303-871-3281, pvanarsd@du.edu).

Table 5. Numerical Transcription of *Posibilidades*

Note: After collection, a transcription of the "percentages" was recorded. As these percentages did not reflect specific measurement, the percentages were then multiplied by 10 to create an ordinal scale of 0-10. The table includes the three time periods in consideration in the portfolio, the percentage to which each women has been able to meet a given need, and the number of sources of support upon which she calls to meet that need. For each category, an average percentage and average number of sources is provided. Copies of the graphs can all be found in Appendix I.

Table 5. Numerical Transcription of *Posibilidades*

	Prior to Displacement	Number of Sources	First month in Bogotá	Number of Sources	Currently	Number of Sources
Ability to feed family						
Azucena	10.0	1	2.5	1	5.0	3
Ruth	10.0	1	2.5	1	10.0	2
L. Fernanda	10.0	2	.65	1	5.7	2
Margarita	10.0	1	4.6	2	5.0	3
Shakira	10.0	3	2.5	1	3.8	2
Brigita	10.0	3	3.2	2	7.5	4
Lucia	10.0	2	1.9	1	10.0	4
Yaneth	10.0	2	1.3	2	5.0	4
Paula	10.0	2	2.5	1	8.6	3
Violeta	10.0	2	10	2	7.5	4
Average:	**10.0**	**1.9**	**3.4**	**1.4**	**6.8**	**3. 1**
Ability to pay rent						
Azucena	10.0	2	5.0	1	5.0	2
Ruth	10.0	1	10	1	10	1
L. Fernanda	10.0	2	.65	1	1.3	1
Margarita	10.0	1	1.3	1	1.9	2
Shakira	10.0	2	10.0	1	5.0	1
Brigita	10.0	1	.25	1	7.0	1
Lucia	10.0	1	1.3	1	6.9	2
Yaneth	10.0	1	1.3	3	7.5	3
Paula	10.0	2	2.5	1	9.4	1
Violeta	10.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	1
Average:	**10.0**	**1.4**	**4.4**	**1.2**	**6.6**	**1.5**
Education						
Azucena	10.0	1	0.0	-	5.0	1
Ruth	10.0	1	0.0	-	10.0	1
L. Fernanda	0.0	-	2.5	1	10.0	1
Margarita	10.0	2	0.0	-	2.5	1
Shakira	2.5	1	0.0	-	5.0	1
Brigita	7.5	1	0.0	-	10.0	1
Lucia	10.0	1	2.5	2	7.5	1

Yaneth	10.0	1	0.0	-	10.0	1
Paula	10.0	1	0.0	-	10.0	1
Violeta	10.0	1	0.0	-	5.0	1
Average:	**8.0**	**1**	**5.0**	**0.3**	**7.5**	**1**
Health						
Azucena	5.0	1	0.0	-	7.5	2
Ruth	5.0	1	0.0	-	10.0	1
L. Fernanda	10.0	1	5.0	1	7.5	1
Margarita	10.0	1	0.0	-	8.8	1
Shakira	10.0	1	0.0	-	7.5	1
Brigita	10.0	1	0.0	-	10.0	1
Lucia	6.3	1	0.0	-	2.5	1
Yaneth	5.0	1	0.0	-	6.3	1
Paula	10.0	1	0.0	-	5.0	1
Violeta	2.5	1	0.0	-	7.5	1
Average:	**7.8**	**1**	**5.0**	**0.1**	**7.3**	**1.1**

APPENDIX I

Posibilidad de alcanzar estas necesidades (Ability to Meet These Needs)

Participant Graph
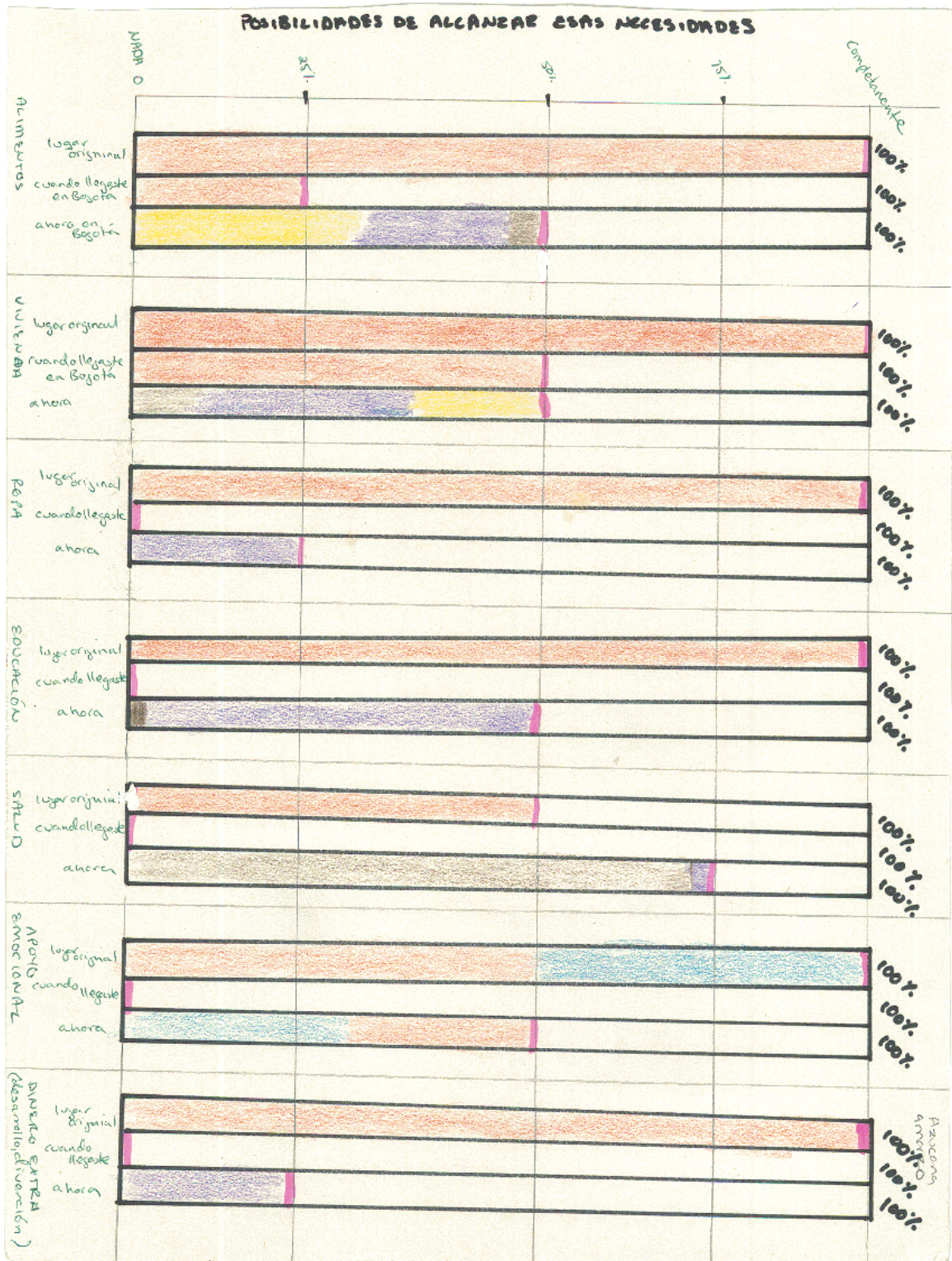
Figure 2. Azucena's *Posibilidades* Graph

212
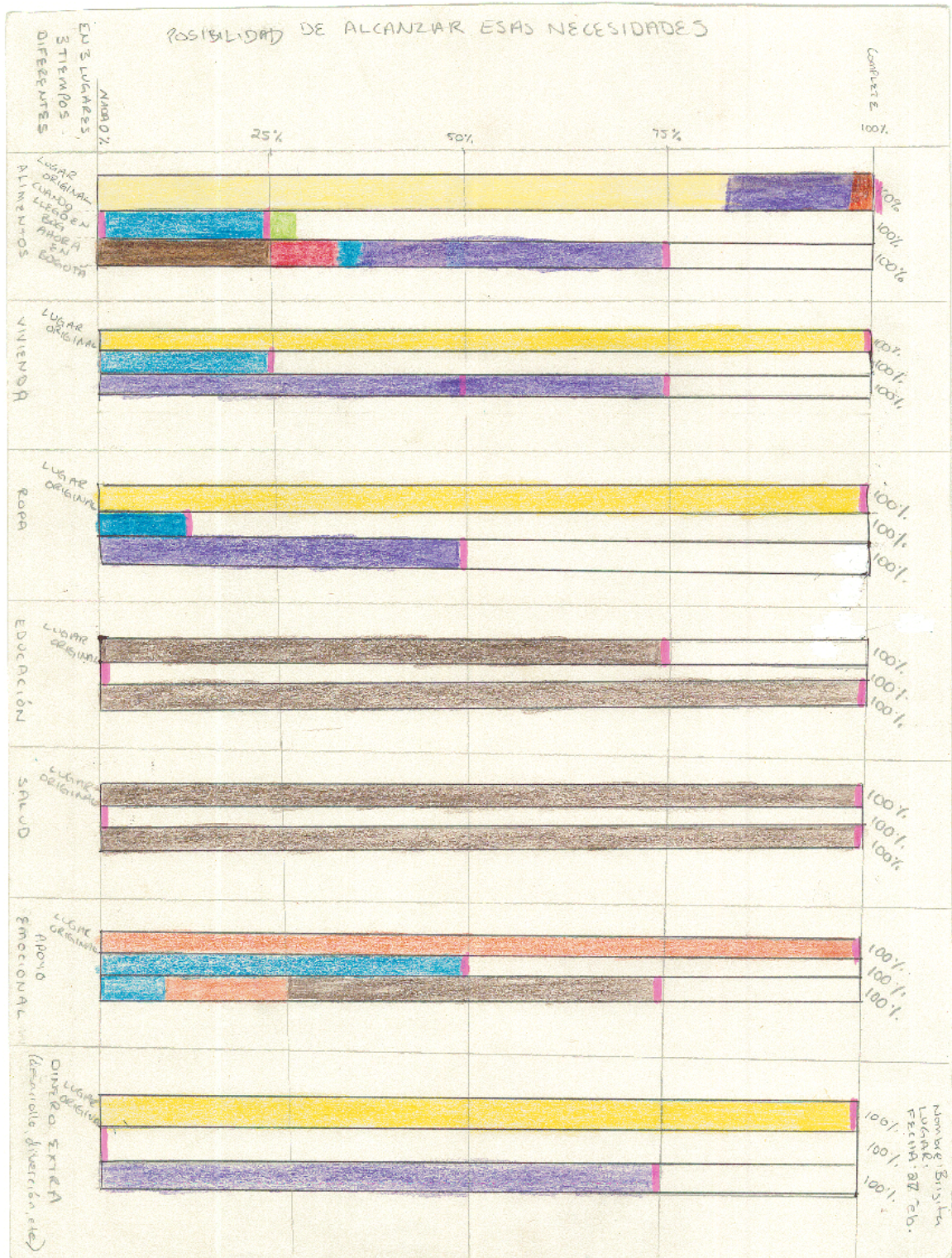
Figure 3. Brigita's *Posibilidades* Graph

