

Íkala, revista de lenguaje y cultura

ISSN: 0123-3432

revistaikala@udea.edu.co

Universidad de Antioquia

Colombia

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Fostering Resiliency through Literacy Practices with Adults in Situations of Displacement Íkala, revista de lenguaje y cultura, vol. 10, núm. 16, enero-diciembre, 2005, pp. 281-311
Universidad de Antioquia
Medellín, Colombia

Available in: http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=255020409011



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# Fostering Resiliency through Literacy Practices with Adults in Situations of Displacement\* 1

Mg. Marcela Chapetón Castro\*\*

This article presents reports on the results of a research project carried out to explore literacy as a resource in order to build resiliency through dialogic experiences with a group of adults in situations of displacement, victims of forced internal migration due to armed conflicts. Data was gathered through field notes, transcriptions of tape recorded sessions, interviews and a personal information questionnaire. The findings reflected the social issues that emerged as critical during the dialogic experiences, the resiliency factors present when dealing with adversity and the results of the resiliency-building process.

Keywords: reading transactions, processes of resiliency-building, literacy practices with adult populations in situation of displacement.

Este artículo reporta los resultados de una investigación que se desarrolló para explorar prácticas de lectura como recurso para construir resiliencia a través de experiencias de diálogo con un grupo de adultos en situación de desplazamiento causada por el conflicto armado. Los datos fueron obtenidos a través de diferentes instrumentos: notas de campo, grabación y trascripción de las sesiones de lectura, entrevistas y un cuestionario de información personal. Los resultados dan cuenta de aspectos sociales críticos de los factores resilientes presentes al enfrentar la adversidad y del proceso de construcción de resiliencia.

Palabras clave: transacción y diálogo entre lector y texto, procesos de construcción de resiliencia, prácticas de lectura con adultos en situación de desplazamiento.

Dans cet article, on présente les résultants d'un projet de recherche concernant les méthodes de lecture utilisées comme une ressource pour la construction de la résilience, et ce à travers des expériences de dialogue avec un groupe d'adultes en situation de déplacement forcé causé par le conflit armé. Les données ont été obtenues à partir de différents instruments : notes de journal de bord, transcriptions des enregistrements des sessions de lecture, entrevues et informations personnelles recueillies par voie de questionnaires. Les résultats rélèvent des aspects sociaux critiques, des facteurs de résilience présents au moment de faire face à l'adversité et un processus de construction de résilience.

Mots clés: transaction et dialogue entre lecteur et texte, processus de construction de résilience, pratiques de lecture avec des adultes en situation de déplacement forcé.

- \* Recibido: 06-05-05 / Aceptado: 01-08-05
- 1 This article is a report of a study entitled "Fostering Resiliency: A Way to Share Literate Voices beyond the Classroom Bounds." It was developed between January 2003 and August 2004, and was funded by COLCIENCIAS and OIM. Partial results have been presented in national and international conferences.

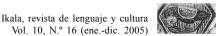
#### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to conduct research on literacy as a resource to build resiliency with adults. I used dialogic experiences in the context of displaced populations in Colombia. The area selected was literacy, defined as a situated social practice and framed within the dialogic experiences of adults. The study was based on new perspectives of literacy that consider the personal, social and cultural situation of the individual. These factors, I believe, influence the way readers grow as individuals critical of their situation, who search for ways to transform it.

I participated in a training workshop offered by ASOLECTURA, a national association whose main purpose is to promote reading and writing as social practices. As a result of participating in this training workshop, I was able to create a Reading Club (Club de Lectores) at the Integral Attention Office for Displaced People (la Unidad de Atención Integral al Desplazado), which is part of the Social Solidarity Network (Red de Solidaridad Social) in Bogotá. The participants who volunteered to be part of this reading club were displaced adults who not only shared ideas, feelings and opinions about the readings, but also had the opportunity to share their life experiences and the way they perceived the reality of their worlds through the dialogic interactions generated during the reading club sessions.

Displaced populations in Colombia are the most directly affected victims of the internal conflict in our country. They are forced to leave their homes, their culture and their customs, and to face unknown situations. Victims of forced displacement are in the need of coping with a wide range of problematic issues such as finding a place to live, school for their children, and a place to work that guarantees enough financial resources to live in a new environment. These communities need support to find alternative solutions to their most immediate problems. Programs such as the one created at the Unidad de Atención Integral al Desplazado (U. A. I. D.) provide an opportunity for displaced populations to share their backgrounds, life experiences, and current concerns. They enable the participants to construct, as a community, a resilient environment that can transform their lives and overcome their crises.

In relation to the research itself, I consider that studying readers' responses can contribute to the education of individuals as social readers in three main ways. First,



it allows us to examine the role that reading might play in the personal and social development of an individual. Second, as meaning is socially constructed, I consider that dialog and discussion are issues of high value for a community that shares a similar background and sociocultural characteristics. Third, the relevance of creating spaces for self- and free expression where people are sharing ideas, opinions, emotions, etc. emerges from the transactional interaction between readers and texts.

# CENTRAL CONCEPTS OF THE PROJECT

The concepts identified as central in this interdisciplinary study are literacy, reading as a situated social practice and reading transactions, critical pedagogy, resiliency and forced displacement in Colombia.

# **Literacy: A Social and Transformative Practice**

Though many interpretations and definitions have been given to literacy and particularly reading, and authors have, from different perspectives, worked on this vast area of language, many agree on the idea that reading plays an essential role in the daily life of individuals. Reading, as I understand it, goes far beyond decoding sound/symbol correspondences. It implies not only linguistic knowledge but a set of social processes which bring into play the crucial role of literacy (Gee, 2003). Reading is part of literacy, which in turn is defined in this study from three perspectives: sociocultural, transactional and critical.

Freire (1987) states that literacy is a dialectical relationship between human beings, the world, and language as a transformative agency. Literacy is a political project in which men and women assert their right and responsibility not only to read, understand and transform their own experiences, but also to reconstitute their relationship with the wider society. It is part of the process of being self-critical about the historically constructed nature of one's experience by giving meaning and expression to one's own needs and voice, as part of a project of self and social empowerment. My observations during the development of this study led me to assert that to be able to name a personal experience is part of what Freire called "to read the world" and it constitutes the starting point to understand the social nature of the realities that surround us.

