

Internal Exiles:
Displaced Colombian Mothers' Narratives of Crianza

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ABSTRACT

In Colombia, the politics and violence of a mostly rural and remote internal armed conflict have spanned decades, displacing millions of women into internal exile in the large cities. There, they must fend for survival and integration into urban Colombian society, while trying to build a future for their children. This thesis explores the similarities and differences in the ways displaced Colombian mothers represent and (re)imagine *crianza*¹ through the disruptions and continuities of internal exile, accounting for challenges (e.g., loss of property and livelihoods, social and emotional uprooting, stigma) as well as facilitators (e.g., agency to reconstruct life projects, flexibility in *crianza*, experiencing displacement as a positive and empowering experience). Twelve displaced, formerly rural, women were interviewed in the City of Cali. Grounded in a social constructionist paradigm, this qualitative narrative study indicates that mothers' experiences of *crianza* under forced displacement vary a great deal. Cultural background, family structure, mothering identity, the ecology of relocation, and the overall meanings associated with forced displacement influence women's disrupting and empowering journeys, contributing to a sense of continuity in their lives following displacement. Understanding the conditions under which a diverse group of displaced Colombian mothers must rear their children, and distinguishing the range of their varying needs, can help to improve psychosocial supports and services made available to them – particularly at this time as Colombia has been embarking on the first steps of a peace process.

¹ In Colombia, the Spanish term *crianza* refers to parenting or child rearing; I will use this term hereafter and will elaborate on the interesting cultural connotations of this term later.

DEDICATION

To the displaced mothers of Colombia

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INTRODUCTION

In armed conflicts, whether between or within countries, women often suffer not only from the violence of combat, but also from human rights violations, health and social inequities, sexual exploitation, and displacement (Hynes, 2004). In Colombia, the politics and violence of mostly rural and remote internal armed conflict has spanned decades, displacing millions of women into internal exile in the larger cities where they must fend for their own survival and for that of their children (López & Agudelo, 2000). Recently there have been signs that this conflict is finally coming to an end and those women and their children who have been displaced and who wish to return to their previous towns and villages can hope to do so. However, while waiting for this possibility, women and children must face the process of integrating into urban Colombian society. This then presents challenges for mothers, as they must parent their children in these imposed internal exiles. I explored these challenges within my study.

As I embarked on a quest for literature² about parenting in internal exile, I identified a gap regarding displaced women's experiences of *crianza* in urban contexts. Research has historically focused on the gendered impact of displacement (Herrera, 2013; Mahler & Pessar, 2006; Mar Oo, 2010; Mookherjee, 2006) and on displaced women's agency, emphasizing the determinants that enable them to recover and cope (Meertens & Stoller, 2001; Sandvik & Lemaitre, 2013). In Colombia, psychological research conducted with displaced mothers and/or parents has employed family systems theory, focusing on family configurations after displacement (López, 2004; López & Agudelo, 2000). However, little is written regarding the experiences of displaced mothers

² Throughout my thesis I relied on various disciplines in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the subject under study. The literature reviewed corresponds to the field of psychology, anthropology, women and gender studies, sociology, cultural psychiatry, conflict and refugee studies, social work, and health sciences which includes medicine and public health.

integrating into an urban area, how *crianza* transforms and develops under changed conditions, and the implications that this integration and transformation may have on children's upbringing and on mothers' lives in general.

The main foci of my research were to explore the similarities and differences in the ways displaced Colombian mothers represent their experiences of *crianza* while in internal exile, and to understand the challenges (e.g., loss of property and livelihoods, social and emotional uprooting, stigma) and facilitators (e.g., agency to reconstruct life projects, flexibility in their *crianza*, experiencing displacement as a positive and empowering experience) that may affect displaced women as they try to carry on with *crianza* and build a future for their children. On the basis of the foregoing, three research questions were taken into consideration: How do rural women experience *crianza* in the city of Cali, Colombia (e.g., are there any contrasts with *crianza* in rural areas)? What are the barriers and the resources (i.e., internal and external) associated with *crianza* in an urban context identified in the stories of displaced mothers? Finally, how is the disruption and continuity of life in general and *crianza* in particular experienced by women in displacement? Understanding the wide range of experiences of displaced mothers can help the state and other non-governmental organizations to channel resources and tailor their programs according to the varied needs of this diverse group of women.

I begin my thesis with a brief description of the research field and the problem that encapsulates the major themes of my research. Following, I outline the main personal and theoretical assumptions that shaped the directions of my research. Next, I elucidate the origins and nature of the Colombian armed conflict, which serves as a historical and socio-political context for my study. Subsequently, my literature review explores theoretical perspectives on *crianza* in the context of forced displacement, the reactions of women to war and exile, and studies that address the impact of internal armed conflict on the mental health of civilians in

general and women in particular. An edited collection of displaced Colombian women's narratives (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012) has also been helpful to understand women's experiences of their displacement. Afterwards, I provide my research design, which includes the research paradigm, methodology, recruitment, participants, procedures, and data analysis. My discussion is divided in four different sections. The first describes general contrasts between rural and urban life and serves as an important background for understanding *crianza* in Colombia. The second and the third sections address displaced mothers' main difficulties associated with losing a home, and safety issues derived from that. The fourth and last section in the body of my thesis discusses mothers' cultural constructions of *crianza* and their efforts to establish continuity in their lives. I finalize with my concluding chapter, future directions on the research field of *crianza* under forced displacement, and recommendations for social programming.

I carried out a qualitative study grounded in a social constructionist paradigm that supported narrative analysis to give voice to some of the struggles and family disruptions women have been trying to overcome while raising their children. More specifically, I invited twelve displaced, rural women who were currently living in an urban context to share with me their oral narratives of what had and had not worked as they parent their children under adverse and changing conditions. The research design included open-ended narrative interviews as a data collection method and narrative analysis as a method to analyze the women's personal accounts.

BACKGROUND

Colombia's internal armed conflict has exacted a dreadful price, displacing about 13% of the entire Colombian population into mostly urban areas. As Tamayo's and Arbelaez's (2011) award-winning and compelling movie *The Colors of the Mountain* shows, no family has been safe from this conflict and neither hiding nor attempting neutral behaviour has been an option. For families that did not abandon their homes in time to retreat into the cities, the warring parties tried to recruit the men, whether voluntarily or forcibly. If unsuccessful, they abducted and often killed them as retribution. In many cases, mothers were left to gather their children and belongings and flee for the cities. Once in the city and without means, displaced mothers often had to take on sole authority in the rearing of their children where, previously, they had perhaps shared this responsibility with their partners³ and their children had actively helped run both farm and household. In some other cases, couples were not able to resist the stress brought on by forced displacement and the challenges of adapting to a new setting, resulting in mothers separating from their partners and carrying on with *crianza* on their own – with or without child support. These disruptions⁴ caused by war have put displaced mothers and their children under much hardship. It is these wide-ranging difficulties – and the possibilities for support – for child-rearing under such conditions that I explored in an urban Colombian context.

In Spanish, the term *crianza* is comparable to child-rearing and parenting in North American English. However, the practice of *crianza* in Colombia is, of course, influenced by

³ Commonly, in Colombia, where fathers are farmers in the mountains and plains, children are often raised in a shared manner by both parents. In coastal and fluvial regions, however, it is common for the fathers to be absent and mothers to carry most of the responsibility in child-rearing, with the support of the maternal line. The latter is more commonly found among the Afrocolombian ethnic population.

⁴ I relied on anthropologist Gaylene Becker's (2007) discussion of biographical disruptions to understand displaced mothers' experiences and their attempts to create continuity after being forcibly uprooted. Becker argued that continuity is an "illusion" because disruption is a "constant in human experience" (p.190). However, she pointed out that we seem to favour continuity over disruption and order over disorder.

local differences including ethnicity, religion, and geographical region. These local differences are the result of intermixtures of Colombia's traditional indigenous peoples, Spanish colonists, slaves brought from Africa, and immigrants from Europe and the Middle East. Melding of these groups has resulted in a culturally diverse population and strong regional identities accentuated by the country's varied geography and availability of socio-economic activities (Gutiérrez, 2000). Therefore, it would be misleading to speak of *crianza* as homogenous across Colombia. Instead, Colombia has a range of family structures that includes both patriarchal and matrifocal families; this results in varying divisions of labor between men and women and differing ways in which *crianza* is carried out. For example, in matrifocal households, male children may take part in household chores, whereas in patriarchal households, the boys may be exempt from such chores. In a marriage, sometimes a father may come from a patriarchal background while a mother may have been raised in a more matrifocal family; this sometimes makes for complicated family dynamics. Furthermore, a high rate of *madresolterismo* (single mothers) in Colombia implies that there are different kinds of family configurations wherein parental authority rests solely on the mother. In these cases, women were in charge of *crianza* before and after displacement.

Additionally, in Colombia extended family has not only an affectionate value but also becomes relevant and functional as a support network in the rearing of children. This kind of support offered by extended family is usually informal –there are not explicit mutual obligations– although there is an implicit expectation of giving and receiving affection, protection, and assistance among family members of different generations, based on kinship and blood relations (Castrillón, 2007). The latter is of particular importance in cases where widows of war and displaced mothers are in charge of *crianza* (Pachón, 2007). The need for support for *crianza* under the conditions of displacement and women's experiences of *crianza* in an urban context varied and depended on a host of personal circumstances that needed to be explored and assessed.

Assumptions

I divided my assumptions into those related to my personal experience where I actively report possible biases, and those linked to the idiosyncrasies of my research in which I lay out the context for the range of interpretations that can emerge when analyzing forcibly displaced women's personal experiences and constructions of *crianza* in culturally diverse contexts.

Having been born, raised, and educated in Cali -Colombia's third-largest city, with more than two million inhabitants - I was spared many of the immediate devastations of the armed conflict. However, my life as a Colombian woman has been forever affected by these struggles and by the resulting violence that has filtered into urban areas. I have seen death in the streets and experienced the loss of friends and family as a consequence of violence. This has had an impact on me not only in terms of my understanding of the effects of war on an individual level, but also on a societal level in my country. Nonetheless, I have been in a privileged position and protected from direct exposure to actions that could have possibly harmed me. Due to the armed conflict I have avoided the surrounding countryside since my sixth birthday, leaving me with only memories of its incredible beauty. Since Cali has received most of the displaced population – mainly from the Colombian Pacific coast– I have become aware of the enormous difficulties experienced by displaced families in the city and the social impacts of this phenomenon. I felt compelled to engage in research that would perhaps contribute to enhancing the quality of life of those who have been suffering in a nation with profound inequalities. With this research, I hope that I can do my share in trying to assist the displaced women and children of Colombia.

Specifically in regards to my research and due to the fact that experiences of *crianza* are culturally mediated, I find it necessary to explain how I understand culture. Culture is an ongoing process; it is fluid, dynamic, and in constant transformation (López & Guarnaccia, 2000).

Kirmayer (2012) argued that culture must be viewed as “situated and negotiable intersubjective

systems of meaning and practice relevant to specific social contexts” (p.252). In this regard, López and Guarnaccia (cited in Lakes, López & Garro, 2006) stated that culture is “as much as part of the social world as it is part of the individual” (p.382) and that “it is action in the social and physical world that produces culture as much as people’s ideas about the world” (López & Guarnaccia, 2000, p.574). Thinking about culture in these terms allows us to recognize the cultural variability in women’s understandings of *crianza*, to acknowledge that their individual experiences are as important as their experiences in their social worlds (e.g., group values, norms), and to understand that women have a “role in negotiating their cultural worlds” (López & Guarnaccia, 2000, p.574).

In addition, De Munck (2000) stated that “culture is not a bounded whole; it consists of situated knowledge of different contexts and domains of experience” (p.29). De Munck’s statement led me to consider ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ contexts not as ‘culture A’ and ‘culture B,’ but as the local social worlds wherein mothers parent their children. Based on my personal life experiences in Cali I also assumed that, for rural women in Colombia, *crianza* in the city may involve changes that take place when different cultural traditions come into contact with each other. Kirmayer and Minas (2000) argued that “culture has the same ubiquity and transparency as water except at the junction of cultures, where the world is refracted and reflected” (p.438). This means that even though culture is omnipresent, we tend to become aware of its existence only when confronted with others who are perceived as ‘culturally different’ from ourselves. Women who have been displaced into urban contexts may perceive these ‘reflections’ and may possibly transform their *crianza*.

In my study I explored women’s ‘experiences’ and how they made ‘meaning’ of their experiences. What do these ubiquitous terms actually ‘mean’? Taking some cues from De Munck (2000), I define these terms similar to how I conceive of culture: as processes influenced by both

our social and individual worlds. Upon first inspection, it seems quite difficult to separate experience and meaning. Since humans are symbol-making beings (De Munck, 2000), they are always already involved in attempts at meaning-making as they experience the world and themselves. In this way, experiencing the world and trying to make meaning of it can be said to be intimately related. Furthermore, since human beings are not autonomous nomads but live in interdependence with one another and their environments (Elias, 1978), experiencing and meaning-making invariably occur in social contexts.

Nevertheless, the cultural conventions of language and thinking compel us to turn these ongoing contextual processes into products that we can isolate and list out as we recall or are asked to recall various facets of our lives. As the processes of experiencing and meaning-making are ongoing, they will have ongoing effects, even on the experiences and meanings that we recall from the past. This may very well be a good thing when, for example, displaced Colombian women try to leave the past behind and construct better lives for their children. It was important to be mindful during my interviews that women's reports of their experiences and meanings were symbolic expressions conveyed in the conventions of language and were, therefore, available for a range of interpretations.

There was an additional matter that needed to be addressed with regards to *crianza*: I had to be cautious of my assumption that urban *crianza* could involve more disjunctions and distress than rural *crianza*. Child-rearing in the city could indeed be very disruptive in rural mothers' lives. Nonetheless, for some displaced women, for instance, city life challenged traditional parenting roles and provided new ones (i.e., becoming main providers and protectors within a single-parent or nuclear family), which was experienced as a positive change. In other cases, *crianza* in the city was actually considered an easier endeavor due to the commodities of urban living.

Finally, since expectations about the future varied between women, I considered it important to refrain from assuming that they either desired to return home or were willing to stay in the city. Through open-ended narrative interviews, I found out how my participants'⁵ perceptions of the temporality of their current status as 'displaced women' may have influenced the process of integrating into an urban context.

In the following section I will provide a brief explanation of the antecedents, main actors, consequences, current state of Colombia's armed conflict, and assistance available to displaced population. Understanding the nature of this conflict is helpful to comprehend the opportunities that mothers and children have in the short- and long-term.

Socio-historical context: Colombia's internal armed conflict

The narratives of *crianza* that I gathered can be considered historical narratives. Literary theorists Smith and Watson (2001) suggested that "historical narrative takes place in collective time" (p.11). This signifies that narrators are located in specific times and places and that particular historical junctures not only provide contexts for narratives to emerge, but also shape personal meanings of the members of a collective group. My research took place at a specific, momentous time in Colombia's history. It focused on the important side effects of internal armed conflict that explain why mothers are now parenting in internal exile. This invariably shaped the narratives I elicited from my participants. I will briefly explain the Colombian armed conflict to provide a socio-political context for my study. The following information is drawn from

⁵ I recognize that in North American scholarly work the use of "my participants" can be controversial as it may be associated with maternalistic and/or possessive stances. However, in Colombia, this expression has affectionate connotations. The use of 'mine' or '*mi/mis*' in Spanish represents a cultural difference in the use of language, which indicates that research participants are close to one's heart and are not considered separate entities who are being analyzed and objectified during the research process. In this sense, I chose to use "my participants" under the clarification that cultural differences may apply when conducting research in different socio-cultural scenarios and that participants were treated with utmost respect for their experiences, meanings, and emotions.

historical and governmental sources and is inevitably colored by my own experiences and understanding of the conflict.

Colombia's internal armed conflict has been internationally recognized as one of the longest armed conflicts in history, lasting more than 50 years to date (Tate, 2012). It has its origins between the 1940s and 1950s in the historical period known as '*La Violencia*,' when disputes between traditional liberal and conservative political parties triggered a wave of violence and chaos at the state and civil levels (Tate, 2012). In the 1940s, several left-wing groups of liberal ideology emerged with the supposed purpose of looking after the interests of Colombia's underprivileged peoples by fighting against extreme poverty and the concentration of wealth and lands in a small group of families and individuals. These guerrilla groups have taken hold of the country's rural areas, creating and controlling independent territories and operating outside the control of the central government. In 1966, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) was born, with one of their main objectives to 'seize power at the barrel of a gun' and become the most powerful of the left-wing guerrilla groups formed up to that point in time (Tate, 2012). The FARC has been utilizing kidnapping, 'vaccination' (i.e., extortion of landowners), and drug trafficking as its main funding sources. Despite their original mission to fight for the well-being of the peasants, attacks in the form of killings and terrorist acts have been continuously perpetuated, destroying towns, communities, and peasant farms.

In reaction to the FARC, in 1960 owners of large tracts of land and livestock breeders who were victims of guerrilla extortion and kidnapping created and funded the right-wing United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), also known as paramilitaries. AUC was originally established with the support of politicians and the government and was created for the purpose of fighting the FARC guerrilla. However, between the 1980s and 2000s, AUC perpetrated terrible massacres on peasants who were accused of being guerrilla collaborators (Tate, 2012). The AUC

was known for performing barbaric actions such as torture and forced disappearance and, similar to the FARC, benefited from the drug trafficking business. Between 2003 and 2006, due to an advantageous compensation program, the AUC began demobilizing, giving up their weapons in collective ceremonies and entering reintegration programs. In compensation, the government provided privileges such as penalty reduction, a regular stipend, psychosocial assessment, and job skills programs. Unfortunately, despite all of these efforts, some paramilitaries have still remained as so-called *bandas criminales* or criminal bands (BACRIM), continuing to wreak terror among Colombians (Tate, 2012).

The civilian population located in the more rural territories has been trapped in the conflict between the left, right, and state forces. Threats of being forcibly removed from their homes and people's decisions to self-evacuate from dangerous areas have contributed to ongoing displacement (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012). As a result, major cities in Colombia including Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali, have become the main destinations for internally displaced families.

According to government sources, more than 6,5 million people have been forcibly displaced between 1985 and 2015 (Red Nacional de Información, Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas, 2015). This represents approximately 13% of the total Colombian population of 48,506,037 (National Administrative Department for Statistics of Colombia DANE, 2016), placing Colombia as the country with the second greatest number of internally displaced in the world, after Syria (Bilak et al., 2015). Of these displaced people, 51% (3,369,319) are women.

The Colombian government has been tasked with delivering services to internally displaced people. The Victim's Law (Law 1448 of 2011), which focuses mainly on economic and psychological support for victims and the restitution of lands to displaced people for their return home, was passed in 2011. Along with this, a unit for the Attention and Integral Reparation for

the Victims (commonly referred to as the ‘Unit for the Victims’) was created to take charge of reparations and to distribute government compensation in an effort to re-establish social inclusion in Colombia.

According to the information provided by The Unit for the Victims, the assistance and reparation offered to victims of the armed conflict addresses 5 different aspects: individual, collective, material, moral, and symbolic. These aspects follow different procedures, among which the most important are rehabilitation, monetary compensation, restitution (i.e., land, homes, sources of income, employment, access to credit), and guarantees of non-repetition. The national government aims at providing an integral assistance for all displaced people, which would assure the effective enjoyment of human rights such as education, health, and housing. It also undertakes actions towards helping victims to restore their dignity and honor their memory (Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral de las Víctimas, 2015). These efforts were considered some of the possible external resources to which women have access once they settle in an urban area, and were mentioned by some of my participants as important factors in their recovery and adjustment to the city (Sandvik & Lemaitre, 2013).

The regular channel through which individuals are recognized by the Colombian government as victims of armed conflict begins at one of the offices of the public ministry (e.g., attorney general office) where a declaration is taken. Displaced people are asked to recount the story of what happened to them and the reasons why they had to flee from their homes, usually situated in conflict zones. They are also requested to identify themselves and/or their family members as victims of ‘victimizing actions’ (*hechos victimizantes*) and are given nine different options to describe their circumstances: forced displacement, homicide, forced disappearance, personal lesson without permanent incapacity, personal lessons with permanent incapacity, kidnapping, torture, illegal recruitment of children and adolescents, and offenses against freedom

and sexual integrity. In addition, counsellors administer psychosocial assessments through a short interview in order to evaluate the impact of the conflict on victims' mental health and possible social consequences of displacement. If required, counsellors refer victims to a different facility for psychotherapeutic interventions. Notification of whether or not displaced people will be included in the Victims' Record (*Registro Único de Víctimas*) is given 60 days later. If the government recognizes the individual as a victim, the displaced individual or family will receive humanitarian aid (*Red Nacional de Información*, 2013⁶).

In the Colombian context and for my study, it is important to further clarify the terms 'displacement,' 'exile,' and 'victim.' The condition of displacement within a country due to armed conflict has been called 'internal exile,' distinguishable from exiles referring to migration or forcible deportation outside one's country of residence. More specifically, internal exile is defined as the forced resettlement within the country of residence, an implied impossibility to return, and threat of death upon return (Weiss, 2003). Even though there are Colombian refugees who have chosen exile in foreign countries (i.e., the word 'refugee' is associated with transnational migration), the participants considered in this study were internally displaced (i.e., intra-nationally migrated) women experiencing internal exile. In this regard and in accordance with the understanding of internal exile and internally displaced people, the Colombian government recognizes a victim of forced displacement as a "person who has been forced to migrate within the national territory, abandoning his/her location of residence and/or habitual economic activities, because his/her life, physical integrity, safety, or personal freedom has been violated or directly threatened, causing violations to Human Rights or infractions to the

⁶ In order to learn about the process of receiving compensation, I relied on information found in official documents uploaded by The Unit for the Attention and Integral Reparation for the Victims (*Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral de las Víctimas*) to the National Network Information (*Red Nacional de Información*) website. This website is designed to explain the compensation process and to answer victims' questions.

International Humanitarian Law” (Grupo de Análisis e Investigación, Red Nacional de Información, Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas, 2012, p.10).

The previous definition raises important issues regarding the different connotations the terms ‘victim’ and ‘displaced’ had among my participants. On the one hand, the term ‘victim’ has been used by the Colombian government to recognize people’s vulnerability and suffering and give them a symbolic place within the nation. However, it has been argued that the term takes away the agency that survivors of war need in order to thrive and recover (Mar Oo, 2010; Mookherjee, 2006). On the other hand, it seems to me that in narratives of Colombians who have been affected by armed conflict and who have migrated to different areas of the country, the term ‘displaced person’ may stigmatize people who refuse to adopt this new identity. For example, in the narratives collected by Brodzinsky & Schoening (2012), these migrants reflect on how this new identity has, in some ways, replaced everything they were before (e.g., a skilled farmer, fisher, teacher, a mother, a loved aunt, a good neighbour), putting them at risk of being rejected by the communities they resettled in after displacement. For the purpose of my research, I elected to use the terms ‘victim’ and ‘displaced person’ according to the ways my participants identified themselves during their interviews.

Lastly, it is important to consider the present peace talks between the national government and the FARC aimed at putting an end to the conflict and working towards peace reconstruction and reconciliation in the country. Since November 2012, conversations in La Habana, Cuba between these two delegations (i.e., state and FARC) have revolved around six points included in the agenda. Of the six, five have been currently discussed: (a) Integrated Agrarian Development Policy which deals with the use, distribution and restitution of land; (b) FARCS’s political participation; (c) handling of illicit drugs crops; (d) truth, justice, compensation, and non-repetition for victims of the armed conflict who have been invited to the peace talks table to give

input on this topic; and e) transitional justice accord for insurgency members. The sixth point that is presently being discussed in La Habana is the end of the conflict that includes a disarmament requirement through which FARC members must cease to use weapons. Following, the Colombian government will ask citizens to approve the peace agreement in a formal vote and the implementation phase will begin.

Even though the first five points have been negotiated, these have not always reached mutual agreements, and a possible end to the conflict is still uncertain. Through the process of land restitution, displaced people may return to the rural areas. However, this does not necessarily mean they will return to their previous homes, but to other villages where the government is able to relocate them. In any case, the possibility of resettlement depends on the success of these so-called 'peace dialogues,' likely affecting whether people experience their situations as temporary or permanent and whether displaced mothers choose to integrate into Colombia's urban areas and raise their children under changed conditions.

The following literature review provides a map that situates my research questions within theory and studies with mothers who have been forcibly displaced. The reader will find agreements and debates in the literature that argue for the necessity of this type of research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Crianza in the Context of Forced Displacement

There are various terms in the Western scholarly context (e.g., North America) that are used to describe children's upbringing. Different disciplines including psychology, anthropology, feminist studies, sociology, medicine, and nursing have approached parenting studies with diverse objectives, theoretical backgrounds, and methodologies, achieving distinct results in the process. Some of the most common terms found in this literature are 'parenting,' 'child-rearing,' 'parental investment,' 'parental behaviour,' 'child-rearing practices,' and 'mothering.' The latter term in particular tends to be associated with the individual and private lived experiences of women and "their experiences of mothering which are female-defined and centered, and potentially empowering" (O'Reilly, 2004, p.2). In the Spanish-speaking Latin American and Colombian contexts, we primarily use the term *crianza*, which also focuses on the endeavour of parents, mothers, and/or primary caregivers to bring up children (Aguirre, 2000; Bocanegra, 2007; Peñaranda, 2011). The etymology of *crianza* comes from the Latin word *creare*, which means to procreate or give birth, to nurture, to guide, to instruct or teach, to direct, to develop and to grow (Diccionario de la Lengua Española (DRAE), 2001). *Crianza* can be translated into parenting or child-rearing, although it is more commonly associated with the latter. In Western literature, child-rearing and parenting are commonly used interchangeably, though some scholars use the former to refer to specific actions that parents undertake to promote their children's development⁷. From this perspective, 'parenting' is seen as a broader concept that includes

⁷ A common example of the use of these two terms can be found in the works that followed Diana Baumrind's description of parental styles (i.e., authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful) in which the term 'child-rearing' is particularly associated with the specific behaviours that parents assume and that are "characterized as consisting of varied combinations of warmth, demandingness, and autonomy granting" (Domenech, Donovanick, & Crowley, 2009, p.196).

‘child-rearing’ practices among other aspects such as knowledge, meanings, beliefs, goals, and expectations about parenting; personal idiosyncrasies such as age, gender, sexual orientation, and personality; and social, cultural, and historical determinants of parenting (Bornstein, 2002). Since there does not seem to be final consensus by scholars on whether or not ‘parenting’ and ‘child-rearing’ are distinctive or synonymous concepts, for the purpose of the following literature review and my proposal I will use ‘child-rearing’ and ‘parenting’ interchangeably. I will also use the term *crianza* when referring to studies in Latin American contexts.

This segment of the literature review describes how *crianza* is experienced in the context of forced displacement. First, I will explain how the term ‘*crianza*’ in a Latin American context relates to ‘parenting’ and ‘child-rearing’ in Western theory, and I will discuss the general significance of *crianza* studies for my research. In this context, I will then address family structures in Colombia that inform the kinds of *prácticas de crianza* (i.e., child-rearing practices) that are used by mothers from different geographical and socio-cultural contexts in the country. Following this, I will briefly outline the main Western theoretical approaches to the study of parenting that have informed *crianza* studies. Lastly, I will reference studies about *crianza* in forced displacement in Colombia and of parenting for international refugees worldwide. On the one hand, national and international contexts may be different regarding the migration process and adjustment of parents, children, and families. On the other hand, displacement and migration are experienced – nationally and internationally - as a transition in mothers’ lives, evidencing similarities in terms of the challenges encountered. In broader terms, this literature review provides a general theoretical and contextual background relevant to the study of *crianza* experiences of rural mothers displaced into urban areas.

***Crianza* theory and research.**

Crianza is the Spanish term for ‘child-rearing’ or ‘parenting.’ Even though these terms refer to the same body of knowledge, some scholars believe they are distinctive in a Latin American context in that the majority of *crianza* research focuses on contexts of exclusion, social and economic inequality (i.e., poverty), and ‘at-risk’ children. In Colombia, *crianza* studies also take into consideration ethnic and cultural diversity (Mora & Martínez, 2005). In North America this, too, may be a focus, but more so with regards to minorities (e.g., inner-city neighbourhoods, African-Americans). In this sense, Latin American *crianza* studies open a window to topics related to children’s development in contexts of adversity, exploitative child labor, sexual abuse of children or, in the case of the present study, to disruptions to displaced children’s and mothers’ lives. All of these aspects are also considered in North American research although to a lesser extent due to the fact that the economic instability affects Latin American child rearing to a larger degree (e.g., more child labor). All of this suggests that even though *crianza* and child-rearing are used synonymously in the literature, the findings of *crianza* studies are adapted and pertinent to the Latin American context in general and to my study of the Colombian context in particular.

In a paradigm where *crianza* is culturally constructed, it comes as no surprise that there may not be a global consensus on this term’s definition. For the purpose of my study, I suggest a definition of *crianza* that is flexible enough to account for the range of social and cultural similarities and differences among Colombian women. As such, *crianza* could be understood as parents’ investment in their children’s survival, transition to specific developmental stages, and achievement of developmental goals, all of which have been both culturally constructed and signified by the communities in which child-rearing takes place (LeVine, 1980; Rogoff, 2003). Adding to the previous definition, I suggest that additional components of ‘nurture’ and ‘care’ should also be considered when exploring women’s experiences of *crianza* and their efforts to

attend to and meet the needs of those for whom they take responsibility. In this regard, values such as sympathy, empathy, sensitivity, and responsiveness are seen as some of the emotions women cultivate during *crianza* and in raising their children (Held, 2005). The conceptualization of *crianza* that I propose for my research is embedded in the understanding that human beings develop as participants in their cultural communities and that development must be understood in light of cultural processes and practices (Rogoff, 2003).

Studies on *crianza* in Latin America have mainly been concerned with the development of children to their perceived fullest potential, their overall well-being, their socialization processes, family functioning and *prácticas de crianza*, and the relationship between children and the adult or primary caregiver (Orofino & Ospina, 2011). In terms of research methods used in psychological studies, qualitative and mixed methods in Colombia and Latin America, in general, outnumber North America's quantitative methods. Quantitative methods usually aim at assessing *crianza*'s impact on children's development, whereas qualitative methods (e.g., open-ended interviews) inquire about parents' experiences of *crianza*. In these cases, researchers are interested in understanding how parents' belief systems regarding *crianza*, motherhood, fatherhood, and childhood may have an impact on the healthy development of children (see Mora & Martínez, 2005).

Crianza often occurs through a range of certain practices. These child-rearing practices, or *prácticas de crianza*, are defined as intentioned and regulated parental behaviours that are "oriented to ensure their children's survival, to assist their psychosocial development, and to facilitate recognition and interpretation of the surrounding environment" (Aguirre, 2000, p.28). These practices are part of the family's relations, where the interaction between parents and children is mediated by parental power, affection, and influence. *Crianza* practices are dynamic

and transform according to children's development and changes in social context (Bocanegra, 2007).

Crianza practices are based on parents' beliefs about how children should be raised (*cómo se deben criar los hijos*). These practices are learned from parents' interactions with their own caregivers and/or observing other parents' *crianza* practices. In this regard, Bocanegra (2007) argued that *prácticas de crianza* are dependent on the parents' cultural context and socio-economic and educational level. Hence, aspects such as religion, morality, customs, social class, and social representations of children have an impact on *crianza*. Children's social representation refers to "what people say or consider childhood is in different historical moments" (Bocanegra, 2007, p.5). These shared beliefs about childhood and *crianza* within a community give parents a sense of security in the process and legitimize their actions (Bocanegra, 2007), which, in the case of displacement, can be challenged by the norms and values associated with *crianza* that are perhaps dissimilar in other local social worlds such as the city.

Adding to Bocanegra's (2007) emphasis on shared beliefs about *crianza* in a given community, Peñaranda's (2011) ethnographic study of a developmental program delivered in four Institutional Health Service Providers (IPS) in Medellín, Colombia, highlights the importance of mothers' individual constructions of *crianza*. In his study, Peñaranda engaged in a discussion of the tensions he observed between *crianza* programs based on a behavioural model that defines *crianza* practices as adequate or inadequate and the distinctive ways in which *crianza* is experienced and exercised by mothers. Over a period of one year, Peñaranda observed the interactions between mothers and health staff members (i.e., doctors, psychologists, nutritionists, nurse assistants, oral hygienists, and social workers) who based their interventions on their pre-conceptions about the kinds of knowledge mothers should have about *crianza*, their subsequent behaviours, and even the kinds of feelings and emotions they should have toward their children.

These interventions illustrated the imposition of a standardized model that did not acknowledge the importance of cultural and personal constructions of *crianza* among women. Mothers⁸ who participated in the program claimed agency in regards to developing their own *crianza* model based on their personal beliefs, values, and knowledge associated with their *crianza* practices in a particular socio-cultural context. It would be inaccurate to state that there is one way to exercise *crianza*. Instead, there is an array of possibilities that are not always well understood (Peñaranda, 2011).

Additionally, according to Peñaranda (2011), women's representations of their role as mothers is constructed through their relationships with different individuals or groups of people. In other words, Colombian mothers construct their personal meanings of *crianza* in relation to their child, family, neighbours, and social networks in general. This finding is of interest for my study since my participants were displaced women who had been separated from their previous social and family networks, which played an important role in their parenting experiences in the city. In the conclusion of his study, Peñaranda noted that *crianza* should be understood as a historical, socio-cultural, and ontological process that operates dialectically between what is personal and subjective and what relates to the social and collective. Understanding *crianza* as a process that involves both, individual constructions and shared beliefs, within specific socio-cultural scenarios, compels me to describe, next, the family structures in Colombia within which mothers make choices regarding *crianza*.

Family structure in Colombia.