213
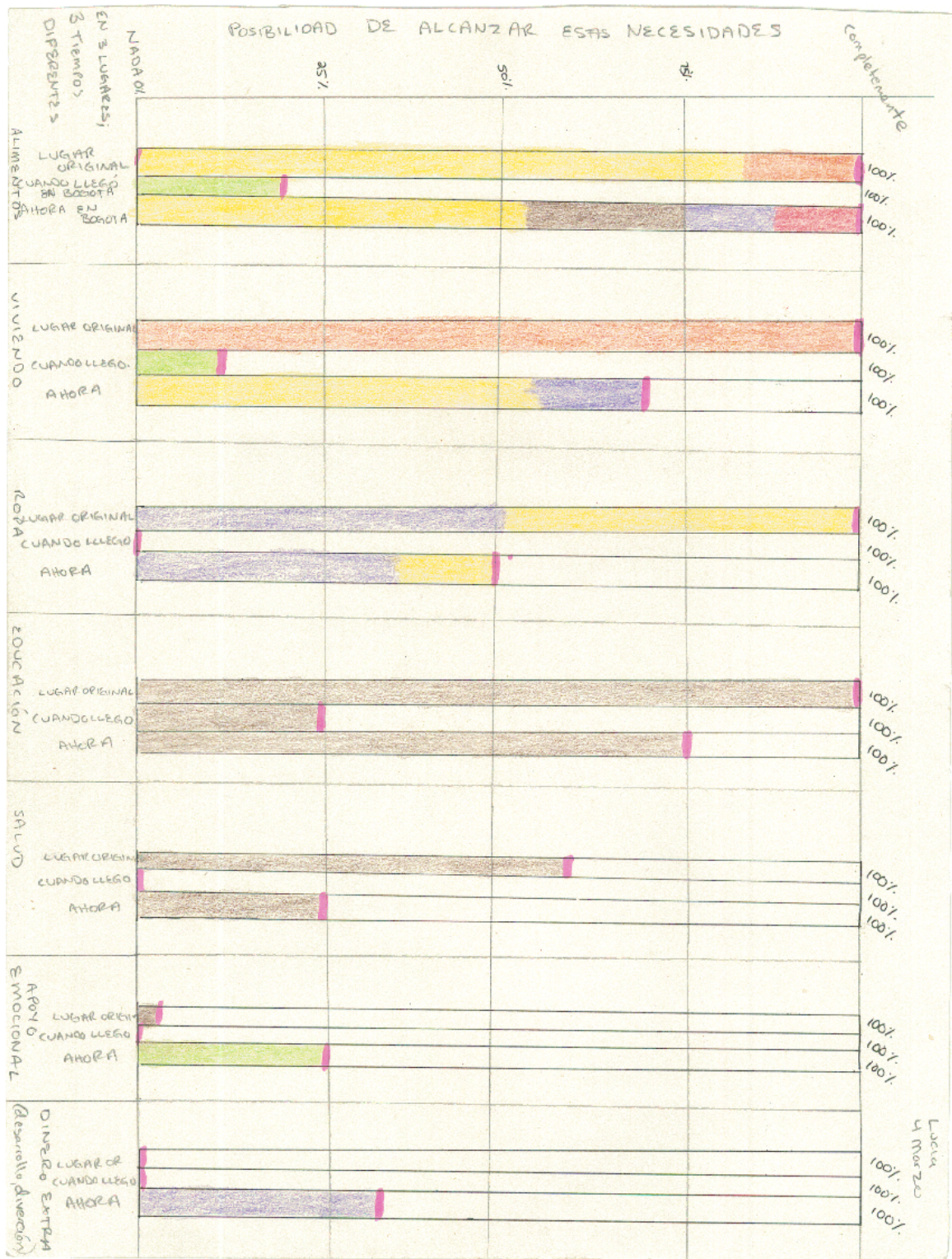
Figure 4. Lucia's *Posibilidades* Graph

214

Figure 5. Luisa Fernanda's *Posibilidades* Graph

215
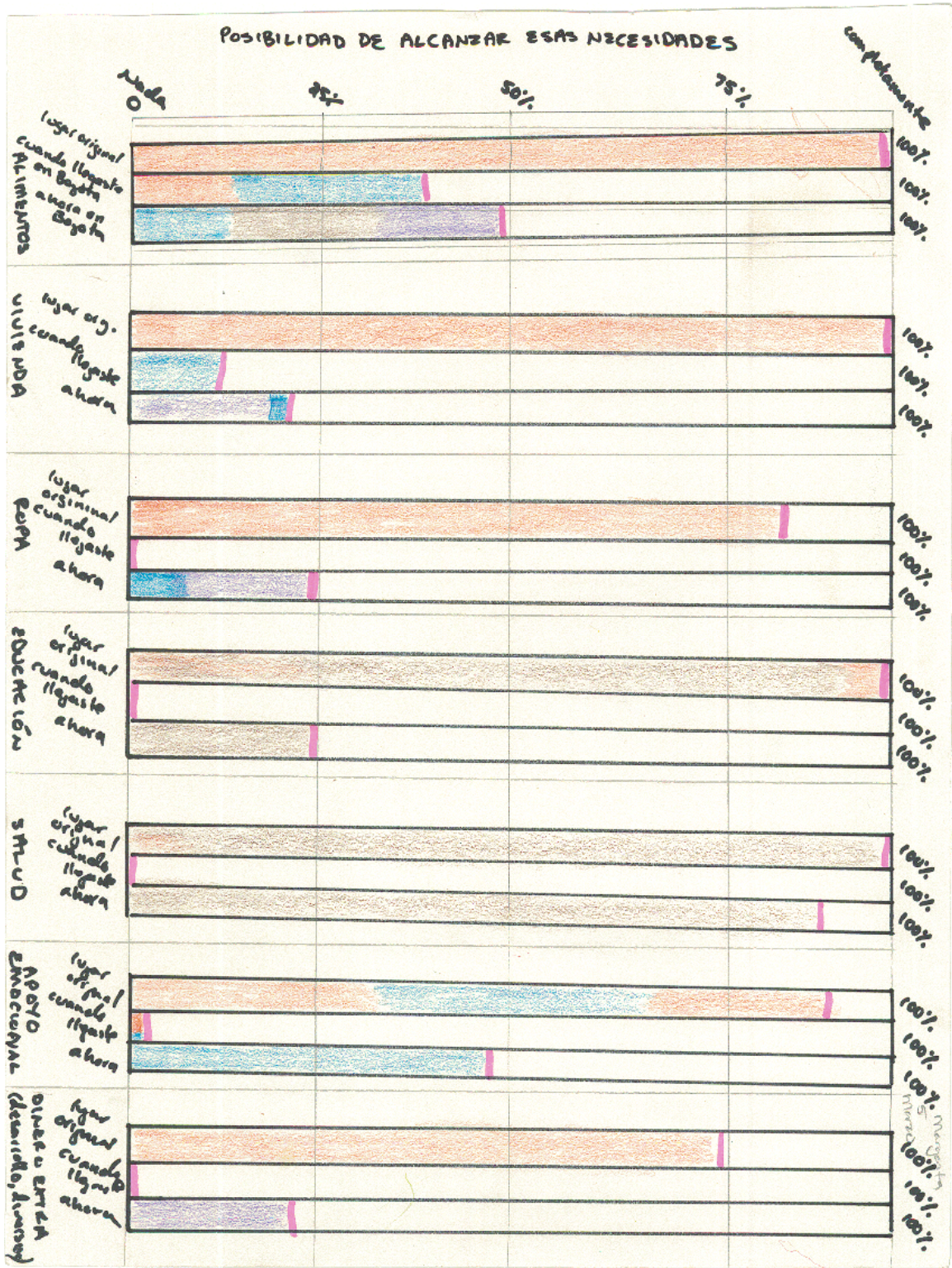
Figure 6. Margarita's *Posibilidades* Graph

