Resisting violence(s)
Internally displaced women in Khartoum and Mexico City

(Work in Progress)

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Abstract

Internal displacement due to conflict, generalized violence and other situations of violence, has become an alarming and growing reality. As of January 2015, the total number of internally displaced persons worldwide was estimated at 38 million. More than half of them settled in urban centers, in which opportunities seemed to be more easily accessible. Such dynamics of urban displacement may be identified in regions of the global south. That is the case of Khartoum, Sudan and Mexico City, important urban centers that host large populations of urban poor, among which displaced persons account for a large number.

In general, displacement is a catastrophe that affects every social actor. Yet, it requires differential focuses of attention that consider: 'race', class, ethnicity, sexuality, gender. Accordingly, constructions around female and male embodied subjectivities, pose differential risks that enable the creation of conditions of violence, power and domination. As a power relation, violence may be resisted through different strategies and techniques. Thereafter, this research explores: if it is possible to find forms of resistance against violence(s) in the narrative of internally displaced women by conflict, generalized violence and other situations of violence in Sudan and Mexico. If so, what are the techniques and strategies of protection and avoidance that they utilize as a form of resistance to be positioned in victimizing situations; and what similarities or differences might be identified between the strategies utilized by women in the Sudanese and Mexican capital cities. To explore such inquiries, semi structured interviews with displaced persons, NGO workers, civil society organizations, activists and experts were conducted in Khartoum and Mexico City. Interesting similarities and differences regarding the dynamics of violence against these vulnerable groups were identified in both cases.

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Introduction

For centuries, armed conflict, generalized violence and other situations of violence (OSV), have differentially impacted several regions all around the world. Thus, affecting uncountable groups of persons who find themselves in the middle of such dynamics. These circumstances, among other many problematics, have provoked massive forced human mobilizations that have been identified as forced displacement.

These involuntary movements are directly related to the search of secure living conditions. Thereafter, people whose habitual place of residence has been affected by violent processes, find themselves in need of leaving their residences to avoid victimization and search safety. Frequently, this forced mobilizations occur within the borders of conflict affected nation-sates. Therefore, in conflict and generalized violence situations, it is usual that people fleeing from violence, do not cross internationally recognized borders. They leave their habitual places of residence, but remain inside the national territory of the nation-state they inhabit. According to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, an "important international framework for the protection of internally displaced persons" (Kälin 2008: vii) internally displaced persons are:

> Persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border. (Kälin 2008: 2).

Forced migratory movements of persons internally displaced by conflict, generalized violence and other situations of violence, have reached alarming and growing numbers. About this, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, IDMC (2015a) reported that as of January, 2015, 38 million persons were internally displaced due to conflict and generalized violence situations. Accordingly, the number of IDPs has steadily increased over the past ten years, a trend that reflects the changing nature of rising conflicts worldwide (IDCM 2015b). Similarly, inequality has also played a key role in creating extreme disparities in wealth, education and other areas of human development. Leading to a radical increase in "marginalization of certain geographical areas, typically those far from political and economic capitals, and the rising up of formerly repressed sectors of society who lack political representation and seek greater independence, power and control." (IDMC 2015b: 9).

Added to that, internal displacement has been overlooked by numerous governments as well as national and international organizations that have usually focused the attention on refugee issues. Nonetheless, internal displacement cases around the globe double those of refugees[2] (IDMC 2015a). Contemporary global conflict dynamics, as well as economics, politics and social means, among others, influence the visibility of one group over another –namely, refugees over IDPs. However, IDPs just as refugees, face multiple challenges that position them in extremely vulnerable situations.

What is more, IDPs hold a complex legal status that renders them invisible. Such legal status misrecognizes and diminishes their complex condition, their needs and vulnerabilities. Hence, complicating their access to justice, and social services, such as education, health, and work within their 'own' country. With regards to this intricate situation, (Kälin 2008: 7-8) argues that "despite the fact that internally displaced persons are often forced to leave their homes and, thus, find themselves in refugee-like situations, refugee law is not directly applicable to them as international law defines refugees as persons who have fled across *international* borders and are in need of international protection by virtue of their being abroad and having no access to protection provide by the authorities of their own country of origin.". By definition, "refugees are not citizens of the host country, whereas internally displaced persons remain in their own country." (Kälin 2008: 8). That means that IDPs fall under the laws, policies and 'protection' provided by the ruling authorities of their countries. Which, in many cases are directly or indirectly related to the conflict dynamics that generated their forced mobilization in the first place. Under these circumstances, IDPs' experiences and challenges are usually treated as the problematics faced by all the citizens of a given nation state. A situation that overlooks and misrecognizes the particular issues that IDPs encounter when moving and settling in a different area from his/her habitual place of residence.