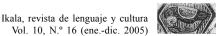
Freire (1987b) highlights that we teachers need to learn what reading really means. According to him, "reading is re-writing what we are reading," in order to discover the connections between the text and the context of the text, and also to connect the text/context with the personal and social context of the reader. Reading involves asking questions to the reading, to the writing, to the book, to the text. Text in this study goes far beyond the printed word. In my understanding, text is everything possible to be read and to be re-written. Our own realities and life experiences are texts we can read aloud and re-write by being critical readers of them.

Research in the field of literacy practices shows us about how the language of literature fosters changes in the way we understand our personal life-worlds (Miall & Kuiken, 1994). I consider that having the chance to communicate, express, negotiate and share critical responses to readings, is a way to understand our worlds. It also is a way to foster changes and reflect on our lives by creating a social-supportive network among the participants of a community of readers. To sum up, literacy in this study is understood as a social practice, a purposeful activity that takes place in social interactions. I considered interactions among displaced populations in Colombia who have become a community forced, by the armed conflict, to face new situations, and thus, forced to transform their lives. This study focuses on reading as a social literacy practice, situated within a community of readers who shared critical responses to reading.

# The Pragmatic Theory of Reading as a Situated Social Practice

Reading as a situated social practice is a *linguistic-pragmatic* account of reading that emphasizes first, the dimension of text organization, and second, the social processes involved in text construction and interpretation, considering the interaction of linguistic knowledge, with interpretative work and background knowledge schemata (Baynham, 1995). It encompasses the dimension of text as social practice and therefore, sees reading as a social practice that brings into play the crucial role of critical reading.

My interest in this pragmatic theory of reading lies in its assertion that reading is a process of interaction between different dimensions of text organization and social processes that are involved in text construction and interpretation. Combining linguistic



knowledge with interpretative work and background knowledge, which includes ideologies, perspectives, and even roles within the society, this theory introduces the possibility for critical, resistant readings. I consider that this view of reading as a situated social practice widens its scope and goes beyond traditional reading practices, as it acknowledges the personal and social perspectives of reading.

McManus (1998) and Baynham (1995) state that readers belong to "interpretive communities" with shared reading strategies, values and interpretive assumptions (i.e., shared "discourse"). They also argue that readers are situated in a common cultural/historical setting and shaped by dominant discourses and ideologies. Rosenblatt (1999) emphasizes the idea that reading is as a unique event in time, as it always occurs at a particular moment in the personal life of the reader, as well as in a particular social and cultural environment. She also acknowledges the different possible interpretations that emerge from a text, as readers bring different knowledge and assumptions, as well as different social and historical contexts. These new dimensions of reading related to the social, cultural and ideological situations of readers, are particularly relevant to this study, as the participants were part of a community of displaced populations in Colombia, who evidenced such dimensions in their position in the world and through their discourse.

#### **Reading Transactions and Readers' Response**

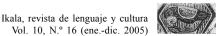
Rosenblatt (1999; 2002) states that reading is a relationship between a human being and the text, and that meanings arise from the transaction of readers and texts in particular contexts. She argues that reading transactions require recognition of a personal, social and cultural matrix. She uses the term "transaction" to emphasize that meaning is built up through the back-and-forth relationship between reader and text during a reading event. In the reading transaction for instance, the words of the text may activate elements from referents of memory. She clarifies, that this includes not only those public referents or objects that the verbal symbols point to (efferent response to reading), but also the personal referents: sensuous, affective, imaginal, and associative. This aspect is called an *aesthetic stance* and, in Rosenblatt's view (1991), it encompasses not only ideas but sensations, images, precepts and concepts, states or qualities of states, and feelings.

Thus, readers may adopt an "aesthetic stance" towards the text by reading it with attention and considering what the words refer to, but mainly concentrating on what they are experiencing, thinking and feeling during the reading. For such aesthetic readings, instead of placing attention mainly on the facts and ideas abstracted for specific use afterwards, the reader would focus on what was being lived through during the reading event, on the ideas as they are embodied in the images, the sensations, the emotions, the feelings, and the changing moods (Rosenblatt, 1991; 1999). In the Reading Club sessions at U.A.I.D., our purpose as readers was not to find information in the text (efferent response), but to respond critically by making connections through dialogic transactions. Thus, the implementation of the reading club sessions was focused on the aesthetic stance, in which the reader transacts aesthetically with the text and shapes it by reacting and responding through her/his emotions, sensations, images, tensions, and current lived ideas and experiences.

# Critical Pedagogy: A Liberating Approach to Education

The Freirean transformative pedagogy is a liberating, humanitarian and democratic approach to education that aims at fostering changes in society, valuing students' life experiences and realities. Issues such as critical dialogue, critical reflection, and connection to reality, as well as the mutual creation and re-creation of knowledge, are at the heart of this approach to education, which grows in opposition to the banking, traditional education. According to Paulo Freire and Ira Shor (1987b), liberating education is a critical perspective on education and society. It is learning for social transformation through critical dialogue about a text or a moment in society, to reveal it, unveil it, in other words, to illuminate reality. Freire argues that liberation is neither a gift, nor a self-achievement, but a mutual process. In the organization and implementation of the reading club sessions, critical dialogue around social issues was at the core. The experiences lived by adults in situations of displacement were read in order to name and illuminate crucial issues of this humanitarian crisis in Colombia. Naming crucial issues was accomplished through processes of collective thought by means of a dialogic base. Participants in the reading club sessions were able to rethink their experiences in the light of transforming social realities through dialogue.

The numerous connections of issues such as language, literacy and culture, and the need of all teachers to become knowledgeable in how they affect students' schooling,



along with issues such as equity and social justice are priorities of this critical trend to education (Nieto, 2002). There is the need to consider the impact of teachers' attitudes concerning the cultural capital that their students bring to school, and their roles in affirming or ignoring those sociocultural backgrounds and experiences. As the author argues, "learning and achievement are not merely cognitive processes, but complex issues that need to be understood in the development of community" (Nieto, 2002).

As I see it, this critical trend in education permeated my entire study, as it was based on principles that value the students' realities, experiences and voices. In the reading club sessions, there was critical reflection and dialogue that aimed at creating a supportive, resilient environment where social networking and resilience factors were fostered among participants in situations of displacement.