Literature on family studies argues that it is in the family where social bonds are produced and preserved as a means to promote social cohesion and solidarity (Castrillón, 2007). Following

⁸ Unfortunately, we do not know the makeup of the sample in terms of ethnicity or place of origin.

this premise, there have been efforts to understand family structure in Colombia, which take into account its ethnic diversity and multiculturalism. Two main approaches have taken the lead in the study of Colombian families. The first one attempts to comprehend the types of relationships between family members, which includes perceptions and expectations of nuclear, extended, and other forms of families. The second approach describes clusters of families according to geographic location, patriarchal or matrifocal structures, and other religious, ethnic, and economic specificities. I will briefly describe these two approaches in the following pages.

In the study of family structure in Colombia, the most common approach has been to understand family from a nuclear and biological perspective in which blood lines take special significance. Some scholars have highly criticized this viewpoint, arguing that this kind of social essentialism does not take into account the diversity and sometimes ambiguity of families in Colombia (Castrillón, 2007). The ‘nuclear family’ composed of mother, father, and children is no longer the norm due to the transformations occurring within families as a consequence of socio-political and economic circumstances (e.g., forced displacement, poverty). Nowadays, it is common to find more than two generations living in the same dwelling, female-headed households, couples without children, and families that are composed of members that are not necessarily related by blood lines. In addition, forced displacement has resulted in grandparents taking care of children because father and mother passed away as a consequence of violence, or in having two different families sharing the same space (e.g., renting a house together) and forming familiar bonds of mutual care and protection. The latter invites us to acknowledge that the image of the nuclear family is far from reality, and to understand that Colombian families are no longer formed only by blood ties and kinship –*vínculos consanguineos*– but by affective bonds –*vínculos afectivos*–.

Taking a different approach, some scholars argue that the study of *crianza* in Colombia should be informed by the cultural idiosyncrasies of geographical distinctive zones that may influence family structure. According to Virginia Gutiérrez (2000), a Colombian medical anthropologist, families in Colombia demonstrate particular structural configurations according to their location. These are influenced by habitat, socio-economic structures, religion, education, and historical roots. Gutiérrez developed what she called a ‘socio-cultural map’ of the country, dividing it into *complejos culturales* (cultural complexes) or *subculturas* (subcultures). These cultural complexes are characterized by a demographic space and a particular habitat within which ethnic characteristics and historical processes have resulted in social institutions whose values, images, and behavioural patterns exhibit strong and specific identities (Gutiérrez, 2000). In this sense, Gutiérrez argued that family structures in Colombia, then, are a consequence or causal implication of these geographical configurations. The Colombian family polymorphism can be understood in light of the four cultural complexes described by Gutiérrez: ‘Andean complex’ (*complejo andino*); ‘Neohispanic or Santanderean⁹ complex’ (*complejo santandereano o neohispánico*); ‘coastal-fluvial mining zone or negroid’ (*complejo litoral fluvio minero o negroide*); and ‘Antioqueñian or from the mountain complex’ (*complejo de la montaña o antioqueño*). I will consider these complexes in my discussion section and provide summaries of each below.

The first complex, called ‘Andean complex,’ is illustrated as a mixture of Indigenous populations and populations of Hispanic ascendance, resulting in a spectrum that goes from a zone of limited acculturation to the Hispanic family pattern to a zone of intense acculturation to it. The family typology seems very simple: legal marriage and relationships are based on de facto unions (i.e., common-law unions) with a strong presence of single mothers (*madresolterismo*).

⁹ Santanderean is a reference to the province of Santander.

With the latter, there is a dominant female figure incarnated in the mother or grandmother. Families exhibit a strong inclination to a patriarchal style, although there is a high percentage of female economic activity that contributes to the family budget.

Next, the second, ‘Neohispanic or Santanderean complex’ is described as a strong patriarchal complex - even more so than the ‘Andean complex’ - embedded in Hispanic values. There is a prevalence of a masculine image characterized by traits of aggression, harshness, courage, and sobriety, and rooted in values of honor, shame, fame, reputation, and excessive *amour propre*.¹⁰ At the public level, the man is in charge of defending the family and in the private realm he owns a hierarchical place within the family as father and husband. In this dynamic, women are described as submissive and subordinate to their partners. Particularly in the Neohispanic complex, there is a prevalence of legalized and Catholic marriages over common-law unions, especially in urban areas. The three most common unions are: de facto unions, sporadic relationships (*relación esporádica*), and *concubinato*. Sporadic relationships are characterized by occasional sexual encounters between couples that are not living under the same roof where both parties are typically from different socio-economic backgrounds. Because the woman is usually from a lower socioeconomic status (SES), there is generally a high incidence of single mothers. *Concubinato* is usually known in this complex as the relationship that a woman from a lower socio-economic strata has with a married man from a higher socio-economic level (Gutiérrez, 2000). It is noticeable how socio-economic stratification delineates the type of relationships and families that are constituted in this second cultural complex.

The third cultural complex, named the ‘coastal-fluvial mining zone or negroid’ (*complejo litoral fluvio minero o negroide*) by Gutiérrez (2000), is located in the most underdeveloped areas

¹⁰ *Amour propre* is the belief and confidence in one’s own ability and value. The Spanish term used by Gutiérrez (2000) is *puntillo*, which is understood as an exaggerated sense of honour.

of Colombia: the Atlantic coast, Pacific coastal plains, and the river banks of the Magdalena and Cauca rivers. These mining zones are characterized by the presence of Afrocolombian, white, and Indigenous populations, with an accentuated predominance of the former. This region is high in de facto unions, sporadic relationships, and male polygamy. There is usually an absence of a father figure in the family, resulting in the mother and her extended family taking on the responsibility for and authority over the children. Gutiérrez described this cultural complex as predominantly matrifocal.¹¹

The fourth and last cultural complex is the ‘Antioqueñian complex or from the mountain’ (*complejo de la montaña o antioqueño*), portrayed as a matrifocal family structure with a strong nexus to the extended family in the mother line. Unlike the ‘negroid complex,’ the male figure is present in the nuclear family and it is the cultural complex with the highest percentage of legal and Catholic marriages and a minimal percentage of de facto unions (Gutiérrez, 2000).

Gutiérrez’s findings are useful in informing my analysis and giving me helpful cues on family structure according to my participants’ place of origin. Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to assume that the previous classifications of Colombian families are rigid and that women from the same geographical zones would indeed coincide on experiences of *crianza*. In fact, displaced mothers from the same region often varied in their constructions of *crianza* that were not only socially and culturally assembled but also individually constructed (Peñaranda, 2011). It is also important to acknowledge possible changes in these family configurations due to displacement, loss of family members, reconfiguration of feminine and masculine roles, and socio-economic circumstances in an urban area that may possibly differ from rural contexts. When displaced, the

¹¹ In her study, Gutiérrez used the term ‘matriarchal’ to refer to the prevailing family structure in the coastal-fluvial mining zone and Antioqueñian complexes. However, in my research I advocate for use of the term “matrifocal” which refers to mother-centered households in which there is a strong mother-children relationship, a strong cooperation with female kin, and high female economic activity (Safa, 2005). These matrifocal families and female-headed households do not necessarily correlate with female power and gender equalities inside and outside the home, and can even coexist with male dominance and *machismo* (Brøgger & Gilmore, 1997).

rupture of the cultural complexes that traditional communities have created could result in the loss of their family identities (Gutiérrez, 2000). Displacement can also impact *crianza* practices that perhaps have to be adjusted to the new city environment.

Up to this point, *crianza* has been discussed within the Latin American and Colombian contexts. In the following section, I will explain the interconnection of *crianza* and relevant Western parenting theories.

Western parenting theories that inform *crianza* research.

Relevant to my study, *crianza* research has been informed by Western parenting theories to the point that some scholars (see Martínez & García, 2012) explain the evolution of *crianza* research as if it were on the same trajectory as parenting research in North America. This would imply that *crianza* and parenting are seen as synonymous or, at least, that Western parenting theories have largely informed the study of *crianza* in Latin scholarly contexts.

As mentioned earlier, various disciplines have shaped child-rearing research. This has made parenting knowledge robust and allows for the possibility to understand its complexity and importance. Latin American literature on *crianza* suggests that psychology and anthropology are the most useful disciplines for understanding *crianza* in the context of forced displacement in Colombia. Historically, in both Colombia and internationally, research in parenting and culture has shown tensions between the particular interests of these two disciplines. According to Harkness and Super (2002), psychology has been driven by the pursuit of ‘scientific’ studies that aim at achieving clarity, concreteness, and universality, while anthropology is said to have focused on “thematicity, the understanding of cultural uniqueness [and has been characterized by the use of] interpretive approaches to the study of parenting as a cultural meaning system” (p.276). However, psychology has recently begun including cultural studies, thereby opening up the possibility of more interdisciplinary studies with anthropology on parenting. This

interdisciplinarity is present in my research since both disciplines provide significant insights for understanding the experiences of displaced Colombian mothers.

In particular, I will rely on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of development and some insights from studies on parenting and culture which, according to Harkness and Super (2002), highlight the importance of local social worlds in the child-rearing endeavour, the understanding of cultural variation in parenting, and discourses on cultural images and constructions of childhood (see Hwang, Lamb, & Sigel, 1996). These elements will be addressed in the later subsection '*Crianza* in forced displacement'. I will now describe Bronfenbrenner's ecological model and its use in my research.

In the 1970s, Urie Bronfenbrenner stressed the importance of considering the environment and contextual influences on children's development. Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed the ecological systems theory, proposing a complex system of relationships between children and different levels of surrounding contexts, ranging from children's immediate surroundings (i.e., nuclear family) to environments such as the schooling system and the broader society. Bronfenbrenner described these environmental layers as microsystems (i.e., children's immediate surroundings, such as parents and immediate family), mesosystems (i.e., connections between children's microsystems of home, school, neighbourhood, and others), exosystems (i.e., social settings such as extended family and social networks), and macrosystems (i.e., cultural values and norms and resources that affect children in the other, inner levels).

Although Bronfenbrenner's (1979) understanding of culture was that of an external or exosystem containing the person and dismissed the fact that culture is as much a part of the social world as it is part of the individual (López & Guarnaccia, 2000), his developmental theory is useful to understand forcibly displaced women's experiences of *crianza*. Williams (2010) argued that the ecology of displaced families is "an overarching, multi-layered and dynamic process

which acts . . . on the parents and/or carers" (p.38) that are "perceiving or (re)constructing 'being' in these new 'spaces'" (p.42). When moving into different contexts, Bronfenbrenner's environmental layers transform, bringing along possible changes that may affect parenting during the resettlement process. In a later study, Williams (2012) stressed that ecological conditions can impact the displaced parenting experience in different domains such as family structure, gender roles, and social organization. Changes in these ecological conditions also impact the use of resources to achieve parenting goals and satisfy needs. In Colombia, displaced mothers' experiences of *crianza* should be explored in the context of these new environmental factors that may be different in an urban context and may perhaps determine some of the challenges and resources for displaced women.

Crianza in forced displacement.

In the Colombian conflict, mainly men face the front lines; thus, women are usually the survivors of war as widows, spouses, and/or mothers. Besides enduring lack of security, social and emotional uprooting, and the loss of familiar subsistence strategies, internally displaced women are also confronted by the challenge of being parents in unknown urban contexts (Meertens & Stoller, 2001). Due to the hardships of their circumstances, some mothers' testimonies reflect helplessness when they are prevented from giving children appropriate care (see Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012). As mentioned previously, even though research exists on displaced families in Colombia, the individual *crianza* experiences of mothers in internal exile have been overlooked. This study aims to provide an in-depth look into displaced women's personal accounts which is necessary to address their struggles and the means they go to in order to help themselves and their children construct a different way of being in the cities.

Anthropologist LeVine (1980) argued that cultural variability and diversity is present in parental behaviour, parental investment, and in the goals parents expect their children to achieve.

For instance, in Colombia's Indigenous population, education does not only rely on a formal education setting (e.g., learning to read and write) but also on ancestral knowledge passed from one generation to the next (e.g., knowledge about the cultivation of land; Meertens & Stoller, 2001). In this regard, Harkness and Super (2002) stressed that "cultural environments "communicate" ways of thinking, feeling and behaving to the growing child" (p.256) and that "the settings of daily life not only define the parameters of experience, [but] they also embody important cultural meanings" (p.272). In this sense, culture provides an adaptive formula that helps parents respond to challenges in familiar surroundings and to act accordingly.

DeLoache and Gottlieb (2000) elucidated that communities have different implicit knowledge accepted and stimulated within their immediate communities about the 'right' way to bring up children. However, these 'right' and 'appropriate' ways are contested and questioned when different cultural worlds come into contact with each other, merge, and struggle to maintain a sense of identity (Harkness & Super, 2002). The latter is common in the international migration process and it is also the case in internal displacement in Colombia where rural women from different socio-cultural contexts and ethnicities move to urban areas and begin a process of integration for themselves and their children (Lewig, Arney & Salveron, 2010).

LeVine (1980) argued that parenting is shaped by cultural values that usually can be carried on from one generation to the next. However, in the case of migration, whether international or within the same nation (e.g., internal displacement), child-rearing environments can change radically from one generation to another. Based on her study with Moroccan immigrant parents in the Netherlands, De Haan (2011) stressed the importance of understanding the cultural complexities and dynamic characteristics of migration settings and how they apply to the practice of child-rearing. De Haan elaborated on the concept of 'cultural translation,' described as a "process of confrontation between cultural systems as involving a qualitative

change of these systems themselves” (p. 379). This is different from the acculturation paradigm that defines culture as a bounded entity in which immigrants either maintain and “hold on to the country of origin (or stay ‘the same’)” or “seek contact with the host culture (or transform into the cultural system of the other)” (p.377). In the context of migration, De Haan suggested that the interactivity and transformation that occurs in new ‘contact zones’ where local social worlds merge can “induce the formation of new [parenting] practices that are qualitatively different from the ones that previously existed” (p.379) and that do not necessarily resemble parents’ mainstream practices. As a result, parents can develop a new “hybrid parenting” in which elements from both contexts are considered (p.387).

De Haan (2011) also argued that “‘old’ systems of childcare do not function readily in ‘new’ circumstances, which are a proof of the vitality and transformative potential of these systems” (p.377). Hence, what she calls the experience of living ‘in between’ traditions results in a tension that should not be given a negative connotation. Parents develop new solutions and assume agentic positions that allow for the possibility of change and transformation in migration settings. De Haan’s discussions cast light on the challenges that some Colombian mothers encounter following displacement, as they often find themselves needing to adapt to new environments and may have to revamp long-held parenting practices. De Haan seems to suggest that there may be hope and that parenting practices can adapt quite flexibly.

Even though the experience of each parent is distinct, the literature on parenting and migration suggests the existence of common challenges that are faced by migrant parents in the context of new and foreign settings. For instance, Lewig, Arney, and Salveron (2010) stressed that, in some cases, when child-rearing practices in the place of origin and a new setting are confronted, parents struggle with their own view of what is ‘appropriate parenting.’

De Haan (2011) argued that “caregiver arrangements and family systems tend to react strongly when confronted with new cultural and social systems” (p.377). In particular, her findings suggest five main thematic categories where Moroccan parents experienced a discrepancy between their own parenting and that exercised in the Netherlands: discipline, monitoring, investment in child support, adult-child relationships, and promoting independence (De Haan, 2011). Micolta’s (2007) study with Colombian immigrant parents in Spain revealed the same thematic categories mentioned by De Haan. However, Micolta added a discussion on the struggles faced by Colombian parents who, due to the rupture of social networks as a result of migration, are parenting in isolation. This represents a particular challenge for them because, as was mentioned before (see background section), in Colombia, the extended family plays a major role in *crianza*.

Micolta’s findings illuminate De Haan’s (2011) discussion about migrant parents’ development of ‘hybrid parenting.’ Micolta explained that for some ex-pat Colombian parents, *crianza* should not depend on the place where they are currently living but on individual styles that stem from *crianza* practices in Colombia. In contrast, other parents tried to merge Colombian *crianza* with elements found in Spain, arguing that Colombian parents and their children should adapt to the new society where they are living. In general, Colombian parents in Madrid struggled to maintain and teach their children cultural values that were important in their native country, such as respect for parents and adults (Micolta, 2007). When comparing De Haan and Micolta’s arguments, I found De Haan’s more convincing and attractive since it is flexible in regards to the fluidity of *crianza* practices and because it emphasizes change.

Lewig, Arney, and Salveron’s (2010) study revealed that the challenges of parenting in new local scenarios are usually attributed to three main aspects: tensions between the host country or city’s cultural norms and traditional parenting beliefs and practices; the changing roles

and expectations of refugee and displaced children; and parents' difficulties finding support networks in a foreign, wider community. In the context of forced displacement, it is important to abstain from asserting that Colombian women will find a contradiction between the *crianza* practices that are legitimized in their rural communities and the practices they have encountered in the city. My research revealed findings in this respect and highlighted the challenges faced by this particular group of mothers (please see the discussion section). Nonetheless, studies carried out in international settings such as those previously mentioned illuminate the experience of being a parent in internal exile in Colombia.

Research conducted with displaced parents in Colombia has usually been led by a family systems theory focused on the family configuration after displacement, the necessity of adjustments in family dynamics, and the design of psychosocial interventions for displaced families (López & Agudelo, 2000; López, 2004). Attention has also been given to studying parental competence in situations of psychosocial risk (e.g., forced displacement) where parenting capacity can either be diminished or maintained. If maintained, parents are able to protect and respond to their children's needs (Granada & Domínguez, 2012).

Among the studies previously mentioned (e.g., López & Agudelo, 2000; López, 2004; Granada & Domínguez, 2012), it is common to find a special interest in the process of resiliency of displaced families. According to the Oxford dictionary (2013), resilience refers to “the ability of a substance or object to spring back into shape; elasticity” and “the capacity to recover quickly from difficulties; toughness.” Boris Cyrulnik (cited in Colmenares, 2002) applied this concept – used in physics to characterize the resistance of a body to an impact and the capacity of this body to retain its structure in spite of the impact – to the psychological arena, arguing for the existence of factors that enable human beings to resist trauma and create purposeful and meaningful lives

for themselves. From this perspective, the concept of resilience focuses on the capacity for recovery, which depends on the meanings attributed to experience.

As an example, López (2004) studied displaced Colombian families based on the theories of familiar stress and resilience. Her analysis highlighted the double position of this segment of the population. According to López (2004), the first condition is “their situation as victims, with undesirable consequences for their recovery, and the second condition is their situation as survivors, which gives them different possibilities, such as being protagonists in the reconstruction of their lives’ projects” (p.21). López’s discussion considered displaced families as survivors and not victims. It relied on the concept of resilience in social sciences as applied to families who have suffered internal displacement and have the capacity to “reorganize themselves after adversity, with more strength and more resources (...) in an active process of strengthen and growth in response to crises and challenges” (p.29).

An additional example of this kind of research (i.e., resilience approach) is Granada and Domínguez’s (2012) study of ‘parenting resilience’ in the context of forced displacement. ‘Parenting resilience’ is understood as a “dynamic process that allows parents to develop a protective and sensitive relationship in regards to their children’s necessities despite living in an environment that can boost violent behaviour” (p.469). Granada and Domínguez argued that “parents’ capacities are activated under adverse conditions” (p.457). According to them, it is in those difficult times, when it comes down to protecting the youngest, for instance, that some of the truest form of a person’s parenting is on display. The researchers centered their discussion on displaced parents’ resources to protect their children from the impact of unexpected and painful situations and on the importance of taking into consideration resilience and parental capacity in program planning and evaluation. Even though the findings are relevant in regards to resiliency’s ability to enable displaced families to recover and overcome the difficulties brought on by

displacement, their analysis seems weak in terms of the cultural variability that can influence families' experiences (e.g., researchers refer to the samples as 'displaced families' or 'displaced parents' without specifying whether or not they have different cultural backgrounds or distinctive, culturally constructed ways of understanding *crianza*).

Finally, to date I have been able to find only one study that explored displaced mothers' experiences and took cultural diversity in Colombia and the way in which it may impact women's experiences in an urban context into consideration. Nursing professors Argote and Vásquez (2007) became interested in studying displaced rural mothers' practices of care during their pregnancies. Argote and Vásquez realized that once settled in the city, displaced women from rural areas were not willing to attend their prenatal checkups, resulting in complications during pregnancy and delivery. Their qualitative study (i.e., ethnonursing) yielded relevant results in terms of the cultural traditions, beliefs, and values that displaced women brought with them to a different (i.e., urban) context. To mention a few of Argote and Vásquez's findings, displaced women explained that in their previous rural contexts they only went to the doctor when they felt sick and did not see a purpose in going to the doctor when pregnant, since childbearing is not considered an illness. Women were also concerned with following the practices of care handed down through the maternal line (e.g., mothers, aunts, or the majority of women in their land). Argote and Vásquez (2007) identified that women's practices were directed to make sure the baby is "placed well" (head down) to avoid a "bad force," to "balance cold and heat," to "eat properly," to "transmit safety and well-being to the child," and to "cultivate the family collaboration and support" (p.35). When interacting with health centers in the city, displaced women felt that their beliefs were considered irrelevant by the health staff; this resulted in women distrusting the health system and not wanting to use its services. Argote and Vásquez (2007) concluded that getting to know displaced rural women's practices of care forces an exchange of

knowledge that allows providers of prenatal care to determine which of those practices are important to keep, which should be adjusted or negotiated, and which should be restructured in order to promote the best outcome for mother and child. This study importantly informed my own research by shedding light on how displaced women's cultural practices and beliefs towards childbearing (or *crianza*, in the case of my study) influence their integration into an urban context with different meanings associated with practices of care.

Crianza theory and the study of parenting and culture in the context of forced displacement are too vast to be covered in totality in my literature review. I have made an effort to provide a brief recounting of the main topics related to understanding *crianza* in migration situations and have relied on Latin American *crianza* and Western parenting theory and research, since both influenced my study. Family structures in Colombia, cultural variability in *crianza*, and personal constructions of *crianza* should be taken into account when exploring women's experiences of *crianza* in internal exile. The gap in the literature regarding studies which take a cultural approach towards displaced Colombian women's experiences of *crianza* in urban contexts argues for the necessity of this type of research. This is particularly important during a period of transition to a process of reconciliation where I found that women, for various reasons, either have decided to stay in the city or return to their rural homes. Ultimately, displaced women's experiences are not only impacted by the meanings associated with *crianza* but also by reactions to war and exile. These will be described in the following section.

Displaced Women and Reactions to War and Exile

Migrations affect men and women in gendered ways and it seems defensible that this would be the case under the conditions of armed conflict (Mahler & Pessar, 2006). Some researchers even suggest that men and women manifest different reactions in general. Moser and

Clark (cited in Jansen, 2006) stressed that “understanding the conditions that lead to war, war itself, and the aftermath of war sensitizes us to the notion that ... women and men are differentially affected by violence, both as victims and as perpetrators, and have differential access to resources” (pp.136-137). While everyone, no matter their gender, should be of equal importance and consideration, since my study focuses on displaced Colombian mothers’ experiences of *crianza*, I will focus my discussion on these women’s reactions to war and exile.

In the process of trying to understand the experiences and responses of women who have been displaced to urban settings, I have encountered literature discussing the gendered experiences of migration and war for women. The concept of gender has been largely discussed (e.g., Scott, 1986), but it is not my intention to dwell on the many important debates that have been raised by different disciplines (e.g., feminist studies, sociology, anthropology) over the social components and determinants of gender. For the purpose of my M.A. thesis, I find it helpful to rely on Mahler and Pessar (2006), who described gender as “a principal factor that organizes social life [and] our behaviour and thought, not a set of static structures or roles but as an ongoing process” (p.29). Basing their research on contributions by Grasmuck and Pessar, Hondagneu-Sotelo, and Matsuoka and Sorenson, Mahler and Pessar (2006) noted that “migration is not merely a process best understood in economic and/or political terms; it is also a socio-cultural process mediated by gendered and kinship ideologies, institutions, and practices” (p.33). According to Herrera (2013), studies of gender and migration have focused on three main areas: the migration experiences of women who are acknowledged as actors rather than passive subjects; migration as a critical site for the study of the transformation of gender relations; and the study of gender with regards to other aspects such as class, age, race, sexual orientation, and nationality. The latter area of analysis is known as intersectionality and prioritizes interconnections between gender and social inequality in the context of migration,

acknowledging that the lives of migrants are impacted by gender as well as other categories such as socio-economic circumstance, place of origin, and ethnicity (Herrera, 2013; Mahler & Pessar, 2006). Certainly, the labour of bringing gender into migration studies has revealed the importance of understanding women's experiences before (e.g., deciding whether to migrate or not) and after (e.g., settlement in a new environment) moving within and across nations.

In the following paragraphs I will discuss various national and international studies which have shown that displacement and migration bring about role changes within families and that individual and social agency have proven to be means for women to create a sense of continuity. The discussion will be enriched by Colombian women's narratives of forced displacement, offering various ways of reconstructing their lives after disruption. (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012).

Studies with refugee and displaced women.

To understand women's experiences of forced migration, various studies have focused on refugee women and displaced women in both international and national scenarios (e.g., in Colombia). Researchers have examined aspects of coping following displacement, changes in women's gender roles, and agency. Their examples have illuminated women's reactions to war and exile.

Women's support for solidarity among women and the use of social networks of friends and family are considered survival strategies that enable women to gain moral support, adjust to urban life, develop a sense of physical and emotional security, and get assistance in everyday tasks and family responsibilities (Mar Oo, 2010; Meertens & Stoller, 2001). These collective strengths are fundamental in times of emotional distress and provide the possibility of entering the labour market in the city (Meertens & Stoller, 2001).

International studies have compared changes in women's roles following displacement to those traditionally assumed by men (e.g., women taking on the role of the main provider and protector within the family; Mookherjee, 2006). Such is the case for displaced Karen women in the Taungoo district in Myanmar who, after the men fled the Sate Peace and Development Council military's abuse, stayed behind and assumed traditional masculine roles such as becoming the head of the household and leaders in the villages, earning income by engaging in wage work in the surrounding areas, assuming economic responsibilities, and supporting their families and relatives (Mar Oo, 2010). Similar findings in a Colombian context suggest that women see these new roles as potentially beneficial to their attempts to integrate into the new communities where they have arrived (Meertens & Stoller, 2001).

Other studies have examined the agentic ways in which women reposition themselves after being displaced. Much has been written about agency but little is agreed upon. For my study, I focused on agency in the context of transnational migration. For example, Mahler and Pessar (2001) addressed women's efforts to regain power when they found themselves with limited resources in new geographical spaces or social locations. Women may then become "initiators, refiners, and transformers of these [disadvantageous social] conditions" (p.447), taking action to guarantee their access to resources (e.g., income, health, education). Mahler and Pessar's discussion contests views of displaced women as passive victims, focusing instead on their agentic actions to thrive.

In the literature on migration due to conflict (see Manchanda, 2001), Mookherjee (2006) demonstrated a pervasive focus on agent-victim binaries that position women either as victims or as agents in their struggles for survival. Studies typically conclude that women's capacity for recovery depends on the meanings they attribute to the experience of displacement. This has raised the question of whether or not being agentic plays a role in women's coping and recovery

and “whether migration was an empowering or an exploitative experience for women” (Herrera, 2013, p.479). Herrera’s findings suggest that both processes can happen simultaneously, highlighting the nuances of the experience.

In an effort to understand the various ways in which women have attempted to regain stability, research has also highlighted the importance of exploring displaced women’s roles as political agents after displacement (e.g., Sandvik & Lemaitre, 2013), their capacity to reconstruct life projects (e.g., Meertens & Stoller, 2001), and their ability to develop response strategies (e.g., Mar Oo, 2010). A clear example of displaced women’s agency can be found in Sandvik and Lemaitre’s (2013) work in northern Colombia. They presented a case study of the organization *Liga de Mujeres Desplazadas* (The League of Displaced Women), grounded in feminist theory and following a participatory research method. This case study revealed how internally displaced women belonging to this organization generated important information to advance their agenda. These women gathered information, helped with a census of 126 households of displaced women active in the League, and collaborated with the researchers in the design of a survey aimed at assessing the level of rights members enjoyed (e.g., access to education and health services). The findings of the survey, for example, alerted displaced women to the magnitude of food insecurity in a high percentage of households, giving them sufficient data to request food aid from the national government and from various international organizations.

By participating in the study, these women became knowledge producers. Their involvement ultimately led to improved programming, services related to food security, and the implementation of humanitarian legal regulations. Even though this research occurred in the context of governmental humanitarian policy implementation and did not aim to explore the psychological aspects of life in displacement, it provided an important picture of women as political agents who - rather than becoming victims without resources - participated in civic

organizations. According to Sandvik and Lemaitre (2013), their findings revealed displaced women as “citizens who claim rights and attempt to use them as a means of escaping poverty and deprivation” (p.46).

Meertens and Stoller (2001) observed women’s capacities to rebuild life projects (individual or collective) in the city after being forcibly displaced. Studying women who had been displaced to the city of Córdoba, Colombia, Meertens and Stoller distinguished two phases in women’s experience of displacement: the destruction of previous lives, followed by uprooting and loss of social ties; and survival and reconstruction of a life project at the place of arrival. In regards to this second phase, the authors identified two main determinants in women’s recovery and coping with the displacement situation. The first determinant involved the presence or absence of women’s previous experiences of public participation and leadership in organizations. Meertens and Stoller argued that political awareness and civic involvement helped these women resist psychological trauma and work towards the development of new life projects. The second determinant inversely associated the immediacy of the displacement or “the degree of urgency with which they abandoned their places of residence” with the effectiveness of coping in the city (p.137). In this regard, Meertens and Stoller (2001) described the difference between widows who flee to the cities with a high degree of urgency due to imminent danger at home, and female peasant leaders who have the time to prepare for their transfer to the city and plan accordingly. They found that the latter had more opportunities to cope.

The recognition of two phases in Colombian women’s experiences of displacement (i.e., destruction of lives and reconstruction of life projects) is very useful. These two phases appear to correspond to Becker’s (1997) understanding of disrupted lives in which there is a disruption but also the possibility to create a sense of continuity, albeit with a liminal period in between. While Meertens and Stoller (2001) did not consider the possibility for liminal, in-between periods,

Becker (1997) argued that the major elements of a disrupted life are “the disruption itself, a period of limbo, and a period of life reorganization” (p.2). According to Becker, biographical disruptions are usually followed by a phase of limbo in which individuals begin the process of regaining a sense of order and of the future. In Colombia, due to uncertainties about the length of the armed conflict, displaced women cannot know how long their displacement will last. In such cases, the limbo metaphor may allow women to understand their displacement as temporary and help them to imagine a future where things will return to “normal” (Becker, 1997, p.120). As displaced Colombian women may feel their lives have been in a liminal state - in some cases for a very long time - many either desire for the conflict to end so they can go back to their towns and villages and resume their lives, or they imagine a future in the city. The latter may be an effort to “reconcile living with long-term uncertainty” (Becker, 1997, p.44). Either way, displaced women seem to find means of coping, hoping to create order out of chaos¹² and continuities out of discontinuities rather than living in uncertainty.

The themes I found in a collection of displaced Colombian women’s narratives add to the findings of the studies previously mentioned (see Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012). Women hope to create continuity by receiving compensation, taking refuge in their religious beliefs, preserving a sense of self, and being a mother. In addition, in those cases where women have been able to return to their previous rural homes, I identified their hopes to re-construct their communities and villages as a means of rebuilding and healing both their lives and themselves.

A common theme I found among Brodzinsky’s and Schoening’s collected narratives was the importance of seeking justice and compensation for the crimes that these displaced women or their relatives had suffered. Receiving government support and having perpetrators from all sides

¹² Becker (2007) defined chaos as the experience of two separate realities: one that corresponds to the past or what it is “known” and the other that refers to the present disruption or “bad dream.” In a state of chaos people usually ask the question of “what is real?” (p.37).

brought to justice appeared to be central factors in rebuilding their lives. However, compensation does not completely repair the suffering from all their losses. In this regard, Emilia (a participant from their book) expressed: “However, I say that no matter what we get, we still cannot recover what we lost. Life cannot be bought with money” (p.47).

Furthermore, many of the narratives showed how important it is for these women to find a source of strength in their ardent religious convictions as they cope with their suffering. As already noted, Colombia is a deeply religious country: 80% of the population follows Catholicism and an additional 11.5% follow other types of Christian worship. In their stories, they constantly call out to God for help, protection, and healing. They may also be praying for others, as in the following case of a man whose outspokenness could have gotten him killed: “We were surprised that [the paramilitaries] didn’t do anything to him¹³ for saying that. But some of us who were at the house had been reading the Bible, Psalm 91, which talks about God’s protection and so I think maybe that saved him” (p.39). Uribe’s (2006) study on the uprooting and religion of displaced people in Colombia revealed that participants recall that their vulnerability is what “drove them closer to God” (p.75). Some displaced women even compared themselves and their efforts to help the community and men in need to women from the Bible (e.g., Mary, Mary Magdalene; Uribe, 2006).

In an effort to restore a sense of normalcy, people need to feel that they still have a consistent self (e.g., character traits) during times of change (Becker, 1997). In Colombia, displaced women’s faith may help them preserve their sense of self by not letting war have too deep of an impact on them. Lina, a displaced teacher from La Apartada, Córdoba, explained in her narrative (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012) how her faith helped her to maintain her sense of

¹³ Emilia is referring to a man who told the paramilitaries that the community was going to let the government security forces know it was the AUC who committed the massacre at the town of Salado on February 18, 2000.

self so that, in the midst of her suffering, others would continue to see her as an honest person despite the fact that she had been hurt:

“I asked God to take away my anger. I asked him to help me so that my heart doesn’t fill with bitterness (...) Every night when I lie down in bed I see my enormous solitude and I pray, “God, take charge of this solitude and judge the killers yourself. Don’t allow me or my kids to condemn ourselves because of them”” (p.107).

Lastly, for some women who have suffered terrible losses, being a mother seemed to be a motivating aspect to redefine disruption and imagining a future. Lina, whose husband was killed by the paramilitaries, notes:

“I don’t think I’ll ever feel joy again after sharing so many years with a person, and having him taken away like that, leaving me with such great agony (...) Sometimes I say to myself, “Oh God, why don’t you remember me?” The little ones make me persevere. If not for them, I would want to die.” (p.107).