216
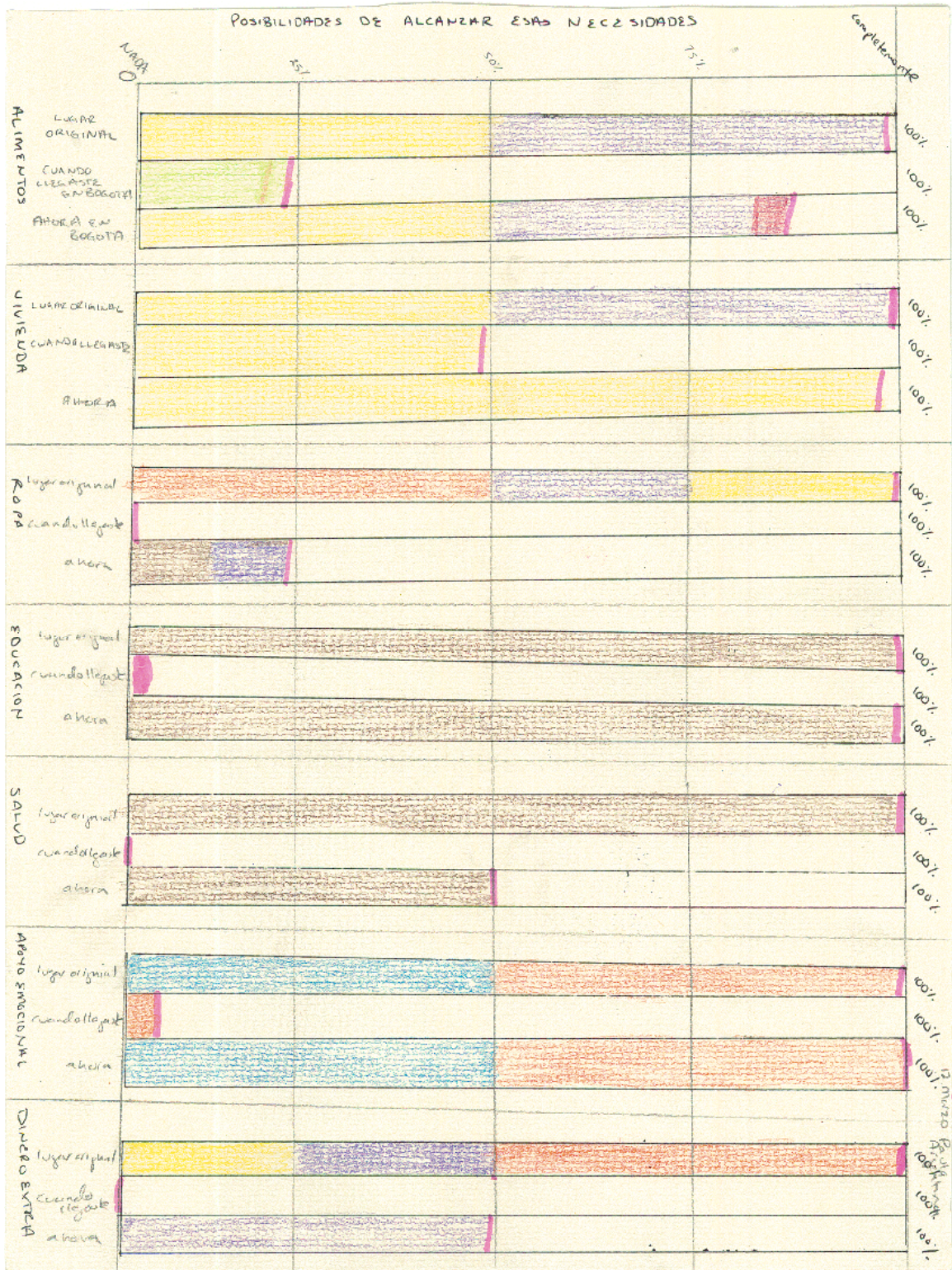
Figure 7. Paula's *Posibilidades* Graph
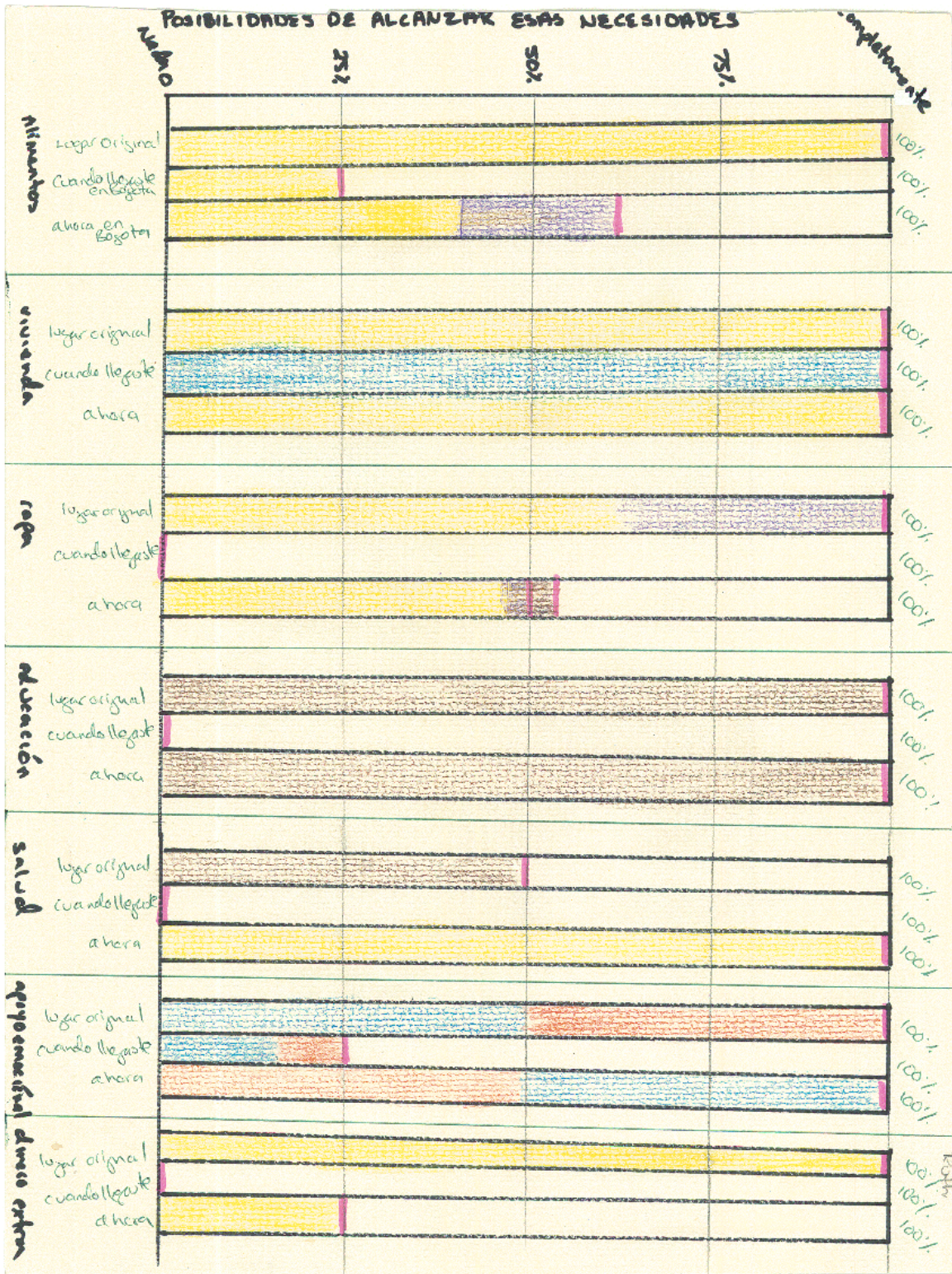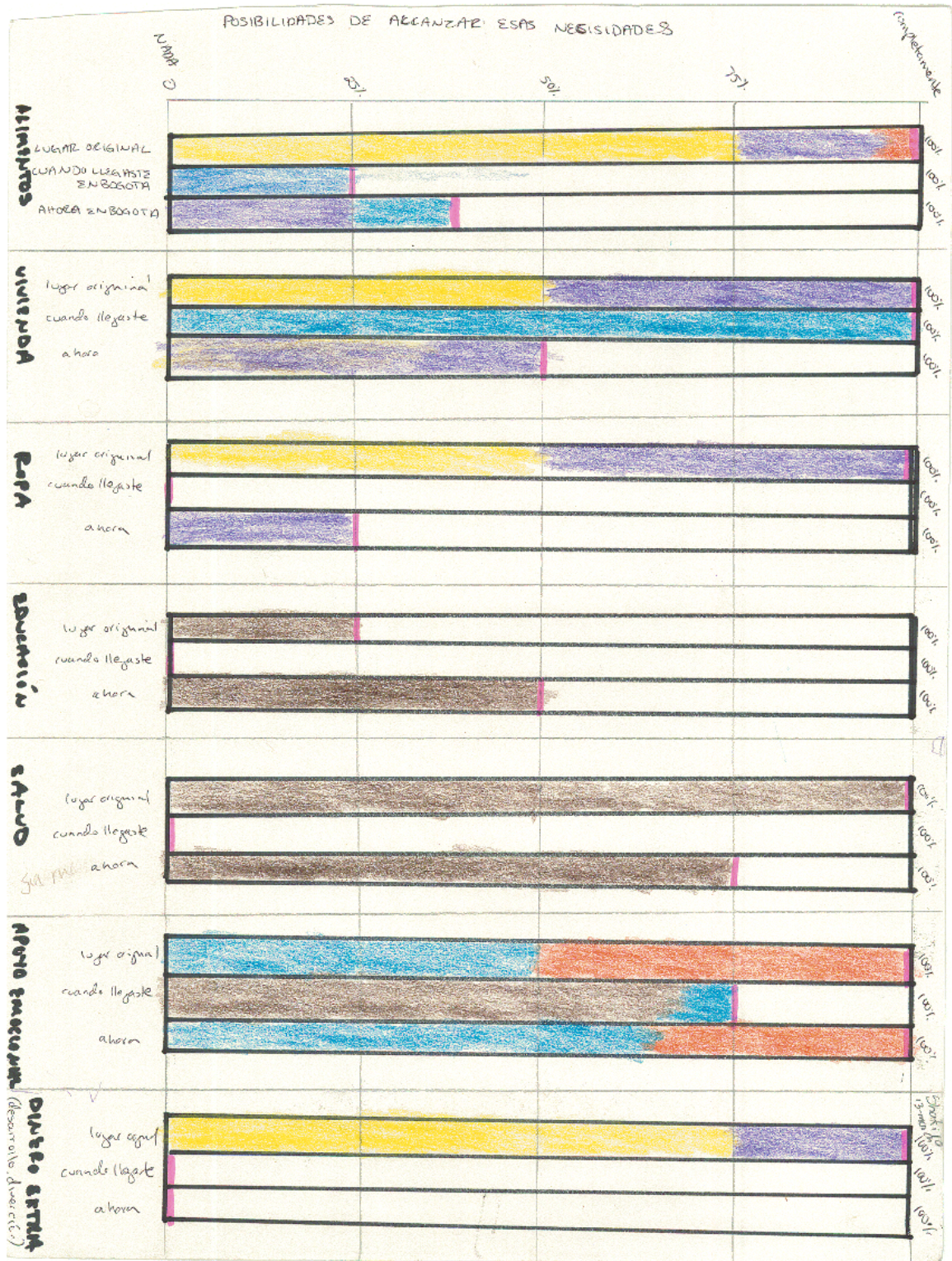
Figure 8. Ruth's *Posibilidades* Graph

218

Figure 9. Shakira's *Posibilidades* Graph
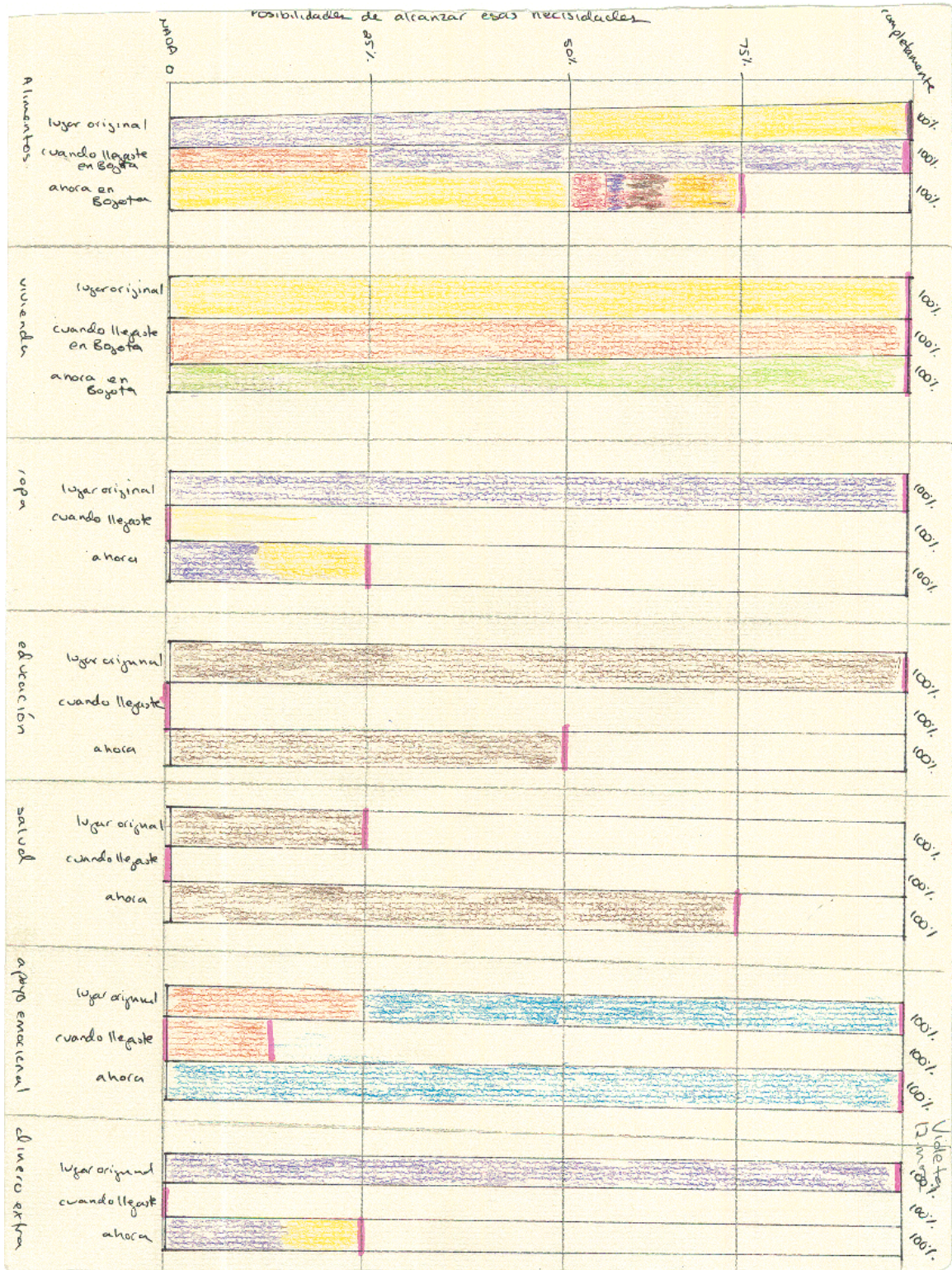
Figure 10. Violeta's *Posibilidades* Graph
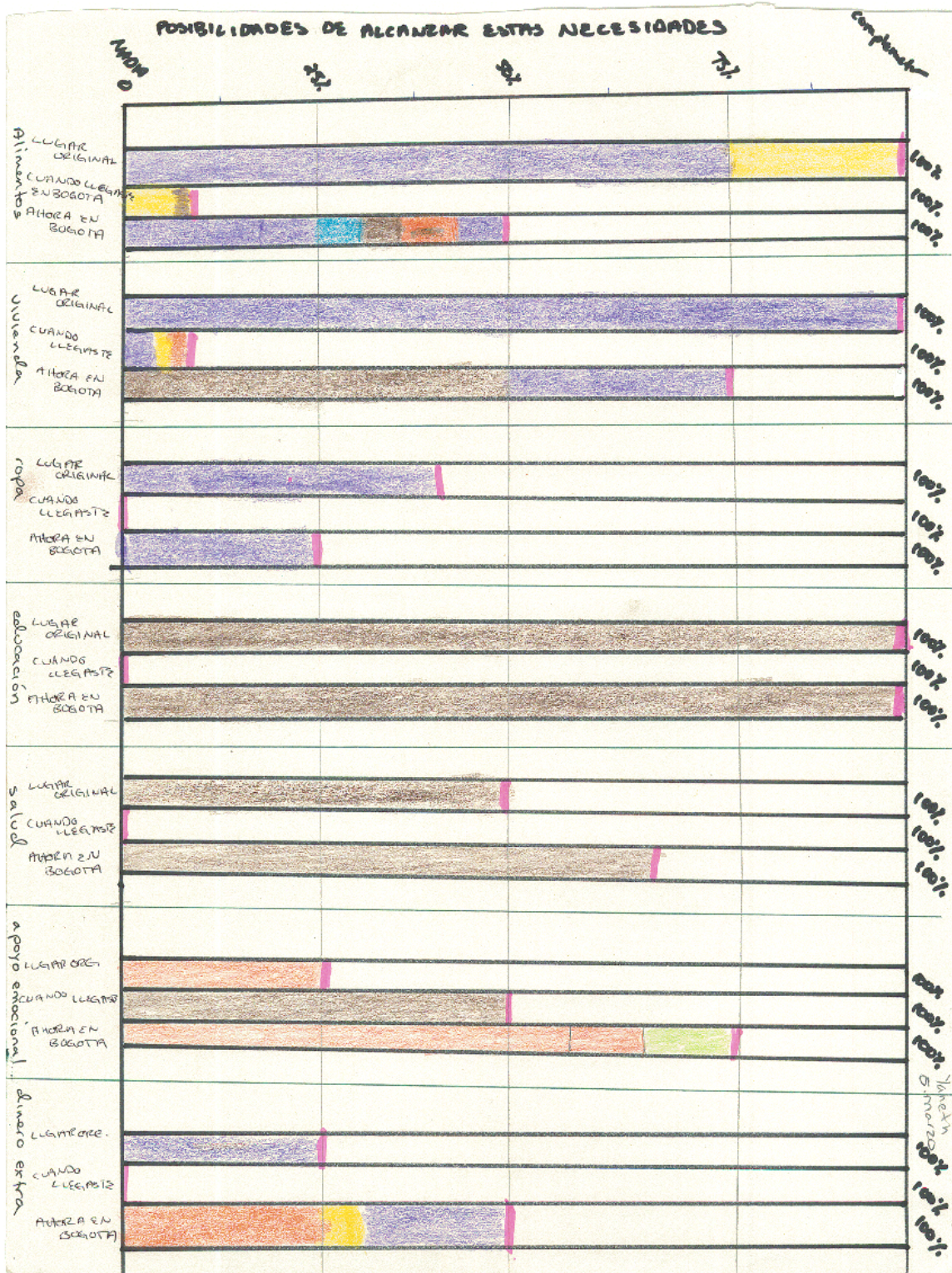
Figure 10. Yaneth's *Posibilidades* Graph