# Resiliency as a Process

According to Henderson and Milstein (1996), resiliency is a dramatic new perspective that has emerged from the fields of psychiatry, psychology, and sociology. It refers to how children and adults bounce back from stress, trauma and risk in their lives. The authors argue that the idea of resiliency also refers to the fact that people can bounce back from negative life experiences and often become even stronger in the process of overcoming them. Research on this field has shown that "with an adequate resiliency-supporting environment, strength can emerge from adversity."

Theory and research about resiliency as a process have shown that there are several factors, within the person or within the environment, that have an impact on the resilience or vulnerability of the person who faces adversity. A protective factor is a trait, situation, circumstance, skill or characteristic that acts as a means for the individual to be resilient. It increases resiliency and decreases vulnerability. A risk factor is a situation or circumstance that decreases the person's ability to be resilient and increases vulnerability (Kotliarenco, 1997). The presence or lack of protective and risk factors may affect positively or negatively one's social and emotional development, academic achievement, physical and mental health.

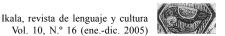
Seven internal characteristics called "resiliencies" have been proposed by the Wolins (1993, as cited by Henderson and Milstein, 1996) from their research on various levels of stressful situations with children and adults. These resiliencies are: *Initiative*, or the individual's ability to take action. *Independence*, when the adult behaves with autonomy. *Insight*, or the developed perception of what is wrong and why. *Relationship*, which is the complex set of abilities that enable the individual to connect with others. *Morality*, which means altruism and acting with integrity. *Humor*, or the individual's ability to find the comic in the tragic. And *creativity*, when one uses the imagination and expresses oneself through art forms.

However, resiliency theorists (Infante, 2002) and researchers (Manciaux, 2002; Melillo, 2002) clarify that resiliency is a process, more than a list of features or characteristics found in the individual or the environment. Building resiliency relies on the environmental support structures to which a person is exposed. That is the reason for the growing interest in providing environments and conditions that foster individual and community resilience and/or protective factors.

Grotberg (2002) states that everyone faces adversity and no one is exempt, but whether such experiences crush or strengthen an individual depends on the resiliency factors around. She asserts that resilient behaviors require resiliency factors and actions. She also points out that dialogue is action and interaction that fosters the identification of resiliency factors. I consider that the reading club sessions were actions that served as opportunities to explore and promote resiliency features through dialogic interactions among adults in situations of displacement. The purpose was to provide them with a resilient environment where adversities were named, shared and discussed.

#### Forced Internal Displacement in Colombia

Colombia has suffered, in different periods of its history, from armed conflicts with political and social consequences. Forced internal displacement is one of the gravest social and economic problems facing Colombia today, pervasive throughout the country. As the population of this study belonged to a community of displaced adults, I present here a brief account of the most important issues about this humanitarian crisis



According to the non-governmental organization, Consultoria para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (Human Rights and Displacement Advisory Office) - CODHES (2000), the origins of forced displacements are in the 1950s, with two important issues as the main causes. First, there were the permanent and neverending social conflicts related to land tenancy, political exclusion, and "autoritarismo del regimen" (regime authority); and second, the emergence of new ways of political confrontations of insurgent nature. Although this is not a new situation, during the last ten years conflict and violence have intensified, the internal armed conflict is worsening, and the defenseless civil population is experiencing ever more frequent attacks.

According to Loughna (2001), the Forced Migration Organization (FMO) describes forced migration as a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts), as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects. The population who participated in this research study falls into the Conflict-Induced Displacement category, which according to FMO (2001), is defined as follows: People who are forced to flee their homes for one or more of the following reasons, and where the state authorities are unable or unwilling to protect them: armed conflict including civil war, generalized violence, and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion or social group.

The displaced people in Colombia are not a homogeneous community. They come from different places, mainly from Antioquia, Bolivar, Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Llanos and Chocó (OCSE, 2002). They are victims of diverse armed groups (paramilitaries or auto-defenses, guerrilla, Farc or ELN), and though the majority are peasants, there are also businessmen, indigenous people, and different ethnic and religious groups (OCSE).

As stated by CODHES and OCSE, more than half of the displaced population is younger than 18 years old, 43% are adults and 2.7% are older than 64. The heads of the displaced families are mainly young women with low levels of education. Before displacement, most of this population owned urban or rural lands "...located in areas abundant in biodiversity, mineral and oil deposits, rich agricultural land, as

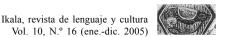
well as in geo-strategic regions necessary to an economic model based on the expansion of global capital" (CCSC, 2001).

According to The Human Rights and Displacement Advisory Office - CODHES (2000), as the most extreme expression of Colombia's conflict is forced displacement, the percentage of people who flee their homes due to threats, massacres, assassination, forced disappearances and armed confrontations, is increasing. Most of the internally displaced persons (IDPs), flee on an individual basis. However, the mass exodus are increasing. Colombia now has an estimated three million internally displaced people. Colombia's internal displacement crisis stands as the world's worst after Sudan.

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative case study. I selected this research design because I wanted to understand and describe literacy practices as a resource to build resiliency through the study of forced displacement in Colombia. This being a social phenomenon which has important implications in the field of education, my main interest was in holistic insight, discovery and interpretation of a particular social group, which shared similar characteristics and belonged to a community of displaced people. Larsen-Freeman (1993) defined the qualitative methodology as "a study in which the researchers do not set out to test hypotheses, but rather to observe what is present with their focus, and consequently the data, free to vary during the course of the observation." In this paper, I have described and explained the problematic situation lived by adults who were forced to flee from their homes, and based on a systematic process of observation and analysis, I have gained insights through dialogic transactions from the insiders' points of view.

One of the roles of researchers in qualitative studies is participant observation. My role as researcher in this study was that of the participant observer. I took part of the activity as I read aloud to the participants, took notes and engaged, along with the participants, in dialogic interactions during the reading club sessions. I was a facilitator of those dialogic transactions and became an active listener of the words and worlds they displayed.