This section of the literature review has given an account of different reactions that women may experience when migrating in international and national (i.e., Colombian) contexts. I have addressed the way in which several studies regarding women and the history of war emphasize the gendered impact of displacement, resulting in important findings on women’s agency and the possible new roles they assume after migrating. Becker (1997) reminded us that “disruption can bring about renewed efforts at self-discovery and highlight concerns about how the self is portrayed to others” (p.3). Women’s capacities to reconstruct life projects after displacement and their response strategies to adapt to their involuntary migration show the various ways women can experience disruption, liminality, and continuity. In some cases, displaced women may be simultaneously struggling to make sense of their lives after disruption and engaging in efforts to create coherence, showing us that both processes are very likely to

coexist within the same person. The scope of the research with migrant women and their narratives of displacement demonstrates the uniqueness of experience and contributes to the understanding of the multiple ways in which women react to exile, especially if we acknowledge that continuity is mediated by cultural notions of order and normalcy and is shaped by aspects such as ethnicity and age (Becker, 1997). The effects of war and displacement on women's health – mental health in particular – will be discussed in the following section.

Colombia's Internal Armed Conflict and its Impact on the Mental Health of Civilians

The existence of armed conflicts in several countries around the world (e.g., Colombia, Sudan, Sri Lanka) has compelled international and state agencies, as well as scholars, to understand the impact of war on the well-being of civilians and to develop appropriate interventions to help those in need. Special emphasis has been placed on the detrimental effects of armed conflict on the mental health among members of communities where conflicts are taking place (Londoño, Romero & Casas, 2012; Miller & Rasmussen, 2010b; Thapa & Hauff, 2012). In Colombia, such research has identified a significant incidence of different mental disorders among civilians as a consequence of war exposure (Bell, Méndez, Martínez, Palma, & Bosch, 2012; Londoño et al., 2012; Richards et al., 2011). Socio-economic and cultural impacts of displacement on civilians have also been shown to determine the likelihood of developing a mental illness (Richards et al., 2011). Although my study's focus is not on mental health, I find it necessary to briefly acknowledge the possible effects that extreme distress, such as that brought on by armed conflict, can have on displaced women, *crianza*, and the ability to parent.

Approaches to mental health.

Mental health can be defined and approached in various ways according to the context in which the term is being used. Historically, distinctions between health and illness have had

biomedical connotations, where health is the absence of illness and vice versa. According to Gadamer (1996), this definition objectifies illness by describing it as an external entity that “imposes itself on us as something threatening and disruptive” over which we expect to master and gain control (p.105). By contrast, the World Health Organization’s (WHO) 2007 definition of mental health is a “state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community” (What is mental health?, para.1). This definition varies from the traditional biomedical model by arguing that mental health is not merely the absence of a mental disorder and that an individual’s mental health is dependent on the quality of his or her interaction with the surrounding environment.

Although more comprehensive than the definition offered in the biomedical approach, WHO’s definition of mental health still fails to acknowledge the relevant insights of disciplines such as cultural psychiatry and medical anthropology, which remind us of the importance of cultural understandings of mental health and illness. From this perspective, the particular symbols and meanings associated with the experience of being ill are culturally constructed in specific, local social worlds (Kleinman, 1988). Hence, cultural traditions and local forms of social relations may influence the experience and expression of psychiatric illness and psychological distress (Good & Good, 1986). Along the same lines, in 1996 the *World Mental Health Report* (cited in López & Guarnaccia, 2000) – a major contribution to the study of culture and psychopathology – concluded that an individual’s mental health and illness are “intricately tied to the social world” (p.577). These insights are of particular importance in the contexts of dislocation and resettlement. In Colombia, for example, local understandings of health and illness through which suffering occurs must be given special attention due to the cultural diversity of the population (Littlewood, 1996). Moreover, cultural understandings of suffering are embedded in

specific social conditions such as social class, poverty, gender, and armed conflict and may affect mental health in different levels (López & Guarnaccia, 2000).

Two different approaches in mental health and armed conflict.

According to Miller and Rasmussen (2010a), literature on armed conflict and mental health demonstrates that there have been two main approaches towards its study and applied interventions aimed at helping individuals and communities overcome the experience of war. The first approach, identified as the trauma-focused approach, centers on a particular kind of stressor, namely direct exposure to violence and war. The second approach is labeled psychosocial and focuses on daily stressors¹⁴ such as “the stressful social and material conditions that are often caused or exacerbated by armed conflict” (p.1385). Advocates of the trauma-focused approach believe that direct contact with the destruction of war results in psychological distress and that specialized clinical interventions directed at treating disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) are the best way to help individuals (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010a).

By contrast, advocates of psychosocial interventions argue that the distress caused by diminishing everyday life conditions (e.g., displacement, unemployment, social isolation, overcrowded refugee settlements) during armed conflict affects a population’s mental health. It is suggested that changing those conditions will improve survivors’ mental health (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010a). Instead of advocating for one approach or the other, I would like to suggest that a comprehensive approach - one that provides clinical services and psychosocial interventions simultaneously - would benefit displaced populations’ mental health. Good’s (1996) notion that “mental health problems are best conceived as clusters of psychosocial problems which reproduce and compound rather than as specific diseases with particular

¹⁴ Miller and Rasmussen (2010a) acknowledged that the concept of daily stressors can be problematic since it ranges from such potentially traumatic stressors as child abuse to other stressors such as poverty or lack of access to medical care. They could also be called ongoing adversity or ecological stressors.

causes”¹⁵ would provide support for such a suggestion (p.1505). In situations of armed conflicts, I fear that multilevel approaches privileging either trauma-focused or psychosocial approaches over the other are very problematic. They might discount the interconnections between effects of direct exposure to violence and the daily stressors present in individuals’ social ecology, thereby affecting mental health and illness.

Mental health and armed conflict in Colombia.

In Colombia, studies on mental health and armed conflict have mainly relied on the first of the approaches previously explained (i.e., trauma-focused), emphasizing the influence of war exposure on the development of mental illness. There has been a prevalence of quantitative research and the use of Western psychological tools aimed at assessing the impact of violence on the occurrence of mental disorders in participants. These tools are built from pre-established criteria found in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The findings stressed that conflict related to violence is highly associated with anxiety-related psychopathology (Bell et al., 2012). Moreover, individuals exposed to violent conflict are at risk of developing mental disorders such as PTSD, affective disorders, generalized anxiety disorder, dissociative symptoms, suicidal ideation and attempts, depressive symptoms, and somatization disorder (Bell et al., 2012; Londoño, et al., 2012; Richards et al., 2011). The previous studies made an important association between forced displacement and mental disorders in Colombia based on instruments and scales validated for use in Colombia. However, the nosology used in these instruments was imported from a Westernized conception of mental health which assumes worldwide mental illness patterns that perhaps are not culturally salient among the rural, displaced Colombian population (Littlewood, 1996; Watters, 2010). There is little discussion

¹⁵ As an example, Good (1996) explained how substance abuse, domestic violence, depression, and health risks in adulthood for children who were victimized should be "associated with one another, and these are often clustered in communities demoralized by oppressive economic conditions or by the trauma of dislocation" (p.1505).

about the possible cultural variability in meanings of illness and in the experience of symptoms and suffering among participants. The latter, according to Rogler (1999), can possibly put these mental health studies' discussions at risk of being culturally insensitive by assuming that all "respondents are culturally homogeneous" (p.431).

For my study of displaced Colombian women's narratives (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012) I found themes that would relate to the daily stressors mentioned by Miller and Rasmussen (2010b). For example, these narratives usually began with joyful memories of previously stable lives, followed by accounts of sadness and uncertainty, being uprooted, and reflections about how previous communities were fundamental in the construction of women's identities and sense of belonging. These narratives exhibited how some women develop a new identity out of the experience of being a displaced person. Unlike what Goffman (1959) suggested, women do not seem to perform this new identity in order to gain control over a situation; rather, they find that the circumstances of their new host environment imposes this identity on them, accompanied by a deep sense of otherness, shame, and prejudice. The following excerpt from a narrative in Brodzinsky and Schoening's (2012) collection illustrates this well:

"When you're displaced, people look at you badly. People would scowl at us for being displaced, and for being from El Salado. Because it was a 'red zone'¹⁶ – that's what they called it – many people saw us as guerrilla collaborators. And when we went to collect relief kits from the Red Cross and the mayor's office, we heard people comment, 'They're probably bad people'" (p.42).

There are other stressors that come along with loss of one's place, identity, livelihood, and personal property. The narratives revealed that additional and ongoing stressors included the

¹⁶ A *zona roja* or 'red zone' is the term used in Colombia to name an area characterized for being host to disputes between armed groups. In other words, *zonas rojas* are territories where fights are constantly taking place. Displaced people usually lived in these parts of the Colombian territory.

disruption of social networks, poverty, and limited access to essential services (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012). As Miller and Rasmussen (2010a) argued, “chronic environmental stressors adversely affect mental health [and] psychological and physical wellbeing” (p.1387), by “persistently elevating stress levels and taxing available coping resources” (p.1385). These stressors should not be overlooked when addressing the impact of war on civilians, whether in research or in outreach programs. As the next paragraph will illustrate, armed conflict affects women in particular ways.

Armed conflict and women’s mental health.

Worldwide studies have proved that armed conflict has detrimental consequences to women’s physical and mental health. These effects include a high rate of sexual violence accompanied by physical injuries, severe emotional effects, risk of sexually transmitted diseases, and reproductive and maternal health concerns such as family planning, pregnancy, stressful deliveries, and the difficult issue of bringing to term children that are perhaps unwanted (Hynes, 2004; Jansen, 2006; Snyder, Gabbard, May & Zulcic, 2006; Trenholm, Olsson, & Ahlberg, 2011; Wachala, 2012). For instance, in the present time, there has been a rampant sexual abuse and danger for refugee women on their arduous journeys fleeing Syria for Western Europe. In Colombia, these difficulties do not appear to be a problem because the distances are shorter. Nonetheless, sexual violence against women has been a constant in the Colombian conflict not so much during their journeys but while living in their rural villages. Usually, in those cases, the end pursued by armed men is not simple consummation (i.e., sexual intercourse) but to accomplish land dispossession as strategy of war (Céspedes-Báez, 2010).

In Colombia, studies have uncovered gender-specific vulnerabilities. Being female has been found to be a significant predictor of higher PTSD symptoms and levels of depression (Richards et al., 2011). Mogollón’s (2006) study of 25 displaced women’s narratives in the city

of Bogotá revealed how women perceive and associate their health problems with mental health problems, lack of access to food, and gynecological abnormalities. Additionally, having assumed the role of main provider, displaced women identified their precarious economic situations and household responsibilities as the main constraints preventing them from accessing health care services. Mogollón's findings support Miller and Rasmussen's (2010b) argument about the impact of ongoing adversity and ecological stressors on victims' or – in this case – women's mental health and psychological well-being.

López and Guarnaccia (2000) highlighted the *World Mental Health Report's* call for research that examines “the social factors that influence women's health in specific cultural contexts and to identify effective community-based interventions in improving women's health status” (p.578). Women who are forced to migrate often face economic, social, and psychological difficulties. Even though they are resettling within their own country, their new ‘homes’ remain foreign to them. Under these socio-political circumstances, it is important and necessary to understand not only the nature and historical facts of the Colombian conflict, but also the psychological and social implications of the conflict in general, and the effects of displacement in particular. When addressing the impact of armed conflict on the mental health of civilians in Colombia, there has been a prevalence of quantitative research that does not adequately capture the experiences of mental health problems in displaced participants. Nonetheless, these studies support existing research on mental health and armed conflict in showing how direct exposure to war and daily stressors affects displaced civilians' and women's mental health. As mentioned earlier, it was not the purpose of the study to explore mental health in displaced women in Colombia, but it seems obvious that women's psychological well-being plays a major role in the parenting endeavour (Dolman, Jones, & Howard, 2013). In the following section I will describe

how I collected women's personal accounts of their experiences of *crianza* and the means I consider most appropriate to interpret them.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Paradigm

My research addressed the main challenges and driving forces for displaced Colombian women as they endeavour to parent their children under the uncertainties of prolonged internal exile, torn between courage, resilience, and despair. As these women create tentative stories of new meanings and new beginnings wrought with both fragility and resplendent strength, they invite myriad impressions of their different backgrounds, experiences, and hopes for their children's futures. Therefore, as part of a qualitative research design, a narrative approach would seem to offer a sensitive enough choice to grasp some glimpses of their indomitable human spirits.

The research paradigm that I embraced builds on social constructionism, a “belief system that assumes that “universal truth” cannot exist because there are multiple contextual perspectives and subjective voices that can label truth in scientific pursuit” (Hays & Singh, 2012, p.41). According to Crotty (1998), constructionism claims there is no objective truth waiting to be discovered because “truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world [hence] meaning is not discovered, but constructed” (p.9). Under a constructionist framework, we assume the self is socially constructed in our interactions as we use symbols and language to make meaning of our experiences and tell our stories (Crossley, 2011; De Munck, 2000).

As a researcher, and inspired by Hacking (1999) and by Gubrium and Holstein (2008), I am inclined to believe, on reflection, that the worlds that we live in, and our lived experiences within these worlds, are not simply ‘there’ for human beings. Instead, I would suggest that we creatively make the worlds of our everyday lives in astoundingly variable and changing ways, yet

in some ways guided by the communities we live in. In this regard, I think of myself, or any self, and of myself as a researcher, not as some independent, autonomous, individual agent, but as fashioned out of the interdependence of ‘my’ existence within the worlds of my life.

This does not mean that I want to challenge the veracity of the – often dreadful – experiences that the displaced women in my research study have reported in our conversations. However, the variety of their experiences, and the many ways how the women in my study interpret experiences of displacement differently, lead me to challenge the simplistic ways how classifications such as ‘displaced women’ may be used – as if there was only one category ‘displaced woman.’ Indeed, what I want to show, is that the category ‘displaced woman’ is not some quasi-biological universal category but indeed socially constructed – reflected in research participants’ manifold, differential interpretations of their experiences – including my own attempts to interpret their personal accounts and explanations. Thus, I endeavoured to respect and preserve, in my empirical study, the rich heterogeneity of these women’s experiences, resisting impulses to homogenize the findings.

In this research, I inquired into the meanings and meaning-making processes sedimented into displaced women’s stories by using narrative analysis as described below. By privileging the voices of my participants, I aimed to understand their subjective experiences and the ways in which they construct similarities and differences of meanings in relation to the experience of being displaced mothers.

Methodology

Narrative analysis is based on research traditions that pursue how human beings make meaning of their experiences through symbols, texts, and narrative forms. A narrative is a “bounded unit of speech, rather than the entire biography (...). [It] is organized in complex ways,

with flashbacks, asides and perhaps, an episodic rather than temporal organization” (Riessman, 2008, p.101). Harmon and Holman (2009) defined narrative as “an account of events [that] incorporates considerable description and a plot, which is less often chronological and more often arranged according to a principle determined by the nature of the plot and the type of story intended”¹⁷ (p.360).

This methodological approach focuses on how stories are put together and on how individuals reinterpret their lives and engage in the process of creating and re-creating themselves through storytelling (Crossley, 2011). As we researchers inquire into participants’ narratives, we intend to explore the way in which order is imposed onto experiences as an attempt to make sense of events and actions in their lives (Riessman, 1993). However, while searching for meaning and interpreting these narratives, we cannot help but bring our own, socially constructed meanings to bear on this interpretive process, offering it to our audience for even further interpretation and conclusions.

I interpreted these meanings and processes through which my respondents made sense of events by using narrative analysis that allows for the study of narrative accounts. Narrative analysis, which studies respondents’ first person accounts of their experiences, served as an excellent tool to explore how mothers ascribed meaning to their lives in the midst of displacement. As anthropologist Gay Becker (1997) noted, people make an attempt through narratives to interpret events, to make sense of their personal worlds, and to create continuities after the occurrence of unexpected life disruptions. Becker stressed that the analysis of narratives is “a primary means for uncovering how disruption is experienced and how continuity is created, and for examining disparities between cultural ideals and people’s experiences” (p.18). In a similar sense, I used narrative analysis as a means to inquire about participants’ lives as mothers

¹⁷ I will use the terms ‘story’ and ‘narrative’ interchangeably throughout my thesis.

before and after displacement and to identify challenges and resources as women adjusted to *crianza* in displacement. I studied how my participants' stories developed and unfolded and how they created plots from disordered experience by interpreting their past and present lives as parents. Women's accounts of their lives before and after displacement were interpreted to "reveal intersections of the social, cultural, personal, and political" (Riessman, 1993, p.vi).

In the process of outlining my research design, I considered important to acknowledge that this methodological approach may have entailed a limitation in regard to my study. Even though I was not planning on inquiring about possible traumatic experiences that women may have encountered in the process of being displaced, I thought that perhaps some women were going to find it difficult to talk about their experiences of being a parent in the city and would probably provide fragmented accounts. However, as the reader will be able to notice from the quotes I used throughout my discussion section, most of my participants' answers were not short but rather long. In some cases, it was apparent that my interviewees were eager to talk about their experiences which left me with few questions to ask. Women told me stories rather than a few facts and the interviews became detailed narratives that included considerable descriptions and were suitable for narrative analysis.

Method

Recruitment

Participants were recruited by a combination of convenience and purposive sampling. Through convenience sampling I limited my selection to women who were currently living in Cali since I had access to public organizations in this city that work with the displaced population. This sampling method did not harm the outcome of the study since Cali is one of

Colombia's largest cities and has received a great share of internal migrants.¹⁸ Purposive sampling allows researchers to actively select “the most productive sample to answer the research question” and to develop “a framework of the variables that might influence an individual's contribution” (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). In this sense, I made the effort to recruit mothers who, following displacement from rural areas, moved to an urban context (i.e., Cali) with their children. Other mothers may have been displaced to other rural areas, municipalities, and even foreign countries such as Ecuador. Recruiting rural mothers made it possible to contrast the experience of *crianza* in a rural context and *crianza* in an urban setting. Additionally, as a recruitment condition, these mothers with whom I spoke had lived in the city for at least a year, to have time to resettle and reflect on their experiences in terms of challenges and resources.

Initially, I intended to use posters as means to recruit participants. These posters were going to be placed in organizations that offer services to displaced populations in Cali. The poster design is included in Appendix A. However, I then discounted this idea based on an experienced government officials' advice, who pointed out the displaced population's lack of interest in printed information placed on walls. Instead, recruitment was completed through three different channels which are explained as follows.

My first approach to women was established through a ‘Guidance and Assistance Unit for the Victims’ counsellor¹⁹ who informed potential participants about my research project. Interested women received a handout which invited participation in research interviews from mothers who were willing to talk about their experiences of *crianza* and about their quality of life in the city while in forced displacement. The handout also included the time required from

¹⁸ According to information made available by the Unit for the Victims, 411.091 and 140.000 displaced people have arrived in Valle del Cauca and Cali, respectively. These numbers correspond to the period between 1985 and 2015. (Red Nacional de información, Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las víctimas).

¹⁹ The counsellor works for the government agency that provides services for displaced population in Colombia. It is not impossible that this might create difficulties for women who do not like to depend on the government for political reasons. However, this did not seem to be a problem in the interviews I had.

potential participants and my contact information. A handout sample is included in Appendix B. Upon women's permission to be contacted, conveyed by the counsellor, I initiated the communication through telephone calls. The purpose of the research was explained in more detail and in the case of a positive response, I inquired about the participant's availability, scheduled an appointment, and provided them with information about the place where the interview was going to be conducted. Six of my participants were recruited with the support of the counsellor who worked for the government.

The second means to reach potential participants was done through the program *Más Familias en Acción* (More Families in Action), which is monitored by the Cali City Hall Peace Consultancy Office. *Más Familias en Acción* is a national program which provides financial support to low income families with children under the age of 18. Monetary stipends are allocated to families every two months throughout the year. The program aims at improving children's health and education, with the ultimate goal of contributing to poverty reduction in Colombia. A high percentage of the displaced mothers are active beneficiaries of the program, which made this facility a suitable site to undertake recruitment. The *Más Familias en Acción* program's coordinator in Cali shared information about my study with displaced mothers, explored their motivation to be interviewed, and asked for their permission to be contacted. Likewise, women who showed interest in participating in the research received a handout and were telephoned. Three of my participants were recruited through *Más Familias en Acción*.

In addition, a public elementary school teacher who had the experience of educating rural displaced children in Cali became the third channel to contact potential participants. Moved by her interest in the results of my study, she explained the purpose of my research to some of her students' mothers who had been forcibly displaced. One mother agreed to participate and was contacted.

Lastly, some displaced mothers were referred to me by women I had already interviewed. Even though I did not plan to use snowball or network sampling in order to ensure confidentiality, my last two participants took the initiative to contact me and were indeed motivated to join the study. Interviews were arranged upon their call.

Participants

Participants were not discriminated against based on marital status (i.e., single, married, separated, or widowed), age, language, or ethnicity. In terms of ethnicity, individuals who had been displaced may belong to any of the four ethnic groups in Colombia: Afro-Colombians (i.e., people of African descent), Indigenous peoples, *Raizales* from San Andrés and Providencia Islands, and *Pueblo ROM* or ‘gypsies.’ Generally, people displaced to Valle del Cauca and Cali belong to two of the main ethnic groups in Colombia – Afro-Colombian or Indigenous - or are common peasants/inhabitants of rural areas that are not identified with any particular ethnic group.

I wished to elicit rich responses from a range of participants about the details of rearing their children during displacement. For this type of detailed qualitative interview, 12 women of diverse backgrounds in terms of ethnicity and province of origin agreed to participate in individual open-ended, semi-structured narrative interviews. Though thirteen (13) interviews were conducted, one of those was excluded from the study. I based my decision on two participants’ characteristics that were central to my research: women ought to be included in the Colombian Victims’ Record (*Registro Único de Víctimas*), and ideally, they should come from rural areas or small municipalities. The narrative that was not considered for my data analysis was provided by a woman who was not officially recognized as a victim of the Colombian armed conflict, and who had been born and raised in Cali, spending additional years in various major cities in the country (e.g., Medellín).

In terms of ethnicity, there were among my sample eight (8) Afro-Colombian women, one (1) Indigenous²⁰ woman who belonged to the *Medio San Juan* community from the Chocó province, and three (3) women who did not associate with any specific ethnic group. In regard to participants' location before their arrival in the city, nine women were displaced from the province of Nariño, and one from the province of Chocó, both provinces located on the Colombian Pacific Coast. The other two participants came from the provinces of Cauca and Putumayo (please refer to Appendix C for a graphic representation of my participants' provinces of displacement). Important to mention, all women lived in rural villages before displacement, except for one who was brought up in a small municipality. Half of my participants were forcibly displaced overnight while the other half had time to plan their evacuation²¹.

The women interviewees had between one and six children,²² had been living in Cali between two and five years at the time of the interview, and ranged noticeably in age (23 to 51 years old). As for their relationship status, three women were single while the other three were married or in a common law relationship. Four participants were separated, of which three became separated due to the impact of armed conflict on the family. One of my participants was a widow and one had a missing husband; both of them lost their partners as a consequence of armed conflict. Regarding my participants' educational level, eight of them completed at least some elementary grade, two women possessed a high school diploma, and the other two had technical certifications (e.g., auxiliary nurse, cuisine). Once in the city, their kinds of occupation

²⁰ In the Colombian context, it is very rare that Indigenous peoples participate in studies or provide narratives of their experience. Hence, the Indigenous mother's participation in my research was incidental rather than instrumental and, unfortunately, constituted only a small part of my sample.

²¹ In any war there are brutal acts beyond description on all sides. Given that the armed conflict situation is still fluid in Colombia and taking into consideration safety issues, I decided not to specify which actor (i.e., FARC, AUC) was mainly responsible for displacement in the individual cases. Instead I use the general term 'armed groups' which includes all possible actors.

²² In order to protect my participants' confidentiality, I will refrain from providing their children's age and gender.

varied from being unemployed to working in the service area (e.g., waitressing, housekeeping), owning a home business, studying, and/or being a stay-at-home mom.

On the subject of their religious beliefs, all of my participants believed in a higher power and mention ‘God’ throughout their narratives, some claiming a stronger faith than others. Lastly, and with respect to their intention of return, eight of my participants had no intention to return to their towns of origin and expressed their willingness to remain in the city; three of them were unsure about their intention of return; and only one interviewee (i.e., Indigenous woman) would like, given the opportunity, to resettle in her previous home village. A table with detailed demographic characteristics is included in Appendix D.

Procedures

Prior to recruitment, my study received ethics approval by the Behavioural Research Ethics Board at the University of Saskatchewan. In addition, and following the guidelines to work with victims of the armed conflict in Colombia, the project was given ethics approval by the Ethics Committee at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Cali.

My participants were fully aware of the voluntariness of the research and their right to withdraw from the study at any time. A formal consent form was provided for signature (see Appendix E and F). The Spanish consent form was piloted to two rural women who had been living in Cali for the last five years and who had completed third grade elementary education. It was also reviewed by a public elementary school teacher who regularly interacts with rural parents. They all provided great insight in regard to vocabulary use and the complexity of some of the sentences.²³

²³ Just to give some examples, the word ‘confidentiality’ or *confidencialidad* was not understood by these two rural women; I changed it to ‘private’ or *privado*. Also, the word ‘research’ which translates to *investigación* was assumed by rural women as a ‘legal investigation.’ Instead I used the term ‘study’ or *studio*. In addition, it was recommended to me to further explain to potential participants terms such as therapy, transcripts, and analysis among others.

Stories were collected through individual open-ended, semi-structured narrative interviews. This interview was specifically designed to elicit “long stretches of talk that [take] the form of narrative accounts” (Riessman, 1993, p.v) as participants engaged with the experience of *crianza* in an urban context. Given my narrative interest, the interview questions were intended to be broad enough to evoke stories from the participants regarding my study’s three main research questions. For the duration of the first part of the interview I explored mothers’ experiences of *crianza* in their rural villages and possible contrasts with *crianza* in the city. Examples of questions included, ‘Tell me about a day in the countryside when you got up with your children and how you spent the day with them’, and ‘Tell me about a typical day in the city with your children.’ The second set of questions inquired about mothers’ challenges and resources associated with *crianza* while in forced displacement. An example of a question was ‘Can you tell me about a time that was especially hard for you living with your children in the city?’ The last part of the interview included questions that were created with the purpose of helping displaced mothers to narrate their experiences of disruption and reconstruction of life projects. Some examples were ‘If you would like to continue living in the city, how would you imagine a life with your children in Cali (near/long term future)? Do you have any plans you would like to tell me about?’, and ‘If you were meeting a mom who was new to the city, what would you tell her about life in Cali for her and her children?’ Please refer to Appendix G and Appendix H for a complete list of the questions included in the interview guide. I should note that there was no need to ask all of the questions that I had prepared because women had already answered them through their stories. This was particularly the case for questions related to biographical disruption and continuity.

Mothers were cognizant of their right to answer only those questions they were comfortable with, without any negative repercussions. The interview was designed with the

utmost sensitivity and there were no questions about possible traumatic experiences or violent events before or during displacement. Also, I made information about the psychosocial services routinely available for displaced populations (See Appendix I).

Interviews were conducted in a quiet, private, and comfortable interview room in a building located a block away from *Más Familias en Acción*. This building is positioned in a safe and central area in Cali, which was familiar to participants and accessible by public transportation. I believe this interview site, not being associated with a government facility, provided participants with a neutral environment where they probably felt at liberty to talk about government services and possibilities for improvement. Transportation aid (\$10,000 pesos equivalent to approximately \$5 CDN) and refreshments were offered during the interview.

Interviews with each woman were performed in Spanish and lasted approximately between one and a half hours and three and a half hours, for an average length of two hours. Audio was digitally recorded – with participants’ consent – and fully transcribed, with relevant passages translated into English for use in my thesis. For transcription I employed a modified version of the transcript notation method used in conversation analytic research developed by Gail Jefferson (1984), which utilizes symbols to represent non-vocal activities such as utterances and characteristics of speech delivery (see Appendix J for a list of the transcript notation techniques used). Finally, as is particularly crucial in the context of a study like mine, I upheld the principles of confidentiality and de-identified the information I used from the interviews.

Data Analysis

I analyzed my participant’s narratives based on methods outlined by Catherine Kohler-Riessman (2008), including thematic, structural, and dialogic/performance analyses. Thematic analysis helped me to look at content, structural analysis at narrative forms, and performance

analysis at the interactions and contexts that created particular stories. I also followed some of the guidelines proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) who offered a practical explanation of thematic analysis, what it is and how to perform it, while ensuring flexibility in relation to how it is used. In the following pages I explain, in further detail, how each particular analysis was carried out and resulted in the interpretation of my collected narratives.

Thematic narrative analysis allowed me to identify the content of speech in the narratives, what Riessman (2008) described as “informants’ reports of events and experiences” (p.54). It involved searching across the narratives to find repeated patterns of meaning (themes) and making sense of responses, while at the same time considering “variation (and even contradiction) in the account that was produced” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.95).

In order to illuminate my research questions, narratives were analyzed through a lengthy process which consisted of multiple readings of the transcripts, coding the complete twelve interviews, creating and associating themes, translating narrative’s extracts from Spanish to English, and further analysis, in a process that involved a constant moving back and forth throughout the previous phases. I based my interpretations on prior theory and, at the same time, searched for new theoretical insights from the interviews (Riessman, 2008). In this sense, I used a mixed-approach in which initial themes were driven by my research interests (deductive) but they slowly evolved, through the coding process, into themes that were linked to narratives themselves (inductive) (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The latter allowed me to engage in a rich description of the findings, or in other words, to explore issues that were important to my participants and that I had not considered before. I will provide in the following paragraphs a more detailed description of the steps I took when I conducted thematic analysis.

During thematic analysis, I used qualitative software QSR NVivo 10 to code and make sense of my participants’ stories. Firstly, coding involved subdividing the narrative text into

various groups or data sets (called ‘nodes’ in NVivo) which I decided upon based on what seemed meaningful within my research context. Hence, these data sets were identified by a particular analytic interest I had in a given topic, and became instances in the narratives where that topic was referred to (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Most of these data sets or nodes were determined beforehand based on the research questions, the literature review, and my notes from the transcription process, which included some initial analytic interests and thoughts. They were subsequently grouped and reorganized during the process of coding; some nodes were changed or rejected, and new ones were created. In the end, I had seven data sets or ‘parent nodes’ with their corresponding ‘child nodes’ in which I collated data relevant to each. Table 1 below exhibits them.

Table 1.

Qualitative ‘Data Sets’ NVivo 10

‘Parent’ Nodes	‘Child’ Nodes
<i>Crianza</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiences of <i>crianza</i> in rural contexts • Experiences of <i>crianza</i> in urban contexts • Resources that help with <i>crianza</i> in the city • Adult-child relationships • Expectations about children’s future • Nurture and care
Disruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Armed conflict as the beginning of displacement • Challenges faced in the city (i.e., loss of livelihoods and personal property, social and emotional uprooting, stigma and discrimination) • Grieving • Impact of displacement on health
Continuity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City’s positive aspects • Expectations about the future • Intention of return • Perceptions about mothering • Internal resources (i.e., agency to reconstruct life projects, meaning, religious convictions) • External resources (i.e., compensation, social networks)

'Parent' Nodes	'Child' Nodes
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended family • Family structure (i.e., patriarchal, matrifocal, <i>madresolterismo</i>) • Relationship with spouse / partner
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender roles • Perceptions about men
Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnicity • Regional identities • Self
Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobility previous to forced displacement • Mobility after forced displacement

Having the narratives coded into nodes allowed me to have all the text related to a specific topic in the same 'parent' and 'child' node. For example, if I was interested in what were displaced mothers' thoughts on 'challenges faced in the city,' NVivo gave me access to all the instances across the twelve narratives that had some relevance to this topic. This search facility allowed me to make parallel readings of my participants' interview extracts collected into a single 'child' node, which facilitated making comparisons within stories. This was also helpful when I needed to take an in-depth look into one of my participants' stories in relation to a particular subject.

Once the content of the entire twelve narratives was coded into the previous data sets or nodes, I perused one more time the text collected in each 'child node' and interpreted this information to create themes or units of analysis. In order to accomplish this, I sorted the nodes into potential themes and considered how they might combine to form an overarching theme. Some initial nodes went on to form main themes, whereas others were discarded and new ones were created (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The themes were refined and condensed several times culminating in 18 provisional themes. I endeavored to establish links between themes, within and between my participants' narratives, and identified commonalities and differences among them.

Finally, rich quotations were selected and translated into English to convey my participants' meanings, and the reader will find them embedded within my discussion section.

The following 18 themes were initially included in my research analysis: (1) simplicity / busy and exciting life in rural and urban contexts, (2) hardship and ease of *crianza*, (3) safety concerns before and after displacement, (4) shared *crianza* / one-sided *crianza*, (5) nurturing and caring for children and others, (6) differences between rural *crianza* and urban *crianza*, (7) feeling supported, (8) mothers' expectations about their children's future, (9) perceptions about mothering after displacement, (10) agency and reconstruction of life projects, (11) religious convictions and spirituality, (12) feeling dispossessed, (13) feeling isolated and uprooted, (14) feeling stigmatized and discriminated, (15) grieving the loss of a loved one, (16) impact of displacement on health, (17) sense of self disrupted and/or maintained, and (18) making sense of displacement.

Eighteen themes seemed a lot to consider for a master's thesis. As Taylor and Ussher (2001) suggested, a researcher should make active choices about identifying patterns or themes, selecting which are of interest, and finally analyzing and reporting them to the readers. Hence, I found myself with the need to identify which themes were more salient to my participants and to my research interest (i.e. *crianza* under forced displacement) and I centered on those to write my four discussion sections. The first section, which describes the general differences between rural and urban contexts and their implications on *crianza*, was fuelled by four themes: Simplicity / busy and exciting life in rural and urban contexts, hardship and easiness of *crianza*, nurturing and caring for children and others, and shared *crianza* / one-sided *crianza*. The second section, which addressed the difficulties associated with losing a home after being forcibly displaced, had the input of the following themes: Feeling dispossessed, and feeling isolated and uprooted. The third section was based on the theme 'safety' and examined mothers' safety concerns before and after

displacement. Finally, the fourth section discussed cultural constructions of *crianza* and considered the following two themes: Differences between rural *crianza* and urban *crianza* and sense of self disrupted and/or maintained. In summary, I relied on nine (9) different themes –out of the initial 18– and built my discussion around the former.