Every displaced person by conflict, generalized violence, and other situations of violence, has been forcibly positioned in victimizing situations that involve several challenges and situate them in life-threatening circumstances. Notwithstanding –and not coincidentally–forced displacement dynamics have been frequently developed within the peripheries of global North powers. Therefore, individuals whose (geographical, political, cultural, economic, and social) positionings

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[2] Based on figures of IDMC's monitoring and analysis information available from a range of sources on internal displacement caused by armed conflict, situations of generalized violence or violations of human rights, in 2014 there were 38 million IDPs and 19.5 refugees worldwide (IDMC 2015a).

are located within the limits of those peripheries: the global South, more frequently find themselves in conditions of forced displacement.

Global South IDPs

According to one of the leading sources of information and analysis of internal displacement: the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC 2015b), the majority of the forced internal mobilizations in the world have occurred within the margins of the global South[3]. Hence, nearly all of the internally displaced persons in the world[4], have been forced to move within the confines of geopolitical spaces located in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Among these regions, Africa and The Americas, host more than half of world's displaced persons by conflict and violence (IDMC 2015b). Accordingly, in sub-Saharan Africa, the IDMC (2015b, 22) reported that at the end of 2014, there were at least 11.4 million IDPs across 22 countries. It is the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Sudan and the disputed region of Abyei the countries with the largest amount of IDPs in that region. Likewise, IDMC (2015b, 16), figures for the Americas show that forced displacement cases account for at least seven million. In that region, Guatemala, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia (accounts for the bulk of the regional total) and Mexico host most of the internally displaced persons.

Either related to tribal conflicts, religion, ethnic 'cleansing', or government campaigns among other innumerable reasons and processes, these regions have been transiting through protracted paths of profound violence and conflict. In the case of the Americas, such trajectories have been usually related –amongst others– to drug trafficking, drug cartels fights and the proliferation of criminal groups. In the case of Africa, numerous struggles are related to tribal conflicts, ethnic 'cleansing', dictatorships and others (Rubio 2014; IDMC 2015a; IDCM 2015b).

In this sense, some of these violent processes and their consequences may be identifiable in both regions of the global South. Processes that shape similar experiences, generating comparable patterns of forced mobilization, affectations and power relations interactions that compose a matrix of domination. Hence, creating more or less advantageous positions for certain social actors.

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[3] The terms global North and South, refer –as stated by Chandra Mohanty (2008)–to the metaphoric distinction between capitalist abundance (North) and the marginalized two-thirds of the population (South) regardless of the geographic area (also referred to as one-third/two thirds).

Exploring displacement in the global South: Africa and Latin America

Comparative analyzes and perspectives regarding diverse social, economic, political, and cultural processes taking place within the confines of the global South, have been explored by some researchers all around the world. Scholars that are usually located or work under the epistemologies of global North scientific standards. In Mohanty's (2008) terms, 'Under Western eyes'. Until recently, most of such comparative analyzes have maintained their focus of attention on statistical studies, centered on numbers and mass patterns. Therein, explorations that attempt at a more deep and qualitative understanding of different social and cultural dynamics occurring in these regions, have been scarcely analyzed.

With regards to the study of forced migratory processes such as internal displacement, a similar situation may be identified. About this, Egea et al. (2005) argue that scientific production around migration dynamics that arose mainly during the second half of the XX century, have focused on theoretical interpretations, empirical analyzes and in detail studies concerning spatial and temporal scales. This production contrasts with the minor attention devoted to the analysis of forced migrations. Perpetuating the migration studies tradition of centering, almost exclusively, on emigration and immigration movements (Egea and Soledad 2008) and 'push-pull' factors.

Along these lines, Bonilla (2004: 1) notes that,

> Despite the importance and frequency of displacement, it has not been a central topic of the social and economic sciences. Migration studies are centered on migrations originated by economic expectations, but the ones produced by armed conflict, especially internal migrations, have not received equal attention. In recent decades, forced internal displacement has begun to be considered as a modality of migration. Signaling as some of its main causes: violence, persecution and repression (*translated by the author*).