The main objective of the project was to document, observe and analyze the responses given by adults in situations of displacement when enrolled in reading club sessions. Thus, the following questions were posed:

# **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- How do displaced adults build resiliency through the dialogic transactions that take place in reading club sessions?
- What type of adversity factors do adults in situations of displacement identify in their social interactions in the reading club?
- What types of results of resiliency as a process are revealed in the adults' statements?

#### **CONTEXT**

# **Participants**

The participants in this study were male and female displaced adults aged 20 to 60, who come from different regions of Colombia, mainly Tolima, Guajira, Llanos, Antioquia, Chocó, Cundinamarca and Santander. They were victims of diverse armed groups (paramilitaries or auto-defenses, guerrilla, FARC or ELN); and though the majority consisted of rural farmers and housewives whose educational levels were low, there were also businessmen and people from indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities. All of them came from different ethnic and religious groups who used to live in rural territories. An average of 16 people attended each reading session at the Integral Attention Office for Displaced Peoples (U.A.I.D.) located in Bogotá. With previous consent from the director of the training and workshops area at the U.A.I.D. and the oral consent of the participants, a group of five females, randomly selected, became the subjects who provided me with the data for the case study. These women were the heads of their families. They had low educational levels and used to live in rural territories. They were forced to flee their rural homes and had migrated to Bogotá. They volunteered to participate in the 14 weekly sessions of the Reading Club.

# Setting

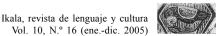
The Reading Club sessions took place at U.A.I.D. in Bogotá, Colombia. The U.A.I.D. is a governmental institution that is inter-institutionally coordinated, as it receives support from the Secretaría de Gobierno, Misión Bogotá and the Red de Solidaridad Social. It offers support and guidance to the displaced populations that come to Bogotá. Through the human development and training area, courses and workshops are offered to provide practical tools as a means to inform migrants about how to live in the city. The workshop I offered as a volunteer at the U.A.I.D. consisted of a Reading Club that fostered literacy as a situated social practice.

# The Reading Club

The development of this reading club was based on training I had received at ASOLECTURA, Asociación Colombiana de Lectura y Escritura (The Colombian Association for Reading and Writing), and on the seminar on Advanced Literacy I took in the Master's Program in Applied Linguistics at the Universidad Distrital. ASOLECTURA provided me with a selection of books which included short stories and short tales from different authors. This association also gave me advice on the appropriate type of language and content of the books to take to the reading club sessions.

I used to take to the club two or three different books each session. At the beginning of each session, I showed the participants the books I had brought. I read the titles and showed them the covers of the books. I invited them to choose the one they felt like reading first. Then, I proceeded to read aloud for the participants, who were free to make comments, ask questions, stay or leave. There was no independent reading. However, after the fourth session, some participants volunteered to read aloud.

It would be important to mention at this point, that even though I did not use a formal guide with prompts after the reading aloud, the conversations began with two main questions that triggered discussion: "¿Cómo les pareció la historia?" (How did you like the story?) and "¿Alguna conexión con sus experiencias vividas?" (Are there any connections with your life experiences?). In this way, space was open for the readers to share their responses, life experiences, and all kinds of aesthetic reactions that they had to the readings. Thus, dialogic interactions were generated and



reflections upon their worlds were made in order to promote a resilient environment among participants. Their comments, questions and responses to the readings became the core of the data used to identify and establish the common patterns and themes to be later grouped into categories.

#### DATA COLLECTION: SOURCES AND PROCEDURES

Data were collected systematically during each one of the 14 weekly sessions. I focused my attention on readers' responses generated during and after the reading event and on the dialogic transactions because the voices of the participants displayed their own concerns, perceptions of their realities and life experiences. Through their own voices I could gain insights into the events lived by Colombian adults in situations of displacement.

Different instruments were developed and used to triangulate, validate and verify the data: *Field notes* were used to write descriptive accounts of my observations. As a participant observer, I took notes at the site and wrote further comments after each session. I designed and used a format in which different relevant information, such as the date, the activity, and the books read was included. *Transcriptions of tape recordings* provided me with the possibility to have the actual words and dialogic interactions generated after the reading-aloud event. A dialogic, relaxed atmosphere was created little by little, and I found an *unstructured interview* appropriate to maintain this tone and to gain understanding regarding this phenomenon of forced displacement in Colombia. It provided me with the opportunity to listen to the interviewee speaking freely at a moment s/he felt comfortable enough to share. This kind of freedom, "to allow the respondent to talk about what is central to him or her rather than to the interviewer" (Bell, 1999), was central to this study. To create a profile of the participants a *Personal Information Questionnaire* and Attendance Lists were used.

#### DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Using the grounded approach method (Freeman, 1998), I started the analysis process by reading and re-reading the data gathered through the different instruments – field notes, audio-tape transcriptions of sessions, interviews and personal information

questionnaires – which I used to triangulate, validate, verify and weigh the evidence to draw appropriate conclusions.

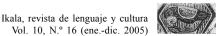
Based on the data analysis procedures proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1990), I searched for patterns and themes which were common and frequently seen in the data collected through the different instruments. Always having the research questions in mind, and taking into account the similarities among patterns, I looked for ways to organize the data. Thus, I used key symbols and color-coding to categorize the data. A permanent process of confrontation and comparison of the data was carried out. The themes that emerged as the process of data analysis was systematically completed were later on "grouped together under a higher order," which according to Strauss and Corbin (1990) is called a category. The three categories that emerged were:

- dialogic interactions that involve social aspects in resiliency building,
- adversity factors revealed through social interactions,
- learning from the experience.

Strauss and Corbin relate to the three steps identified in this study as the steps involved in the resiliency-building process: being reflective of the reality, identifying and facing adversity, and valuing what has been learnt from the experience of facing situations of adversity.

The unit of analysis for this study was the participants' declarative statements given when responding to the reading. Declarative statements are understood in this study as the sentences or expressions that declare or state something. They include: (a) reflections, which are thoughts or opinions resulting from careful consideration; (b) judgments, or the formation of an opinion after consideration, evaluation or deliberation. They respond to the capacity to assess situations or circumstances and to draw sound conclusions; (c) perceptions, which are the insights, intuition, or knowledge gained by perceiving; and (4) determinations, or the acts of making or arriving at a decision. I analyzed the transactions generated between the readers and the texts through their responses to the readings.