Structural analysis assisted me in understanding how mothers organized their narratives to achieve specific objectives (Riessman, 2008). This type of analysis focuses on issues of persuasion in human communication which are accomplished rhetorically through forms of symbolic expression (Burke cited in Riessman, 2008). In structural analysis the attention shifts from what is told (i.e., thematic) to the telling or how the story is told (i.e., structural). According to Riessman (2008), structural analysis “adds insights beyond what can be learned from referential meanings alone” (p.77), hence creating a sense of continuity and contradiction through an individual account. While thematic narrative analysis helped me to find similarities and differences across my sample, structural analysis allowed me to find possible variation in meanings in the participants’ stories (Riessman, 2008). In this sense, I did not only focus on the content of personal accounts but also on the ways women used language to construct their stories, their concepts of *crianza*, and themselves.

When studying narratives there is always the expectation of eliciting conventional life narratives, which “determine what is considered a credible, coherent, complete, interesting, moving, and morally sound story” (Kirmayer, 2000, p.154). However, narratives do not always take the form of bounded narrative texts, which are usually linear and share basic characteristics such as a clear plot that usually resolves (See Riessman, 1989; Lavov, 1972; Robichaux & Clark, 2006). Instead, narratives can be incoherent and ambiguous or may not comply with assumptions of temporally ordered stories (Baldwin, 2005). Torn (2011) argued that these kinds of first-person accounts challenge traditional narrative forms and the concept of narrative linearity, raising the

importance of understanding complex stories that are sometimes deemed incomprehensible. Furthermore, “everyday stories [such as oral narratives] are more fragile, inconsistent, and incomplete than a self-consciously constructed text” as it is in the case of written narratives which are granted the advantage of careful composition and editing (Kirmayer, 2000, p.156). In this order of ideas, analyzing oral narratives elicited from those experiencing psychological distress – common among forcibly displaced people – not only reveals the emotional difficulties of retelling (Kirmayer, 1996) but also implies the recognition that not all narratives are visibly chronological and can perhaps convey a “world of chaos, disorientation, and confusion” (Torn, 2011, p.134).

With this in mind, most of the stories I obtained can be described as extended narrations of experience rather than bounded narratives. Some of my participants elaborated “stories of origins, motives, obstacles, and change,” while some others provided large narratives which lacked a temporal structure (Kirmayer, 2000, p.155). This presented me with the challenge of finding the boundaries of segments for some of my narratives. Therefore, my structural analysis approach mainly concentrated on my participants’ use of language to construct meaning, on women’s organization of stories, and on how time was represented in their narratives. Additionally, I searched for possible underlying coherence and sequence or perhaps the lack of it, and interpreted women’s efforts to structure their accounts in certain ways to make particular points (Riessman, 1993).

In order to achieve the previous goal, I read the interviews once more taking a different approach the second time. If before, while undertaking thematic analysis, I ‘fragmented’ or ‘dissected’ the stories into different themes, during structural analysis I examined the transcripts as a whole, trying to understand how the narratives were put together. Torn (2011) supports this idea by stressing that “if meaning within the narrative is to be understood, researchers need to go

beyond isolating specific narrative structures and thematic categorization. The author's preference therefore is to analyze the narrative as a form of aesthetic expression" (p.136). I made the effort to answer the following questions for each woman's account:

- Is the narrative organized in distinctive parts? Does it have beginnings, middles, endings? Is it topic centered? Does it center on more than one topic? Is there a 'resolution' for the narrative?
- Is the narrative coherent, cohesive? Is it fragmented?
- Does the narrator reflect meanings and emotions? Or in other words, does the narrative reach an evaluation point or what Riessman (2008) calls the "soul of the narrative" (p.84)?
- Does the narrative move chronologically through time? Is the story temporally ordered? How does the narrator situate herself in time? Past, present, future, eternity? Is displacement a temporary experience?
- How is language used to draw attention to itself (e.g., organic, embodied, abstract, concrete, emotional, rational)? Do women use metaphors and imagery to convey meaning?
- In what ways does the narrator present herself? In one way? More than one way? Multiple ways?
- Does the narrator use body (non-verbal communication) to convey emotions?

Lastly, issues of performativity were taken into account as part of my overall analysis, together with thematic and structural narrative analysis. By using *dialogic/performance analysis* I focused on the local context or the conditions under which narratives were elicited and the ways in which a talk –or, in this particular case, the interviews– were interactively produced. Kirmayer

(2000) argued that an interlocutor “actively shapes the telling and the teller –indeed, in which more than one story(teller) is active at once, and each shapes the other in an ongoing exchange or contest” (p.173). Prior to carrying out the interviews and the corresponding analysis, I had an understanding of how narratives were going to be elicited in a given historical and interactional context (Riessman, 2008), and within a culturally mediated human encounter where meanings were going to be negotiated (Kirmayer, 2000). Hence, I explored participants’ use of rhetoric as a means of persuading me and others, based on the premise that “much argument and effort to influence others rests on the poetic/evocative use of language” (Perelman cited in Kirmayer, 2000, p.156).

I aimed at answering the questions of who was telling the story and when and why a narrative was recounted. *Performance* was considered in two different scenarios: (1) institutional and interactional, and (2) socio-cultural. The former refers to the fact that recruitment was mainly done with the help of the public sector and programs offered to displaced population. Even though I introduced myself as an independent researcher not associated with the Colombian government, I acknowledged the possibility of this particular context influencing the way in which some of my participants portrayed themselves during the interview. Goffman (1959) explained that “when an individual appears before others, he knowingly and unwittingly projects a definition of the situation, of which a conception of himself is an important part” (p.126). Consciously or unconsciously, individuals are constantly trying to gain control over what others may think of them by conveying specific impressions that would perhaps evoke particular, desired responses. I acknowledged that the narratives were co-constructed between these women and an audience (i.e., myself as the interviewer) in a given context (i.e., Colombian armed conflict).

In addition, special attention was paid to women's narrative accounts of themselves and others, and to their efforts to construct particular identities (e.g., a responsible and caring mother, empowered woman, a conscious citizen, a compassionate human being), which I interpreted as participants' quest for legitimation. On this subject, Riessman (1993) noted that "individuals construct past events and actions in personal narratives to claim identities and construct lives" (p.2). Being aware of possible performativity during the interviews helped me to be sensitive to the self that narrators were perhaps trying to communicate and to identify their narrative tones and positioning toward their own stories.

In regard to the second scenario (i.e., socio-cultural), Berger (1995) argued that even though there can be some degree of agency in the telling and listening process, narratives are strongly conditioned by the social and cultural background in which they are produced. Along the same line of thought, Riessman (2008) pointed out that "stories are social artifacts, telling us as much about society and culture as they do about a person or a group" (p.105). My participants' narratives were elicited in a context with particular local cultural discourses, social interactions, and political structures. In this sense, I paid special attention to the way in which stories emerged during the interview conversation and considered how cultural discourses contextualized narratives and the way in which private reconstructions of memory could be influenced by local social contexts of retelling (Kirmayer, 1996; Kleinman, 1988).

For example, in Colombia, people who have been displaced are labeled as victims in need of reparation by the government. The latter perhaps influenced participants' choices while framing their stories in certain ways and including details they might have thought could help them achieve a successful 'evaluation' from my part. In this regard, Waldram (2012) argued that the reactions of a certain audience to the stories that are being offered can potentially influence the meaning and message that the narrators, in this case victims, are trying to convey. Hence, I

aimed at identifying whether participants constructed narratives of victimhood, narratives of agency, or both, and their possible intentions when offering their narrative accounts. In summary, by carrying out performance analysis, I took into account the interaction of personal and social constructions that produced particular narratives, and how these personal accounts drew from cultural beliefs and practices with the purpose of shaping self-representation or social positioning (Kirmayer, 2000).

The analysis of the narratives illuminated the following discussion which centers on those aspects that were not only salient to my research interests but to mothers themselves. In this regard, I focused on those issues that were of most concern to my participants and that revolved around the experiences of *crianza* under forced displacement.

FINDINGS

It has been argued that *crianza* under conditions of forced displacement may present challenges for rural mothers who find themselves deprived of possessions and livelihoods, socially and emotionally uprooted, and perhaps mentally and physically impacted by direct exposure to war and the distress caused by diminishing everyday life conditions brought on by relocation (Good, 1996; Hynes, 2004; Lewig, Arney & Salveron, 2010; Londoño, Romero & Casas, 2012; Miller & Rasmussen, 2010b; Mogollón, 2006; Williams, 2012). On the other hand, studies on familial and parental resilience have shown that even in situations of internal exile, mothers have the capacity to respond to crisis, organize themselves after adversity, and provide protection and care for their children (Granada & Domínguez, 2012; López, 2004). Under these circumstances, for some women, displacement has changed them in an unfavorable way by diminishing them to the point that they no longer recognize themselves after years of enduring the hardships of internal exile²⁴ (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012; Jansen, 2006). However, from an opposite perspective, one might find that some mothers experience displacement as both disturbing and empowering, and that an experience which at first seemed overwhelming, later became a strong motivator to set new goals for themselves and their offspring (Agger, 1994; Mahler & Pessar, 2001; Mar Oo, 2010; Meertens & Stoller, 2001). In fact, drawing from the results of my study, rural and urban experiences varied among mothers and even within the same mother overtime. In general, two different scenarios (i.e., mothers as victims and/or survivors) were portrayed in my participants' narratives which varied in regards to whether they had experienced *crianza* in the city as extremely disrupting or surprisingly satisfying, or perhaps

²⁴ I should note that some of the women said this about themselves and some researchers noted this about displaced women.

both, since lived experiences are not simply black and white but many shades in-between and can be interpreted and re-interpreted in distinctive ways by the same person through time (Herrera, 2013).

The collected narratives offered a wealth of information about my participants' variety of *crianza* experiences under conditions of forced displacement in the city of Cali. I organized my findings around nine (9) main themes and several sub themes, which correspond to four different sections presented throughout this chapter. The first section describes participants' perceptions about the general differences between rural and urban contexts, which set the ground for understanding their experiences of *crianza* and the means they have found to adjust to child-rearing in the city while in internal exile. Following, in the second section, I discuss the relative hardship of *crianza* under conditions of inner conflict which includes personal initiatives for caring for children, which was mainly affected by the impossibility to provide shelter. The third section focuses on mothers' safety concerns for children in both rural and urban contexts and the way in which violence not only interferes but determines *crianza* in Colombia. Finally, the fourth section addresses cultural constructions about *crianza* and rural mothers' identity while in forced displacement.

These four sections and corresponding themes comprise similarities and differences among my participants and add to the understanding of *crianza* as a cultural meaning system (Harkness & Super, 2002) by discussing displaced mothers' personal and cultural constructions of child-rearing (LeVine, 1980; Peñaranda, 2011; Rogoff, 2003) which are in some cases transformed by changes in their social contexts (Bocanegra, 2007). I will begin by presenting some general contrasts between rural and urban contexts in Colombia which serve as the background for understanding child-rearing in rural villages and in the city and whether *crianza* is impacted by being forcibly displaced.

Section 1: The Hardships of Idyllic Rural Life and Urban Possibilities in Colombia

The present section provides a scenario of the contrasts of rural and urban contexts in Colombia and some of the most salient and general differences expressed by my participants. It discusses the main issues that were important for displaced women, such as quality and pace of life (i.e., theme simplicity/busy and exciting life); possibilities for nourishment (i.e., theme nurturing for children and others); and economic differences, job opportunities, and education and child labor (i.e., themes hardship and easiness of *crianza* and shared *crianza*/one sided *crianza*), and the way in which all these aspects were tied to *crianza* in various ways.

The Latin American countryside has often been described as an idyllic and pleasant context in which peace and tranquility surrounds those who by chance or by choice live in the midst of rural settings. In fact, it is common to find among the liberal arts, pastoral descriptions of the magnificence of fulfilling, minimalist rural lives (e.g., Cardona, 2009; Tamayo & Arbelaez, 2011). In Latin America, most nations have historically been acknowledged as agrarian countries whose economies depend more on farming rather than industry. In fact, 94% of Colombian territory is rural (“Así es la Colombia Rural,” 2012) and in spite of its beauty and biodiversity (Forero-Bonell, Nova & Slee, 2015), it is characterized by poverty and inequity in regards to high quality education, formal employment, income, excessive concentration of land-ownership, and basic sanitary conditions when compared to urban socio-demographic indicators (National Administrative Department for Statistics of Colombia DANE, 2014). These disadvantaged conditions are portrayed in most of my participants’ narratives, casting a shadow on the idyllic pastoral images of Colombia’s countryside.

Some of the collected narratives provided descriptions of countryside life embedded in nature. Rural families have had constant contact with the natural environment, such as mountains and rivers, and the local Colombian flora and fauna. Many of my participants owned various

kinds of crops, among which plantain, cassava, mango, and *chontaduro*²⁵ were the most common. Farm animals such as cattle, poultry, and pigs were bred and their products used as a means for family sustenance. When the women lived in remote rural villages, electric power was not accessible, and the use of fuel generators was common in their households. In those cases, families were thrifty with their fuel, which resulted in living in the dark after 7 or 8 at night. Hence, parents and children would go to bed early and woke up before sunrise to begin their daily activities. Rural life was modest and dictated by the sunlight available.

As it was explained before, women's stories described general contrasts between countryside and urban settings while rearing their children, and some possible environmental and contextual influences on their children's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Clearly, experiences varied among mothers and children. While for some participants rural life tended to be simple and homey, for others, making a life in the countryside was isolating and difficult. In the same sense, according to some of my participants, urban life can either be convenient and exciting or the opposite: unpleasant and threatening, or even both. It seemed as if their perceptions about rural and urban life were influenced by the kinds of lives they had lived in their rural villages, the lives they have managed to rebuild in Cali, and their expectations about the future. I will rely on participants' quotes²⁶ to better exemplify their various experiences, beginning with *Leticia*,²⁷ who misses rural family life and dislikes the city, where according to her, there is not enough time or interest in communicating with one another.

Leticia, mother of a 5 year old girl, is a 24 year old Afro-Colombian woman whose family was forcibly displaced from rural Nariño seven years ago. She is a single mother who provides

²⁵ Peach-Palm fruit cultivated in the Central and South American tropical forests.

²⁶ The American Psychological Association does not specify how participants' quotations should be spaced when pursuing qualitative research. Hence, I made the choice of spacing narrative excerpts at 1.5 with the objective of highlighting my participants' voices within the discussion.

²⁷ The reader will find in *italics* the first time I mention a participant as a means to highlight her pseudonym.

for her child with the support of her parents. Her relationship with her ex-partner ended while she was pregnant and she has had no contact with him since then. Back home, Leticia's father was a business man who owned a boat and sold food along the river where people would stop him along his path to purchase dairy products, poultry, and vegetables from him. Her mother was a stay-at-home mom who made and sold clothes. Since there was not a high school in her rural village, Leticia moved in with her aunt and completed high school in a municipality while traveling to rural Nariño on vacations to visit her family. Fleeing from violence, a year before her graduation, Leticia's parents and siblings left rural Nariño and moved to a small and sparsely-populated beach on the Pacific Coast. Once there, her father made a living out of fishing. Unfortunately, due to continued closed season and armed groups ruling there as well, Leticia and her family moved to a municipality located within the same province. However, her father, who is the main provider in her family and who does not have formal education could not find a job there. Hence, they decided to come to Cali in search of opportunities and arrived in the city almost three years ago. Leticia described country life as homey, family-oriented, and in some way idyllic until the armed groups came to the village and displaced her family:

[Back in the countryside] we used to wake up... go to the river, wash our laundry. Well, I never learned to swim because I was always afraid of what it was underneath, but I gathered water, my mom would cook, our cousins would come to our house, we talked. I mean, it was so different²⁸ to the way it is here. People used to care more about being together; it is not like that nowadays. At the present time, since we got here [in the city], my brothers come and go. Before, one arrived in the house and talked and spent time with family. When my dad came from work we were so happy and helped to set the table. Sometimes he had remaining food from the selling and so we would have it for dinner. It was really nice... We would always look forward to the weekends because it was fun. During the weekends people arranged soccer games at different rural villages. And so the canoe started to come up and down the river. We used to get excited

²⁸ Emphasis is indicated by underlining. See Appendix J, transcript notation techniques Gail Jefferson (1984)

and had a great time. Parents did not leave their kids alone; everyone took their children with them. Where ever you went, there was a place where you could leave your children and pick them up afterwards, grabbed your lantern and go. Until someone²⁹ came to interrupt all that, and like they say: run and every man for himself.

In the previous quote Leticia illustrated her countryside life filled with little nice routines that included friends and family, and that due to forced displacement not only were left behind but were replaced with an urban life in which family and community were not a priority. On the contrary, some other displaced mothers experienced isolating and lonely lives back in their rural villages. Such is the case of *Sol*, a 51 year old woman born in Cauca province, who was displaced from rural Putumayo four years ago. Her life was threatened by armed groups after they found out that army soldiers had been staying close to her house while eradicating coca crops. Since soldiers used to come to *Sol*'s home to charge their cell phones with her fuel generator, the illegal groups blamed her for being a government collaborator. She was forced to leave overnight with her nine year old boy only giving her enough time to gather up some of their clothes. In the meanwhile, her husband was forcibly taken by these armed groups but he managed to escape days after. Displacement was the cause of the break-up of the family and *Sol* and her husband have not seen each other since the day they were forcibly displaced. *Sol*'s husband lives in a small municipality in a different province where he was able to find a job, while *Sol* and her now 13 year old son have created a life for themselves in Cali. Neither *Sol* nor her partner want to move again, impeding the possibility of being reunited. *Sol* has found Cali to be a mecca for humanitarian aid and help of various kinds. Government compensation, the support of a foundation, and neighbor's gifts and donations have become some of the main reasons for her adjustment in the city. Nowadays, urban life compared to rural living is more appealing to *Sol*

²⁹ By saying "someone," Leticia is referring to armed groups.

because of all the amenities and the various entertainment possibilities that it offers, such as city parks, having access to television, and easy accessible public transportation compared to the isolating and lonely life she experienced in her remote rural village and the long and dangerous hours of boat rides in the Putumayo River:

[Here in the city] we go out and get ice cream, the both of us [my son and I]. Ice cream is what he likes ((chuckle)). – August is almost here, the month to fly kites. I walk up the hill with him to fly kites. Whereas there [in the countryside], we just looked up the sky. We were in the middle of the mountain, try to picture that. One just looked up to the sky. I didn't see people. Well, I did have neighbors, but they were far away! Far away, at the other side of the river... - Over there, you don't hear any noise, nothing, not cars, nothing. You only hear the birds ((chuckle)) and the monkeys. For example, when I used to go to the town to visit my family, I didn't want to go back, I didn't want to go back to my farm.

The previous text is just an example of Sol's story in which she constantly compared the kind of life she had in her remote rural village with the more exciting life she and her son were enjoying in Cali. Different from Leticia, Sol experienced a rural life that was not only isolating but exhausting.

Participants' accounts were in accordance with the conclusions reached by the third National Agricultural Census conducted in 2014, which disclosed the Colombian countryside's lack of opportunities and underdevelopment compared to that of the cities. Women's narratives included examples of some of the hardships endured in rural contexts, such as the inconvenience of long distances, infrequent access to health services, and poverty. Children were sent to school on a boat ride and mothers had to travel by land and water sometimes for long hours to reach hospitals located in municipalities. Due to complications during pregnancy, some of my participants had to travel to small municipalities or even to Cali to deliver their children under high quality medical care. For example, Sol, who lived in a very remote village, explained that

she became pregnant with her youngest child when she was 38 years old, her age being a risk factor during the pregnancy. She traveled to Mocoa, the closest municipality to her rural village, in order to secure medical supervision during the delivery:

I was there [at the rural village] all through my pregnancy, but when I was . . . 15 days before I was due I traveled to Mocoa for the delivery. Because it took me too long to get pregnant with the last child I was scared to deliver him over there [in the countryside]. So I left for Mocoa. – And I told you, in order to get to the town, or to reach Puerto Asís or La Hormiga, you have to travel for 3 hours. Can you imagine being in labor and traveling through water? [...] ::No, over there is... it is just a village, the biggest town is Mocoa and if you want to get there traveling through Pasto you have to go through steep abysses, they are very steep! Do you see that building over there? Imagine the cars are passing through the top of that building and that is the height of the abyss.

Sol tried to explain to an urban woman –me– how hard was life in her rural village. Her comparison between a steep abyss and a tall building across the park in front of our interview room was a wonderful image for me: A childbearing woman on her path to giving birth traveling during 3 hours on top of a tall urban building, at-risk of falling from that height.

Supporting the last idea of enduring tough times in rural villages, *Jazmín*, a 26 year old woman who has two sons, a seven year old boy and a ten month old baby, described an underprivileged and deprived childhood even in the absence of internal armed conflict. Jazmín was displaced from Cauca province five years ago when armed groups took advantage of the fact that she was a single³⁰ mother and stayed at her house whenever they pleased. Jazmín decided to leave her house in her rural village and arrived in Cali with two dollars in her pocket and a one

³⁰ Jazmín was a single mother while she was in the province of Cauca and she is still a single mother in the city. Her marital status did not change as a consequence of displacement and taking care of her children has relied solely on her, regardless of the context. Jazmín's first partner does not provide for her oldest boy, and she ended her relationship with her second partner –father of her youngest– after finding out that he had a parallel relationship with a childbearing woman while Jazmín was pregnant as well. Back in her rural village, Jazmín used to be a coffee picker and cleaned coffee plants. For a day of work she made \$12,000 pesos, equivalent to 4,8 dollars. Jazmín used that money to buy diapers and formula and her mother - who was alive back then – helped her by taking care of her child.

year old baby in her arms. Once in the city, Jazmín got out of the bus and started walking and knocking on people's doors asking for a job. After hours of doing this, a man offered her to stay at his house together with a monthly salary if she promised to take care of his aging mother. Jazmín stayed there for three years and moved out when the lady she was caring for passed away. The family she was working for helped her to find a new job at a restaurant and with her income she pays for a room where she currently lives with her children. Jazmín asserted that life in Cali has been easier than the life she had in her rural village while she was growing up. Several times during the interview she described her previous life in the countryside as enormously difficult:

I only completed 2nd grade elementary . . . but uich,³¹ you need education for everything. I mean, without education you are no-one ((chuckle)). My mom and my dad didn't have enough resources [to invest in my education], they just gave me those two years of school I told you about, and my mom didn't know how to read or anything, nor did my dad [...] They didn't have money to buy me a notebook, they didn't have. I mean, the little money they made was spent on meat and rice. I remember my parents bought me a pair of rubber shoes to go to school and I wore those out. They used to sew a patch onto every hole and that was so uncomfortable ((chuckle)). I remember all that and I say our blessed Lord. I used to tell my mom "ay no mom, why did you have so many children if you knew you didn't have anything, you couldn't give us education ((chuckle)). She said "no, mija"³², there were no birth control methods back then." And I said to her, "but mom, you could have been careful" ((chuckle)). Uy! It was horrible. I mean life in the countryside is . . . no! It is very hard, extremely hard.

These kinds of anecdotes were common in Jazmín's narrative. She regretted not having enough resources to have a better quality of life in her rural village, especially not being able to attend class on a regular basis and to graduate from high school. Once in the city, displaced women realized that formal training was necessary to have access to better job opportunities in Cali. Jazmín was thrilled to be in the city where she had been able to work and provide for her

³¹ The expression *uich* is an exclamation of worry and regret.

³² *Mija* is a Spanish contraction of 'mi hija' which means 'my daughter'.

children, and where she could possibly fulfill her dream of completing her education after only having the opportunity to pass second grade in her rural village.

The previous narratives –those offered by Leticia, Sol, and Jazmín– presented contrasts between rural and urban life in regard to the quality and pace of life in both contexts. Other mothers’ narratives, which will be introduced in the following pages, also acknowledged these differences and the way in which they influenced *crianza* in both contexts. In most cases, displaced mothers described a faster life in the city compared to the one lived in the country. For example, in spite of armed conflict, some women described rural villages as peaceful scenarios accompanied by river and bird sounds. In this sense, life in rural villages was portrayed as slow and mellow, whereas life in Cali was experienced as busy and sometimes hectic with tight schedules. For some women this represented an asset while for others it was a source of concern and stress. For example, some stay-at-home moms felt overwhelmed by all the activities they had to attend. In the city, public schools usually had morning and afternoon classes, and if mothers had more than one child, they went to the school twice in the morning and twice in the afternoon to take their children and pick them up. In addition, children were enrolled in extracurricular activities which were not available in rural villages. All of these were examples of the general rural and urban conditions of life in Colombia which I am describing in this section as a means to better understand *crianza* in Colombia and under the special condition of forced displacement.

In addition to contrasts between the quality and pace of life in rural and urban settings, economy was also a salient difference mentioned by most of my participants. On a general level, one could say that the countryside has a subsistence economy where peasants do not earn much money and exchange foods and care for one another compared to the money economy of the city where people are rather more affluent and do not grow food or make products but use money as an abstract value to buy food. Hence, sources of income and the kinds of jobs common in the

countryside also differed from the types of employment available in the city. Similar to Gutiérrez's (2000) findings, my participants explained that back in rural villages, most families owned a piece of land and it was common to find patriarchal families in which men were mostly dedicated to farming, and women, who also helped in the farm, were mostly committed to the rearing of children. In those cases in which women did not have partners and had to provide for themselves and their children, they had various kinds of jobs that usually did not require specialized formal training or education, such as coffee pickers, salesperson, or artisanal mining jobs, among others.

After displacement, many of my participants claimed that gender roles were transformed due to changes in the jobs available to men and women in the city. In Cali, some of these formerly independent peasants became full-time employees with inflexible schedules and little time for *crianza*. Displaced men tended to find employment in the construction, gardening, and carpentry sectors, while displaced women became maids, waitresses, or prepared and sold cultural foods in their neighborhoods. In addition, separation from extended family resulted in intra-familial changes in regard to who was in charge of children in the city after being forcibly displaced. In general, my participants believed that rural mothers were more dedicated to rearing their children; whereas in the city, mothers work more and leave their children's care at the hands of other people or kindergartens and day care. Even though rural mothers recognized the benefits of being a working woman, one of my participants expressed that *having somebody else care for my children will never be the same as caring for them myself*. Reconfiguration of gender roles due to socio-economic circumstances brought up by forced displacement was a salient concern for some of my participants, who found themselves in the need to explore different alternatives to care for their children (Gutiérrez, 2000).

The adjustment of displaced families to the urban economy in Colombia where training and education are directly related with the likelihood of a better income in the city, have impacted some of the mothers' possibilities of providing food for their children, which became one of their main concerns while in forced displacement. Such was the case with *Nubia*, whose income was enormously affected after being forced to move to the city. Back in the countryside both Nubia and her husband had independent jobs and *crianza* was a shared experience. Nowadays, *crianza* in the city entirely relies on Nubia due to the fact that her husband has a full-time construction job and comes home late at night, giving him little time to spend with their children.

Nubia is a 37 year old Afro-Colombian woman who was forcibly displaced from rural Nariño 3 years ago. She is the mother of three boys and three girls. Her oldest daughter -19 years old- stayed back home with her partner and their baby. Likewise and due to a lack of economic resources, Nubia's oldest son -16 years old- was left behind under the care of extended family. Nubia came to Cali with her husband and their other four children who are 13, 10, 8, and 6 years old. Nubia's lifestyle has considerably changed in Cali. Back in Nariño she was a business woman who bought and sold merchandise (e.g., fish, clothes, beer) while her husband was dedicated to farming. They were economically stable and had a collaborative social life with their neighbours. Loss of livelihoods after displacement has represented a major impact on their lives and living in poverty is one of her main concerns. Neither Nubia nor her husband earned a high school diploma which makes it harder for them to find a job with better income in Cali. In addition, Nubia's business skills are not of help in a city where there is much competition:

People in the city are different ((chuckle)). Yes, they are different because they don't help others. People from the city do not help anyone with anything, whereas people from the countryside do [help others]. Neighbours help each other [in the countryside]. Over there, if a neighbor traveled to the sea . . . he would buy three or four strings of fish and share them with his closest neighbors for them to prepare dinner. Whereas here [in the city] if you go to a market,

you are very likely to leave without what you needed because you didn't have an extra 50 pesos³³ [...] Everything is expensive here. Everything is about money. If you don't have money to buy a plantain to make a patacón³⁴ you cannot cook it, different to the way it is in our land. If one doesn't have a plantain in one's farm, your neighbor would have one and would give it to you, without selling it to you.

Stories about nourishment like Nubia's were very common in almost all the interviews I conducted. Beside not having the necessary income to provide for their children, lacking a piece of land on which to grow their own food, or at least the possibility of exchanging foods with neighbors, are some of the main differences between rural and urban Colombia. Even though I did not have specific questions on feeding practices, many of the narratives I collected included anecdotes that described mothers' daily efforts to feed their children. When asked "tell me about a typical day in the city with your children," most of my participants began their stories at breakfast time and ended their stories at supper, of course with anecdotes about lunch in-between. It was very clear to me that feeding their children was of utmost importance to displaced mothers, especially for those who were living in poverty, such as *Piedad* who was affected by the economic challenges raised by being in forced displacement in an urban center.

Piedad, a 28 year old Afro-Colombian woman who was displaced from rural Nariño three years ago, described her struggles associated with nourishment. A mother of a ten year old girl and a seven year old boy, Piedad came to the city with her children and her -at the time- husband, father of her youngest boy. Once in Cali, her husband who managed to find a job as a gardener at a wealthy family house, *fell apart* and immersed himself in the city life. With good money in his pocket, Piedad's husband was captivated by the social opportunities he encountered and started drinking and staying out late at night with friends. He finally left Piedad for another woman, or in

³³ 50 Colombian pesos are equivalent to 0,02 Canadian dollars.

³⁴ Slice of a fried green plantain.

her own words, *abandoned* her. At that moment, Piedad, who economically depended on her partner, decided to go back to her previous rural home in Nariño. Once there, Piedad was displaced for a second time by armed groups who threatened to take her and her children's lives if she dared to return again. Leaving her with no options, Piedad returned to Cali. Here, she lives off the monetary stipends given by the government and off the money her ex-husband provides for their son:

In the mornings I am the one who wakes up first. I make something to drink for my boy. Hot chocolate or oatmeal is what he likes. He doesn't like coffee ((chuckle)). I have to make him hot chocolate, oatmeal, or aguapanela³⁵ with cinnamon. But don't ever give them coffee. They don't like it. And well, when there is food, I give them a piece of bread. When there isn't food, I just give them something to drink. We eat well when we receive the help [from the government]. Those days we squander. But when time passes by, and we run out of food, then I have to cut off what I give them. Because I receive 975 [thousand pesos] to survive. I use that for everything, I mean, that is what we use to buy food and pay rent [...] Things here are different. Here we eat a little bit. It is not the same as how we ate over there [at the countryside]. Because over there if you want fruit, you just go and grab it, a pineapple, a guava. But you can't do that here. I mean, a lot of things changed.

Piedad told detailed stories about nourishment and the way in which feeding her children was being negatively impacted during forced displacement. The lack of economic resources and the government's compensation were central themes throughout her narrative, especially when it came to topics related to feeding and keeping her children healthy.

However, even when having enough resources to afford sustenance, some other women lamented the quality of the food in the city compared to that found in the countryside. The latter was of particular importance to *Dalia*, a 37 year old Indigenous woman from the *Medio San Juan* community located on the Province of Chocó. Dalia's entire community -500 Indigenous people-

³⁵ A Colombian hot beverage made out of *panela* which is solid unrefined whole cane sugar.

were forcibly displaced overnight by armed groups who found value in their land which was not usually accessible to the Colombian State Forces. Dalia and her three boys left her home in the midst of shooting, leaving behind her husband, who encouraged them to escape while he stayed back talking to a member of the insurgency. Dalia has not heard from her husband since then and fears he was forced to join armed groups, or worse, that his life was taken on the night of the occupation. One hundred and thirty (130) households were dispersed over different municipalities and Dalia and her children arrived in a municipality located on the Pacific coast. After 8 days in this place, Dalia met a woman from Cali who offered her to come to the city and stay with her. Dalia accepted her help and settled in Cali 2 years ago.

Dalia's narrative was constructed around the differences between her Indigenous community and the urban community, one of those main differences being the special characteristics of the rural food products versus those her children have been forced to consume in Cali. Back home, the *Medio San Juan* community lived off farming, fishing, and pig and cattle breeding. Their products were healthy and organic and preferred by surrounding towns and municipalities. Making use of what I would call an 'organic' language, Dalia dedicated a considerable part of her story to telling me about the fruits and vegetables grown in their "*land*" and her children's struggles to adjust to new eating habits in the city after being forcibly displaced:

We didn't use vaccines or injections, none of that. Our animals were natural. Here, they use a lot of vaccines. People from Quibdó used to come in the boats to buy our food. They used to say that they liked our animals because they were pure [...] A lot of things have changed for my children here. My children... it was hard at first. It was difficult for them. My children don't like to eat chicken that comes in a tray. My little boy said "mami, I don't eat that." I said to him "why not? It is chicken." "No mami, it doesn't taste the same." They don't like the milk that

comes in plastic bags, you know, the milk that comes ready [to drink]. My children said “mami, let’s bring the cows and milk them.” I told them that there are no cows anymore. My son says that milk here tastes like water, that the milk we had in the community was thick, pure.