The recent attention to the study of forced migration have generated fresh views and perspectives. Nonetheless, these processes have been frequently analyzed separately, as case studies. Primarily focusing on the countries with the largest number of displaced persons. Risking a disregarding position towards other spaces in which similar patterns take place in minor scales. Despite that, important is to mention that interesting observations and critical explorations of intricate processes of forced internal mobilizations in different latitudes of the global South, have been developed (Geoffroy 2007; Rubio 2014; Denissen, 2014; and others).

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[4] Displacement cases have also been found in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Georgia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan (IDMC 2015b,

The importance of the analysis of such processes of oppression, control and forced human mobilities occurring in different latitudes of the global South arise when deeply considering the postulates of the constructions of *epistemologies of the South* (within and outside the North)*. In terms of hooks (2013) "Our current global/local state requires a move beyond ideological geographic territorialities of North and South to combat imperialist White supremacist capitalist patriarchy". In this sense, South-South comparatives and explorations creates alliances, enabling lesson and experience sharing processes among global South trajectories of violence, conflict and forced migrations. Thereafter, as theorists and scholars of decolonial epistemologies point, Southern knowledge productions and analyzes of power are intended to address structures of inequities to which the global South has been historically positioned (Suárez Navaz 2008).

A shared history of colonization, des-colonization and neo-colonization by global powers in Africa and Latin America have generated interesting similarities with regards to sociocultural practices such as gender dynamics, importance of religiosity and the coexistence of diverse ethnicities, cultural backgrounds and languages within the regions. Likewise, different problematics may also be observed, yet, with different proportions and scales. Problematics that are directly related to human rights violations and abuses perpetrated by criminal gangs, rebels, paramilitary groups, soldiers, police members, marines, and others. Likewise, generalized violence, armed conflicts, repression and control exerted by governments, as well as poverty and forced displacement are common conditions lived in these regions. All these issues, occurring within the most densely populated regions in the world (Population Reference Bureau 2013). Hence, geopolitical spaces in which a lack of access to social welfare services and hazardous living conditions become a complex reality of masses of people. Affecting the most vulnerable persons: minority groups, poor, illiterates, -not to mention the intersection of other factors such as gender, sexual preference, age, ethnicity, and many others. Among these affected communities, displaced persons find themselves in the middle of a matrix of repression, control and abuses that oblige them to leave their homes. Thus, summing up to the difficult realities of minorities, disregarding their social, economic, political and academic backgrounds. A situation that contributes to the growth of radical social inequalities experienced in these regions.

82-87).

Where do IDPs move?

Internally displaced persons' routes of mobilization and places of settlement, follow diverse paths and patterns. However, it is possible to identify important groups of IDPs in urban centers, where numerous services appear to be more easily accessible (Haysom 2013).

Urban displaced persons "represent a *growing* majority of the global population of displaced people." (Haysom 2013: 1). In fact, more than half of world's refugees and IDPs live in urban areas (UNHCR 2015; IDMC 2015). What is more, displaced populations tend to settle in areas where existing populations live in chronic poverty and vulnerability. Thus, in urban settings, IDPs largely join the ranks of the urban poor (Haysom 2013). Consequently, urban IDPs are exposed to inadequate housing. This, perpetuates displacement or even generates a second displacement. As pointed by the IDMC (2015b) leaving urban IDPs in crowded and precarious slum-like conditions, increase their vulnerability to disasters, disease and sexual exploitation, and limit their capacity to gradually become self-reliant.

In rapidly urbanizing countries, such as numerous cities in Africa and Latin America, urban administrations are overburdened (Humanitarian Policy Group in Haysom 2013). Needs are greater than resources, and the needs of the urban poor rarely feature as priorities. Urban displaced populations are often viewed as an expense and as a security threat (Haysom 2013: 1). Hence, in urban areas, displaced people usually become an invisible, another urban poor inhabitant.

Accordingly, much of the urban growth in the world will occur in so-called developing countries (Yeung 1997: 93). It is in the largest cities of Latin America, Africa and Asia where most of the world's slum population resides and where urban poverty acquires alarming dimensions (Denissen 2014).