221

APPENDIX J

Describe tu forma de ver (Describe Your Perception)

Participant Graphs
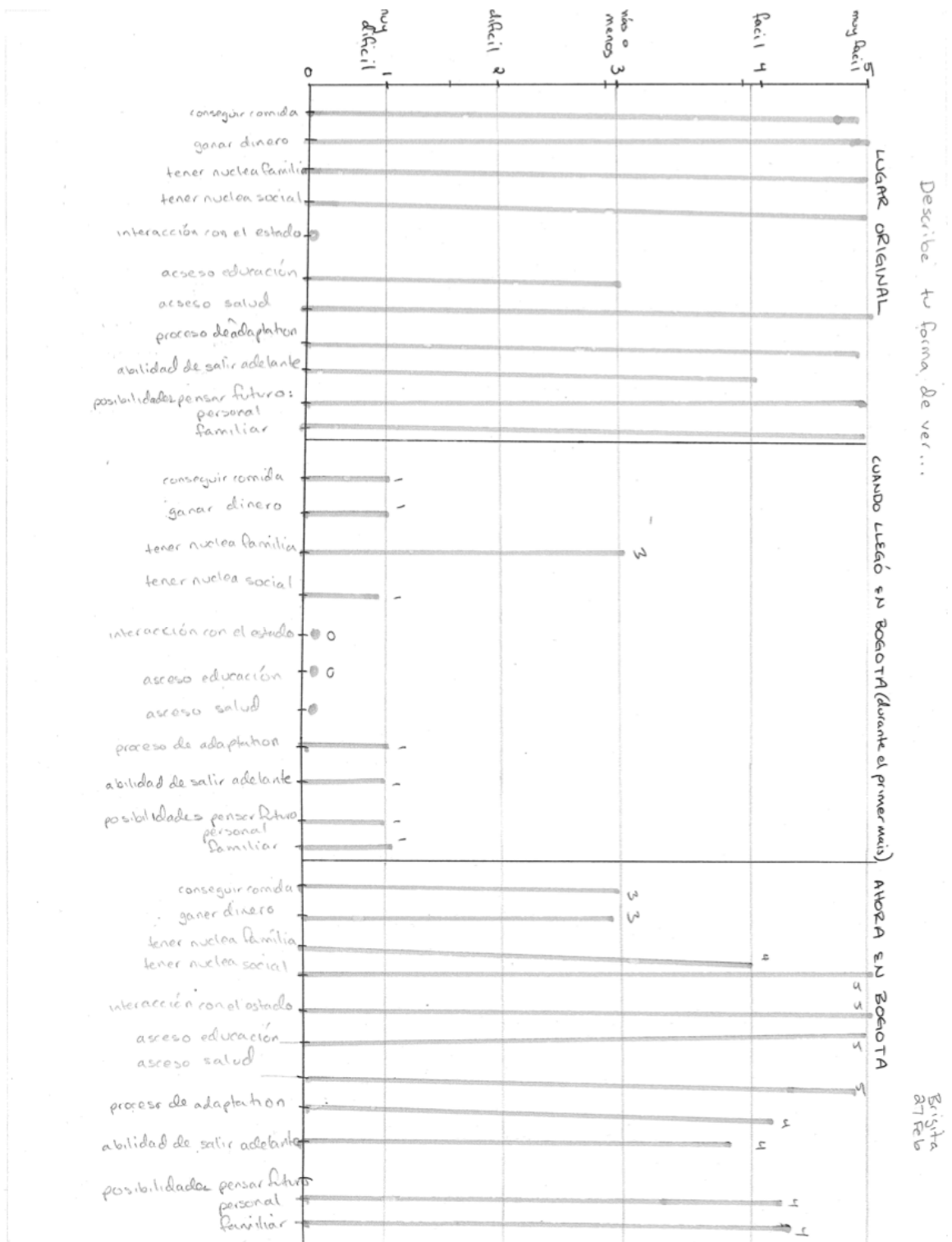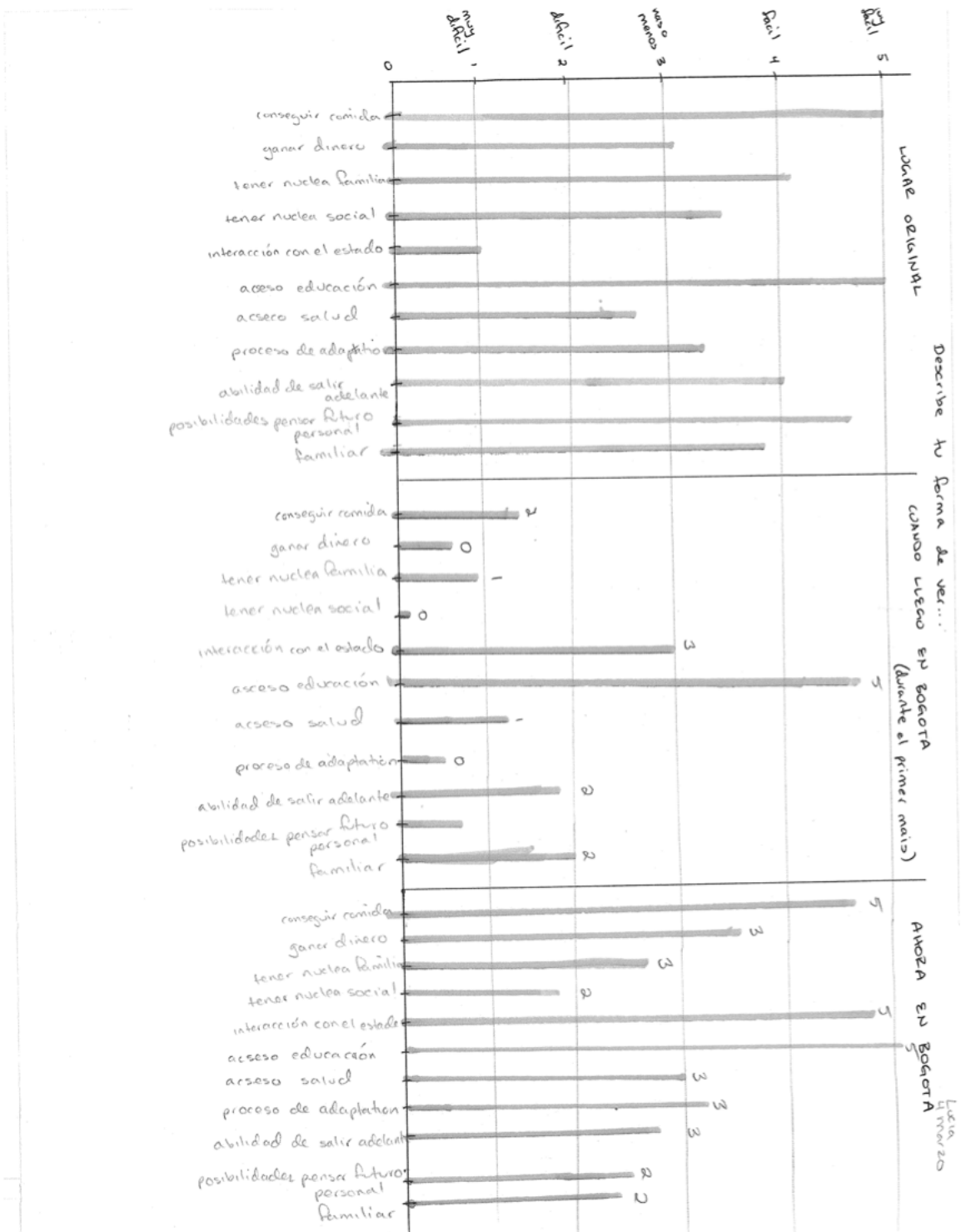
Figure 11. Brigita's *Forma de ver* Graph
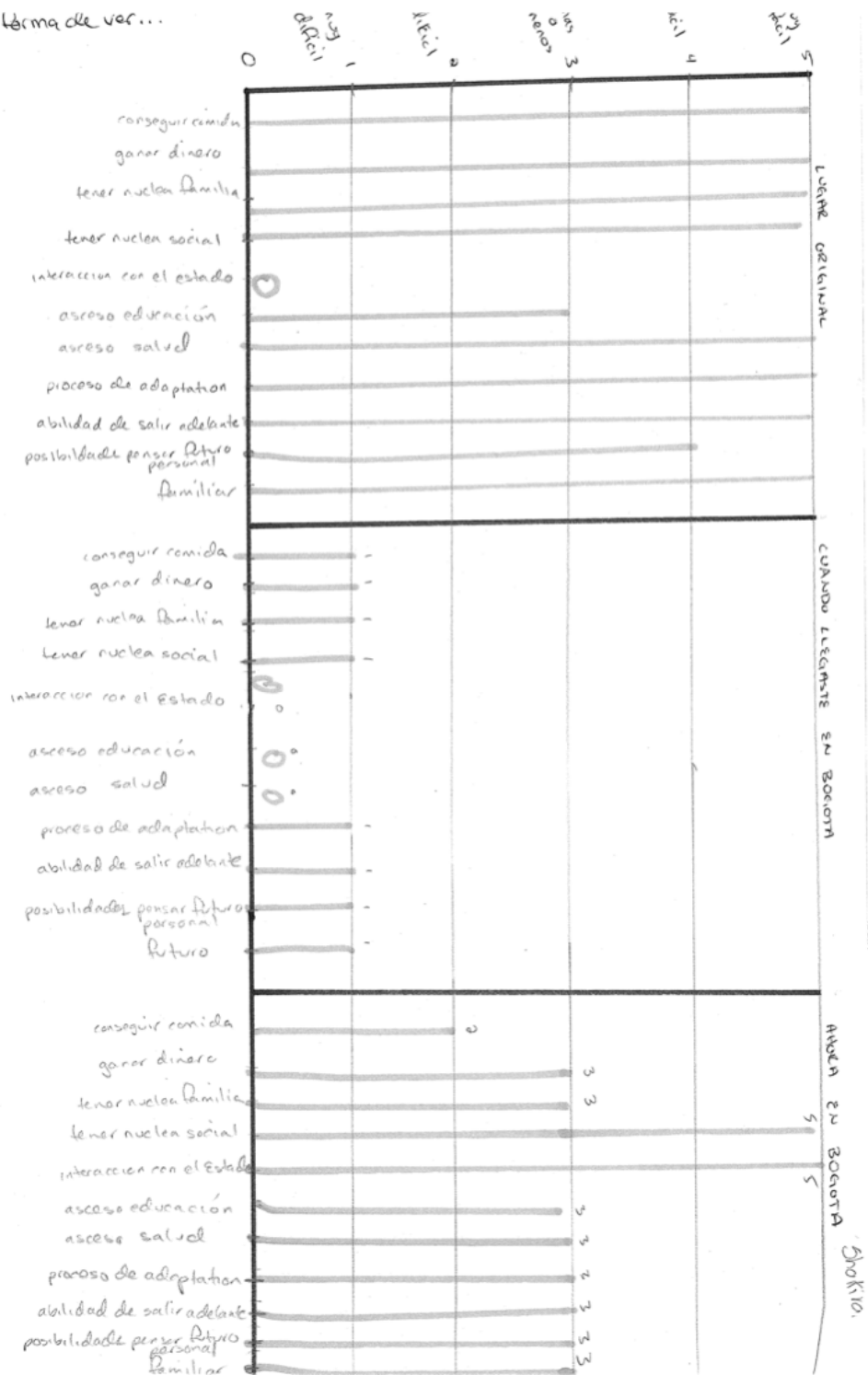
Figure 12. Lucia's *Forma de ver* Graph