The reading club sessions were developed with the participants following a specific orientation that determined, in some way, their responses. This orientation was



aesthetic, which means that the purpose was to explore what was experienced by the readers during the reading event in terms of their most immediate concerns, feelings and sensations expressed through the content of their responses, in order to promote a resilient environment among adults in situations of displacement.

#### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Because it was observed that the text and the context generated the transactions and interactions, the purpose of this study was to analyze the content of the readers' declarative statements, the process they used to talk with peers and the way they interacted with the text. The data from the dialogic interactions showed that it is difficult to classify language in use in the different types of declarative statements in the study because of the nature of the interventions. Some of the statements were identified as containing judgments, perceptions, and determinations in the same intervention. Statements could start as reflections about an aspect of discussion and turn into a judgment, a determination or a conclusion. This realization made me reflect about the multiple purposes or intentions a user of language may have in mind when expressing an idea. It also made me realize the responsibility that I had when interpreting the data from an *etic* perspective, or an outsider's point of view, which in Freeman's words "...refers to externally observable or documented aspects of a situation or phenomenon" (Freeman, 1998).

Another relevant aspect I found in the analysis of statements was that participants' interventions influenced each other's thinking during the discussion of issues. This influence was evident when debating about topics such as children's opportunities for schooling or the lack of government intervention to support them.

The findings of this study showed that the adults in situation of displacement who participated in the reading club sessions were critical readers of their worlds. They named the strategies they used to cope with displacement as an adverse situation. Those strategies included family bonds and teamwork within the household, community networking and schooling practices. The participants' declarative statements reported that there were adversity factors they experienced as people in situations of displacement. Those factors included problematic situations such as broken families, land abandonment, and lack of trust and support

from the government. Participants' statements also revealed learning experiences that led to resilient results. Table 1 is a visual representation of the categories that resulted from this research study:

**TABLE 1.** Categories of the Analysis

Research Questions	Categories
How do displaced adults build resiliency through the dialogic transactions that take place in the reading club sessions?	1. Dialogic interactions that involve social aspects in resiliency-building: 1.1 Strong family bonds and teamwork within the household. 1.2 Community networking. 1.3 Schooling practices.
What type of adversity factors do adults in situations of displacement identify in their social interactions in the reading club?	<ol> <li>Adversity factors revealed through social interactions:</li> <li>1 Family relationships and children.</li> <li>Land abandonment.</li> <li>Lack of trust in the support offered by governmental institutions.</li> </ol>
What types of results of resiliency as a process are revealed in the adults' statements?	3. Learning from the experience; Constructing a future of hope.

# 1. Dialogic Interactions that Involve Social Aspects in Resiliency-Building

This category responds to the first question: How do displaced adults build resiliency through the dialogic transactions that take place in the reading club sessions? It contains the participants' statements that emerged from their dialogic interactions with texts and with peers and describes the strategies that the participants used to cope with displacement as an adverse situation. The different sociocultural backgrounds of the participants in the reading club contributed to the dialogic interactions that took place during the reading event. In the reading club sessions, the participants were critical readers of the world, making living and critical connections with their realities. The participants were able to reflect upon society

and their place in society, and I interpret that reflection as the first step in the resiliency-building process.

The declarative statements showed that despite adversity, the adults in situations of displacement who participated in this reading club hoped for a better future for themselves and especially for their children. They felt the responsibility to perform actions that would lead them and their families to a better future. Thus, to cope with the adversities suffered as adults in situations of displacement, they used strategies such as creating strong family bonds, building community networks and providing schooling opportunities for their children.

# 1.1 Strong Family Bonds and Teamwork within the Household

New family bonds were created after displacement. Mother and children relationships became stronger and they supported each other to overcome the crisis. Issues such as love, respect, dialogue, cooperation and hope were present in strong households who searched for solutions together to be successful and strengthened as a family unit. Therefore, united families where love, respect, dialogue and collaboration were present were able to overcome adversity, as illustrated in the following statements:

**S4:** "Sí, porque en mi casa todos somos unidos, todos formamos un solo grupo y no hay interés de uno partir para un lado y partir para otro, sino todos hemos formado un solo grupo. Es la consigna de mi hogar, todos para uno, uno para todos, es la consigna general." (Tape transcription of session, May 12, 2003)

**S2: "...**y esos lazos no los pueden partir, así es la familia de uno, unida, eso es lo que se lama cooperación, COOPERAR, el uno para el uno y el otro para el otro, porque al formar cooperativa, lo que formamos es la FAMI-LIA." (Tape transcription of session, May 12, 2003)

**S4:** "...unirse porque, si hay dos pares de zapatos el uno sale hoy, hoy se los lleva el que los necesitó y el otro los necesita mañana se los lleva ESE, y así, cualquier momento, hay una sola hermandad." (Tape transcription of session, May 12, 2003)

This strategy fostered the three sources to build resiliency, which according to Grotberg (1995, 2002) are the "I have, I can, I am." First, the "I have" source is fostered when the individual has people around to trust in, people around to love and be loved by, people who can provide help and support when in need or danger. Second, the "I am" source as the individual, as a member of a united family, feels that he/she is a person people can like, love, respect, trust in and value. He/she feels that they are a person able to offer support and help, who is valued and who is respected by others. Third, within a household, the "I can" source for resiliency-building is fostered when the member can talk to others about adversity and the way to overcome it, and find solutions together to the problems faced by the household. In this way, he/she can find someone to help him/her when s/he needs it.

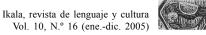
#### 1.2 Community Networking

Team work and community networks were identified as a strategy to cope with adversity, not only within the households but among people in similar situations of displacement. Declarative statements that emerged from the dialogic interactions reveal the importance given to love, affection, and community support as conditions that should be present to overcome crisis even if there is no help nor protection from the government. The participants in this study acknowledged the fact that as a group they could talk to each other and find people who have experienced the same adversities. This provided them with a sense of equity and identity with others. Also, as a group, they could share their concerns, find someone to talk with and as a result of that interaction and dialogue, find ideas to provide solutions to their common problems:

**S4:** "Cuando se trabaja como en grupo, o sea, uno SOLO no puede hacer cosas, sino cuando se trabaja en equipo, en grupo, e: uno sabe hacer cosas pero hay gente también que las sabe hacer, no importa las edades, nada, sino ese entusiasmo como por hacer las cosas, querer hacer las cosas, solos o acompañados pero se hacen las cosas."