From Dalia’s, Piedad’s, and Nubia’s accounts it was clear that there were two elements that had to be taken into consideration when discussing the differences between rural and urban possibilities for nourishment. The first one was related to the poverty and lack of economic resources brought up by forced displacement, which prevented some mothers from purchasing food for their children as opposed to growing it themselves. The second element was associated with the differences between the types of food grown in rural and urban settings, and the cultural practice of sharing and exchanging foods in the countryside. Even though there is a lack of research on cultural beliefs that influence feeding practices among Afro-Colombian and Indigenous displaced mothers, Alvarado, Tabares, Delisle, and Zunzunegui (2005) argued that culture and social conditions are fundamental aspects in mothers’ choices and decisions on how to feed their children. Based on the study conducted by Alvarado et al. and on my own findings, I would like to argue that being in displacement challenged mothers’ cultural practices and beliefs regarding the feeding of children that were considered cultural norms in their places of origin and that derived from mothers’ cultural constructions of a ‘healthy child.’ It would be inadequate to generalize my participants’ experiences on the practice of feeding in the city. However, what is perhaps clear from their narratives is that being in displacement contested mothers’ cultural beliefs about the benefits of certain feeding practices, and presented challenges associated with poverty and economic instability, which ultimately may affect the healthy development of displaced children.

Finally, due to the underdeveloped conditions of rural Colombia³⁶, some displaced mothers have found the city to be full of opportunities especially in regard to schooling for their children. Cali not only offers high quality education but there is easier access to secondary and higher education schools. In the same line, some of my participants value that mothers in the city tend to be highly involved with their children's education. According to them, urban mothers prioritize school over work. In this way, children's responsibilities in the countryside are different than the responsibilities they have in the city. In the countryside, parents are generally more concerned with the daily survival and expect their children to help and work on the farms, whereas in the city parents are more interested in their children's education. Jazmín identified an enormous difference in this regard:

I think in the city mothers are more involved in the rearing of children. I believe so. Yes ((chuckle)). Yes, and I will tell you why. Because in the countryside parents sent us to work, they sent us to work to help with the family sustenance, to bring food to the table. Whereas here [in the city] things are not like that. For example, here I take my son to school and I have seen that moms or dads always take their children to school. Whereas there [in the countryside] things are different. One has to go to school by herself, parents send children to school alone ((chuckle)). They send them alone and school is far away. [In the countryside], parents make children mature before their time ((chuckle)).

Jazmín's account described contrasts between rural and urban child-rearing practices related to the importance given to child labour in the countryside, which I had previously mentioned to be an important part of rural families' dynamics. Jazmín also presented a strong opinion pertaining to *crianza* practices that were indicative of mothers' beliefs about human development. Her last statement *parents make children mature before their time* seemed to be a

³⁶ According to the third National Agricultural Census conducted in 2014, 20% of the population between 5 and 16 years old did not attend any educational institution in 2014. In addition, only 25,4% of youth between 17 and 24 years old are enrolled in some kind of educational institution, and 11,5% of countryside population aged 15 years and over is illiterate (National Administrative Department for Statistics of Colombia, DANE)

conclusion that she reached after being in Cali and witnessing urban mothers' practices of care that, according to her were perhaps 'more appropriate' than the ones she had experienced while growing up in her rural village. In other words, mothers in Cali focused on children's education, allowed them to develop at a slower pace, and did not demand from them to be engaged in what she considered to be adult-related activities.

In this first section I have discussed general contrasts between rural villages and urban settings in regards to pace of life, economy and nourishment, job opportunities and gender roles, and child labor and education. Even though these differences do not apply to everyone, I believe acknowledging them helps us to understand some of the adversities and advantages of rearing children in both contexts, regardless of armed conflict. According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979), these contexts (i.e., rural and urban) would be the 'ecology' in which child rearing takes place. They transcend mothers' immediate surroundings (i.e., relatives and kinship) and influence children's development. Whether my participants adjusted their feeding practices, changed their thinking about schooling and child labor, or assumed different roles within their families in accordance with the different economies (e.g., provider, stay-at-home mother), they all made *crianza* choices according to the idiosyncrasies of rural and urban contexts.

Harkness and Super (2002) stressed that local social worlds help us understand cultural variations in *crianza* and the way in which mothers help children achieve developmental goals that are culturally constructed (LeVine, 1980; Rogoff, 2003). In this sense, some displaced mothers made adjustments in *crianza* and told stories about the challenging and supporting aspects of rural villages and Cali, and their means to adapt and parent their children in both contexts. The latter means that difficulties and resources found in rural and urban *crianza* in Colombia would perhaps remain in mothers' minds even on the threshold of a peace treaty agreement and will likely influence their decisions regarding a possible return to their previous

homes. However, before I engage in a deeper discussion about my participants' expectations about the future, I will move on to evaluate *crianza* under the special condition of forced displacement.

Section 2: No House of One's Own: The Main Source of Disruption in Displaced Colombian Mothers

Over there [in the countryside] even though we were poor, we didn't go through hardship, we had our homes. They are not like the ones in the city... this house [where we are doing the interview] is a palace, right? Over there, houses were made out of wood. Just wood. But even though we were poor, we had our things, we didn't sleep on the floor. Because when I arrived in the city, we had to sleep on the floor. (Piedad.³⁷)

The present section considered two themes: feeling dispossessed/emptiness and feeling isolated/uprooted. The first theme discusses displaced mothers' challenges when raising children under adverse economic circumstances after losing their personal property and livelihoods. It also describes mothers' choices regarding which type of dwelling to live in and which neighborhood to choose in the city, based on their children's interests and well-being. The second theme addresses mothers' feelings of isolation when finding themselves without previous familiar and social networks. Separation from close relatives and even members of their nuclear families (e.g., daughters, sons) is quite common after displacement, especially when large families find it impossible to move together.

Investment in children's survival is usually one of the main parental goals regardless of the cultural context in which child-rearing takes place (LeVine, 1980; LeVine et al., (2008). Unfortunately, under conditions of forced displacement, children's survival can be threatened

³⁷ This is a quote by one of my participants –Piedad– who will be introduced in the present section.

when meeting basic needs such as nourishment and shelter of those for whom mothers take responsibility is no longer possible (López & Agudelo, 2000). Lack of resources was a common situation in the stories I collected and it jeopardized mothers' efforts to care for and protect their children. For all of my participants, forced migration resulted in the abandonment of their homes at the countryside and the loss of personal property was one of the main difficulties associated with displacement.

Not being able to provide shelter for their families was the first issue women had to resolve when arriving in Cali. Under these extenuating conditions, women felt encouraged to mobilize their parenting capacities and found different alternatives to respond to children's needs (Granada and Domínguez, 2012). Usually, the types of shelter mothers were able to find depended on their familiar networks in the city and on their socio-economic circumstances. Issues of performativity will be discussed in this section when addressing women's means to own a place to live and the internal and external resources they hold onto in order to accomplish this.

Some women's experiences of arrival in the city were more disruptive than others. However, in the case of the present study, most of my participants' narratives included anecdotes of unsettling moments when they arrived in the city. For some women, leaving was not an option, but was imperative since their lives were being threatened. Some scholars have argued that having time to pack and plan their displacement, gave families the opportunity to make arrangements in the city and adapt better to adverse circumstances (Meertens & Stoller, 2001). As one participant put it: *We are afraid to spend time packing when we know they can come running after us and kill us. Because there are people who had been displaced in a horrible way, just with what they were wearing.* This was the case of Matilde, a 23 year old Afro-Colombian single mother who arrived in Cali three years ago after being forcibly displaced from a small port municipality by the Pacific Ocean in the province of Nariño. Due to a love affair between one of

Matilde's young cousins and a man involved in armed groups, Matilde's family, together with ten more family groups -part of her extended family- who lived in the same neighborhood, were forced to evacuate their houses overnight. I was deeply touched by Matildes' account of her first night at a slum hut:

When we arrived here, well . . . it was . . . I never thought we were going to go through so much. Even though we have been able to move on - We arrived in a slum settlement, where everything, the families, the houses, the environment were in awful conditions. It was something that I had never experienced, but you have to learn thousands and thousands of things in order to bear that. - ::And . . . we were there only for 15 days, because the truth is that it was horrible. It was an area where everything was humid. We slept like dogs, I felt like that. Because sleeping in such a way is not decent. Because the life that I had, well . . . I mean, I had a normal life, I had food, I had shelter, I was able to sleep well, and I felt humiliated knowing that I left my house . . . ((crying)) ((pause)).

Even though three years had passed and Matilde expressed that she had *been able to move on*, she wept several times during the interview while telling me the story of her arrival in the city. She offered in her narrative a powerful image of her children sleeping on dirt ground and getting wet by the rain that came through the broken roof of the slum hut where they lived during the first week. Matilde remembered feeling helpless because there was nothing she could do to make her two boys –of five and eight years of age– feel better and comfortable after being forcibly displaced.

The loss of all personal property obligated displaced women to find the means to survive in the city. There were various alternatives, the most common being to stay at an acquaintance's house, renting a room and living in overcrowded conditions, or occupying informal settlements. These choices were decided upon by women's particular socio-economic circumstances and the kinds of social networks they had in Cali at the time of their arrival. For some of my participants, having extended family or close friends living in the city motivated them to come to Cali

following displacement. In fact, sometimes mothers chose their place of arrival based on whether or not they could count on this kind of support and social network. Such is the case of *Rosa*, who decided to move to Cali because she had a close family friend who lived in Cali and offered to help her in the process of adjusting to the city.

Rosa, a 50 year old woman, was raised by her grandmother in the province of Cundinamarca's rural area. At the age of 22 she moved to the province of Putumayo where she met her first partner with whom she spent 18 years of her life. He was the father of her first two daughters and was slain by armed groups 11 years ago. Due to armed conflict, Rosa moved to the province of Nariño where she had a short relationship with a man, the father of her youngest daughter. He then pursued a new relationship, leaving her with a newborn, and was later murdered in a different city for unknown reasons. While still in Nariño, after witnessing the killing of her neighbour's daughter and foreseeing danger for her children in a red zone, Rosa decided to leave Nariño and moved to Cali with her three daughters³⁸ five years ago. Rosa's daughter's godfather allowed Rosa and her children to stay at his house and to work at his clothes factory until they were capable of being on their own:

One day I said to myself "I am taking my daughters out of here, I am taking them out of here." And I had my compadre³⁹, I knew he would support me, he has always supported me. And so we came here [...] I arrived at my compadre's house and he had a clothes factory, and we helped there. My oldest daughter stitched up little flowers to blouses. I also made flowers and helped him in the house. He helped us a lot. He helped us a lot.

She explained that assisting at her *compadre's* clothes factory taught her daughters to be responsible in order to secure a living. It was also a means to show appreciation for his hospitality. According to Rosa, her *compadre's* help was crucial in her adjustment to the city and

³⁸ At the time of the interview, Rosa had three daughters of 27, 18, and 9 years old.

³⁹ *Compadre* is the person who is chosen to be one's child's godfather during a baptism. In this case, Rosa is talking about her youngest daughter's godfather.

gave her the possibility to find her own way. She was able to plan her move into the city and to secure adequate conditions for arrival, which ultimately helped her to reconstruct a life after displacement (Meertens and Stoller, 2001).

On the contrary, some of the women I interviewed who had relatives and close friends in the city, expressed that living with them was also a source of stress. Although they appreciated the help that was offered to them, they felt a burden to those who had opened doors to them. In some cases, mothers felt humiliated by those who offered them accommodation. Such was the case of Nubia, who stayed at her husband's brother's house during the first three months. She talked about the difficulties associated with living at somebody else's house:

My husband has relatives here [in the city] and so he said it would be easier to come here, but I think that maybe it was worse. Maybe you would be better off living with a stranger ... living at somebody else's house is the worst that can happen to you in life. I never had to live at somebody else's house before. It is hard ... because one is living at their house and they start mistreating one's children. And well, sometimes one just cries. One feels defenseless against them when one sees how our own children were being mistreated. When one has children, one cannot bear seeing her children being humiliated. When you are living at somebody else's house, they tell your child "don't sit there, why are you wearing that? That is not yours." It is the worst in life. I just cried. My husband would leave for work and I stayed crying.

Experiencing overcrowded living conditions is common among displaced families who are hosted by other city families. Disputes can arise when two different and large families⁴⁰ coexist in small dwellings, which results in the displaced family being at the mercy of the host family. In this regard, Emmott (1996) stressed that in times of war, there are limits to how much families can help. Sharing can soon become a burden that leads to great tension and to the destruction of the social fabric within the private sphere of family and friends. The previous quote exemplifies Nubia's suffering when witnessing her children being mistreated by her in-

⁴⁰ Nubia's brother-in-law lived with his wife and six children in the same house.

laws. It almost seemed as if during that time *crianza* was not entirely within her realm as she had to give up her willingness to defend her children in order to secure shelter for them. Nubia's situation was quite similar to *Ofelia's* living condition which follows.

Ofelia also identified as the most difficult part of her displacement experience not having a place to live and sharing a house with a person who "humiliated" her. Ofelia, mother of five children, was a 38 year old Afro-Colombian woman who was displaced from rural Nariño 4 years ago. Her husband, who did not want to do business with members of armed groups, fled to Cali after being threatened by them. Ofelia decided to stay in their country house with her children arguing that it was her husband who was involved in a dangerous situation and not her. However, the threats to her life continued even in absence of her husband and Ofelia and her children decided to evacuate the village a year later. The first three years Ofelia, her husband, her children, and her mother lived at a lady's house who sublet one room for them. Ofelia described this time as the most humiliating years of her life. With no clear reason other than perhaps being too many in a small place, the lady mistreated and discriminated her and her children and made them feel unwanted in the house, finally asking them to leave:

Ay! The worst thing we have gone through here in Cali has been the housing issue [...] I am telling you ((chuckle)) what I went through here was like being in jail and paying a sentence, honestly. I had never in my life experienced something like what I experienced in that house, with that lady. And I only cried and cried. You see, when I arrived in Cali I was fat and all the people who knew me said to me "Ofelia, what is going on with you? Are you sick? What is the matter? I became really thin, and it was because of all the suffering brought up by living with that lady. If I went out to run some errand, when it was time to come back to the house, oh my God, I said to myself "I am going to hell" ((chuckle)). Living in that house was the worst, the worst, the worst. I went through so much humiliation. Oh my God!

Ofelia's metaphors of "jail" and "hell" were significant in her narrative, especially when she referred to her first years in displacement. Living in a house where she and her children did

not feel welcome was humiliating and disrupting. Ofelia told stories of times when her children would go to a small store on the street corner after school just to avoid being in the house. Other issues such as feeling uprooted – *I miss my river, I miss my countryside* – were not as significant in her narrative as the suffering her family endured after being forced to abandon her village home and coming to a stranger's urban dwelling.

It is important to highlight that even though some of my participants had acquaintances and relatives in the city; no support was received from them. Interviewees claimed that when relatives were economically stable they assumed displaced women were approaching them with the purpose of asking for economic support. For example, Matilde explained that she found no reciprocity when she tried to develop a relationship with some of her aunts who were already living in Cali by the time of her arrival. According to Matilde, these relatives *did not take her into account*, had no interest in contacting her, and assumed that she called their houses with the only purpose of *asking for money*:

There is family who . . . who during the first days you are here, are great hosts, wonderful hosts. But, if you don't have money, it is horrible. And so why should one stay at a relative's house that is like that. I'd rather starve, or go through the embarrassment of asking my neighbour for help, than going to a family's house and have them say "no" to me. Knowing that a person was family to me and that he/she refused to give me a glass of water, or that my children were hungry, and that person preferred to throw food away instead of giving it to my children, I was going to remember that my whole life. Life knocks you down one way or another and that is something you won't forget.

Matilde enjoyed good economic stability before being forcibly displaced. She had a "big and nice" house and described herself as a "spoiled child" who never had to work to support herself or her children and was exclusively dedicated to her studies. *In my house, whenever I wanted something, there was never a "no," I always got a "yes"*, said Matilde with a tone of

pride. In contrast, due to forced displacement, life in the city for her and her children had been a life of deprivation. In addition, she claimed she had been discriminated against because of her ethnicity and socio-economic situation, feeling humiliated for not having the money she had before. Matilde's story was constructed around affluence and poverty, before and after displacement. Ownership seemed to be a fundamental aspect in her definition of herself; it was almost as if enjoying purchasing power and private property empowered the defense of her self before displacement. In this regard, Rudmin (1992) stated that within the history of the psychology of property, the notion of property manifesting and extending the self is common along with the idea that "property is dominance and power which, for good or ill, serves the security and success of the self" (p.79). The loss of valued possessions represented a fracture of Matilde's self and disempowered her. As James (1980) put it:

"We feel and act about certain things that are ours very much as we feel and act about ourselves ... a man's self is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands and horses ... All these things give him the same emotions. If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant; if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down" (p.291).

For Matilde, who had all her needs and wants met before displacement, it was difficult to ask her relatives for help and to explain to her children the reasons why they did not own as much as they did before. She had to find ways to make her children understand the consequences of forced displacement and to convince them of the possibility for a better future. Throughout her narrative, Matilde presented herself as a proud young woman who struggled to regain her dignity in the city by making the effort to rise up on the social scale, supporting the argument that

“possessions psychologically empower, or are empowered by, the defense of the self” (Rudmin, 1992).

Furthermore, according to some of my participants, hardship in the city was increased by mothering, and women claimed life in the city would be much easier had they not had children. For example, being the mother of “too many children” was a reason to be rejected in the city when looking for a place to live. Landlords refuse to rent their places to large displaced families with more than three children, which are very common in rural Colombia with high Afro-Colombian population (Gutiérrez, 2000). Experiencing life in Cali gave women awareness of the difficulties of providing for a large family. As a result, regardless of their age, all of my participants affirmed that they did not want to bear more children. In some cases, being a displaced mother increased the level of difficulty in the process of adjusting to urban life under conditions of forced displacement.

Throughout the last pages I discussed how according to mothers, one of the biggest regrets of being forcibly displaced was losing their homes back in their rural villages, which put them in a vulnerable and unwanted situation they had not planned for. In this order of ideas, owning a house was of major importance to most of my participants and it became a recurrent topic throughout their narratives. For some mothers, getting a home in the city could be achieved through working and saving money, while for others the only means to owning a place was through government compensation. In other words, some mothers expected the government to give them a free house as part of its compensation program, while others were trying to accomplish this on their own. I would argue that the position they assumed demonstrated their agentive ways and their efforts to rebuild a life in the city, which ultimately depended on whether they positioned themselves as victims or agents. I will expand on this discussion throughout the following pages by relying on my participants’ own narratives and perspectives.

Out of the twelve mothers I interviewed, Rosa was the only one who already owned a house in the city. She was the first participant I interviewed and I remember expecting a disrupted and hurt woman. To my surprise she was a strong and joyful person who constantly smiled while she told me her story. The only times when I perceived sadness in her eyes was when she talked about her late two partners. Rosa used the money she received for the loss of her first partner as part of the government's compensation program and the inheritance left by her second partner to buy a house in Cali. Later on, she used a state credit program to remodel her house, made it into two separate dwellings, and began subletting the second floor. She had set a goal for herself of buying a house and she managed to accomplish it:

If you don't do anything – and don't make the effort to work.... well then you are going to get stuck. If I had bought my house and I hadn't made the effort to remodel it, and pay for it bit by bit, I would not have what I have. And so I say that all that is to move on.

The paradox of Rosa's story is that what gave her much sorrow (i.e., losing both of her partners) was at the same time what gave her the necessary resources to solve her living situation in the city. She felt confident about the future and strongly believed that determination and hard work were fundamental in the process of achieving one's goals. Rosa's narrative was similar to Matilde's in regard to the agentive tone that was used to describe their efforts to "move on."

Matilde believed a house in the city could be obtained either through government's compensation or through her own means. According to her, houses given by the government to low income people were only one option among others to find a better place to live. She barely mentioned the government and when she did, it was only to make the point that she could "move on" through her own efforts:

I don't lose hope. I will make it out of the slum and I will own a better place. – I could achieve this through displacement [government's compensation] or through other means, but I know I will have a house someday [...] Hope is the last thing you lose. If I was able to get out of

one, I can get out of many [...] In the future I see my children happy, owning their own things, being able to get things for themselves. I mean, I want them to be tough like their mother, that no matter what happens, there is no reason in this world for which they should let themselves fall apart, no. Pa' adelante is pa' allá,⁴¹ life goes on and doesn't end there.

Matilde's allusions to her agentive ways were very common along her narrative. She presented herself as an empowered and "tough" young woman who was willing to work hard in order to regain her previous economic status and provide for her children. Her narrative had a pattern in which she constantly passed from talking about adverse conditions to letting me know she had been able to overcome hardship and was on her path to a better socio-economic life. Once in Cali and finding herself lacking her livelihood and personal property, Matilde had to develop internal resources in order to reconstruct a life in the city. She prepared and sold fried cultural foods from the Pacific Coast and beer at her home in the slum during the weekends, and on a few occasions served as a maid if she needed additional income. Presenting herself as a resourceless victim was not an option and she even considered herself an example to be pursued by other women. A once dependent "spoiled child" became a "tenacious" woman capable of providing for herself and her children. Facing displacement—a disruptive experience—encouraged her to take agentic actions towards thriving, transforming disadvantageous social conditions, and guaranteeing her access to resources in this new geographical space (Mahler and Pessar, 2001). At the moment of the interview, Matilde had just enrolled in a physical, occupational, and speech therapy program and believed this degree would allow her to earn the necessary income to buy a house far away from the dangerous slum where her family had settled after displacement.

On the contrary, a few of my participants' narratives were structured around the possibility of becoming beneficiaries of a special welfare program that allocates 'free' houses to

⁴¹ *Pa' adelante es pa' allá* is a Colombian saying that is difficult to translate. It basically means that the future is 'over there,' in front of you and not behind. It implies movement since the person is trying to convey that if people want to thrive, they need to direct themselves forward.

low income families. Even though I had explained to them that I did not work for the government and that this was an independent study, they brought up governments' support on several occasions. Sol, who along her narrative always went back to the topic of the house, asked me a straight forward question at some point:

I mean, I would like that, well that you help me with my living situation. But, what do I have to do? Do I have to wait for the call [to apply to a house] to open? Or what else [can I do]? ... because there are people who received a house this year. Paying rent is hard.

Sol believed that receiving a 'free' house from the government was the only option she had to own a house after being forcibly displaced. Asking for my help in that regard was perhaps indicative of the kind of expectations she had from the interview. Similarly, Piedad was very persistent to arrange a time for the interview and to make sure it was going to take place. The latter made me speculate on the reasons for her interest on participating in the study and I could not help but wonder if she was expecting help of any sort from me. Perhaps Piedad's expectations influenced her decision to share with me her story.

Piedad lived in a slum settlement and shared a house with another lady and the lady's partner. She explained that even though she enjoyed working as a maid, Piedad rejected a full time job so that she could stay home and take care of her children because there was much "wickedness" in the city. She was also afraid that her 10 year old daughter would become a victim of any kind of abuse if she was left by herself in a shared house. In addition, Piedad expressed her desire to enroll in an adult literacy program in the city. However, she was convinced that only until she received a house where she could leave her children, was she going to be able to continue her education:

I told Claudia, [the counselor who works at the Victims' Unit] that I cannot study until the government gives me a house where my children can stay while I go to school [...] If the government fixes my living situation and gives me a house, I will enroll in school, because that is

my goal, to study [...] I ask God and I ask the government to give me a house. That would put an end to this suffering.

From the previous quote I inferred that Piedad's life seemed to be on pause while she waited for the government and God to choose her as a beneficiary of a welfare house. In this regard, Emmott (1996) argued that self-sufficiency and self-reliance are hard to promote when there is a great deal of aid available in contexts of dislocation; hence the "so-called 'empowering' programs can soon become disempowering and paternalistic" (p.38). Drawing upon Emmott's statement, it seemed to me that the idea of a 'free' house prevented some of my participants from looking for alternatives themselves and turned them into passive beings whose lives depended on external forces that acted upon them.

As it was said in the beginning of this section, armed conflict in Colombia has resulted in many thousands of families losing their personal property. As a consequence many displaced mothers have arrived in cities such as Cali with no guaranteed shelter for them or for their children. Some women had relatives and close friends who were very supportive during their adjustment to a life in an urban context. On the other hand, some others explained they did not receive any support from them, which actually made them feel even more vulnerable and disrupted. Most of these mothers who did not have social or familiar networks in the city started out renting rooms or occupying small pieces of land at slum areas. However, being a mother – especially of numerous children – was a reason to be judged in an urban context and mothers were rejected when seeking places to live. When living in poverty, paying for rent was perhaps one of women's main concerns since it seemed very disturbing to realize that Colombian political circumstances had left them with no "roof over their heads." Except for Rosa, who had already bought a house, all of my participants' greatest expectation was to own a place to live, and it seemed that they thought of this possibility as the beginning of the solution to all of the problems

caused by displacement. Several options were identified that spoke of their passive or agentive ways to embrace life in the city that were ultimately instilled in their children. Very similar to Emmott's (1996) findings, my research made clear that "people's homes –both as they exist physically and in people's hearts and minds– are inseparable from people's lives" (p. 38). In the following section I will explain the relationship between shelter and safety and its impact on *crianza*.

Section 3: From armed conflict to urban crime: Safety concerns during *crianza*

Some of the predicaments and advantages of *crianza* under forced displacement revolved around the hazards of armed conflict in rural Colombia and the following safety concerns for children in the city. This became a salient theme in all the collected narratives (i.e., theme safety/danger) clearly showing that experiences of violence varied among participants and mothers and children were affected differently by armed conflict and displacement. While in the countryside, some women received direct life threats and warnings that forced them to flee overnight, and others made the decision to self-evacuate rural villages to protect their families from political violence and to prevent their children from being hurt or recruited by armed groups. Since violence is the sine qua non of any internal war, moving to the city was a means to achieve tranquility and peace. In fact, according to some mothers, moving to Cali guaranteed the survival of their children by taking them out of red zones and settling in a "safe" urban context to raise their children. Unfortunately, for the majority of my participants, urban life has been accompanied by different types of exposure to violence which in some cases was described as harder experiences than the ones they had back in rural Colombia. This was common in those cases in which mothers settled in slum areas where their children were constantly exposed to gang activity and drug consumption. These crucial differences among my participants in regard

to safety are discussed in this section with the hopes of elucidating the various impacts of armed conflict and subsequent displacement on women and children.

Living in the country was experienced as a menace for women but mostly for their children. The constant presence of armed men in the villages, the assassination of peasants who did not comply with armed groups' informal norms, being caught between two different groups that were enemies themselves, were just some of the struggles families had to endure when living in conflict zones. Interestingly, children's ages and genders strongly affected the kinds of situations to which they were exposed. For instance, being a young boy increased the possibilities for recruitment. Sol explained the process in her rural village:

There were young boys and girls who joined [armed groups] because they liked that, right? But there were others that were taken; they took them [by force]. Or they would say "let's meet at . . .," they arranged meetings at those mountain huts . . . and said "you John Doe, John Doe, we are going to train you," they said. And they took them and you never saw them again. ::No, that is why I said "I am taking my son out of here," can you imagine? Once they turned 10, 12 years old, they would take them [...] Things over there [in the countryside] are... very tough. ::No, I say that material things can be left behind, but you need to save your life. For example, I had my two sons... ::no ja! Can you imagine if they [the armed groups] had taken them?, :no.

Sol clearly explained the vulnerability of young children in rural villages where active conflict put them at-risk of being recruited by armed groups. Sol, whose youngest son was 9 years old, was terrified of the possibility of having him abducted and felt grateful they had the opportunity to leave the village and come to the city. In general, one could say that mothers with young children and adolescents faced different challenges than those mothers –like Rosa– who had young adult sons and daughters. The reasons will be explained as follows.

Rosa's oldest daughter, who was 22 years old at the time of displacement, faced a different type of danger in the country. On various occasions, Rosa talked about her daughter

who back home finished high school and did not have the opportunity to further her studies due to the lack of schools available in their rural village. Rosa's daughter sold prepaid cell phone cards in the streets with the aggravating factor that she was a young adult usually desired by armed men. The latter, added to the fact that Rosa's neighbor's daughter was murdered, were the reasons why Rosa decided to leave rural Colombia and move to the city:

::And after I saw what happened to the girl [my neighbor's daughter] I couldn't sleep anymore, because sometimes my daughter used to go out dancing and I stayed home thinking a lot of things. What if something happened to her? . . . I said to myself "I am leaving, I am not going to stay in this place ((chuckle)), I am leaving." People were talking. My daughter used to work selling prepaid cell phone minutes and people used to tell me "yes, that is going to happen to your daughter, the same thing that happened to the other girl." And so... one day I made up my mind and I said to myself "I am going to take them out of here" because I couldn't sleep. They went out and I was the one who stayed home unable to sleep thinking that maybe I was going to receive a call and find out that my daughter had been [killed], just like it happened to my friend [...] So you have to think that you have to... well you cannot stay there, do you understand? If you see that things are getting ugly how come are you going to stay there? One has to think about one's life and leave for a different place, you have to.

Rosa found the city to be a peaceful and thriving place where her daughters were able to receive quality education, as opposed to the few opportunities offered in rural Colombia. Once in Cali, Rosa's daughter became an auxiliary nurse and provided for the house, while her two other sisters were finishing school. Rosa felt proud of herself for having the strength to "make the sacrifice" to move to the city, which she backed by her daughters' usual remark: *Mom, the best thing you could have ever done was taking us out of there*. In addition, at the time of the interview, Rosa lived in a relatively safe and urbanized neighborhood where she did not feel "unease all the time" the way she did in the countryside. According to her, she saw *more violence and tough violence – horrible things* in her rural village compared to her experience in the city.

Here, Rosa claimed, she felt more “stable,” able to “sleep better” and to enjoy a “life in tranquility,” *Yes! Life changed for the good.*

In this order of ideas, urban life experiences and perceptions about safety are, in most cases, dictated by where in the city mothers were settled. For instance, living in slum settlements represented a menace for mothers and children, making *crianza* time consuming and exhausting. Even though for women like Rosa and Sol coming to the city was the end of violence, for other mothers, urban life has presented them with challenging circumstances such as drug consumption, homelessness, gangs, exposure to guns – apparently worse than the guns of war (!), robbery, shootings, murder, and sexual abuse, and “evil things” in general. These mothers, who had run away from armed conflict in search for peace, claimed to have an urban life surrounded by violence as well.

According to Andrés Santamaría (2015), *Personero*⁴² of Cali, due to the lack of economic resources brought on by forced displacement, many rural families who come to Cali settle in urban ‘poverty belts’, which makes them more vulnerable to organized crime. This is the case of more than half of my participants –all of them of Afro-Colombian ethnicity⁴³– who settled in the east part of Cali, at precarious peripheral urbanizations which comprise various kinds of slums, some more dangerous than others. My participants’ stories are in accordance with Urrea and Murillo (1999) who explained that many migrant Afro-Colombian families settle in Eastern Cali when receiving the support of family or friendship networks located in this part of the city. The

⁴² The *Personería Municipal* is the government entity in charge of public oversight. It guarantees the promotion, protection, and defense of human rights; promotes the conservation of the environment; defends collective and consumer rights; and protects vulnerable minorities. This figure is similar to the Ombudsman in Canada.

⁴³ Cali received an important flow of Afro-Colombian immigrants from different parts of the country throughout the XX century, which increased after 1990 due to the number of families that were forcibly displaced from the Pacific Coast (Urrea, 2011). Afro-Colombian internal migrants have mostly occupied the East side of Cali, many of them settling in informal dwellings with disadvantageous living standards. According to Urrea and Murillo (1999), this concentration of Afro-Colombian families has resulted in a phenomenon of residential segregation based on ethnic origin, thus creating a “perverse association between deeper levels of poverty and the color of the skin which tends to reinforce social stigma and an imaginary space of a “ghetto” (p. 22).

majority of my Afro-Colombian participants were either renting or informally occupying territories in these informal neighborhoods without any ownership rights. Even though it was the cheapest housing they could find in Cali since no utilities bills are to be paid (e.g., water, electricity), slum areas have enormous security problems due to the presence of organized criminal bands and constant gang activity.

Amelia, a 40 year old Afro-Colombian woman who was displaced from rural Nariño three and a half years ago, lived in a high crime rate urban slum settlement with her youngest boys of 19 and 14 years of age. She was separated some years before the displacement; her ex-partner, who moved to Cali two years before Amelia in search of better opportunities, provides for their children. She decided to self-evacuate her house in order to protect her boys from being abducted and recruited as soldiers by armed groups, who had threatened the community with taking away their children if they did not pay service to them. Moreover, the disappearance of her eight year old cousin during the following week was a warning to her. When Amelia arrived in Cali, she was advised by a lady to occupy a small piece of land where she built a slum hut. It seemed to me that her family's constant exposure to gang activity and violence in the city has made her forget the danger her children faced in the country:

I think the city is more dangerous, more dangerous, because in [the countryside] you don't see gangs. You only see people from the woods [armed groups] when they feel like coming into the village. But they are not always in the village. They only stay for a period of time. People say that they are not even there anymore. Here [in the city] you see gangs and you can run into a stray bullet while you are in the street [...] I said to myself "I come from hearing bullets where I was living and I am going through the same thing here." And it is worse here [in the city] because we are right there while they are firing guns. One had to leave when they were about to start the shooting. Sometimes they would warn us. . . and so we would leave for somewhere else. And we were so afraid of going back to the slum afterwards ((laugh)). Or sometimes you would

hear the shoot-out at night and we had to throw the mattresses on top of us. Ay God! We have had rough times, you know? But thank God nothing bad has happened to us.

For mothers like Amelia, who were exposed to harsh violence in both contexts (i.e., rural and urban), it was difficult to decide which context came with more hardship. Ambiguity and contradiction were apparent in Amelia's narrative as she fluctuated between considering her children were more exposed to dangerous situations in one place than the other. Back in the village, Amelia was in constant fear of losing her children to armed groups. Now in the city, she felt anxious when thinking her children could "fall into bad habits" (i.e., consumption of drugs) or when experiencing "tough" times due to violence and poverty. Nonetheless, in spite of life trials in both contexts, Amelia concluded that life for her children in both the country and the city had been "good and not difficult." At this point I wondered if Amelia avoided thinking about painful events or if her perceptions of quality of life were perhaps blurred and memories had been changed or actively suppressed by efforts to concentrate on alternatives (Kirmayer, 1996), to the extent that she did not remember quite well or perhaps denied how difficult her life had been. She adopted the approach/avoidance form to speak about feelings and constantly laughed after talking about a disturbing event in her life. Amelia's detachment from her story and the flat tone in which the story was told veiled any possible grief, letting me know that she was taking distance from the interview and from her own recollections.