224

Figure 13. Shakira's *Forma de ver* Graph

Describe tu forma de ver...

Muy difícil 1 Difícil 2 Menos o más 3 Fácil 4 Muy Fácil 5

LUGAR ORIGINAL

- conseguir comida
- ganar dinero
- tener nuclea familiar
- tener nuclea social
- interaccion con el estado
- acseso educación
- acseso salud
- proceso de adaptación
- abilidad de salir adelante
- posibilidades pensar futuro
  - personal
  - familiar

CUANDO LLEGASTE EN BOGOTÁ

- conseguir comida
- ganar dinero
- tener nuclea familiar
- tener nuclea social
- interaccion con el estado
- acceso educación
- acceso salud
- processo de adaptación
- abilidad de salir adelante
- posibilidad pensar futuro
  - personal
  - familiar

AHORA EN BOGOTÁ   Violeta

- conseguir comida
- ganar dinero
- tener nuclea familiar
- tener nuclea social
- interaccion con el estado
- accesoeducación
- acceso salud
- processo de adaptación
- abilidad de salir adelant
- posibilidad pensar futuro
  - personal
  - familiar

Figure 14. Violeta's *Forma de ver* Graph
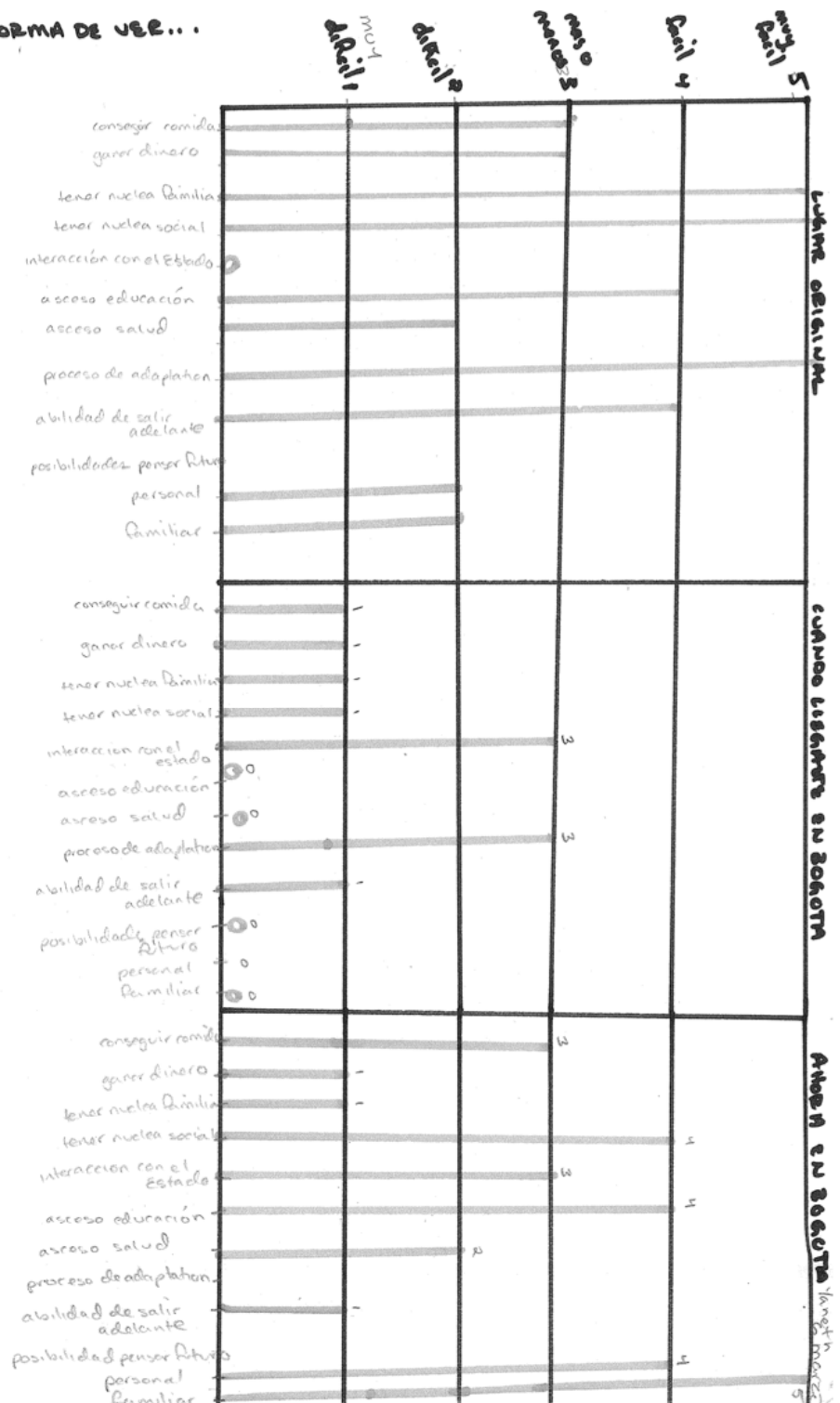
226

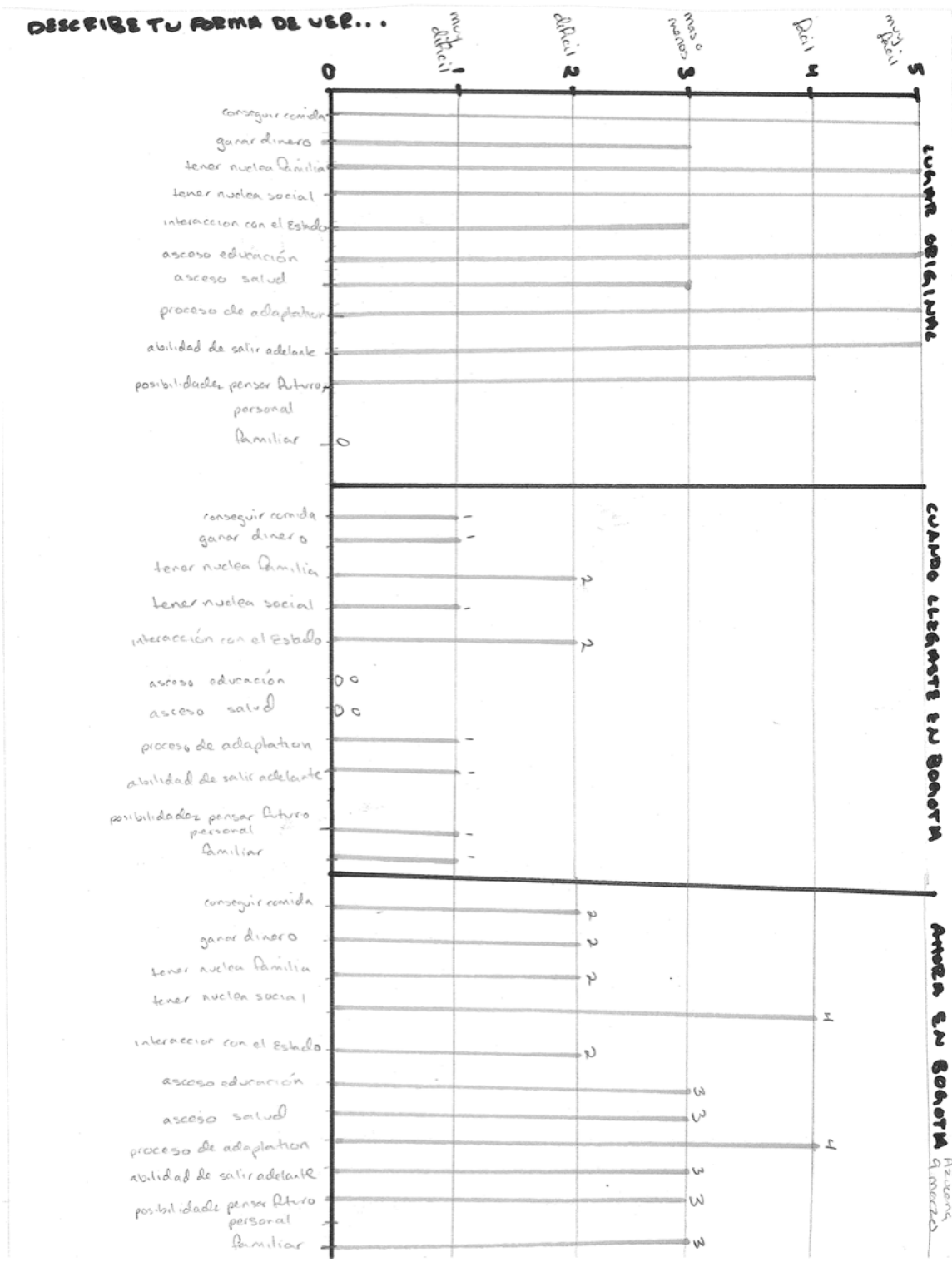**Figure 15. Yaneth's *Forma de ver* Graph**