Thereafter, in numerous nation-states in Africa and Latin America, that have been heavily affected by conflict and generalized violence similar patterns of forced displacement may emerge. Hence, enlarging the number of urban poor in those spaces (Geoffroy 2007; Gamal 2012; Rubio 2014). Interesting cases of such urban centers, hosts of large populations of urban poor –including IDPs– are Khartoum, Sudan and Mexico City (Denissen 2014). The case of IDPs in Khartoum and other cities in Latin America, namely, Bogotá, have been previously explored by scholars such as Agnès de Geoffroy (2007). Nevertheless, the case of Mexico City and Khartoum provide particularly

interesting scenarios of two contrasting urban sites, in which intersecting realities and problematics lived by displaced persons by conflict and violence, take place.

Forced internal displacement patterns, dynamics, experiences and challenges, may be shared across transnational borders and regions, such as Mexico and Sudan. In several cases, similar are the trajectories and consequences that numerous individuals in displacement situations face as a result of conflict situations all around the globe. Conditions that position displaced persons in dangerous circumstances that threat their lives in multiple levels. However, displacement poses differential levels of risk to particular subjects, depending of their adscriptions and social constructions around 'race', class, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, or gender.

In this sense, Mexico and Sudan as case examples to think about comparatively present an interesting contrast of two global South states affected by conflict and generalized violence. Situated in different regions and with different religious contexts, one predominantly Islamic and one predominantly Roman Catholic. Mexico and Sudan are two southern megacities with clearly different cultural and socio-political features. Nonetheless, both affected by profound violence and armed conflict (Conflictmap.org 2016) mainly in Darfur, Kordofan and Blue Nile, Sudan (Ahmed Gamal Eldin 2012) and Guerrero, Michoacán, and the Northern border region (Abuja 2014; Rubio Díaz-Leal 2014). Similarly, both Mexico and Sudan, have a long lasting trajectory of human rights violations and abuses usually exerted by military forces, soldiers, navy, and police officers against civilians (Human Rights Watch 2016; Rubio Díaz-Leal 2014; Siegal and Bonello 2014).

Additionally, similarities with regards to violence against women in both areas share striking similarities. Especially in the way violence is allowed to persist, justified and made invisible. Accordingly, many women in Mexico and Sudan, are unable to depend on the government to protect them from physical violence (Human Rights Watch 2005). Thus violence is utilized in both contexts as a tool of repression and control, as a tool of war. Similarly, the outstanding levels of violence in both countries have also generated a process of naturalization of abuses. An environment in which human rights violations have become a part of the daily realities of numerous individuals.

By analyzing Mexico and Sudan as case examples of displacement due to violence and conflict, global similarities and mechanisms of interplaying factors including ethnicity, social class, geographical location, culture, religion and others, may arise. Although, it is important to be aware

about cultural and political specificities and recognize that these pose significant challenges. Nonetheless, comparing these two non-obvious cases may present important shared complexities with regards to human rights violations, gender based violence patterns and governmental abuses and unjustified use of force.

Undoubtedly, every person in displacement conditions suffers and face innumerable issues. However, social constructions and positions involve different levels of risks and expositions to abuses and violations. In the following section the working category of gender is presented to shed light to this intersectional vulnerabilities.

Gender as a risk factor

> For women everything is worse…
> All that I told you, but worse.
> [Interview 1 (S1.11.11.15) – Khartoum, November 11, 2015]

> [C]ualquier persona que se encuentre fuera de su comunidad,
> se expone a un grado de vulnerabilidad.
> Y siendo mujer, pues es doble, y siendo mujer que usualmente
> viene de una comunidad rural empobrecida… es triple.
> [Interview 16 (M6.19.1.16) – Mexico City, January 19, 2016]

In line with the Internal Displacement Project of Brookings-Bern (Proyecto de Brookings-Bern sobre Desplazamiento Interno 2004), the lack of physical protection, social networks, material and personal losses, the search for a new home, work, education among others, exacerbate the complex condition in which displaced persons have being forcibly put. In the same way, displaced persons' migratory movements involve the exposition to different levels of risks, and life-threatening dangers that may vary from cold, and extreme weather exposure, to falling into the hands of criminal organizations, and being victim of unthinkable abuses, including exploitation, rape, beatings and death (IFRC 2012).

"Displacement is a general catastrophe, however, it requires differential focuses" (Proyecto de Brookings-Bern sobre Desplazamiento Interno 2004: 19). That is to say that, even if every internally displaced person is exposed to several risks, there are specific factors that aggravate the challenges and difficulties that particular subjects encounter. One of these factors is the identification with one part of the social dichotomy of sex and gender. This is, the possession of a sexed body, as well as the social identifications, symbols and meanings assigned to such a constructed dichotomy.