(Tape transcription of session, April 28, 2003)

**S5:** "En el grupo se pueden encontrar ideas entre unos y otros." (Field notes, March 17, 2003)



The following sample illustrates how the strategy of community networking provided them with a supportive, healing resolution, which could not possibly be developed on an individual basis:

**S3:** "Uno llega solo, triste, no conoce nada, se le abren las puertas para conocer gente que sufre lo mismo y ellos sufren lo mismo que uno. Aquí todos somos iguales, pero al hablar con ellos uno se desahoga." (Field notes, March 17, 2003)

This strategy offered the possibility to give and receive advice and support on actions to be taken or avoided when facing adversity. It also provided a sense of being useful to others who also experienced adverse situations. Thus, community networking also fostered the three resiliency factors explained earlier (i.e. "I have," "I am," and "I can") as a resilient, supportive environment was built by the members of the displaced community who participated in this study.

# 1.3 Providing Schooling Practices

The adult participants in this study showed great concern regarding their children's future. Providing schooling for their children was seen as their responsibility as parents, as a means for their children to achieve a better future, and as a source of preparation in order to face and overcome stressful situations, as shown in the following excerpts:

**S1:** "La niña ahorita el año pasado salió de once y la tengo pues, la idea mía era, o es darle estudio, verla superada, que ella se capacite, que no viva lo que uno ha tenido que vivir." (Interview, April 28, 2003)

**S3:** "Yo creo que el niño debe ser niño mas bien estudiar y aprender..."

**S1:** "Exacto, hay que enseñarles el camino, caminar con ellos, no darles.../" [**S2:** "ayudarles, sí."]

**S2:** "...a decirles que uno no tiene plata pero darle apoyo, aunque sea en una palabra, 'siga adelante, esto hay que hacer aquí así."

**S3:** "...prepararlos, irlos preparando para que no sean como uno. Irlos preparando para que ellos sean mejores que nosotros, que a nosotros a veces nos va mal..."

(Tape transcription of session, April 14, 2003)

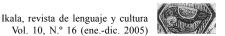
The participants in situations of displacement expressed the opinion that schooling and working practices regarding children are a controversial issue. Some participants referred to the importance of children actively working as necessary to be successful. On the contrary, others did not share that idea, arguing that providing children with schooling is the best way to help them as parents and to supply them with tools to be used later when they become adults.

In summary, in the process of facing and overcoming adversity, these adults in situations of displacement have used different strategies that have helped them as resiliency-builders. These strategies were centered on the creation of strong family bonds after displacement, the role of community network, and the importance of providing schooling practices to their children, who are seen as a hope for a better future.

# 2. Adversity Factors Revealed Through Social Interactions

I also identified in this study that experiences of adverse situations were closely related to the social issues the participants revealed as crucial in the dialogic interactions discussed previously as the basis of the resiliency-building process. It was also disclosed that there was total exposure to adversity even before they were forced to flee, and in most of the cases, there was no time, nor resources to plan an appropriate response to the daily problems they were forced to face.

The participants in this study were forced to cope with a number of problematic situations after fleeing their homes and territories: Coping with broken family units, searching for a safe place to live, and migrating to big cities, which are unfamiliar to them and do not often offer them effective ways to overcome adversities and satisfy basic needs, such as food, accommodation, employment, health and schooling services. The social issues they explored as adverse situations were related to three main aspects:



# 2.1 Family Relationship and Children

First, participants talked about the changes experienced within their family units and their concerns about their children. The analysis of the data indicated that being forced to flee their homes and territories due to the armed conflict caused the destruction of the family core. Moreover, mothers became the heads of their families and had to face and overcome adversities that emerged as a consequence of forced migration. The data also showed that one of the main causes of migration was the high risk for children to be taken away from their families. These children are usually abducted to be made members of the armed groups that lead the conflict. The participants also noted that families and children became more vulnerable to experience adverse situations when moving to an unknown place. These might include changes in living situations, lack of schooling opportunities, health problems and sociocultural mismatch:

**S1:** "Y a los pocos meses, creo, de que, de estar separada, y estar luchando con mis hijos, luchando SOLA con mis tres hijos allá en el pueblo, tengo que afrontar la toma del pueblo." (Transcription of interview, April 28, 2003)

S1: "Entonces, en vista de que a mis hijos, ya se los querían llevar; allá, los niños son muy vistos para la reclusión, a los niños ya de 12, 14 años, YA hasta de 10 años, los utilizan como espías. A esos peladitos les decían vaya, mire, vaya ponga cuidado y venga cuente, y por, por cualquier bobada(que) les dan." (Transcription of interview, April 28, 2003)

S1: "Ella (mi hija) si me decía que estaba MUY ABURRIDA {llanto}, ella me repetía 'mami, estoy ABURRIDA {llanto} aburrida, mami no sé porqué tengo que pasar esta vida, porqué el destino nos ha puesto a nosotros TODAS estas cosas mami." (Transcription of interview, April 28, 2003)

#### 2.2 Land Abandonment

This was a second social issue related to adversity, which also implies abandoning life styles, customs, traditions, friends, relatives and social surroundings, as is illustrated in the following statement:

**S2:** "Yo soy del Tolima, entonces, la tradición en un hogar humilde pero entonces había esa tradición que los tamales, que el regalo, que el estrene, e: a mi me tocó cambiar mis costumbres y habituarme." (Tape transcription of session, April 21, 2003)

Participants revealed that they were forced to abandon their social and material properties in order to protect their lives and those of their families. Land abandonment resulted in important economic changes that affected former rural families' well-being. It also resulted in social and emotional troubles as they expressed their uneasiness, emptiness, lack of identity and lack of belonging at the new, recipient place.

- "...Desubicado como nosotros..."
- "...se encuentra ese vacío de saber que no se está donde se pertenece..."
- "...nueva integración para volver a la casa con su familia..."

We kept reading [Zoom] and when there is a letter shown in the pictures, one of the participants spontaneously said: "La carta dice que volvemos al campo."