On the contrary, Susana who endured a similar situation –experiencing violence in both rural and urban contexts– shared an emotional story characterized by distress, anxiety, and urgency. *Susana*, a 35 year old Afro-Colombian woman and mother of five children, suffered three different displacements. The first one, when she left Chocó and settled in Nariño Province, is not signified by her as a displacement because she explained that back then she did not know what it meant to be 'displaced'. She arrived in rural Nariño with three children from two different

fathers, one of them killed by armed groups. Susana stayed in Nariño where she met her former partner and formed a new family with two more babies. They owned a piece of land where they farmed and it became their livelihood. After 2 years in Nariño, Susana fled after her oldest boy managed to escape from revolutionary guerrillas' lines recruiting children. She came to Cali together with her children; her former partner stayed back home and joined her a year later in the city. Once in Cali, Susana settled in a slum where her oldest boy was continuously offered drugs and invited to join gangs and participate in criminal activities. As a consequence, they decided to leave Cali and traveled to Chocó where they stayed for a year until right wing armed forces threatened her oldest daughter. She then came back to Cali and has lived in the city for 5 years out of the 8 years total she has been in displacement.

Susana provided an account of suffering from start to finish. She recounted distressing experiences in all contexts where she and her family had lived regardless of those being rural or urban. Since the beginning of the interview she made it clear to me that because of all she “had been through” she had a difficult time remembering. Kirmayer (1996) explained that the “intensity of emotion and pain that occurs with trauma engraves memories more deeply and indelibly than usual” (p.179). The latter is common in the narratives of Colombians displaced by violence where similar fears regarding intrusive memories cause a major sense of distress and emotional difficulties in the process of retelling (Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012). Susana’s lengthy narrative – about three and a half hours – was disorganized and included considerable detail. She alternated between anecdotes, from present to past and vice versa, frequently forgetting the common thread of her many stories, and constructing a narrative that I later realized – when I put the synopsis together – had gaps and omissions regarding dates, time spent in each locality, and number of children had with each partner. Readers who are familiar with the work of sociologist Arthur Frank might consider similarities with unorganized “chaos narratives”

(1995). However, Frank was making a case for a theory of illness narratives. It would be presumptuous to extend his triple typology of restitution, quest, and chaos narratives towards a theory of displacement narratives, at least at this time.

Susana had a complicated life trajectory and her narrative was structured around negative reconstructions of earlier “injustices.” Strong feelings of loneliness, loss, discrimination, and oppression began even before forced displacement. According to Bülow and Hydén (2003), some scholars assume that it is usually a disrupting experience which sets off narrative construction, or in other words, that biographical disruptions are the starting point of narratives. However, I would argue that for some individuals, such as Susana, specific and major biographical disruptions (i.e., forced displacement) occurred within a larger disrupted life story. She shared with me recollections of being sexually abused by one of her ex-partners, humiliated by her in-laws, and discriminated against her ethnicity and place of origin in different localities where she had lived. Finally, life in Cali had been the culminating disruption in her life. The intensity with which she expressed herself spoke to the sense of “suffering,” “humiliation,” “discrimination,” and “disability,” and it seemed as if the three and half hour interview was not enough to tell me about all the different urban stories of poverty, hunger, and grief that she and her children had endured in Cali. This actually led to a narrative which was quite convoluted and non-linear.

Victim of three displacements, as it was explained before, Susana’s children had been exposed to different types of security threats. Recruitment, either by armed groups in rural villages or by urban criminal bands in the city, appeared to be a constant menace in her children’s lives. When interpreting Susana’s narrative I could not help but think that she had been in a constant fight between ‘good’ and ‘evil;’ her children always being on the “innocent” end of the spectrum. *Here [in the city] if you don’t want to lose your children you have to place them into a money box*, Susana said after telling me about the countless times her oldest son had been invited

to smoke, do drugs, and rob along with gang members at the slum. *When I talk to my son I tell him “ay mijo, for the love of God, please don’t fall,” and he says to me “no mom, I ask God to help me, I wasn’t born to hurt anyone”*. This last quote, gives a clear example of some of the protective processes that lead children to resilience and recovery, such as a shared sense of values and the use of religious beliefs to find meaning in suffering (Werner, 2012). Susana managed to send her son to a different city in order to protect him from getting involved in illegal activities in the city.

Unfortunately, in spite of Susana’s efforts to care and protect her children from being hurt in the city, her daughter, who is a “Christian and does only good,” was sexually abused by different men as an act of retaliation when she refused to work for them in their organized criminal gang. Living in slums puts displaced women and girls at risk of sexual violence (Hynes, 2004; Sandvik & Lemaitre, 2013; Wachala, 2012) prolonging their exposure to violence beyond displacement. *My daughter tells me “mami, they ruined my life, they destroyed my honour, my dignity. All your efforts to take care of me and look what happened [. . .] I used to find her crying, crying, crying, and she said to me “mami it hurts, it hurts,”* said Susana helpless. By not being able to provide food, shelter, and safety for her children, Susana felt she was failing as a mother and saw in government’s compensation her only way out of suffering.

Susana’s story portrayed how the ravages of war disrupt the lives of children. According to Werner (2012) the magnitude of the effect of war-related episodes on children depends on the type of exposure the child has had during violent acts; being exposed to combat, witnessing violent acts, and being involved in wounding or killing are considered risk factors of extreme importance. Even though it is not the purpose of this study to discuss war-related trauma in either adults or children, it is important to acknowledge mother’s reflections on the confusion of children regarding the tragedy of war and their lack of understanding of the dimension of the

Colombian conflict, especially when violence reaches urban contexts where families were trying to shield from it. Because of the hardship of the circumstances, mothers felt impotent because they were prevented from giving their children appropriate care. On many occasions they were incapable of explaining the death of innocents at the hands of others.

The latter situation was the case of *Luz*, a 29 year old Afro-Colombian woman, whose daughters witnessed violent acts in Cali that had a deep impact on them. Luz had four children who were 11, 9, 5 and 3 years old at the time of the interview. She was born in Cali and lived in this city until she was 15 years old. Her parents, originally from rural Nariño, decided to move back home where she completed her high school education. From that day on, Luz lived in a rural village until she was forcibly displaced by armed groups 4 years ago. Following life threats, Luz and her family moved to a small municipality also located in Nariño. Life in this urban area was much disrupted for Luz. Due to displacement, she had to live with her parents-in-law during a time when she was separated from her husband, which forced her to see him on a regular basis. Even though she had social networks in this urban context, Luz took refuge in the house and had no motivation to go out or try to rebuild a life. After 2 years in this municipality, she decided to move to Cali which proved to be a city that fueled her with the necessary energy to reconstruct a life project. She settled in the same slum area where she grew up and renewed old friendships. Once in Cali, Luz and her husband decided to give themselves a second chance as a couple and he moved to the city as well. Nowadays, Luz lives in the same house with her husband, her children, her mother and stepfather, and three nephews. She has been in this city for the last 2 years and yearns for the peace and tranquility of her rural village –compared to the slum’s criminality related to gang activity-.

Luz’ daughters witnessed on separate occasions the murder of young men in the street close to their home in the slum. Her oldest daughter was present when the assassination happened

and she saw the perpetrator. *She was shaking when she came into the house and I had to give her a glass of water with sugar. When she was in the countryside, she would hear that someone had died but she never witnessed it herself.* Luz's youngest daughter was also trapped in the midst of a gang shooting when she left the house without Luz's awareness and started playing in the street. After she witnessed a dead body in the street, Luz's little girl could not help but ask during the following weeks *mami, the dead person, who killed him? who killed him?.* As a mother, Luz had to face the negative effect that the killing of young people had on her eleven and nine year old daughters, who after the episode showed signs of emotional discomfort and confusion regarding the events. In this regard, Masten and Narayan (2012), cited by Werner (2012), stated that evidence suggests that older children may exhibit acute symptoms of distress because of their high exposure to violence and their greater awareness of the negative consequences of armed conflict.

Luz pointed out to me that her children were more directly exposed to violence in the city than in the rural village where armed conflict was actually taking place. *Over there in the countryside, children never have to witness that [assassinations] [...] They were able to play outside and were not in any danger, any danger. I was not scared,* said Luz on various occasions. The paradox of this story is that according to Luz, armed groups *maintained the peace in the village*. They punished (e.g., killed, fined) those who consumed drugs, got in fights, stole from others, or got involved in the activity that disturbed the lives of common peasants. *What I miss about the countryside is the tranquility. There is nothing more beautiful than when you wake up, open the door, and feel like... like a different air. You see the river flow. You don't hear "look, there is a dead body over there." No. If you hear there is a dead person is because he/she died over sickness or °when the armed groups killed them, and then you say "ah the armed groups killed John Doe."* But it is not like here in the city. In the face of tremendous violence in the

slums, those who were responsible for their displacement became –in mothers’ minds– their previous protectors and saviors. Differently, in the city, apparently there is no-one to enforce the law and protect mothers and children from danger (e.g., shootings, robbery, drugs, gang members who were a bad influence to children). The country, once a very dangerous place, is then yearned for, due to its relative peacefulness.

Due to the safety situation in the urban areas where mothers were located, some of my participants considered that in spite of armed conflict, keeping children safe in rural areas was an easier task than providing care for them in the city. When mothers did not live in especially remote areas, elementary schools were usually located within rural villages. This allowed children to stay in their schools where they were served lunch provided by the government. After returning from work, mothers would pick them up or if children were old enough they would walk home by themselves. Mothers also had the alternative of taking their children with them to the field.

These mothers affirmed that urban life had been more demanding in regard to day care. While in forced displacement in the city, if mothers worked, they needed to pay somebody else to care for children and take and pick them up from school since it was not safe for children to walk to their houses by themselves after class. In some cases, when single mothers worked and could not find someone to take them to school, children stayed home and were not enrolled in school programs. A different alternative was to stay home in order to protect their children from urban crime. Some mothers believed they needed to be dedicated to care for their children and working outside the home would force them to leave their children by themselves and exposed to all different kinds of risks associated with living in Cali’s impoverished areas. In this sense, safety issues determined gender roles since some mothers who used to work in the country were forced to become full-time mothers. Hence, for some women, *crianza* in the city interfered with their

willingness to find a job and with their economic opportunities and possibilities for a better future.

Following the last idea, most of the women interviewed desired to run a home business which, according to them would guarantee an income while allowing them to be home and care for their children. In this regard, government's compensation became a source of hope since it would give them the necessary input to initiate an independent business, which in their minds was a good solution for their present situation. Also, since most of the mothers were used to having independent jobs while in the countryside, they hoped to continue with this kind of liberty in the city.

Throughout this section I have discussed how experiences of armed conflict, displacement, and safety varied for different people, and the way in which the challenges that mothers encountered in both rural and urban contexts depended on a number of different situations. For example, the type of exposure to violence in rural Colombia depended on the zones where families were located. Some villages had a greater presence of armed groups which implied higher risks for women and children, while others were not as affected by the conflict. In the same sense, not all women had negative experiences in the city. Some mothers considered they had arrived at a 'safe' place while other participants –those whose socio-economic circumstances had forced them to settle at impoverished areas with high crime rates– affirmed they were experiencing even worse violence than that occurring in the countryside.

In this order of ideas, while some of my participants experienced rural armed conflict as very disrupting and threatening; for others, their children had been more at-risk in urban settlements. These nuances of experience were surprising and worth mentioning since the common stereotype had been that of which displaced families flee from rural violence in search for 'peaceful' territories where to rear their children. Even though this was the case for some of

my participants, some others had undergone terrible safety hardships in Cali, making violence a continuum in their lives. The absence of a safe world set against the unexpected journey of displacement resulted in confusion regarding which context was more/less dangerous while mothers compared rural and urban perpetrators. Interestingly, even though there was rough violence in the country, mothers were familiar with these challenges and felt they could handle them better than the foreign urban violence (M.P. Ruiz, personal communication, July 16, 2014). Harkness and Super (2002) supported the last idea by arguing that familiar surroundings provide parents with an ‘adaptive formula’ that helps them to respond to the challenges brought up by specific social contexts. Given the lack of safeguard against violence in both the countryside and in the city, mothers managed to find different alternatives to keep their children safe. In fact, the role of women as protectors was a salient theme in all narratives and was part of their identities as mothers (more about this later).

In the next section I will discuss mothers’ identity and women’s perceptions about what it means to be a rural mother in the city, as well as their cultural constructions of *crianza* and whether or not they had made changes in their *crianza* practices while in an urban context.

Section 4: Establishing Continuity during Forced Displacement: Cultural Constructions of *Crianza* and Mothers’ Identity⁴⁴

The present section relies on the following themes: Differences between rural and urban *crianza* and sense of self disrupted/maintained. The first theme discusses possible similarities and differences between *crianza* in both rural and urban contexts and whether or not child rearing

⁴⁴ The reader will find some references to mothering theory throughout this discussion section. Even though my prime research interest was on *crianza*, I found that parenting and *crianza* theory were not sufficient to understand mothers’ thinking and their sense of identity. Hence, I chose to rely on mothering theory to interpret women’s personal accounts and lived experiences and their differences regarding aspects such as age, family formation, and family and work, among others (O’Reilly, 2004).

practices have been contested, changed or maintained. The second theme explores participants' mothering identity after displacement associated with a deep sense of pride while portraying themselves as caring and overall "*buenas madres*."

Several studies have revealed that changes in socio-cultural contexts contest traditional *crianza* practices which in some cases are transformed as a means to achieve a better adaptation to new environments (Bocanegra, 2007). Different scholars have argued that in situations of forced and voluntary migration, parents are confronted with the challenge of raising their children in unknown contexts (Lewing, Arney & Salveron, 2010). Based on this idea, the present study explored possible transformations in *crianza* practices, in particular when displaced rural mothers were rearing their children in urban contexts. The findings were revealing in the sense that *crianza* as a cultural practice was not a main concern for most of my participants; at least not as much as shelter and safety – both discussed in previous sections. Their narratives showed that when *crianza* practices were contested, most mothers clung to their parenting ways perhaps as a means to create a sense of continuity in their mothering lives after displacement. In this regard, Becker (1997) argued that during times of change people generally experience the necessity of a consistent self as a means to reestablish a sense of normalcy and order. Pulling from this idea, I argue that most of my participants' narratives evidenced their struggles to reaffirm their identity as mothers –a 'secure' place for them– while in the midst of various life transformations. This last idea, together with a discussion of mothers' *crianza* experiences in Cali, will be addressed throughout this section.

Mothers' personal accounts included some of the practices, beliefs, goals, and expectations they had about *crianza*, which were influenced by personal characteristics such as ethnicity and age (Bornstein, 2002). Their narratives also described the ways in which they had managed to adapt to a new urban environment after being forcibly displaced. Even though

contrasts between rural and urban *crianza* were not a main concern for women, they did identify some general differences in regards to disciplining children, permissiveness, meanings associated to rewards, and mother-child communication. In most cases, mothers argued that they maintained their personal/individual constructions of *crianza* and if changes were made, those were only concerned with adaptations they had to make in order to provide and protect their children from urban violence.

Some of my participants considered that they were “*different*” than urban mothers in regard to the way in which they disciplined children. A similar conclusion can be found in De Haan’s study (2011) in which Moroccan immigrant parents’ disciplining and monitoring beliefs and practices were challenged while settling in the Netherlands. Internally displaced women told me stories of either being physically punished during their childhood or using physical punishment while parenting in the villages before displacement. Acts such as spanking and whipping were common and culturally accepted in the countryside as a means to educate children. On the contrary, participants claimed urban mothers in Cali withhold rewards such as *things that children like* (e.g., watching television, playing with friends) as a means to assure their children’s good behaviour. Important to say, some other participants believed there was not a significant difference between rural and urban disciplining practices. For example, Amelia claimed that both rural and urban mothers could be aggressive or calm:

There are some [urban mothers] that are not aggressive. There are some who pamper their children very much, but there are others that are indeed more aggressive. Some are more aggressive, I say. And the same happens over there [in the countryside]. There are some mothers in the villages that are more easy-going and there are others who are more aggressive and hit their children pretty badly. Here [in the city] you can’t hit your children that hard.

Amelia’s opinion is another example of the array of experiences I found throughout displaced mothers’ narratives and it supports the idea that *crianza* is diverse, variable, and

signified by the given community in which it takes place (LeVine, 1980; Rogoff, 2003).

Nonetheless, Amelia's last statement indicated the necessity to transform some of these culturally constructed *crianza* practices. I assumed that by affirming that children cannot be harshly punished in the city, Amelia was letting me know that those mothers who practiced this form of disciplining before displacement were required to change after their arrival in Cali.

Micolta (2007) and De Haan (2011) discussed the struggles migrant parents experienced while parenting their children in exile, but their studies also revealed the transformative potential of childcare practices when they do not function readily in these new contexts. Some rural displaced mothers, when confronted with different *crianza* systems of belief, may form parenting practices qualitatively different from the ones they assumed before forced displacement. Certainly disciplining children was one of those. Some of my participants changed their own ways of disciplining their children and adopted urban practices which according to them work better. Sol, who used physical punishment while her oldest son was growing up back in the rural village, explained to me that since her arrival in the city, she had *learned* different ways of educating her youngest:

I don't punish my boy like that anymore [I don't hit him]. I punish him like they do it here. Sometimes if he gets a bad grade I tell him "ok, you cannot watch television today, you are going to study." And that is how I punish him. And I also make him go to bed early . . . – And so he now studies more because he says "well my mom punishes me like that here [in the city]." He pays more attention to his homework and everything.

Sol considered that this new way of disciplining indeed worked better and resulted in her son focusing more on his studies. The previous excerpt exemplified not only how *crianza* practices could be transformed in the city but also how some of those practices could be assumed as a 'better' path in their child-rearing endeavor. Nonetheless, some displaced mothers shared with me stories of urban mothers' lack of discipline and permissiveness towards their children,

which according to my participants resulted in adolescents' poor judgment over social circumstances and life choices in general. Rosa explained it as follows:

[Here in the city] there are some mothers that are dedicated to their children, there are some others that have children and they leave them there, on their own . . . they don't care for them . . . they don't care about their children's education or their possibilities to move on; instead they let them hang out in the streets. They fall into bad habits and then you have the consequences; children involved in gangs and hanging out in the street corners. Those children do whatever they want to do and mothers don't seem to have a strong hand when they talk to them . . . and that is why their children are involved in . . . because here there is a lot of... how can I say this? The youth, they are involved in drugs and all that, one sees them in the streets. And I say that that is the parents' responsibility. Or maybe is it something that just gets out of hand? I am not sure how does it work?

Rosa provided her rationale behind some urban children's behaviour and as it can be inferred from the previous quote, she attributed some urban children's problems to their mothers' permissiveness. However, in the end, she also doubted the validity of this 'life/*crianza* theory' giving room for a maybe more flexible point of view in which parents should not always carry the heavy load of being responsible for their children's choices since there are perhaps broader and external socio-cultural aspects that influence children's behaviour such as living at impoverished areas with high crime rates and low opportunities for upward mobility (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Williams, 2010; Williams, 2012).

Mothers were very insistent on the importance of *leading children towards the right pathway*, which meant teaching them moral values and principles, instilling study habits, and ultimately raising them to become *hombres y mujeres de bien*⁴⁵ who would have honest jobs and honorable lives. On the contrary, the *wrong pathway*, which seemed to be around the corner, was incarnated in children and teenagers who consumed drugs and joined gangs as a result of their

⁴⁵ To bring up good men and women.

mothers' *lack of discipline*.⁴⁶ It was almost as if life bifurcated into two different routes: the "good" and the "bad," and it were mothers' duties to guide children towards the former.

Among the collected narratives, it was common to find anecdotes in which urban mothers allowed "excessive amount of freedom" that resulted in their children taking the so-called "wrong path." Making sure that children were on their "right track" became a priority for those mothers who were living in unsafe and violent urban environments. In order to assure their children's safety and distance from "bad habits," mothers claimed they constantly taught them about the negative impact of drugs, guided them about what kinds of friends and company they should choose, and became overprotective by not letting children spend too much time outside the house in order to prevent them from being exposed to urban violence.

Life in the city also challenged displaced women's meanings associated with rewards. Some participants believed *urban mothers spoiled their children* by providing them with all kinds of material things (e.g., TVs, videogames, cell phones) even when they were not doing well in their academic activities. Sol, who believed that the value given to 'things' in the city was different from what was considered valuable in rural contexts, told me a detailed story about her neighbor who gave her adolescent son *everything he wanted* even though he treated her badly and was involved in illegal activities. Throughout her narrative, Sol explained that it was hard for her to understand why in the city some mothers were not able to balance material rewards and children's behaviour: *One has to teach children to appreciate the little they get when they really deserve it; for example when they pass the school year, make it to honor roll, or get a high grade on a test*, said Sol who strongly disagreed with her urban neighbor mother.

⁴⁶ Please see Kim, Conway-Turner, Sherif-Trask, and Woolfolk (2006) and Micolta (2007) for other studies on immigrant parents' struggles when instilling cultural values in children in new migration settings.

Luz also mentioned some of the challenges of raising her children in an urban center where family life is much constructed and developed around expending and investing monetary resources on recreational activities. While in the villages hobbies and games were “free” (e.g., playing soccer, swimming in the river), the activities offered to children in the city usually had a cost. Luz expressed a deep desire to enroll her children in extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, arts, dancing) as a means to keep them away from street violence –her daughters had already mentioned that Luz was isolating them from the outer world– but she struggled to find the resources to afford her children’s new wishes in the city: *One of the difficult things about raising your children here in the city is that your children ask you to buy all these things or to pay to sign them up in after school activities. They didn’t ask for all these things in the countryside. Crianza in the city demanded from displaced rural mothers’ additional efforts such as finding the means to assume the cost of games and activities, steering children away from consumerism, or finding low-cost recreational activities.*

Lastly, in regards to contrasts experienced between rural and urban *crianza*, there was no agreement over mother-child communication. Some participants considered urban mothers used a caring approach when speaking to children compared to rural mothers who apparently tended to be enraged when addressing them. Such thinking was common throughout Jazmín’s narrative:

I think moms in the city are a little bit different. They know how to talk to children. The way they talk to them is different. Whereas in the countryside parents ride roughshod over children, you hear a lot of swearing, moms curse at the children even, at their own children.

In general, Jazmín’s *crianza* experiences in the countryside had been disturbing while she was growing up. As it was mentioned before, she described her early life as impoverished, underprivileged, separated from her studies and mostly dedicated to farm labour. She also grew

up being physically punished by her father. In Cali, Jazmín had witnessed the way in which mothers cared for their children and she claimed she was actually *learning from them*.

On the contrary, Luz was very insistent on her opinion of urban mothers being *very different* from rural mothers since they –urban mothers– did not teach their children communication skills or appropriate means to resolve conflicts with their peers. Luz gave me various examples among which she told the story of one of her neighbors who was teaching her daughter to settle disputes by using physical force:

Here in the city, they don't like to dialogue, they like to be violent. People think they can solve problems by being violent. Whereas in the countryside, I don't know if it is because most people are family, we solve all of our problems through dialoguing. Here things are different, everything is different. There are some mothers who don't know how to educate their children.

Luz compared herself to some mothers in the slum settlement who were aggressive and concluded that children's addictions and willingness to become gang members were *the mom's fault; there are moms who have a long way to go ... a long way to go*, she said. By this Luz was implying that there were urban mothers who lacked vital parenting skills.

Throughout the previous pages, I have provided different examples of how my participants have or have not changed their *crianza* practices since their arrival in Cali. Peñaranda (2011) argued that women's representations of their role as mothers are constructed through their relationships with different individuals or groups of people and that personal meanings of *crianza* are negotiated with their family, their neighbors, and social networks in general. In the context of forced displacement in Colombia and taking into account the collected narratives, I argue that rural women's cultural constructions of *crianza* were in fact negotiated. However, it was noticeable that these transformations were minor (e.g., disciplining children) and that most of the displaced mothers I interviewed continued their knowledge and meanings associated with

crianza, which were reflected in their decision to maintain their parenting practices beyond displacement.

Nonetheless, Dalia - an Indigenous woman - explained that for her, *crianza* in the city had transformed significantly. Over in the *Medio San Juan* Indigenous community, the rearing of children was the *mayordomo*'s⁴⁷ responsibility. The *mayordomo* made the judgment of when “*a child had a good or a bad behaviour*” and the parents praised or reprimanded children accordingly. According to Dalia, Indigenous mothers were *right next to the church listening to the mayordomo's guidande; he told parents what to do since children were little*. After displacement and lacking the *mayordomo*'s instructions, Dalia found herself needing to rear her children on her own. *Here in the city mothers are in charge of educating children, they are in charge of doing everything*, said Dalia who had learned to establish curfews, help with school work, and discipline her boys. Besides guiding Indigenous mothers on how to educate their children, *mayordomos* were also spiritual leaders. Dalia explained that back in their community the *mayordomo* sent blessings for children from church right after mothers put children to bed. Mothers were not as involved in their children's spiritual growth. *Nowadays, I put my children to bed and I bless them myself every night, I tell them about God*, said Dalia who tried to give me examples of how she had been in charge of her children's spiritual journey since their arrival in the city.

Dalia let me know on different occasions that by transforming her *crianza* practices, she became a “*different mother*.” She told me the story of her mother coming to Cali for a visit and acknowledging how much she had changed. *My mom looked at me and said “you have changed a lot; all of you, all of you has changed.” She said I am not the same one, she said I am the other*.

⁴⁷ The *mayordomo* or spiritual leader among the Medio San Juan Community – Wounaan people run the church and were in charge of guiding Indigenous mothers through *crianza*.

*I said to her “yes mom, I am not like mothers over there [in the community], my children come first. By this Dalia was implying that she was not only more involved in the parenting endeavor but that she was actually in charge of *crianza*, which made her different from other Indigenous mothers from her community. I feel different. I am a new mother now, said Dalia who adapted to urban *crianza* practices and felt proud of the kind of mother she had become.*

While Dalia found it easy to accommodate *crianza* to the new city environment, she struggled, at the same time, to maintain her cultural heritage and to keep Indigenous traditions⁴⁸ alive. Among those, preserving her ancestral language – Wounaan – was significant to her in terms of her identity. She even spoke it during the interview which I interpreted as an effort to give me a sense of her background and to reaffirm herself. It differentiated her not only from urban citizens but from other Indigenous communities in Colombia: *They are different, they don’t speak Wounaan*, responded Dalia when I asked her about other Indigenous communities that were proximal to hers. Dalia’s ancestral language was threatened in the city and it was a loss she was not prepared to endure. She explained to me that since their arrival in the city, her youngest boy was unwilling to speak their native language:

He doesn’t want to speak our language anymore. He says “no mami, don’t speak that [language] anymore, that is over! ((chuckle)). He says “it is over.” I tell him “no, it is not over. When I die it might be over, not before.” He responds “:::no, that is over, we don’t have a community anymore” [...] I tell him “papi, we will never forget, one’s language cannot be forgotten. Never, son. That will never happen. Your language is in your blood forever.”

After forced displacement, Dalia lost her community and with it, the Indigenous context that shaped infant experience. As it can be inferred from the previous quote, her little boy who

⁴⁸ Dalia spoke of various ancestral traditions that she lost when moving into Cali after being forcibly displaced. Among those, she grieved over one of the most important cultural practices performed among the Medio San Juan - Wounaan Community: Weaving Werregue baskets. Women designed and wove baskets and plates while men were in charge of finding the Werregue fiber which was not available in Cali.

arrived in Cali at the age of 2, no longer felt part of their community. Spanish had become his language and the city had become the context in which he was being an active participant in the social interactions and cultural learning of his early years. Rogoff (2003) argued that human beings develop as participants in their cultural communities and that development must be understood in light of cultural processes and cultural practices. In this respect, Dalia's boy was not a passive receiver of Dalia's cultural traits and chose the conventions of communication that were giving him entrée to his present local social world: Urban, non-Indigenous Colombia (LeVine & New, 2008).

Dalia's use of language was collective; in other words, my interview questions about her personal experiences were mostly responded to in collective terms. She began her anecdotes with the phrase "*nuestra comunidad*" or our community which helped me to understand that Dalia felt part of something bigger than her own personal experiences or those of her immediate family. Her narrative included various examples of differences between Indigenous and urban practices preceded by the expression "*la ley de ustedes ... la ley de nosotros o la ley Indígena,*"⁴⁹ which immediately separated her customs from what she assumed were my customs in Cali. Even though Dalia emphatically described the transformation of her mothering practices, she also vigorously made clear how different her community was from the urban context. The latter signified that even though Dalia was willing to adjust her *crianza* practices while in forced displacement, she was at the same time reluctant to leave behind her Indigenous identity. Dalia did not seem to struggle to become a "*different mother,*" but she was not willing to give up what it meant to be a Wounaan woman.

The notorious transformation of *crianza* practices and mothering identity was particular to Dalia's story. I venture to suggest that except for Dalia most of my participants hold onto their

⁴⁹ *Your law ... our law or our Indigenous law.*

mothering identities perhaps as a means to create continuity in their lives. Even in those cases in which mothers transformed some of their *crianza* practices (e.g., disciplining children), they considered themselves to be the same kind of mother they were in the countryside. Piedad put it this way: *If I took good care of my children in the village, I also take good care of them in the city. That is not going to change.* Similarly, Leticia asserted *I think that one is who one is, wherever one goes.* Both Piedad and Leticia claimed mothering had not changed after being forcibly displaced.

But what did it mean to my participants to be a mother? Even though answering this question was not the main objective of the present study, my own interpretation of the narratives led me to the conclusion that for displaced women, a ‘good’ mother was supposed to protect, nurture, care, educate, install values and principles, guide, and provide for their children. All the previous attributes were included in my proposed definition of *crianza* (See Literature Review), and most importantly, became mothers’ definition of themselves. I could not help but to notice that my participants wanted to present a definition of themselves as good mothers for whom their children were a priority and the “*engine of their lives.*” Demonstrating sympathy, empathy, and sensitivity towards their children seemed to remain and even strengthen during forced displacement, in particular because this special circumstance put children in vulnerable situations (Gradana & Domínguez, 2012). Interviewees often compared themselves to other urban mothers who were “*desinteresadas*” or performed *crianza* carelessly. Displaced mothers felt proud while letting me know the hard work they endured in the city in order to meet their children’s needs. Matilde showed an empathic rejection of these “*kinds of careless mothers*”:

There are people who are puzzled [when they see me] with my children because I am young. And I tell them, they are my children and I don’t have a reason to deny that. And they say that... they tell stories of people who are older than me, who are grown-up women and they run

away. ∴No, I don't have a reason to run away. Never. These women flee from their children. Over there, [at the slum] where I live, you see that a lot. Women leave their children behind. And one realizes they are gone after two or three days when one sees their children by themselves, and when one sees them going over to their neighbor's house asking for food . . . And that is something that makes me really sad, because I think that no-one, no child asks to be brought to this world, never [...] And that is something that makes me sad. I don't want anything like that to ever happen to my children. Even though their father does not provide for them, but – I am a father and a mother to them, and they know that up until now they have never lacked anything. Never, never, and they will not lack anything as long as I am alive.

Matilde, a single mother who solely provided for her children and had no contact with her previous partners, who each is the father of one of her boys, felt outraged when she had to witness unprotected children who were abandoned by their mothers. This was particularly upsetting to her since she had gotten pregnant with her two children when she was 14 and 17 years old – her youngest boy born with a psychomotor developmental delay⁵⁰ – and had been an accountable mother despite her young age. Matilde's narrative included various anecdotes in which she compared herself to *those descorazonadas*⁵¹ *mothers who throw their children out in the street and abandon them*. It seemed to me that this comparison strengthened her mothering identity as that of a responsible and caring one.

Similarly, Susana made an effort along her narrative to portray herself as a nurturing and concerned mother who in spite of poverty and suffering was trying her best to protect her children. After displacement, Susana assumed the role of a stay-at-home mom and became economically dependent on her at-the-time partner who found a job at a hardware store. Susana explained to me that not having a personal income put her in a vulnerable position. Her ex-partner began humiliating her stepchildren and there was not much she could do in order to

⁵⁰ After displacement, Matilde had been in charge of a 27 year old cousin with a disability who, according to her, was experienced as having a third child.

⁵¹ Spanish term used to say that someone does not have a 'good heart.'

demand from him respect and consideration. In addition, Susana claimed he did not let her attend the training workshops offered to victims of armed conflict arguing that he was working so that she could stay home and take care of children. Susana left him a year ago and moved to a different home along with her children. In retaliation, her ex-partner does not provide child support and she completely depends on the government monetary stipends. Susana's narrative included several anecdotes in which she felt incapable of providing for her children. Nonetheless, she also highlighted her children's admiration for her: *My daughter tells me "mami, you are one of a kind, there are not mothers like you, I would not exchange you for any other person in this world, you are one of a kind.* This duality –feeling powerless and powerful– was thoroughly discussed by Sara Ruddick (1980) who affirmed it was central to the experience of mothers. Ruddick argued that:

In any society a mother is unavoidably powerless. Nature's indifference -illness, death, and damage to the child or its closest loved ones- can frustrate the best maternal efforts. To unavoidable powerlessness is added avoidable social powerlessness. Almost anywhere the practices of mothering take place in societies in which women of all classes are less able than men of their class to determine the conditions in which their children grow. (p.343).

From Ruddick's perspective, Susana would be, simultaneously, a powerless and powerful mother. She had to 'mother' in a context of socio-political violence, socio-economic deprivation, and oppressed by her partner, but at the same time was invested by her children with a powerful maternal presence, as "the primary, uncontrollable source of the world's goods" (p.343). In this sense, her daughter's remark made Susana feel she was doing 'something right' during what she considered a disrupted life time.