227

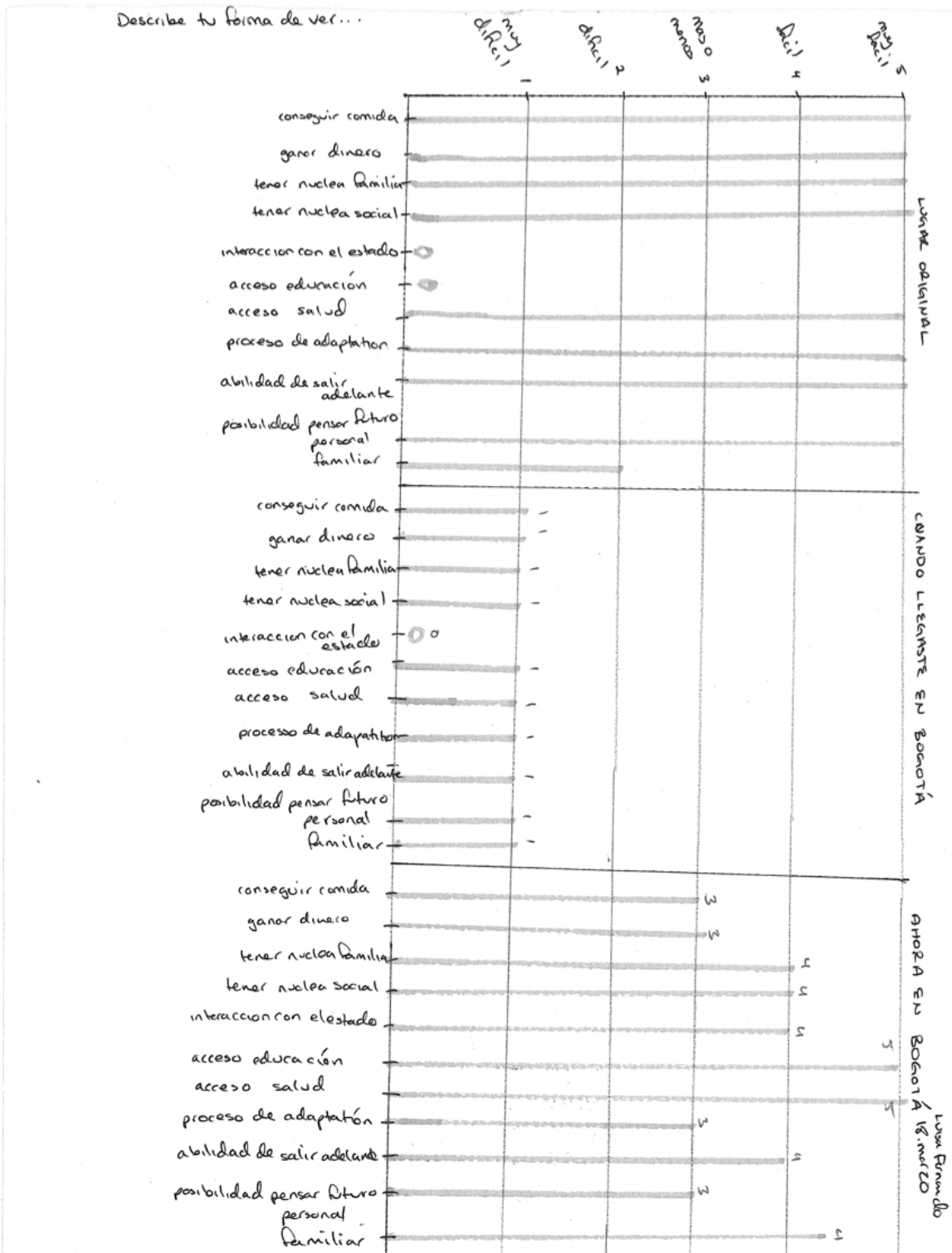**Figure 16. Azucen's *Forma de ver* Graph**

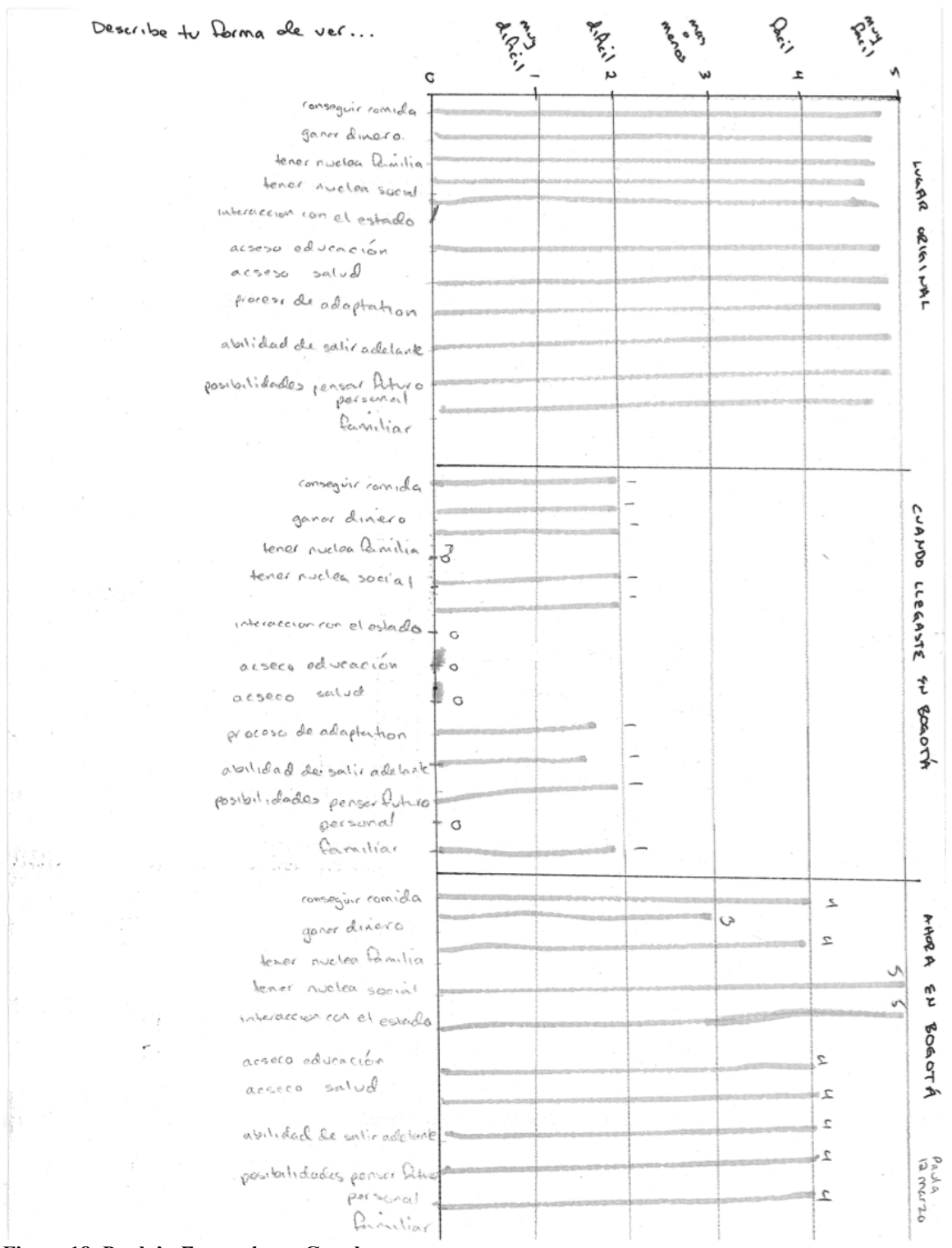**Figure 17. Luisa Fernanda's *Forma de ver* Graph**
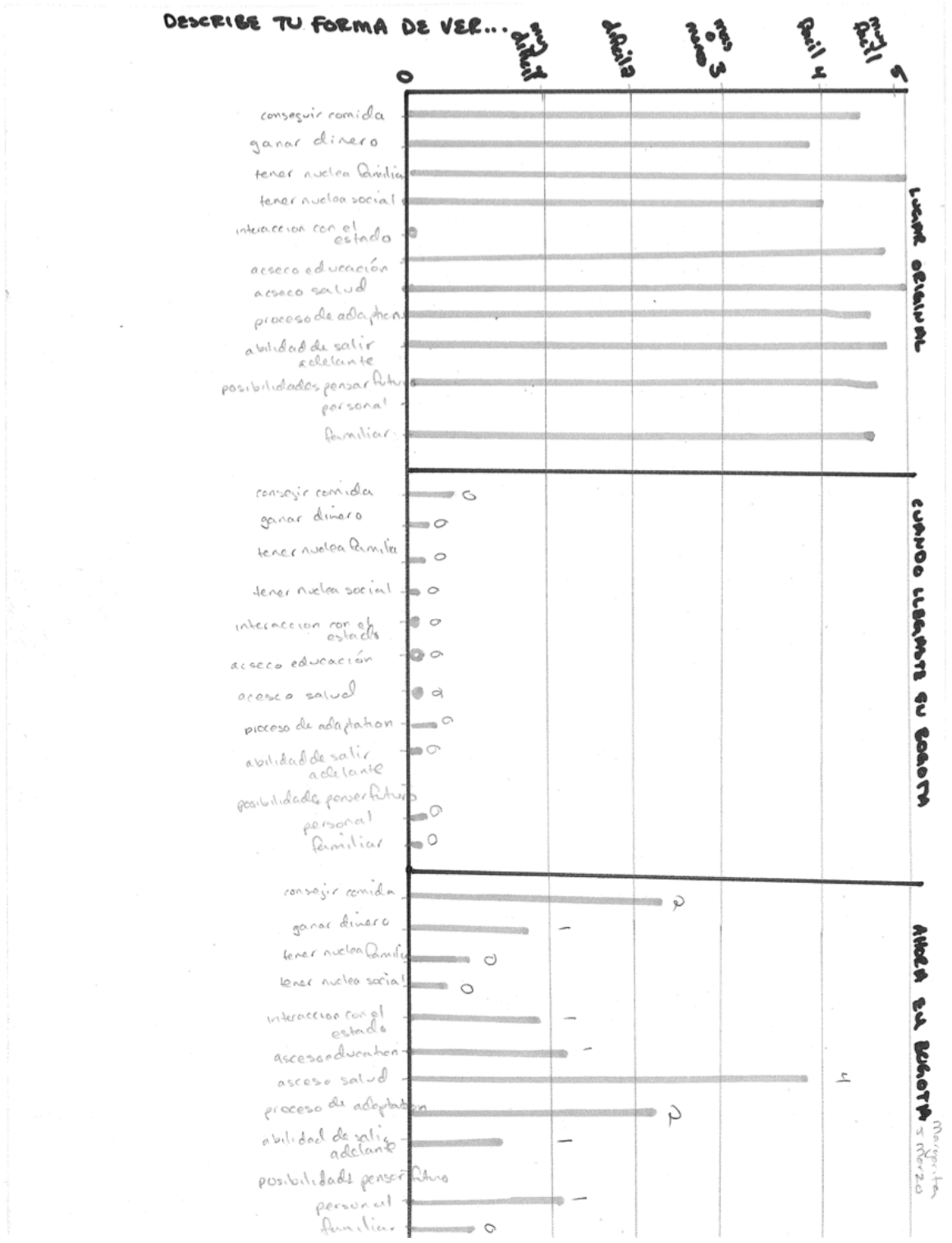
Figure 18. Paula's *Forma de ver* Graph