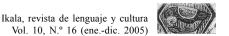
(Field notes, March 17, 2003)

#### 2.3 Lack of Trust in the Support Offered by Governmental Institutions

The participants' statements referred to the lack of effective support provided by governmental and non-governmental institutions as the basic needs and concerns they experienced as a result of forced displacement, remained unsolved in both the short and long run. The lack of support resulted in an increasing lack of confidence in the so-called protection of their human rights, as illustrated as follows:

**S5:** "¿Que pasa con nosotros? los derechos de los desplazados ¿Dónde está la ayuda humanitaria?, "La protección de nuestros derechos humanos, no nos responden, que nos regalen, no que nos regalen, que nos respondan porque son nuestros derechos."

(Field notes, March 10, 2003)



**S3:** "Que el gobierno no cumple es cierto." "La infidelidad del gobierno, promete y no cumple." (Field notes, March 10, 2003)

Moreover, they expressed through their dialogic transactions, that the lack of support has been experienced from their friends and relatives as well. Their statements show that they have seen themselves forced to face adversity without any help from others:

S1: "Pensé confiar, y aún aquí lo repetimos mucho con mis, con los niños, decimos ay mira, y: qué paso con fulano de tal que nos decía cuenta conmigo, cuenta con mi apoyo y decimos pero cual apoyo, si el apoyo e-es no? [S2:(mentira?)] sí nunca hemos podido saber cuando una persona dice 'cualquier cosa cuenta con mi apoyo' pero yo digo si una persona dice cuenta con mi apoyo y va y lo mira a uno en las circunstancias en que está, yo pienso que es el momento de DAR si quiere y puede [claro] pero muchas eran las personas que nos decían cuente con mi apoyo y por detrás estaban (Tenaz?)." (Tape transcription of session, May 5, 2003)

The participants revealed that because of their condition as "displaced populations" it was really difficult to get health and schooling services, loans, accommodation and jobs. These consequences of being forced to leave home had an impact on their social and personal being. These adversity factors became the components of their social and personal reality and played a key role in the resiliency-building process.

# 3. Learning from the Experience: Constructing a Future of Hope

Participants also revealed that facing adverse situations has strengthened them and made them realize that they can do and get a lot to construct from adversity and to protect their lives and those of their children. First, in the process of pursuing their own dreams and expectations, and as a reaction toward the unacceptability of the armed conflict, adult participants had the initiative to take action to face adversity:

**S1:** "...buscando como más futuro, para los niños, para uno. Nos vinimos para Bogotá a ojo cerrado." (Transcription of interview, April 28, 2003)

Performing actions such as moving to an unknown place despite the consequences, getting accommodation, food, schooling and health services for themselves and their children, getting a job and adapting to a new environment have made them realize the existence and the possibility to put into practice resilient individual skills, such as independence, initiative, relationship and insight. Through their statements during the dialogic interactions that took place in the reading club sessions, the participants expressed that they fostered those resilient skills when they needed to preserve and protect their lives and families:

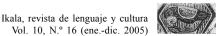
**S1:** "Yo llegué, a conseguir donde vivir, fui a ubicarle colegio a mis hijos también, cuando me contactaron también acá, aquí con la red, eso no era fácil, yo SOLA, pues era DURO." (Transcription of interview, April 28, 2003)

The following excerpt indicates another resiliency factor, which according to Henderson and Milstein (1996), is *insight*: "an adult developed perception of what is wrong and why is it wrong." The participant is being resilient, as she is reflective of the reality she experienced as a woman in a situation of displacement. The speaker's quote shows the process of introspection that she was involved in, in order to make the decision of fleeing from her home. She acknowledged that a situation of adversity might have weakened a resolution to take action. However, she realized that not too many things are necessary if one is really willing to construct from adversity.

**S1:** "Uno cae en una y uno dice que no se que, que yo no quiero seguir mas adelante que todo eso, y verdá, no necesitamos tener muchas cosas, menos apegarse a lo que uno tiene, muchas veces uno sale de las cosas porque ay, la casita, mire que allá el pueblito, mire lo que yo tengo, y eso lo hace a uno quedarse ahí, a no pensar uno un poquito más allá sino [**S3:** a quedarse] a quedar pegado a las cosas materiales."

(Tape transcription of session, April 14, 2003)

When the participants in situations of displacement expressed through their declarative statements the key role of constructing a community, as a strategy to support each other and overcome adversity, they also exhibited another resiliency factor which



Henderson and Milstein (1996) called *relationship*. Resilient individuals, the authors argue, have the ability to create relationships with others. The participants of this study volunteered to be part of the reading club sessions, in which they were able to engage in social and dialogic interactions. They found in the reading club sessions an opportunity for meaningful participation and sharing:

**S2:** "...venir uno a: a encontrarse, a: compartir los momentos, las cosas con los demás y como cambiar esos círculos de amistades que uno tiene y aumentar, de pronto aumentar también algunos, abrir unos espacios, dejar una imagen, que lo conozcan y conocer uno, me ha parecido muy importante."

(Tape transcription of session, May 12, 2003)

In sum, the adults in situations of displacement who participated in this study exhibited through their declarative statements that they are resilient individuals able to use resiliency factors to construct from difficult situations and hope for a better future for themselves and their children. It was also experienced that sharing and exploring concerns, personal experiences, ideas, reflections, perspectives, expectations and points of view on a dialogic basis, contributed to build a resilient, supportive environment that fostered resiliency in the community and the individuals. Such experiences lived by these displaced adults, as active participants in the reading club sessions, may have an impact on their children and their families.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

Throughout the development of this study I have realized and felt that my responsibility and role as a teacher of English as a foreign language goes far beyond both instructional tasks and "teaching" Spanish-speaking students the components of the language.

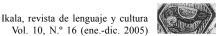
On one hand, I consider improvements in education to come from raising teachers' awareness and self-criticism, rather than from specifying objectives, lesson plans and syllabuses with precision. On the other, it is my belief that the critical, living connections with the socio-cultural and political arena of the realities in which we live in our country cannot be overlooked in education. Nieto (2002) asserts that social relationships and political realities are at the heart of teaching and learning.

That is, "learning emerges from the social, cultural, and political spaces in which it takes place, and through the interactions and relationships that occur between learners and teachers."