Even though I have ‘used’ Susana’s and Matilde’s narratives to illustrate the necessity of performing a particular identity (i.e., that of a good mother), it is important to say that most of my participants needed to provide a praiseworthy definition of themselves and to believe they were responding well to life trials. Ruddick (1980) discussed mothers’ desire to preserve loving and competent well-being memories of their ‘mothering work’, and described this mothers’ feeling as a sense of ‘maternal competence’ a “sense that they *are* able to protect and foster the growth of their children” (p.344) which was experienced as not only natural but compelling, even under adverse economic and social conditions. The latter was without doubt a commonality among rural mothers’ personal accounts of their *crianza* experiences while in internal displacement.

Throughout this fourth section I have discussed how forced migration questioned rural mothers’ cultural constructions of *crianza* at different levels. Some mothers struggled with their own view of what was ‘appropriate parenting’ when their child-rearing practices in their place of origin (i.e., rural villages) and the new setting (i.e., city) were confronted (Lewig, Arney & Salveron, 2010). For others, *crianza* was not contested in the city and they found there were not clear differences between both contexts. With the purpose of bringing some sense of order to my findings, I grouped participants’ experiences according to four main areas in which mothers found contrasts between rural and urban *crianza*: disciplining children, permissiveness, meanings associated to rewards, and mother-child communication. Again, experiences varied, and while some rural mothers assumed the possibility of change and transformation in this new migration setting (De Haan, 2011), others clung to their *crianza* beliefs and affirmed that parenting practices should not depend on the place where they were currently living but on individual styles that stem from the type of *crianza* carried out before being forcibly displaced (Micolta, 2007).

Besides discussing cultural constructions of *crianza* and possible transformations while in forced displacement, mothers also constructed their narratives around their mothering identity.

All of them, except for Dalia –Indigenous participant– claimed to be “*the same mother*” they were before displacement. I argued that perhaps the preservation of their identity provided them with a ‘safe’ place in a period of disruption. In this regard, Becker (1997) argued that ‘safeguarding’ one’s identity in disruptive moments, perpetuates a sense of self and creates a sense of continuity. Holding onto previous *crianza* practices, values associated with parenting, and cultural heritage, were significant in my participants’ lives and were portrayed in the stories they told. Finally, whether or not women claimed they had changed as mothers after forced displacement, they all presented an implicit definition of being a ‘good’ mother in which their efforts to protect, care, nurture, and provide for their children were important aspects of *crianza* (Held, 2005). Mothers needed to feel that despite the inevitable trials and social conditions of motherhood, they were being effective in their work, after all, “when their children flourish, mothers have a sense of well-being” (Ruddick, 1980, p. 344).

My research discussed a broad range of elements that should be taken into account when studying experiences of *crianza* under forced displacement. For the purpose of a scholarly exercise, I mainly grouped my findings around mothers’ four main concerns that, although similar, were colored by mothers’ cultural background, family structure, and socio-economic circumstances. The first section encompassed a general description of some of the challenges and facilitators of rural and urban settings and the way in which those contexts have shaped *crianza* experiences. The second and third sections focused on displaced mothers’ concerns about not being able to provide shelter and a safe environment for their children in the city. Finally, the fourth section discussed mothering identity and the way in which it ultimately influenced mothers’ culturally constructed *crianza* practices, experiences, and expectations. In the following I will present the main conclusions of my research based on the understanding that *crianza* under

forced displacement in Colombia varies significantly and takes women through both disrupting and empowering journeys.

CONCLUSIONS

Variations in Crianza under Forced Displacement:

A Disrupting and Empowering Experience

The socio-political phenomenon of forced displacement has had a tremendous impact on the personal lives of more than 6,5 million Colombians. Among those, women have been predominately affected since child rearing usually has come to rest exclusively on the shoulders of displaced mothers (López & Agudelo, 2000). My study was an attempt to understand, using personal narratives as the main source of information, the experience of twelve Colombian women in the process of rebuilding their lives while parenting their children in the setting of imposed internal exile. I discussed some of the main advantages and disadvantages of rearing children in rural and urban contexts and mothers' overall experiences of *crianza* under the special condition of forced displacement. As stressed by De Munck (2000), "as we are never going to have direct access to other people's self experiences, discourses on such experiences may be as close as we are ever going to get to studying primary experience" (p.52). In this sense, the stories themselves became the object under investigation, taking into account that "a primary way individuals make sense of the experience is by casting it in narrative form" (Riessman, 1993, p.4). The voice of the victims represented precious data for the purpose of a scholarly exercise and it was at least as plausible to try to study displaced women's stories from a narrative cultural and psychological perspective.

Narrative methods have been extensively used to study the subjective experience of those who have encountered disruption in their lives (Becker, 1997; Riessman, 2008; Torn, 2011). Kirmayer (1996, 2000) argued that accounts of suffering are locally produced and become contested essays of meaning which are governed by social contexts and cultural models for

memories, narratives, and life stories. Such social contexts and cultural models affect what individuals consider as “salient, how it is interpreted and encoded at the time of registration and, most important for long-term memories that serve autobiographical functions, what is socially possible to speak of and what must remain hidden and unacknowledged” (p.191). Narratives of Colombians displaced by violence have been compiled in several books (See Brodzinsky & Schoening, 2012; Lara, 2012; Molano, 2005) and despite the intentional⁵² modifications of the narratives due to the process of editing, they all form a compendium of stories that portray the unique experiences, adversities, and reflections of displaced women in the context of Colombian war. At the same time, the narratives collected for the present study could be considered, to some extent, historical accounts produced in the context of a social science research that emphasized the political and cultural contexts of a collective time (Smith & Watson, 2001). In this regard, Kirmayer (1996) highlighted that when a community “agrees traumatic events occurred and weaves this fact into its identity, then collective memory survives and individual memory can find a place (albeit transformed) within that landscape” (p.190). Perhaps my participants found in the intimacy of our interviews a safe space of solidarity where they could speak the unspeakable.

Storytelling allowed displaced mothers to reinterpret their lives to which I added my own interpretations of their experiences of *crianza*, of their main challenges and resources, and the way in which they experienced disruption and their efforts to achieve continuity. Special attention was given to the way women used language to construct their stories. Crossley (2011) stated that “individuals understand themselves through the medium of language, through talking and writing, and it is through these processes that individuals are constantly engaged in the

⁵² Edited narratives can be considered to be close versions of the original stories. Nonetheless, it is important to be aware of the possible shifts in the construction of the sentences and literary hooks used by the editors to catch the readers’ attention. Although the facts and words collected in the interviews usually remain the same, it is important to recognize that some stories were perhaps edited to convey a message privileged by the editors, for whom showing the various faces of displacement and exhibiting differences among the stories was perhaps a primary concern.

process of creating themselves (p.10). The challenge then consisted on understanding how displaced mothers and I as an interviewer managed to produce a conversation that embodied experience, gained them rhetorical power, and both challenged and contributed to larger narrative structures (Kirmayer, 2000). In other words, my Master's thesis served the purpose of understanding the experiences of some of the women survivors of war, through the telling of private thoughts which I attempted to honor through an enormous effort to read into their words and meanings with the utmost respect.

Participants' idiosyncrasies and circumstances varied. Some of them were forcibly displaced overnight when blamed to be government's collaborators, threatened because they refused to help armed groups, or forced out of their houses as retaliation after their relatives –and sometimes husbands– had disputes with armed men. Some others, who foresaw danger for themselves and their children, decided to self-evacuate dangerous areas and moved to the city. Even though in armed conflicts there is a stereotype in which men face war and do not tend to survive (Meertens & Stoller, 2001), this was not the common situation among my participants. Only two of them had lost their partners as a consequence of armed conflict: Rosa was a widow and Dalia ended up with a missing husband. In addition, ethnicity and family structure varied among my interviewees. Being Afro-Colombian, Indigenous, or a *mestizo* peasant, and coming from a patriarchal or a matrifocal family influenced women's *crianza* and their processes of adjustment in the city (Gutiérrez, 2000). The findings of my research clearly showed that it would be inaccurate to generalize displaced mothers' experiences in Colombia and that the distinctiveness of the narratives should be deeply acknowledged.

Forced displacement resulted in familiar reconfigurations during the resettlement process (López, 2005; López & Agudelo, 2000) and in changes in traditional roles to ensure survival in the city (Hernández, 1999). For those women who were the sole survivors of war or for others

who separated from their partners while in the city, rural families which were previously patriarchal became matrifocal when the women felt obligated to respond for their children's sustenance. The households then became female-headed (Franco, 1998). In those cases, mothers left their children under the care of others when they were able to afford the extra help. However, even though women acknowledged the benefits of being part of the work force in the city, they regretted no longer dedicating sufficient time to *crianza* as they did in the villages. On the contrary, some displaced women felt forced to become stay-at-home mothers in Cali while they had contributed to the family economy in their rural villages. The latter became a disempowering factor in some women's lives. They not only were affected by the lack of resources but also—in some cases—were oppressed by their previous partners who used income as an instrument of power. The situation did not change for those mothers who were single at the moment of displacement and continued to take on responsibility over the children in the city. These women mostly belonged to the Afro-Colombian coastal-fluvial cultural complex, where according to Gutiérrez (2000) there is male polygamy and usually an absence of a father figure in the family. Regardless of the case, my participants' narratives displayed their efforts to adapt to their new roles within unaccustomed family configurations, some struggling with gender inequalities and male dominance (Brøgger & Gilmore, 1997) and others claiming to be empowered by life trials.

Several of the collected narratives included descriptions of pleasant and traditional features of countryside accompanied by poverty and inequity. Mothers did not enjoy the comfort of urban public services such as electric power, public transportation, and access to adequate health care facilities. These disadvantageous conditions were in fact supported by the results of the National Agricultural Census carried out in 2014, in which the quality of education, level of income, and basic sanitary conditions in rural Colombia were considerably lower compared to urban indicators (National Administrative Department for Statistics of Colombia DANE, 2014).

Nonetheless, in spite of the scarcity of resources, families had more or less a steady income resulting from mainly agrarian occupations, and most importantly, women had a home of their own.

Being deprived of shelter was a significant source of disruption for displaced women whose ownership rights were revoked or taken away due to armed conflict. Though rural dwellings were modest compared to urban houses, they were their own (as the mothers claimed). Some even affirmed that losing their homes and finding themselves to be disempowered homeless women overnight was the primary reason for which they were facing extreme poverty in the city, stigma and discrimination against their socio-economic situation, and to some extent, the fracture of their identities (James, 1980; Rudmin, 1992). Time to plan the move to the city played a significant role in mothers' conditions of arrival since it granted them the opportunity to contact social networks in the city and find accommodation at a relative's or acquaintances' house, which was crucial in their process of adjustment (Meertens & Stoller, 2001). However, other women remembered the time being hosted as humiliating and under overcrowded conditions. Moving several times before finding an appropriate place for their families was common in most stories, and overall, the types of shelter mothers were able to find depended on their socio-economic possibilities, which determined whether they could live independently, the type and size of dwellings, and the location (Urrea & Murillo, 1999).

Mothers and children were affected differently by armed conflict. Life in displacement and the ecology of relocation – rural and urban social contexts – determined displaced mothers' perceptions about safety (Williams, 2010). Back in rural villages, children were exposed to different risks depending on their age and gender. Adolescent boys were at risk of being recruited while adolescent girls were at risk of sexual abuse. In the face of imminent danger, displaced families fled from the countryside in search for a safer environment, and once again, my study

revealed the nuances of the resultant experiences. In the quest for finding a secure place in which to rear children, some mothers affirmed they had found Cali to be a guarded context, at least in comparison to vulnerable rural villages. On the contrary, for those mothers and children whose lack of resources forced them to informally occupy urban slums, life in Cali exposed them to various risks –different to those of armed conflict– such as gang activity and drug consumption. For these participants, exposure to violence was a continuum in their lives and mothers struggled to explain war and crime to their children and to deal with its consequences and impact (Werner, 2012). The challenges presented by Colombian armed conflict were well known by displaced women and familiarity with rural threats helped mothers respond to the challenges brought on by this specific social context with a more confident approach than the one assumed in Cali (Harkness & Super, 2002; M.P. Ruiz, personal communication, July 16, 2014). Interestingly, constant exposure to violent experiences in the city resulted in displaced mothers remembering the countryside as a peaceful setting and almost forgetting the danger their children endured.

Under these circumstances, women considered one of their main duties as mothers to safeguard their families. They filled with pride and satisfaction when telling me about their efforts to care for children. In contrast, feeling incapable of providing protection in neither of these two contexts (i.e., rural and urban) was experienced as a failure (Ruddick, 1980). Not letting their children and adolescents “*get out of their sight*” and anecdotes about overprotective *crianza* were common throughout the narratives, clearly showing that safety issues not only interfered but determined *crianza* in displaced women’s lives. In fact, some mothers decided not to work in order to stay home and protect their children from the city’s “*wickedness*.” Even though women were aware that by not working they perpetuated a poverty cycle, mothers prioritized their children’s safety over a better socio-economic standing or any chance to have a

life of their own. For these women, maternal sacrifice for their children was unquestionably expected, leaving them with little option but to perform intensive mothering (Kim et al., 2006).

These mothers relied on government compensation as their only alternative. Receiving a free house was their way out of poverty since it would allow them to leave their children at a “*locked and safe place*” while they worked to earn additional income other than the monetary stipends provided to victims in Colombia. It seemed to me that these mothers’ lives were on pause while waiting for the government to choose them as beneficiaries of this welfare program. In such a liminal state, little efforts were made to create lives for themselves in the city (Becker, 1997) and I could not help but think that waiting for external resources (i.e., free houses) ‘paralyzed’ some of my displaced participants. Usually, these women portrayed an image of a powerless mother and constructed narratives around their lives as victims in need, which perhaps they thought I could help solve (Goffman, 1959;). These narratives were indeed shaped by larger socio-political discourses and influenced by the power relations and institutional ideologies that are embedded in Colombia’s armed conflict (Riessman, 2008).

On the contrary, many more of my participants were agentive and continuously talked about their efforts to “move on” after being forcibly displaced and finding their own means to acquire a house again. One of the most powerful aspects in these narratives was their active refusal to portray themselves as victims and the telling of their personal efforts to create a better present and future for themselves and their families (See similar findings in Meertens & Stoller, 2001). These women often not only talked about the rearing of children but about their own expectations for the future, which usually included ‘dreams’ of graduating from high school, engaging in further training, and ultimately finding a fulfilling job.

While the emphasis of my study was on *crianza* under the special condition of forced displacement, I included a consideration of child rearing in urban contexts even without reference

to armed conflict. I believe discussing *crianza* in as many dimensions as my data revealed, provided an even broader understanding of *crianza* as a culturally constructed parenting practice. Challenges of urban *crianza* could be reported by rural mothers even in the absence of internal armed conflict. In this sense and from the vantage point of an outside observer, variations and needs of *crianza* in the city would exist whether or not mothers had decided to evacuate their rural villages by choice⁵³ or by force. Displaced mothers' experiences of *crianza* in Cali could be compared to the 'normal' experiences in any rural woman's life even if there had not been 60 years of internal war in Colombia. Nonetheless, I argued that forced migration, especially when it occurred within an internal war, colored women's experiences in the cities where they resettled. In this order of ideas, my participants' experiences of *crianza* in an urban context were very much influenced by the special condition of forced displacement. The challenges of rearing children in the city were aggravated by the lack of time to plan their move (i.e., leaving personal property overnight), the stigma associated with displacement (Urrea & Murillo, 1999), and the emotional and psychological impact of armed conflict (Bell et al., 2012; Londoño et al., 2012; Richards et al., 2011). Furthermore, most of them affirmed that it was more difficult to adapt in the city when they had been "*obligated to do so*" than if they had decided to self-evacuate their rural villages in search of opportunities. Ultimately, meanings accompanying the experience of *crianza* in an urban context were embedded within a much broader background (i.e., being forcibly displaced) and determined women's capacity for recovery (Herrera, 2013).

Experiences of *crianza* under forced displacement in an urban context varied among my participants, especially in regards to the hardship or ease of rearing their children after being forcibly displaced. For some, *crianza* in the city had been a difficult endeavor due to the break-up

⁵³ Aside from forced displacement as a result of political instability, there is voluntary economic migration due to dissatisfaction with economic, social, and cultural rights (Rojas cited in Franco, 1998).

of the families, the diminishing socio-economic conditions brought on by forced migration, and the exposure to urban violence. However, for other rural mothers, the convenience of urban life improved their child rearing endeavor by giving them the opportunity to have access to state support and by offering their children better education and life opportunities. Mothers' experiences were dissimilar and while some claimed *crianza* in Cali had been challenging and uprooting, others stated child rearing in the city had been more advantageous and promising than in rural villages. Overall, mothers' perceptions were heavily influenced by how remote and underdeveloped their rural villages were, the deepness of armed conflict and types of risks associated with it, their socio-economic situation in Cali and the urban areas where they managed to settled, the kinds of support mothers received in the city with the rearing of children (e.g., family and social networks, city/state social assistance), and the general opportunities they encountered for the present and future time. Therefore, differences among *crianza* experiences were "grounded in the location and meanings of each woman's specific, layered, social contexts," showing that parenting was negotiated and changed depending on the social contexts where women and their families were located (Kim et al., 2006, p.55).

Contrasts and transformations in *crianza* while in forced displacement were described by rural mothers, who often compared their own practices with those witnessed in the city. Along with providing shelter and a safe environment for children, feeding practices were one of mothers' main concerns. Devoid of a secure income to buy groceries, a piece of land where to grow produce, and of social networks with whom to continue the cultural practice of exchanging and sharing foods, mothers had to adapt to their present social conditions and urban feeding possibilities. Furthermore, Indigenous mothers regretted the poor quality of food available in the city. This was especially true in Dalia's case, since her community's fresh produce was not only a livelihood but also an important element in the community's identity, and the reason why they

were acknowledged in the vicinity. Mothers' cultural feeding practices and overall efforts to promote the healthy development of children were challenged by life in displacement (Alvarado et al., 2005).

In addition, some other *crianza* practices were changed as a result of rural and urban cultural traditions coming in contact with each other. The findings were similar to those presented in the studies by Kim et al., (2006), Micolta's (2007) and De Haan's (2011), in which disciplining children, permissiveness, meanings associated with rewards, and mother-child communication were the main contrasts experienced in post migration settings (please refer to the 'Findings' section for a comprehensive discussion on the subject). Usually, participants attributed urban children's and adolescent's involvement in illegal activities –and in general undesirable behaviour– to urban mothers' permissiveness, lack of discipline, excessive “*undeserved*” rewards, and failures in communication. Displaced mothers set priorities and established criteria for the adequacy, truth, and relevance of certain parenting practices, attitudes, and overall capacity and achievement, and made judgment on other urban mothers, determining failure or success, and holding them “responsible for the *malfunction* of the growth process” (Ruddick, 1980, p.349). Nonetheless, displaced women were also aware of the importance of considering the environment and contextual influences on children's development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), in which the surrounding contexts – especially those with high crime rates – affected *crianza* during the resettlement process, sometimes even transcending mothers' efforts (Williams, 2010, 2012). In other words, according to my participants, both mothers' ‘qualification’ for *crianza* and the surrounding contexts played a vital role in children's upbringing.

Most of the collected narratives included several anecdotes about women's efforts to instill in their children moral values and principles, which mothers believed were the foundation for their present and future lives and what would lead them towards the “*right path*” and away

from the city's "*wickedness*." Similar to the Korean immigrant women in the study conducted by Kim et al., (2006), Colombian displaced mothers had their "ideal pictures of motherhood, being always available for their children and doing everything for them to be successful in the future" (p.51). Hence, *crianza* in the city centered on providing maximum support for children in order to make out of them "*hombres y mujeres de bien*", who would also be competent according to the urban demands. Ruddick (1980) argued that mothers have a strong interest in fostering the physical, emotional, and intellectual growth of their child in such a way that they can become the sort of adult that mothers can appreciate and others –the social group– can accept. However, when impoverished life in displacement prevented mothers from helping their children to flourish, a sense of helplessness and guilt prevailed in their narratives, along with the joy and pride of being a mother. Ruddick had already described the difficulties of balancing both the grim and satisfying aspects of mothering in women's lives, which were more than clear in my participants' narratives.

Women narrated changes and adaptations they argued had to be made in order to adjust to this new environment and protect their children from urban violence (De Haan, 2011; Lewig, Arney, & Salveron, 2010). Some of my participants claimed negotiating meanings of *crianza* with their urban counterparts and even learning from their parenting practices, in particular those related to disciplining children (Peñaranda, 2011). Others condemned urban mothers' permissiveness and found them at fault when failing to "*steer children towards the right path*." But overall, in most cases, displaced mothers argued that they held onto their personal and individual constructions of *crianza*, which I interpreted as a means to create a sense of continuity in their mothering lives after displacement. Except for my Indigenous participant, values and beliefs about how a child should be raised were maintained regardless of the context (i.e., urban or rural) and women constantly asserted that they were "*the same kind of mother*" they were

before displacement. I interpreted this as a somewhat metaphysical secure place in the midst of a disrupted life. In this regard, Becker (1997) argued that a consistent self is highly treasured during times of disruption as a means to restore a sense of order and normalcy.

Moreover, participants affirmed their identities as ‘good mothers.’ Protecting, nurturing, caring, and being responsive to their children’s needs were fundamental in their *crianza* efforts (Held, 2005). Mothers needed to believe they were invested with ‘maternal competence’ and capable of fostering their children’s growth (Ruddick, 1980). Despite the fact that *crianza* increased the difficulties brought up by forced displacement and that for some women ‘intensive motherhood’ came with social isolation (O’Reilly, 2004), it was my observation that children were not a burden but a source of strength. Most of my participants claimed that being a *mother* was the “*engine of their lives.*” This powerful image helped me understand that for these displaced mothers, children were a source of motivation to thrive under adverse conditions and encouraged them to reconstruct life projects in the city. In other words, even though *crianza* in the city was challenging, it simultaneously boosted mothers’ agency. In some cases, working towards achieving their own goals (e.g., furthering their education, access to better job opportunities) was intertwined with the children’s possibilities. For these mothers, expectations about their own future were associated with their desire to give their children a “better life.”

Although some women considered that they had not experienced significant transformations and were the *same person they were back in their rural villages*, displacement indeed impacted some other participants in various and dissimilar ways. Few women affirmed that enduring forced displacement and the subsequent poverty had diminished their self-esteem and *broken their wings*. In contrast, other mothers considered that displacement had positively transformed them. Stories of how they felt “stronger,” “less afraid,” “more civilized and educated,” and willing to undertake self-care practices were common in some of the narratives I

collected. One of my participants affirmed she had *developed a part of her that did not exist* prior to being forcibly displaced. *I thank God I had the opportunity to change*, she said. In this order of ideas and based on my findings, I venture to say that forced displacement either disempowered or empowered women, which depended on the gender roles assumed after forced relocation, their economic possibilities in the city, the agentic ways in which women repositioned themselves after being forcibly displaced (Mahler & Pessar, 2001; Mar Oo, 2010; Meertens & Stoller, 2001), and the overall meanings mothers attributed to the experience of being in displacement which were ongoing and transformed over time (De Munck, 2000; Herrera, 2013). Having said that, I found disempowered mothers who felt incapable of providing for themselves or moving on until the government provided them with a free house, but I also interviewed empowered mothers who affirmed that they had learned from the experience of being in internal exile and were thriving to reconstruct lives for themselves and their children in the city.

I embraced displaced mothers' personal stories as a route to grasp their experiences of *crianza* while in internal exile. Even though forced displacement in Colombia could be considered a collective experience, the act of remembering is individual and reconstructions of experiences varied considerably among women. *Crianza* in urban contexts was extremely disrupting for some mothers, while for others it did not necessarily add high levels of distress or disjunction, and in some cases it did not even involve changes. Narrators reflected on meanings and emotions and on their understanding of the world along different dimensions, providing us with a richer understanding of the challenges and facilitators encountered by mothers and children in the current Colombian socio-political situation. Whether displacement was part of their 'past' or temporary, narratives did not achieve closure since for these women life was a continuum and the journey ahead was filled with expectations for themselves and their children.

But then again, Couser (1997) reminds us that “closure in autobiography is always fictive, arbitrary, premature” (p.69).

My research was a rather thin slice of displaced mothers’ experiences and I am aware that there is so much more that can be discussed. In the following section I will briefly provide recommendations for future research with forcibly displaced mothers in Colombia.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The present recommendations arise out of the main limitations identified in my own study and suggest building on particular findings and examining the same and/or different research questions in different socio-cultural contexts.

In my research I only included women in the sample who had been displaced from rural areas to the city of Cali because I had access to organizations that work with the displaced population. For future research, I suggest interviewing mothers who had been displaced to other urban areas in the country and who could perhaps provide richer data with regards to experiences of *crianza* in internal exile at a national level. Also, it would be important to consider Colombian displaced mothers who had migrated to other countries. This too is a very important phenomenon and should be examined in a future study. In addition, I had an ethnically restricted sample since only one Indigenous woman participated. For a more comprehensive understanding of displaced Indigenous women's experiences of *crianza*, a larger sample should be reached.

In regard to my research methods, I decided not to hold focus groups because this method could have been potentially threatening since the women I recruited came from opposing sides in Colombia's armed conflict and may not have felt compelled to keep commitments to confidentiality. Nonetheless, holding focus groups might be very productive as participating women might respond and add to one another's stories. I strongly recommend considering this data collection method once a process of national reconciliation has been carried out.

As explained in my research design, I made certain choices when deciding which themes I was going to consider for my analysis. I mainly focused on aspects related to challenges and resources of child rearing in an urban context after being forcibly displaced. However, my narratives revealed other interesting and important aspects of displaced women's lives. For

instance, themes such as ‘grieving the loss of a loved one’ and ‘impact of displacement on health’ should be further researched. Evaluating the impact of armed conflict on victims’ mental health from a cultural perspective, identifying differences in coping strategies among women, investigating what external and internal resources help displaced mothers to be more resilient and agentive under the same circumstances, and studying mothers’ strategies to deal with the impact of war on children would greatly contribute to refugee studies around the globe.

Even though in the fourth section of my findings I relied on mothering literature to discuss mothers’ identity after forced displacement, future research should be exclusively dedicated to experiences and perceptions of mothering under internal exile. For example, some of the collected narratives included mothers’ expectations and uncertainties about their own future, stories about cultural contrasts between rural and urban mothers, and changes in their birth control practices after being forcibly displaced. These and many more mothering issues should be studied as a means to better comprehend displaced mothers’ experiences in urban post migration contexts.

Finally, the role of religious convictions and spirituality in Colombian displaced mothers’ lives calls to be researched in depth. Under adverse circumstances, victims of the armed conflict relied on God to overcome traumatic experiences and to make sense of displacement. Churches and religious support groups were crucial in some women’s recovery. Furthermore, in a country marked by Catholicism, it would be interesting to explore the veneration of the Holy Mother in displaced women’s lives. The figure of mother Mary is strong in Colombian Catholicism and we can find it in other displaced women’s narratives but not in the ones that I collected. Mary, the mother of Jesus, who experienced the ultimate suffering of having to bury her child, was considered –by displaced women– as an example of grieving and overcoming the loss of a child.

The previous pages contain potential future research suggestions in the field of forced displacement and refugee studies. In the following I will present – based on my qualitative research findings – a short list of recommendations for social programming for mothers who are victims of forced displacement in Colombia.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMMING

The present section addresses general recommendations for social programming based on the twelve narratives I collected. I will focus on issues related to a) state resources for *crianza*, b) accessing socio-economic opportunities, and c) evaluating intention of return. It would be unreasonable to present systematic suggestions but my findings indeed allow me to present some aspects in which displaced mothers in Colombia could be further helped.

State resources for *crianza*

Displaced mothers mentioned various state resources for *crianza* that could be helpful during their adjustment to the city. Among those, perhaps the most significant resource desired was having access to free childcare arrangements and non-formal education centers within in the mothers' urban neighborhoods. Earlier, in their lives in rural villages, work and *crianza* had usually not been in opposition: kindergartens were government-funded and located in the vicinity, making them very accessible for rural women. Furthermore, farm labour had allowed mothers to bring their children along to be cared for while tending to the land. Now in the city, more than half of my participants were interested in training and some were already involved in formal schooling; however, as is commonly found in studies on refugee working disadvantages (see Bloch, 2002), displaced mothers claimed that prospects for taking up educational training or searching for jobs were limited by family commitments and lack of childcare. In addition, mothers asked of the government to offer extracurricular activities (e.g., sports, music, arts, dancing) for their children, thereby decreasing their children's likelihood of joining criminal groups, protecting them from urban crime.

Moreover, the government should take into account and review compensation for common changes in family structures following displacement (e.g., from patriarchal or matrifocal to single parent). Mothers regret the government's understanding of the 'nuclear family' and the way in which compensation is provided according to it. For example, displaced families that choose to share households are registered under the same *núcleo familiar* and monetary stipends will be assigned to a head of the household, regardless of whether other adults from the same extended family are living with their respective children in the same dwelling. In this regard, Castrillón (2007) has argued that images of the nuclear family permeate the justice system and the state's support for Colombian families. Some of my displaced participants who were in this kind of situation advocated for a transformation of the state support in which new family configurations are considered when transferring state resources to first, second, and third generations. Ultimately, services and programs offered to victims in Colombia should be designed and implemented according to the new family structures and parenting configurations they assume while living in internal exile.

Even though my participants did not request participation in child rearing programs, I would advocate for this kind of support for displaced mothers in Colombia. These programs could be designed on the basis that children develop as participants in their cultural communities, recognizing mothers' personal and cultural constructions of *crianza* practices (Rogoff, 2003). I suggest that this kind of support could facilitate mutual learning among displaced mothers by promoting cultural exchange of *crianza* related aspects, discussing and sharing norms and values associated with *crianza* that might be contested while in forced displacement, and promoting parenting capacity within the specific socio-cultural scenarios of urban Colombia (Bocanegra, 2007; Peñaranda, 2011).

Finally, state resources and delivery of programs should be administered differentially, depending on social factors such as the urban neighborhoods in which displaced mothers must settle. Even though there is need for a larger study, my narratives gave the impression that displaced mothers who were settled in slum areas seemed to have more difficulties adjusting to the city than those who found themselves in comparatively more privileged neighborhoods. This was particularly the case for those of Afro-Colombian ethnicity who claimed to be discriminated against, both from within and outside the slum, for their socio-economic standing and also their ethnicity (Urrea & Murillo, 1999). Not surprisingly, *crianza* was also more disrupted in those areas where children were exposed to higher crime rates and mothers confronted with apparent urban “permissiveness and lack of discipline.” In Colombia, state resources are given to victims indiscriminately in equal quantity and quality, favoring equity among the displaced population in times of war. Nonetheless, I argue that municipal governments should tailor social programs according to the undeniably different needs of those displaced families that are trying to reconstruct their lives in major cities such as Cali.

Empowering and promoting access to socio-economic opportunities

The interviews clearly evidenced low levels of labour market participation. For most of my displaced participants, urban life was devoid of job opportunities that would be in accordance with their skills in farming, mining, and fishing, among others. Once in the city, women regretted their lack of formal education; while not as necessary in rural villages, it became fundamental in an urban competitive context. Furthermore, the kinds of jobs available in the city impacted family dynamics. In general, displaced mothers and their partners had moved from their independent, rural occupations to urban full-time jobs, leaving them with little time for *crianza*. As explained earlier, some women felt forced to become stay-at-home mothers while their partners worked

full-time jobs. The common explicit desire among my participants was to run a home business that would allow them to care and protect their children within the same space (very similar to their previous rural parenting dynamic). Under these circumstances, some women believed that government compensation (e.g., financial assistance) would enable them to initiate business enterprises which could secure a steady income and time for *crianza*. Indeed, the Colombian government, through the Unit for the Victims, does offer job skills training programs. However, so far, little has been done to match displaced population aptitudes, capacities, and ancestral knowledge with job markets in post migration settings (M.P. Ruiz, personal communication, January 20, 2016). Along these lines, Bloch (2002) has stressed the relevance of determining whether training and employment supports for forcibly displaced populations are appropriate and sufficient. Hence, additional efforts should be undertaken in Colombia to support displaced mothers' participation in the labour market. This would require evaluating potential barriers to employment and education, identifying sources of disadvantage in the host labour market, exploring the use of services provided by the government, and providing adequate training and technical support for displaced mothers in Colombia.

Moreover, based on my findings, I would strongly recommend designing services and programs that target displaced mothers' humanitarian needs (e.g., food security, housing, health care), along with efforts to empower women and prevent them from depending exclusively on government support. Welfare programs, aid agencies, and donors, should enable displaced persons to recover from a critical phase by promoting self-reliance, self-sufficiency, and empowerment (Emmott, 1996). Rempel (2010) has argued that facilitating refugee participation in the design and implementation of durable solutions to their long-standing predicament is a human right with the primary objective of empowering and contributing to their economic, social, and cultural development. In this regard, Rempel stressed that promoting participation

increases the “degree of control or power exercised by [displaced] individuals and peoples in determining the course of their own development” (p.413). The latter could be achieved through forced displaced participation in needs assessment, project design, implementation, and evaluation as a means to reach better living conditions in the city. Academia and government officials should work together towards identifying ways of empowering displaced mothers and enhancing their capabilities to project their agency beyond the specific Colombian state services.

Evaluating intention of return

The findings of my study challenged my early assumptions about women’s intention of return. In the beginning of my research I had assumed that the vast majority of the rural displaced women would aspire to return to their homes, towns, and villages of origin. Interestingly, out of twelve (12) women interviewed, eleven (11) wished to remain in the city. Regardless of the hardships brought on by forced displacement, most of my women interviewed considered that urban life was entertaining and convenient, and above all, it gave rural children the possibility to access better life opportunities. Mothers constantly compared urban education to rural villages’ schools, which were not as regulated as their counterparts in the city and where teachers were not dependable. In contrast, Cali offers high quality education and advanced levels of it (e.g., technical schools, colleges, universities). In addition, different from the countryside where children were required to help with family sustenance by laboring at the farms, mothers valued that, in the city, children were dedicated to their studies and could develop or “mature” at a “slower pace.” The latter is similar to other studies on parenting where schooling is not in the forefront on children’s lives, where children work and bear responsibilities, and where standards of maturity differ from those common in the mainstream societies (LeVine, & New, 2008). In summary, women’s expectations regarding their children’s future and also their own future (e.g.,

furthering their education, access to better job opportunities) were closely associated with their intention of return in a possible reconciliation era to come.