Figure 19. Margarita's *Forma de ver* Graph
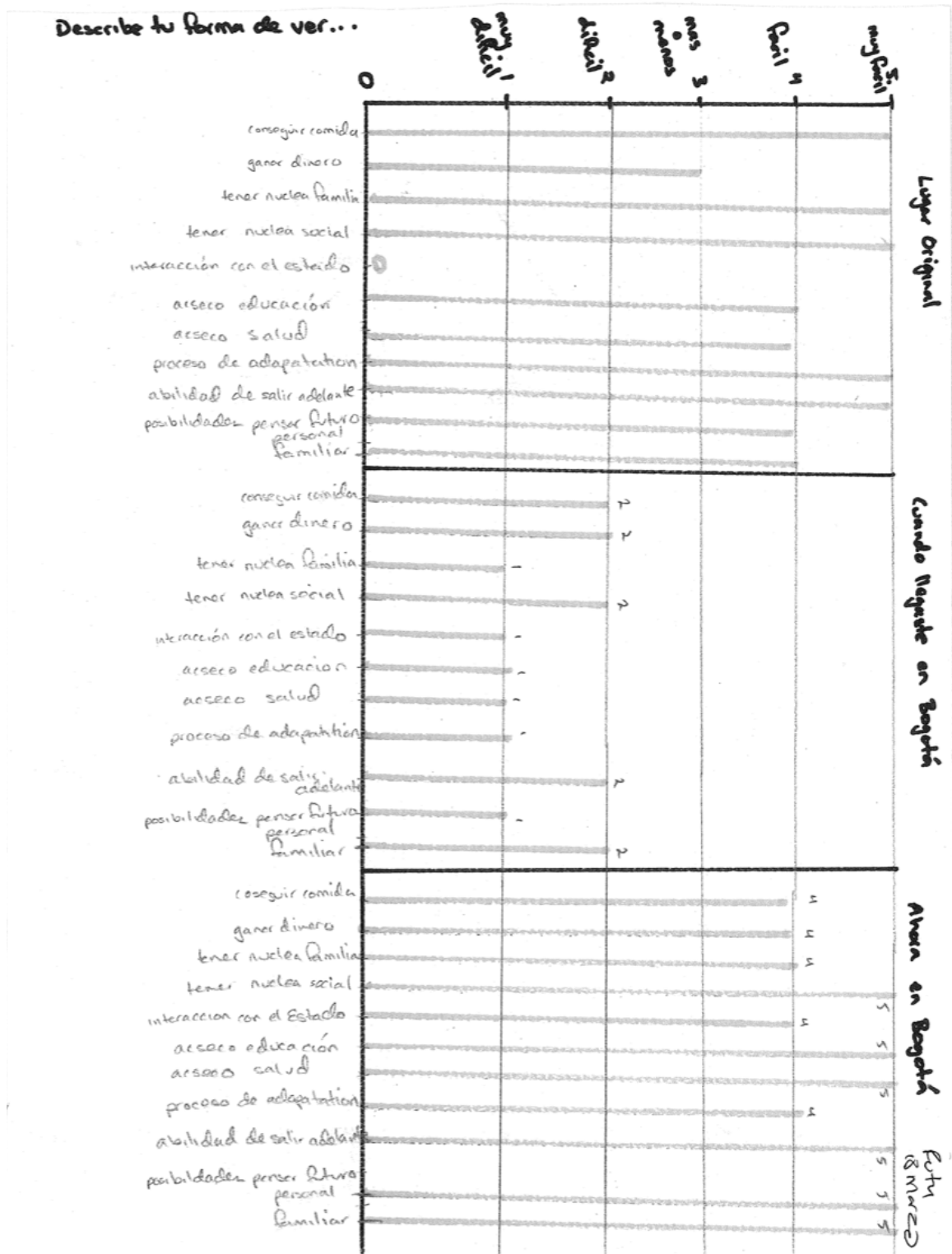
231
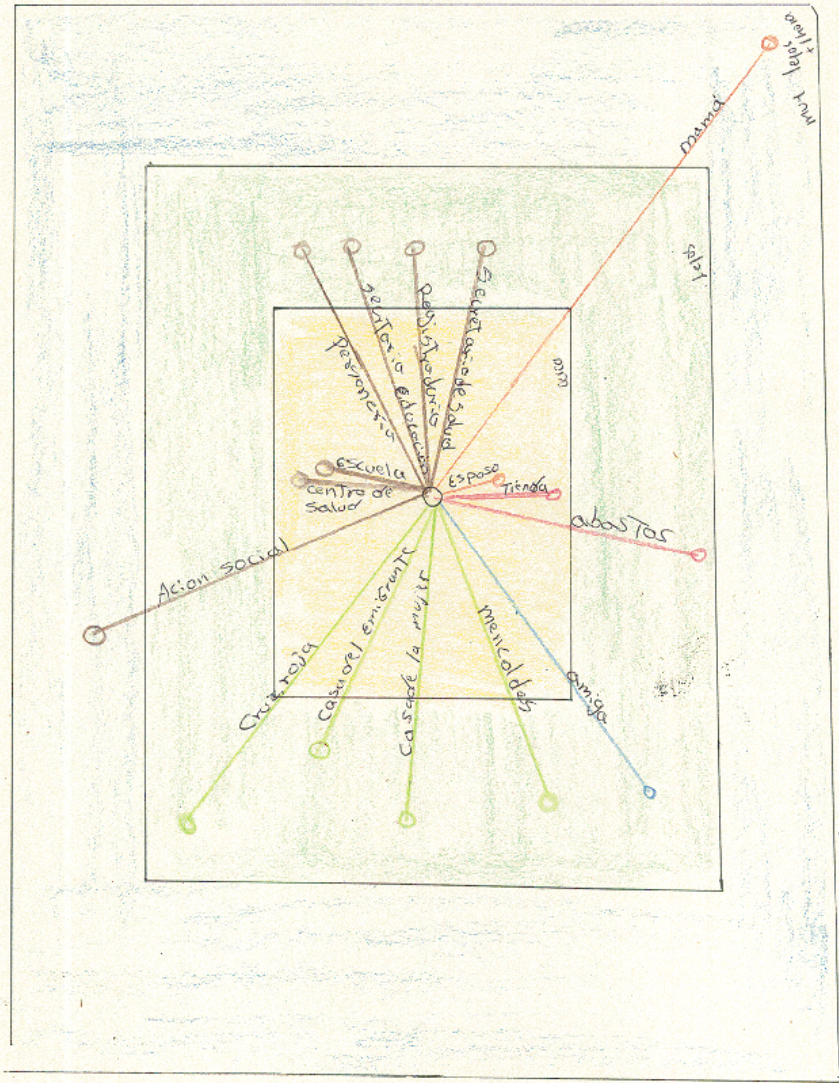
Figure 20. Ruth _Forma de ver_ Graph

APPENDIX K

Una Gráphica de la distancia entre tu y las fuentes de apoyo (A Graph of the Distance

Between You and the Source of Support)

Participants Maps

Figure 21. Azucena's *Gráphica*

234

Figure 22. Brigita's *Gráphica*

Figure 22. Lucia's *Gráphica*
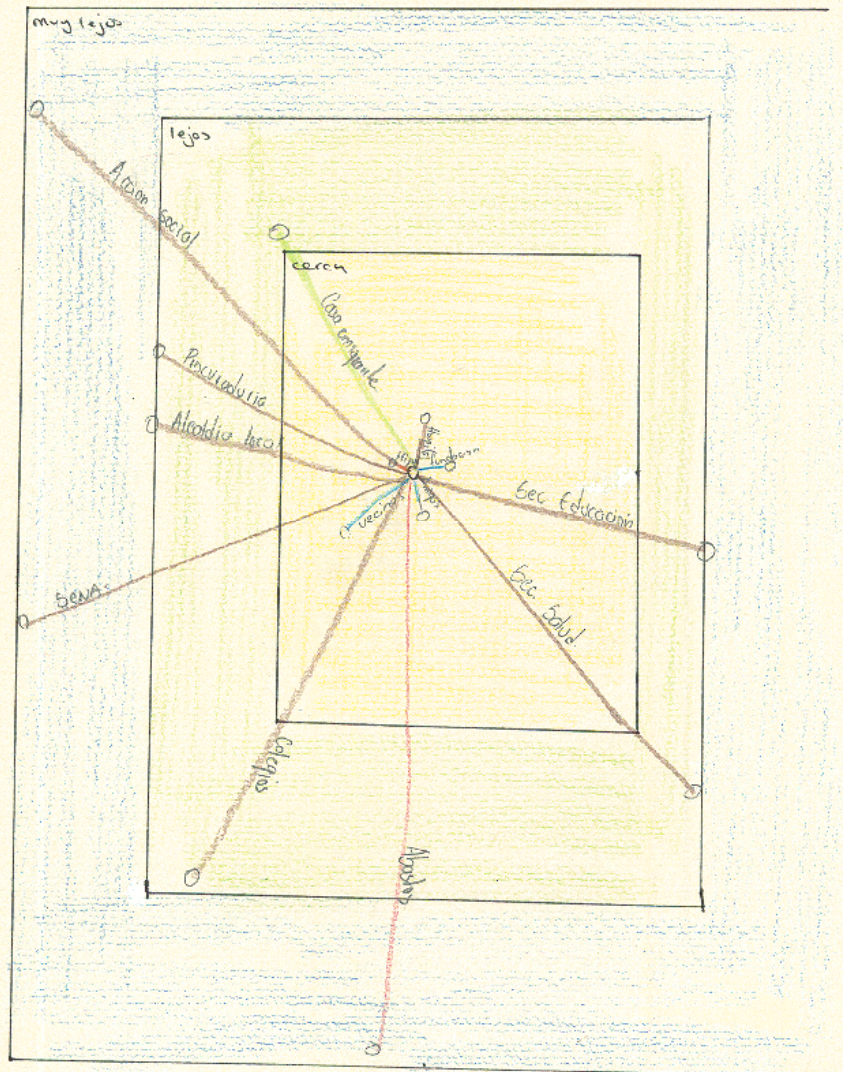
Figure 23. Luisa Fernanda's *Gráphica*
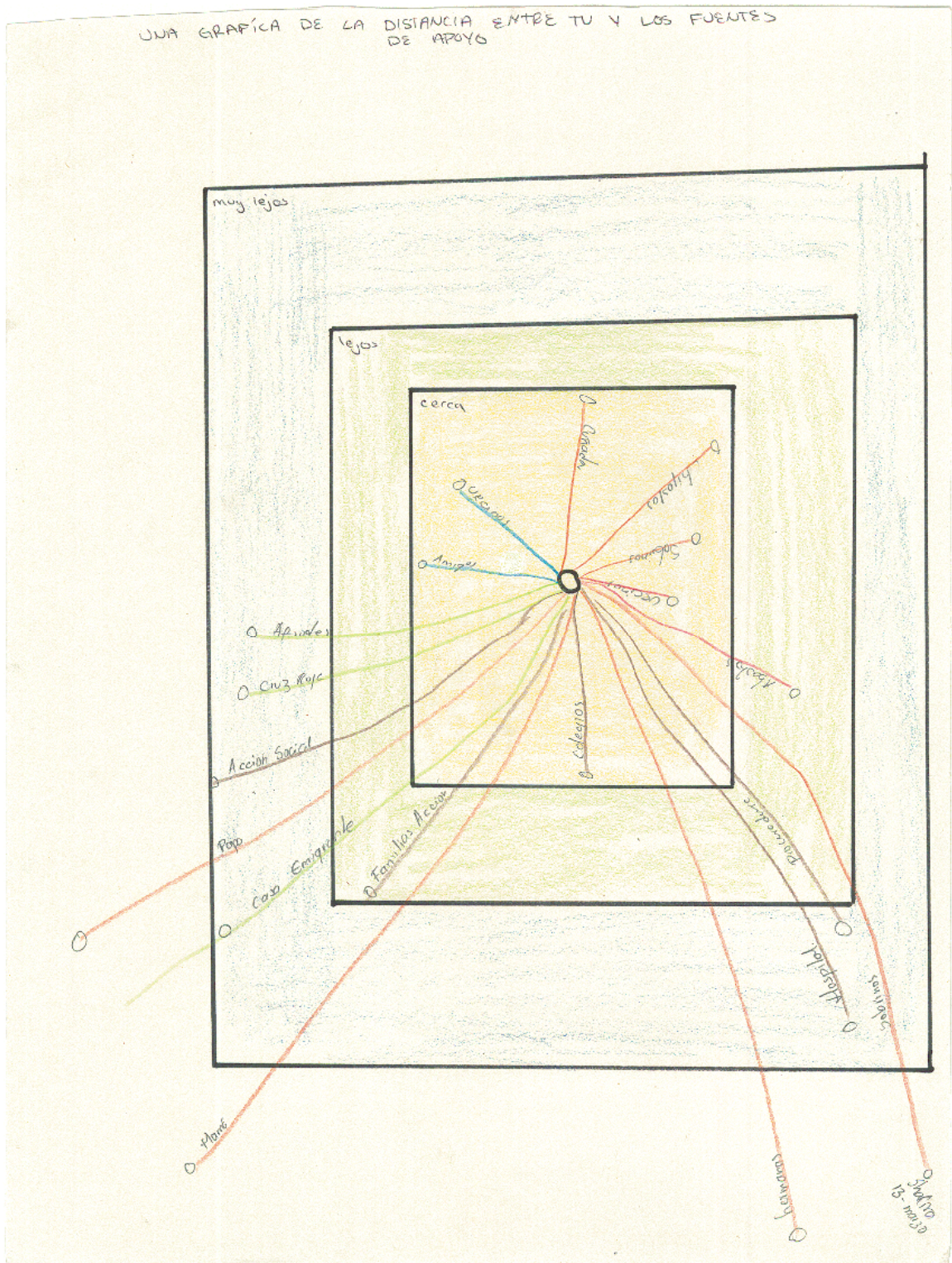
Figure 24. Margarita's *Gráphica*