Forced internal displacement is one of the gravest social, economic and humanitarian crises facing Colombia today, consisting of forced movements of people displaced from their hometowns as a result of armed conflicts between guerrillas, paramilitaries and military forces. This is a socio-political reality that little by little is touching our teaching and learning practices as an increasing number of displaced families and school-age children is coming to our local educational contexts.

Conducting this study has had an impact in my teaching practice. It has been enriching to gain an understanding of the social issues that concerned this group of displaced women who migrated to Bogotá from different regions of Colombia. Issues such as changes in the core of the family units, in their living situations and in their relationships with the wider society have informed my teaching practice and shaped it to become aware of the ways in which those social issues may affect academic performance and the development of my students. It also serves to orient my teaching practice towards the creation of supportive, resilient environments where there is multicultural awareness, respect, understanding, love and teamwork.

The liberatory, dialogical and critical pedagogical approach used in the implementation of the reading club provides elements that might serve teachers to illuminate their teaching practices. First, they might find the perspective of reading as a situated social practice and the role played by literacy in its sociocultural, transactional and critical dimensions useful. Second, it provides elements worthy of consideration in order to create resilient environments at their local schools or educational institutions. It may also invite teachers to inquire about ways in which they can be resilient individuals that foster resiliency-building attitudes in their students, academic communities and social surroundings. Finally, it may raise teacher researchers' awareness of the adversity factors that might be present in the classrooms. Issues such as poor communication, lack of support, social dislocation, concentrated poverty, high academic failure and dropout rates, low expectations, low stability, rejection by school peers, family and neighborhood adversities, poor nutrition, health problems, etc. may be stressful situations that increase vulnerability and may be



considered by the school community to foster resilient actions and supportive environments.

This kind of practice might serve as an example to be replicated in the practice carried out by prospective and in-service language teachers who are interested in creating enriching, resilient academic environments where social support and mutual understanding is generated as a result of meaningful transactions. As an in-service language teacher, I have experienced and realized how enriching it is to value students' voices and make social issues of their concern relevant in order to gain an understanding of the happenings within and beyond the classroom bounds.

The reading club sessions offered a starting point for critical readings of the world as participants engaged each other in critical dialogue, reflecting upon their own realities together, sharing their backgrounds, current concerns, needs, the struggles they have faced, and the experiences they have lived. The dialogic interactions provided them with a mutual possibility to read themselves and enabled them, as a community, to construct a resilient environment required to support each other and make decisions about actions to take in order to overcome the crisis. As Shor (1987) remarks, "If students do engage each other in critical dialogue, I see that as an act of empowerment because they chose to become human beings investigating their reality together. I read this as a starting point of transformation which may develop in the long run into their choices for social change."

As stated before, the participants of this study were five women in situations of displacement. They were forced to cope with a wide range of problematic situations such as food, accommodation, health, lack of support, land abandonment, etc. These were their basic needs and most immediate concerns. Literacy practices might seem irrelevant in relation to the processes of overcoming those immediate concerns and needs. However, this study has shown the importance of having a space where those concerns are named, expressed, and shared with others who have experienced similar situations. In this way, as a community, they can search for solutions to overcome adversity. The dialogic interaction experienced during the sessions by the participants of this study and I, as a participant observer, allowed a mutual creation and re-creation of knowledge and experiences. I may say that it had an impact on the participants,

as they found an opportunity to share their voices, to be heard by others, and to find support from people that had experienced similar circumstances and were able to provide them with some advice:

"Aquí todos somos iguales, pero al hablar con ellos uno se desahoga." "En el grupo se pueden encontrar ideas entre unos y otros." (Field notes, March 17, 2003)

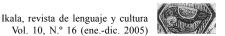
They expressed having felt a healing, supportive atmosphere that invited them to share the experiences of adversity that they and their families lived. That is why this space provided a resilient environment where participants reflected upon their realities and found a place where their voices were heard by other participants of the reading club.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

In sum, the creation of a Reading Club at U.A.I.D. in Bogotá has proven to be a resilient environment where dialogic interactions, sharing, reflection, critical reading and critical understanding of society, and, as Freire states, "reading the world," were at the core. This qualitative case study has allowed me to understand the critical social issues that might be present in my language teaching practice and has raised my awareness of the importance of getting to know the existing living conditions of my students, in order to provide them with a resilient supportive environment that positively affects their personal, academic and social development.

The creation of alternative educational programs, such as this reading club, can be implemented in other contexts, in and outside school settings, and including a displaced population, or any other kind of population, as participants. "All you need is to bring the community together and let the dialogue begin" (Wink, 2000).

Freire (1987) asserts that "it is not education which shapes society; but on the contrary, it is society which shapes education." This reading club was created as a space for freedom, for dialogue. It was a space where the existing sociocultural, historical and political realities shaped education, as participants were empowered to illuminate the conditions in which they live, to help each other as a community, to



overcome those conditions — a space that invites participants to become resilient agents of construction and hope.

As mentioned earlier, conducting this case study has motivated me to reflect upon issues of my language teaching practice. Thus, I would like to share with the readers of this paper several questions and concerns that have emerged from it, regarding education: How do we create spaces for dialogue, freedom and reflection in our teaching-learning contexts? How can we, as reflective practitioners, become aware of the existing conditions each student brings to our classrooms? Do our pedagogical practices reflect that we value and respect students' voices and life experiences and make them relevant for the school setting? How do we, as teachers, exercise and promote collaborative relations of power which enable or empower students to participate confidently, as a result of having their identities affirmed and extended in the social interactions? Are we aware of the demographic changes produced by forced internal displacement in Colombia, and how are those affecting and shaping our teaching-learning contexts?

#### **LIMITATIONS**

Consolidating a group of permanent members who were able to come to the reading club sessions on a frequent, regular basis was difficult. Most of the migrants who flee their homes due to the armed conflict are in constant movement at the recipient place, which in this case was Bogotá. Sometimes, participants in the reading club sessions shared extremely sad memories, which affected them emotionally. When handling this kind of situations, I became an acute listener who allowed participants to speak up. Dialogue was fostered as part of the approach to cope with stressful, sad situations that were generated during the reading club sessions as a result of sharing sad and extremely violent experiences.

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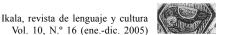
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