Based on the collected narratives, one could say that rural and urban challenges and resources remained on mothers' minds even on the threshold of a peace treaty agreement, influencing their expectations about the future and their decisions regarding the possibility of returning or remaining in the city. The detrimental effects of war combined with the pre-existing socio-economic inequities of rural Colombia had an impact on women's efforts to rear their children in rural villages and became the main reasons for which most of my participants did not intend to return. Performing a broader and systematic assessment of displaced families' intention of return, will better prepare the country for a future reconciliation era in which perhaps a good share of the displaced population intends to remain in their urban post-migration settings. With a clearer prospective, the national government could design programs and services adapted to displaced families whose displacement situation is temporary (i.e., those who wish to return) and for those who will choose to continue their lives in the cities.

EPILOGUE

Over the last sixty years, Colombia has become known to the world primarily for its internal conflicts. Now that peace negotiations are under way, may we take solace again in Colombia's magnificent culture, building on its indigenous past and present; on Policarpa Salavarrieta and María Antonia Santos, who laid the foundations for our independence, and early women's rights activist Maria Currea Manrique; the writings of Gabriel García Márquez, Rafael Pombo, José Eustasio Rivera, Jorge Isaacs, Patricia Lara, Héctor Abad Faciolince, Ángela Becerra, and Laura Restrepo; the art of Alejandro Obregón, Doris Salcedo, David Manzur, Carlos Jacanamijoy, Omar Rayo, Débora Arango, Maripaz Jaramillo, and Lucy Tejada; the sculptures of Fernando Botero, Rodrigo Arenas, and Ana Mercedes Hoyos; the architecture of Rogelio Salmona and Simón Vélez; the emancipatory criticism of Magdalena León de Leal and the cultural politics and legislation of Paula Marcela Moreno, or the international success of singer Shakira - to name just a few. We are in high hopes for our people, our children, our future.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Poster Design



English Translation from top to bottom:

If you are a mother who is in a situation of displacement

We invite you to talk about your experiences of crianza and about how to improve the conditions of mothers who have been displaced to the city.

Your participation is voluntary

We will provide refreshments and cover the cost of transportation.

Contact: Katherine Satizábal Tel: 315 – 3788047

Email: crianzaciudad@gmail.com

This study has been reviewed by, and received approval through, the Research Ethics Office, University of Saskatchewan, Canada and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Cali, Colombia.

Appendix B: Recruitment Handout Design

Si eres una madre en situación de desplazamiento

Te invitamos a hablar sobre tus experiencias de crianza y cómo mejorar la condición de las madres que han sido desplazadas a la ciudad.

Cubriremos el costo del transporte y daremos refrigerios

Este estudio recibió aprobación ética en la Universidad de Saskatchewan, Canadá y en la Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Cali, Colombia.

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Contacto: Katherine Satizábal
Tel 315 – 378 8047
E-mail: crianzaciudad@gmail.com

Tu participación es voluntaria y sólo tomará una hora de tu tiempo.

English Translation:

Top: If you are a mother who is in a situation of displacement

Middle: We invite you to talk about your experiences of crianza and about how to improve the conditions of mothers who have been displaced to the city.

We will provide refreshments and cover the cost of transportation.

Left: Contact: Katherine Satizábal Tel: 315 – 3788047

Email: crianzaciudad@gmail.com

Right: Your participation is voluntary and it will take about 1 hour of your time

Bottom: This study has been reviewed by, and received approval through, the Research Ethics Office, University of Saskatchewan, Canada and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Cali, Colombia

Appendix C: Graphic representation of participants' provinces of displacement



Participants' provinces of displacement: Chocó, Cauca, Nariño, and Putumayo.

Appendix D: Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Participant	Age	Ethnicity	Province of Displacement	Marital Status	No. Children	No. years in Cali	Years in displacement (total)	Education	Occupation	Intention of return
AMELIA	36-40	Afro	Nariño	Separated	4	3	3	Unassigned	Unemployed	No
DALIA	36-40	Indigenous	Chocó	Missing husband	3	2	2	5 grade elementary	Maid and student	Yes
JAZMIN	26-30	Not Applicable	Cauca	Single	2	5	5	2 grade elementary	Waitress	No
LETICIA	18-25	Afro	Nariño	Single	1	3	7	Technical	Student	No
LUZ	26-30	Afro	Nariño	Married or Common Law	4	2	4	High school	Stay-at-home mom	No
MATILDE	18-25	Afro	Nariño	Single	2	3	3	High school	Owner of business	No
NUBIA	36-40	Afro	Nariño	Married or Common Law	6	3	3	5 grade elementary	Stay-at-home mom	Maybe
OFELIA	36-40	Afro	Nariño	Married or Common Law	5	4	4	Technical	Stay-at-home mom	Maybe
PIEDAD	26-30	Afro	Nariño	Separated	2	2	3	2 grade elementary	Unemployed	No
ROSA	46-50	Not Applicable	Nariño	Widow	3	5	5	5 grade elementary	Stay-at-home mom and student	No
SOL	51-55	Not Applicable	Putumayo	Separated	2	4	4	2 grade elementary	Maid and owner of business	No
SUSANA	31-35	Afro	Nariño	Separated	5	5	8	1 grade elementary	Unemployed	Maybe

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form – English version

[Department Letterhead]

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Internal Exiles: Displaced Colombian Mothers' Narratives of Parenting.

Researcher(s): Katherine Satizábal Parra, Graduate Student, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, email: katherine.satizabal@usask.ca, phone: [to be determined].

Supervisor: Ulrich Teucher, Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan, ulrich.teucher@usask.ca, phone: +1 (306) 966 – 2529.

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

We would like to invite you to participate in a study in which we hope to learn from mothers who had to leave their homes in the country and move to the city to find a safe place to raise their children. We are hoping to understand better what has helped you as a mother and your children to get integrated into your new life in the city and perhaps what some of the difficulties have been. Your experience can help us to give better support to the many other mothers who have to raise their children in difficult situations.

Procedures:

If you agree, I would like to invite you to meet with me at the [place] where we can speak comfortably and confidentially. The interview will last about 60 to 90 minutes. If this is alright with you, I would like to record our confidential conversation so that I can take notes better. First, please let me explain some of the details of the study better so that you know your rights. And please feel free to ask any questions

regarding the procedures and goals of my study.

Potential Risks:

Very likely, it will not have been easy for you to try to build a new life in the city so that you can bring up your children. We will not ask you about the difficult events that made you move into the city, only about the challenges that you have found here in the city and what has helped you. Please know that you are free to answer only those questions that you feel comfortable answering. I hope very much that the questions will not upset you.

However, if you find that some of these questions might upset you, I have a list with contact information here for you so that you can receive assistance should you need it. Additionally, a counselor will be available at the interview site.

Potential Benefits:

These interviews are not a form of therapy and therefore there are likely no direct benefits for individual participants. However, we hope that these interviews will help us to understand the conditions better under which displaced mothers rear their children in the city so that we can improve the psychosocial supports and services for mothers like you.

Compensation:

You will be reimbursed for the cost of transportation to and from the interview site and I will provide you with refreshments during the interview.

Confidentiality:

- Our interview will be absolutely confidential. I will be the only person who will have any knowledge about your personal information. As soon as I write this down I will use a pseudonym or

fictional name for you so that nobody else can tell where the information came from. I will also change your age, place of origin, present home, and any other information that could possibly identify you.

- Therefore, none of your personal information will ever be used in my analysis. I might use quotes from our conversation for my analysis but I will also change those so that nobody can possibly identify you.
- I will ask you to sign this consent form but I will store it separately from everything else at a safe location so that nobody can connect this consent form and, for example, the transcripts or tapes.
- In my analysis, I will create general results from all the individual interviews so that there is nothing that could ever identify you. In this general form only I will use the data from my master's thesis and for publications and presentations that I hope will help us improve the situation of mothers in the cities.
- There are some options I would like to present to you in case you decide to be part of this study. Please check "yes" or "no" for each one:

I grant permission to be audio taped:

Yes__ No__

I wish to remain anonymous, but you can refer to me by a pseudonym:

Yes__ No__

You may quote me and use a pseudonym:

Yes__ No__

The pseudonym I choose for myself is:

Storage of Data:

- The audios and transcripts from the interview will be stored in a password protected computer specifically assigned to the study. Only I and my supervisor at the University of Saskatchewan in Canada will have access to the password and to the computer for the duration of the study.
- All data will be safeguarded and securely stored for at least 6 years after the completion of the study in an individual file storage provided by the University in Canada. My supervisor will be in charge of data storage. After the completion of these 6 years, any audios and transcripts will be permanently deleted.

Right to Withdraw:

- Your participation is absolutely voluntary. You may withdraw from this study for any reason, at any time, without explanation or negative repercussions. In such case, and upon your request, I will delete your audio and transcript files from my records.
- However, should you want to withdraw, then you need to please tell me before I have started making a general analysis from all the inter-views I have collected. Once I have started my general analysis, I can no longer tell who of my participants said what and would be unable to delete your contributions from the study.

Follow up:

If you would like to learn anything about the results of this study, please contact me by telephone or email and I will provide you with a general and de-identified short summary. Please be aware that it may take me a year to have results ready.

Questions or Concerns:

- Please contact me or my supervisor using the information at the top of page 1;
- This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the Ethics Board at the University of Saskatchewan, on [date]. Any questions about your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca +1 (306) 966-2975.
- In addition, this project has been approved on ethical grounds by the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Cali Ethics Board on [date]. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the committee through the Research, Development, and Innovation Office dlinares@javerianacali.edu.co (2)3218390. **Consent**

Option 1 - SIGNED CONSENT

My signature below indicates that I have read and understand the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask

Signature

Researcher's Signature

Date

questions and my/our questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Name of Participant

Option 2 - ORAL CONSENT

I, the researcher, have read and explained this Consent Form to the participant before receiving the participant's consent. The participant has knowledge of its contents, understands it, and is in agreement to what was presented. In addition, this oral consent was audio recorded.

Researcher's Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix F: Participant Consent Form – Spanish version

Consentimiento Informado

Título del Proyecto/Estudio: Exilios

Internos: Narrativas de Crianza de Madres Colombianas Desplazadas.

Investigador (a): Katherine Satizábal Parra, Estudiante de Postgrado, Departamento de Psicología, University of Saskatchewan, correo electrónico: crianzaciudad@gmail.com, teléfono: 315 - 3788047.

Supervisor: Ulrich Teucher, Departamento de Psicología, University of Saskatchewan, correo electrónico: ulrich.teucher@usask.ca, teléfono: +1 (306) 966 – 2529.

Propósito(s) y Objetivo(s) del Estudio:

Nos gustaría invitarla a participar en un estudio a través del cual esperamos aprender de las madres que han tenido que dejar sus hogares en el campo y desplazarse a la ciudad con el objetivo de encontrar un lugar seguro donde poder criar sus hijos. Deseamos comprender mejor qué la ha ayudado a usted como madre y a sus hijos a integrarse y acostumbrarse a la vida en la ciudad, y tal vez conocer cuáles han sido las dificultades. Su experiencia puede ayudarnos a dar un mejor apoyo a muchas otras madres quienes han tenido que criar sus hijos en situaciones difíciles parecidas.

Procedimiento:

Si usted acepta, me gustaría invitarla a reunirse conmigo en la sede de Familias en Acción en la Avenida Estación #5N-37 en la ciudad de Cali donde podemos conversar cómodamente y en privado. La entrevista durará aproximadamente de 60 a 90 minutos.

Si está de acuerdo, me gustaría grabar nuestra conversación para que yo pueda tomar mejores notas. Primero, por favor déjeme explicarle algunos de los detalles del estudio para que usted pueda conocer sus derechos. Y por favor sepa que puede hacer cualquier pregunta en relación con el procedimiento y los objetivos del estudio.

Posibles Riesgos:

Seguramente no debe haber sido fácil tratar de construir una vida en la ciudad para usted y para sus hijos. Durante la entrevista no le haremos preguntas sobre experiencias difíciles que haya tenido que vivir antes del desplazamiento. Solo le haremos preguntas sobre las dificultades que ha pasado en la ciudad y sobre lo que la ha ayudado a criar sus hijos aquí. Por favor sepa que es libre de responder sólo aquellas preguntas con las que se sienta cómoda. Deseo que las preguntas no le vayan a causar molestia.

Sin embargo, si usted encuentra que algunas de las preguntas le pueden causar molestia, tengo aquí una lista de contactos de servicios para que usted pueda recibir ayuda en caso de ser necesario. Adicionalmente, un psicólogo estará disponible en el lugar de la entrevista.

Posibles Beneficios:

Estas entrevistas no son una forma de terapia y por lo tanto, posiblemente no habrá beneficios directos para las participantes del estudio. Sin embargo, esperamos que estas entrevistas nos ayuden a entender mejor las condiciones en las que las madres en

situación de desplazamiento deben criar a sus hijos en la ciudad y así mejorar las ayudas psicosociales y los servicios para mamás como usted.

Compensación:

El costo del transporte al lugar de la entrevista será subsidiado y se ofrecerá un refrigerio durante la entrevista.

Confidencialidad:

- Nuestra entrevista será absolutamente confidencial y privada. Yo seré la única persona que tendrá conocimiento sobre su información personal. Tan pronto como transcriba la entrevista, usaré un seudónimo o cambiaré su nombre para que nadie pueda saber de dónde viene la información. También cambiaré su edad, lugar de origen, sitio de donde fue desplazada, lugar de residencia actual, y cualquier otra información que la pueda identificar.
- Por lo tanto, su información personal nunca será mencionada en mi análisis. Tal vez citaré o mencionaré algunas de sus frases para mi análisis pero las cambiaré para que nadie pueda identificarla.
- Le pediré que firme este consentimiento informado y lo guardaré separadamente de los otros documentos del estudio en un lugar seguro para que nadie pueda, por ejemplo, relacionar este consentimiento informado con la transcripción de las entrevistas.
- En mi análisis, escribiré resultados generales a partir de entrevistas individuales para que no haya nada que la pueda identificar. Así mismo, usaré los resultados generales de mi tesis de maestría para publicaciones y presentaciones que espero nos ayude a mejorar la situación de las madres en la ciudad.

- Hay algunas opciones que me gustaría compartirle en caso de que usted decida participar en el estudio. Por favor marque “sí” o “no” para cada una:

Doy mi permiso para que la entrevista sea grabada (audio o voz):

Si__ No__

Deseo permanecer anónima, pero usted puede referirse a mí utilizando otro nombre o seudónimo:

Si__ No__

Puede citarme (usar algunas de mis frases) utilizando otro nombre o seudónimo:

Si__ No__

Almacenamiento de Datos:

- Los audios y las transcripciones de las entrevistas serán guardados en un computador con contraseña (clave) protegida solamente para uso del estudio. Solo mi supervisor de tesis en la Universidad de Saskatchewan en Canadá y yo tendremos acceso a esta contraseña (clave) y al computador mientras dure el estudio.
- Los datos serán protegidos y asegurados durante seis (6) años después de terminado el estudio en un archivo en la universidad en Canadá. Mi supervisor estará a cargo del almacenamiento de los datos en Canadá. Después de estos seis (6) años, los audios y las transcripciones serán borrados en forma definitiva.

Derecho a Retirar el Consentimiento:

- Su participación es absolutamente voluntaria. Usted puede retirarse del estudio por cualquier razón, en cualquier momento, sin explicación ni repercusiones o consecuencias negativas.

En tal caso, y según usted lo solicite, borraré los audios y las transcripciones de mis archivos.

- Sin embargo, en caso de que desee retirarse del estudio, usted debe por favor informarme antes de yo comenzar a escribir el análisis general a partir de todas las entrevistas que haga. Una vez yo haya comenzado el análisis general no podré identificar lo que cada una de las participantes dijo y por lo tanto no sería posible borrar sus aportes del estudio.

Seguimiento:

Si usted quisiera conocer los resultados de este estudio, por favor comuníquese conmigo por teléfono o por correo electrónico. En caso de usted solicitarlo, yo le compartiría un resumen general y corto en el que no aparecerán los nombres ni información personal de las participantes del estudio. Por favor tenga en cuenta que me puede tomar alrededor de un año tener los resultados del estudio listos.

Preguntas o inquietudes:

- En caso de tener preguntas o inquietudes por favor comuníquese conmigo usando la información de contacto al inicio de la página 1 de este documento.
- Este estudio ha recibido aprobación ética del Consejo de Ética en la Universidad de Saskatchewan el día 28 de julio de 2014. Cualquier pregunta acerca de sus derechos como participante debe ser dirigida a ese comité a través de la Oficina de Ética de la Investigación ethics.office@usask.ca +1 (306) 966-2975.
- Adicionalmente, este estudio ha recibido aprobación ética del Comité de Ética de la Pontificia Universidad Javeriana Cali el día 19 de agosto de 2014. Cualquier pregunta acerca de sus derechos como participante debe ser dirigida a ese

comité a través de la Oficina de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación dlinares@javerianacali.edu.co
(2) 3218390.

Consentimiento

***Opción 1* – CONSENTIMIENTO ESCRITO FIRMADO**

Mi firma abajo indica que he leído y entendido la descripción suministrada; he tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y mis preguntas han sido respondidas. Doy mi consentimiento y/o permiso para participar en el estudio. Una copia de este Consentimiento Informado me ha sido entregada para mis archivos personales.

Nombre de la Participante

cc. de

Firma

Firma del Investigador

Fecha

***Opción 2* – CONSENTIMIENTO ORAL**

Yo, la investigadora, he leído y explicado este Consentimiento Informado a la participante antes de recibir su consentimiento y/o permiso. La participante, es decir usted, tiene conocimiento sobre su contenido, lo entiende y está de acuerdo con lo que se le ha presentado. Adicionalmente,

este consentimiento oral fue grabado (audio/voz).

Firma del Investigador

Fecha

Una copia de este consentimiento se dejará con usted, y una copia será guardada por el investigador

Appendix G: Open-ended Narrative Interview Guide – English version

Please note: The main interview questions are meant to elicit narrative answers that may provide a lot of information. In the case where this information might not be supplied, the other, more supplementary questions may get asked.

Introduction / Rapport

Introduce myself. Remind the participant of the purpose of the research project.

- a) To begin, may I first ask you some basic questions about your life, like your age?
- b) Where were you born? What is the name of your home town/home village?
- c) What village or area of the country are you from?
- d) Did you go to elementary school / high school? Do you have any other studies?
- e) Do you have children? How many? Girls? Boys? How old are they?
- f) Where do you live in Cali? Do your children live with you? Are there any other people living with you in the same house?
- g) When did you first move to Cali? Did you live in other cities before coming to Cali?

Research question 1: How do rural women experience *crianza* in the city where they have arrived (e.g., are there any contrasts with *crianza* in rural areas)?

- a) I understand that you have had to leave your home in the countryside and move into the city.
What was your life in your countryside home like before you were displaced?
 - Who looked after the children back home?
 - Mainly you, your partner, both of you together, other relatives or friends?

- Has that changed or remained the same since you arrived to the city? Would you please give me some examples?
 - Tell me about a day in the countryside when you got up with your children and how you spent the day with them.
- b) How have you felt in the city? How have your children felt in the city?
- How has life in Cali been like for you and your children since you arrived here?
 - Who looks after your children here?
 - Tell me about a typical day in the city with your children.
- c) Moms often have beliefs about how they want to raise their children. Do you have any beliefs about how you would like to raise your children and give them a future? Would you please give me some examples?
- d) Do you feel you are raising your children in the same way in the city as you would have raised them in your countryside home? Or are there different ways to raise children in the city? Would you please give me some examples?
- Do you sometimes talk to moms from the city? Do you think they are different? Would you please give me some examples?
 - Have you noticed if moms in Cali raise their children differently and/or similar to other moms from the countryside? Would you please give me some examples of times when you have realized that you are doing things differently and/or similar to other moms in Cali?

Research question 2: What are the challenges and the resources (i.e., internal and external) associated with *crianza* in an urban context identified in the stories told by displaced mothers in the city of Cali?

- a) Has life in the city been easy or difficult or perhaps both, for you and your children?
 - Can you tell me about a time that was especially hard *for you* living with your children in the city?
 - Can you tell me about a difficult situation *your children* have faced in the city that you think they would not have faced if you were in your hometown?
- b) Can you tell me about a good situation your children have enjoyed while living in the city?
- c) Can you tell me about those things that have helped you to parent your children in the city?
 - For example, are there any other relatives, friends, neighbours, or services that have assisted you?
 - For example, things you have learned from your parents and that have helped you raise your children in the city?

Research question 3: How is the disruption and continuity of life in general, and *crianza* in particular, experienced by women in displacement?

- a) Has your life changed since living in the city? How has life been under forced displacement?
 - Is displacement the biggest change you have faced or there have been other experiences that have been challenging in your life?
 - Would you mind telling me how you felt when you arrived in the city?

- Do you think you have been able to adjust and to ‘move on’ or has that been difficult or even possible? For example, ‘moving on’ can mean the way you organize your day and your children’s daily activities that perhaps make you feel you can have a life here in the city.
- How do you see yourself now after experiencing displacement? Have you experienced any changes in yourself or the way you see life?
- b) Do you aspire to go back home some day (i.e., the home from where you were displaced) or would you like to continue living in the city?
 - If you could go back to your home town, how would you imagine a life with your children in the rural area again?
 - If you would like to continue living in the city, how would you imagine a life with your children in Cali (near/long term future)?
- c) Do you sometimes think about the future for your children? If so, tell me about how you picture your children in the future?
- d) How do you picture yourself in the future? Do you have any plans you would like to tell me about?
- e) Finally, if you were meeting a mom who was new to the city, what would you tell her about life in Cali for her and her children?
 - What advice would you give her?
 - What would you tell her about the city?

Appendix H: Open-ended Narrative Interview Guide - Spanish version

Por favor tener en consideración: Las preguntas principales tienen el objetivo de generar respuestas narrativas, las cuales pueden brindar una alta cantidad de información. En los casos en los que esta información no logre obtenerse, se hará uso de las preguntas suplementarias.

Presentación / Rapport

Presentación de la investigadora. Recordar a la participante sobre el objetivo del estudio.

- a) Para comenzar, ¿podría primero hacer unas preguntas básicas acerca de usted, por ejemplo su edad?
- b) ¿Dónde nació? ¿Cómo se llama su pueblo natal?
- c) ¿De qué parte del país viene? ¿Cuánto tiempo vivió ahí?
- d) ¿Estudió en el colegio? ¿Otros estudios?
- e) ¿Tiene hijos? ¿Cuántos? ¿Niños o niñas? ¿Qué edad tienen?
- f) ¿En qué parte de la ciudad vive? ¿Sus hijos viven con usted? ¿Alguien más vive con ustedes?
- g) ¿Cuándo se trasladó a Cali? ¿Vivió en otras ciudades antes de llegar a Cali?

Pregunta de investigación1: ¿Cómo son las experiencias de crianza en la ciudad de las madres en situación de desplazamiento forzado (ej., existen contrastes con la experiencia de crianza en el área rural)?

- a) Entiendo que ha tenido que dejar su hogar en el campo y trasladarse a la ciudad ¿Cuénteme cómo era su vida en su casa en el campo antes de desplazarse a Cali?
 - ¿Quién cuidaba a sus hijos antes cuando estaba en el campo?

- ¿Principalmente usted, su pareja, ustedes dos juntos, otros parientes o amigos?
 - ¿Ha cambiado esto o se ha mantenido igual desde que llegó a la ciudad? ¿Podría por favor darme ejemplos?
 - Cuénteme ¿cómo era un día en el campo desde que se levantaba con sus hijos y cómo pasaba el día con ellos?
- b) Cuénteme ¿cómo se ha sentido en la ciudad? ¿Cómo se han sentido sus hijos?
- ¿Cómo ha sido la vida en Cali, para usted y para sus hijos desde que llegaron?
 - ¿Quién cuida a sus hijos aquí?
 - Cuénteme sobre un día típico (normal) en la ciudad con sus hijos.
- c) Muchas veces las mamás tienen creencias sobre cómo deben criar a sus hijos. ¿Tiene usted algunas creencias sobre cómo le gustaría criar a sus hijos y sacarlos adelante? ¿Me podría contar un poco sobre esto?
- d) ¿Siente que está criando a sus hijos en la ciudad en la misma forma en la que los hubiera criado en el campo? O ¿Cree que en la ciudad hay otras formas de criar a los hijos? ¿Me podría dar ejemplos por favor?
- ¿A veces habla con otras mamás de la ciudad? ¿Piensa que son distintas? ¿Me podría dar ejemplos?
 - ¿Ha visto usted si las mamás de la ciudad crían a sus hijos de manera diferente? O ¿Igual que las mamás del campo? ¿Me podría dar ejemplos de momentos en los que usted se ha dado cuenta de que está haciendo las cosas de manera diferente o similar a otras mamás que son de Cali?

Pregunta de investigación2: ¿Cuáles son los desafíos y recursos (i.e., internos y externos) asociados a la crianza en un contexto urbano identificados en las narrativas de las madres desplazadas en la ciudad de Cali?

- a) Para usted y para sus hijos, ¿ha sido la vida en la ciudad fácil o difícil o tal vez las dos cosas?
 - ¿Me podría decir por favor sobre una situación que haya sido especialmente difícil para usted al vivir con sus hijos en la ciudad?
 - ¿Me podría contar acerca de una situación difícil que sus hijos han tenido que enfrentar en la ciudad y que tal vez no hubieran tenido que vivir si estuvieran en el campo?
- b) ¿Me podría contar acerca de una situación buena o agradable que sus hijos han vivido en la ciudad?
- c) ¿Qué cosas cree que le han ayudado a criar a sus hijos en la ciudad y a adaptarse a la vida en la ciudad?
 - Por ejemplo, familia, amigos, vecinos; o servicios y programas que le hayan ofrecido en Cali.
 - Por ejemplo, cosas que aprendió de sus papás y que le estén ayudado a criar a sus hijos en la ciudad.

Pregunta de investigación 3: ¿Cómo es la experiencia de “interrupción biográfica” y de “continuidad” de la vida en general, y de la crianza de los hijos en particular, en las madres en desplazamiento?

- a) ¿Ha cambiado su vida desde que está viviendo en la ciudad? ¿Cómo ha sido vivir en desplazamiento?
- ¿Es el desplazamiento el cambio más grande que ha afrontado, o han habido otras experiencias que han sido difíciles en su vida?
 - Me podría contar ¿cómo se sintió al llegar a la ciudad?
 - ¿Usted cree que ha podido adaptarse y “seguir adelante”? o ¿Ha sido difícil o siquiera posible? Por ejemplo, “seguir adelante” puede ser que ahora organiza su día y las actividades de sus hijos de tal forma que de pronto siente que sí puede tener una vida en la ciudad.
 - ¿Cómo se ve a sí misma después de vivir el desplazamiento forzado? ¿Cree que ha cambiado como persona o la manera en la que ve la vida?
- b) ¿Quisiera regresar a su casa en el campo algún día (i.e., la casa de donde fue desplazada)? o ¿Le gustaría seguir viviendo en la ciudad?
- Si pudiera volver a su casa en el campo, ¿Cómo se imagina la vida con sus hijos en la zona rural otra vez?
 - ¿Si quisiera seguir viviendo en la ciudad, cómo se imagina el futuro con sus hijos en Cali (corto/mediano plazo)?
- c) ¿Ha pensado en el futuro de sus hijos? Si lo ha hecho, me podría contar ¿Cómo se los imagina en un futuro?
- d) ¿Cómo se ve usted en un futuro? ¿Tiene algunos planes sobre los que me pueda contar?
- e) Por último, si llegara a conocer a una mamá que acaba de llegar a la ciudad, ¿Qué le diría sobre la vida en Cali para ella y para sus hijos?
- ¿Qué consejos le daría?
 - ¿Qué le contaría sobre la ciudad?

Appendix I: Psychosocial services available for displaced population



The flyer above contains information about a free counseling service provided for children through a support helpline. Displaced parents obtain this flyer during their assessment at the Unit for the Victims.

English translation:

The phone line in which children, adolescents, and their families can find help.

Chat with us at: www.lineainfantil106.org

Or write us: lineal@lineainfantil106.org

Service from Monday to Sunday

A project supported by CORPOLATIN



5141900
LÍNEA AMIGA
 ORIENTACIÓN PSICOLÓGICA

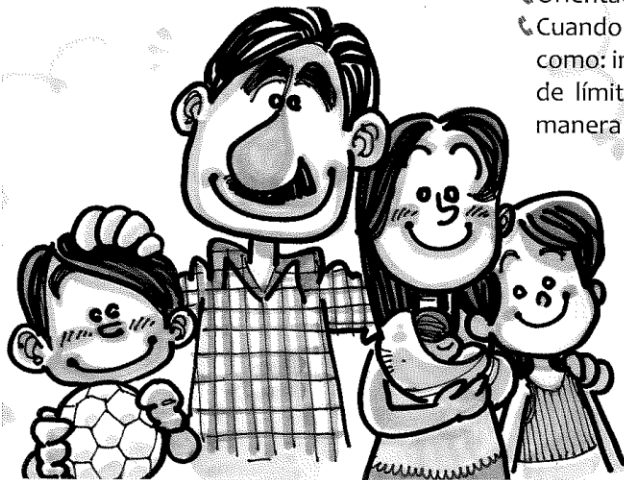
¿QUÉ ES LA LÍNEA AMIGA?

Es un servicio que presta la Secretaría de Salud Pública Municipal en el área de Salud Mental.

¿QUIENES PUEDEN ACUDIR?

Situaciones por las cuales puedes acudir a la línea amiga.

- ☛ Violencia familiar, maltrato infantil, violencia sexual, violencia contra la mujer.
- ☛ Consumo de sustancias psicoactivas (alcohol y otras sustancias).
- ☛ Trastornos mentales como la ansiedad, la depresión la ideación e intento de suicidio, duelo entre otros.
- ☛ Orientación en promoción de la convivencia familiar.
- ☛ Cuando tú, tu familia o una persona cercana requieran orientación en temas como: información y educación familiar en pautas de crianza, establecimientos de límites, normas familiares y disciplina sin castigo, fortaleciendo de esta manera los lazos familiares y sociales.



HORARIOS DE ATENCIÓN

De Lunes a Viernes a 8:00 a.m. a 12:00 m | 2:00 p.m. a 5:00 p.m.

lamiga.psigsppm@hotmail.com

Nuestra razón de ser Ayudarte!

Consultarnos estamos para ayudarte!



5141900

LÍNEA AMIGA

ORIENTACIÓN PSICOLÓGICA

HORARIOS DE ATENCIÓN

De Lunes a Viernes a 8:00 a.m. a 12:00 m | 2:00 p.m. a 5:00 p.m.

Recuerda que estamos atentos a escucharte y orientarte.

CaliDA
una ciudad para todos

The leaflet above is folded in half and contains information about a free counseling service provided for adults and parents through a support helpline. Displaced parents obtain this leaflet during their assessment at the Unit for the Victims.

English translation for ‘interior’ information:

5141900
FRIENDLY LINE
PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

WHAT IS THE FRIENDLY LINE?

It is a service delivered by the Municipal Public Health Secretary’s Mental Health area.

WHO CAN MAKE USE OF IT?

There are situations in which you can turn for help.

- Domestic violence, child abuse, sexual abuse, violence against women.
- Consumption of psychoactive substances (alcohol and other substances).
- Mental disorders such as anxiety, depression, suicidal thoughts and attempts, and grief among others.
- Orientation on family life issues and family coexistence.
- When you, your family, or a loved one are in need of orientation on issues related to: information and education on child-rearing practices, boundaries, family norms, and discipline without punishment in order to strengthen familiar and social bonds.

HOURS OF OPERATION

From Monday to Friday 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 m / 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

lamiga.psigsspm@hotmail.com

Our mission is to Help you!

English translation for ‘exterior’ information (front section):

5141900
FRIENDLY LINE
PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

HOURS OF OPERATION

From Monday to Friday 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 m / 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

CaliDA
A city for all

Remember we are attentive to listen to you and to guide you

English translation for ‘exterior’ information (back section):

5141900
FRIENDLY LINE
PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

Consult us; we are here to help you!

Appendix J: Transcript notation techniques Gail Jefferson (1984)

I used a modified version of Gail Jefferson's transcript notation method to transcribe my interviews, from which I chose the utterances of speech which I considered were going to be useful throughout my analysis. I also created a couple additional symbols to represent some other utterances that were not considered in Jefferson's method and that I thought were important for a better understanding of my participants' narratives.

mine Emphasis is indicated by underlining

- A dash indicates a short untimed pause within an utterance.

((pause)) Untimed intervals heard between utterances.

:

A colon points out the extension of the sound or syllable it follows. More than one colon prolongs the stretch.

.

A period indicates a stopping fall in tone or the end of a sentence.

,

A coma indicates a continuing intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences.

?

A question mark indicates a rising inflection, not necessarily a question.

!

An exclamation point indicates an animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation.

°

A degree sign indicates a passage of talk which is quieter than the surrounding talk.

((chuckle)) Double parentheses are used to enclose a description of various phenomenon

((laugh)) or other details of the conversational scene **((telephone rings))**.

(10 years) Items enclosed within single parentheses are in doubt, in other words, the transcriber is taking a guess of what it was said.

- () When single parentheses are empty, no hearing was achieved for the string of talk or item in question.

Additional symbols created by the researcher:

- * An asterisk indicates hesitation.
- ... Three period marks indicate that the string of talk has not ended, yet the interviewee does not continue the talk.