238

Figure 25. Paula's *Gráphica*

239

Figure 26. Shakira's *Gráphica*
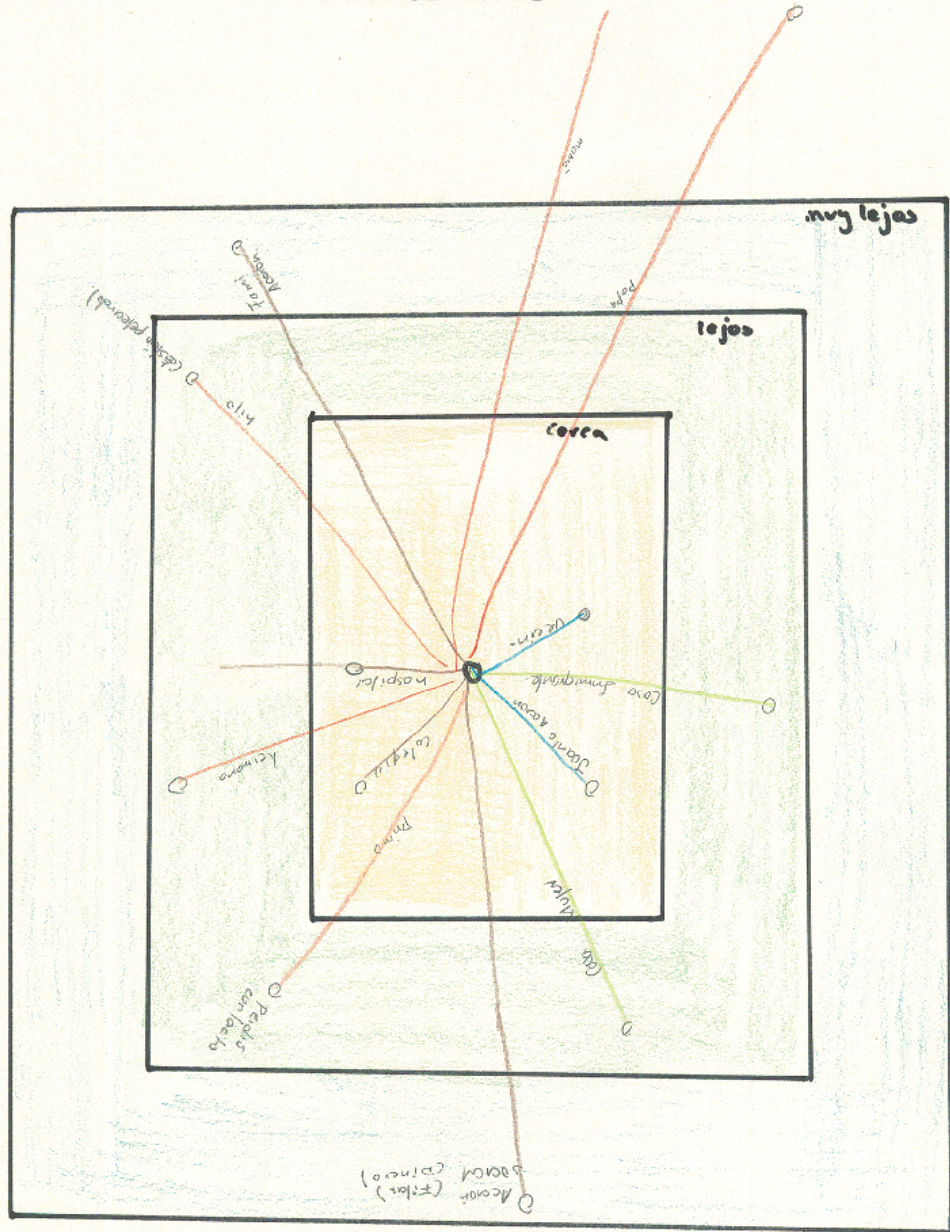
Figure 27. Yaneth's *Gráphica*

241

Paired t-Test Data (providing food and rent)

Table 6. Paired t-Test Data (providing food and rent)

Data and Paired t-Test for sigrifficant change
Data from: "Ability to meet these needs" (appendix I)
Note: all graph percentages have been transformed into ordinal data

Data from Graphs

	First Month in Bogota	Currently	t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
Ability to feed family				Variable 1	Variable 2
Azucena	2.5	5	Mean	3.03	6.74
Ruth	2.5	10	Variance	7.057333333	4.876
L. Fernanda	0.65	5.6	Observations	10	10
Margarita	4.3	5	Pearson Correlation	0.077052418	
Shakira	2.5	3.7	Hypothesized Mean Differenc	0	
Brigita	3.2	7.5	df	9	
Lucia	1.9	10	t Stat	-3.532639157	
Yaneth	1.25	5	P(T<=t) one-tail	0.003193718	
Paola	1.5	8.1	t Critical one-tail	1.833112923	
Violeta	10	7.5	P(T<=t) two-tail	0.006387436	
			t Critical two-tail	2.262157158	
Ability to pay rent			t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
Azucena	5	5			
Ruth	10	10		Variable 1	Variable 2
L. Fernanda	0.65	1.25	Mean	4.435	6.445
Margarita	1.2	1.9	Variance	16.19947222	9.806916667
Shakira	10	5	Observations	10	10
Brigita	2.5	7.5	Pearson Correlation	0.462866717	
Lucia	1.25	6.9	Hypothesized Mean Differenc	0	
Yaneth	1.25	7.5	df	9	
Paola	2.5	9.4	t Stat	-1.678604581	
Violeta	10	10	P(T<=t) one-tail	0.063768618	
			t Critical one-tail	1.833112923	
			P(T<=t) two-tail	0.127537236	
			t Critical two-tail	2.262157158	

APPENDIX M

Paired t-Test Data (ease/difficulty of interacting with the state)

Table 7. Paired t-Test Data (ease/difficulty of interacting with the state)

Data and Paired t-Test for signifficant change

From: Describe Your Perception graph

Note: Data was transferred from visual Lykert Scales (see Appendix J) to numerical data

Data from Graphs

Interact with Government					Variable 1	Variable 2
Azucena	2	2		Mean	0.9	3.8
Ruth	1	4		Variance	1.655555556	1.955555556
L. Fernanda	0	4		Observations	10	10
Margarita	0	1		Pearson Correlatic	0.049401544	
Shakira	0	5		Hypothesized Me:	0	
Brigita	0	5		df	9	
Lucia	3	5		**t Stat**	**-4.949257079**	
Yaneth	3	4		P(T<=t) one-tail	0.000396054	
Paola	0	5		t Critical one-tail	1.833112923	
Violeta	0	3		**P(T<=t) two-tail**	**0.000792108**	
				t Critical two-tail	2.262157158	

APPENDIX N

Paired t-Test Data (fostering kin and new social networks)

Table 8. Paired t-Test Data (fostering kin and new social networks)

Data and Paired t-Test for significant change
From: Describe Your Perception graph
Note: Data was transferred from visual Lykert Scales (see Appendix J) to numerical data

Data from Graphs

	First Month in Bogotá	Currently	t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
Have a Close Family					
Azucena	2	2		*Variable 1*	*Variable 2*
Ruth	1	4	Mean	1.3	2.8
L. Fernanda	1	4	Variance	1.122222222	1.955555556
Margarita	0	0	Observations	10	10
Shakira	1	3	Pearson Correlation	0.270013501	
Brigita	3	4	Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Lucia	1	3	df	9	
Yaneth	1	1	**t Stat**	**-3.142936331**	
Paola	0	4	P(T<=t) one-tail	0.005935884	
Violeta	3	3	t Critical one-tail	1.833112923	
			P(T<=t) two-tail	**0.011871767**	
			t Critical two-tail	2.262157158	

	First Month in Bogotá	Currently			
Have a Solid Social Network					
Azucena	1	4		*Variable 1*	*Variable 2*
Ruth	2	5	Mean	0.9	3.9
L. Fernanda	1	4	Variance	0.322222222	2.766666667
Margarita	0	0	Observations	10	10
Shakira	1	5	Pearson Correlation	0.811989509	
Brigita	1	5	Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Lucia	0	2	df	9	
Yaneth	1	4	**t Stat**	**-7.606388293**	
Paola	1	5	P(T<=t) one-tail	1.65234E-05	
Violeta	1	5	t Critical one-tail	1.833112923	
			P(T<=t) two-tail	**0.000033**	
			t Critical two-tail	2.262157158	