In this sense, constructions around feminine and masculine identifications and meanings, pose differential risks and challenges to men and women. Challenges that vary in levels of vulnerability to human rights violations, exploitation, discriminations, health risks, among others (Grant & Grant 2005). Thus, forced migration –in this case, displacement– is not a gender neutral phenomenon. Therefore, forced displacement experiences differ from individual to individual, depending on their gender and sex adscriptions, among many other differences.

Displaced bodies: [sexual] violences and power resistances

Undoubtedly, "[c]onflict and displacement bring specific risks for women […]. Systematic and widespread violence against women, including rape and other sexual and/or terror crimes, have constantly become a weapon of war." (Proyecto de Brookings-Bern sobre Desplazamiento Interno 2004: 15-16).

One of the most common forms of violence against women in conflict contexts as well as during and after forced displacement, is sexual violence. This form of violence involves numerous implications in which the embodied, gendered and sexuated subjectivities of women forced to move from their habitual places of residence, are charged with infinite meanings and social significations that complicate their trajectories and victimize them in multiple forms.

Frequently, women who have been internally displaced by conflict, generalized violence and other situations of violence, find themselves in a cycle of dangers and risks. A cycle in which the balance of power is usually tilted in their detriment. However, this does not mean that internally displaced women are simple objects of power exerted by subjects positioned in the place of power. In line with Foucault, power is not a possession: "Power is not something that can be owned, but rather something that acts and manifests itself in a certain way; it is more a strategy than a possession." (Bǎllan 2010: 38). "Power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain... Power is employed and exercised through a netlike organization... Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application" (Foucault 1980: 98).

Mills (2003: 35) notes that this way of understanding power possesses two key features: a) power is a system, a network of social relations, not a relation between the oppressed and the oppressor; and b) individuals are not just objects of power, they are the *locus* in which power and resistance to it are exerted. Similarly, Mark Kelly (2009) suggests other characteristics of power identified in Foucault's *History of Sexuality:* power is coextensive with resistance, it is productive –i.e., it causes

positive effects, and it is ubiquitous –i.e., it can be found in any type of relation between society members, being a possibility condition for any relation.

In that sense, if power is understood as a social relation in which resistances to it take place. Power relations manifested during the forced displacement of women, may include the implementation of certain abusive practices and power utilized in their detriment. I.e., violent practices exerted against women in forced displacement situations, reflect the utilization of certain –patrilineal, power against them. Yet, in line with Foucault, if resistance is a key element in power relations, internally displaced women may resist being put in victimizing conditions through diverse techniques and strategies of avoidance and protection. Techniques and strategies that can usually cross the lines of the body. Thus, they may also be understood as corporeal or body techniques (Marcel Mauss 1992).

In line with Mauss (1992: 461), the body is the human's first and most natural technical object, and at the same time her first technical means. Hence, we use our bodies through techniques: "actions that are effective and traditional". These techniques, Mauss points, vary according to sex and age, this is, according to the constructions of age, sex, and gender that create bodies and prescribe certain practices for particular bodies. Thence, the effectiveness of the body techniques a subject implements, depends on her sex, gender, age, and a series of socially constructed characteristics contextualized in specific societies.

Bodies in mobility, such as embodied subjectivities of displaced women, are constantly defined, re-defined and exposed to different cultural norms, habits, customs and diverse situations of interaction. Such situations, involve diverse challenges that require modifications and adjustments that may facilitate or/and benefit their mobility experiences. In relation to that, based on their research study with Latina women working in agro farms in California, USA, Castañeda and Zavella (2006) argue that in a social climate of controversy and instability, migrant women reinvent subjective worlds from their family and community relations, and from the use and value attributed to their bodies. This, within an economic, social and political transnational or translocal framework. Furthermore, Castañeda and Zavella note, "women develop strategies to hide their sexed bodies when they enter men-dominated environments." (2006, 92). In their study, Castañeda and Zavella explain that migrant women working in agro farms in California, "cover their bodies and 'mask' themselves in order to protect themselves not only from sun or cold, but mainly from sexual harassment." (2006, 79).

Migrant women are at greater risk than men, of being victims of sexual violence during their mobilization (Asakura 2011). As exposed by Castañeda and Zavella (2006), migrant women are aware of the risk they might suffer, therefore, they implement certain strategies to protect themselves from possible abuses, frequently performed by male subjects. In terms of Mauss, they utilize body techniques to avoid being victims of sexually violent practices against them. Practices that are based on socially constructed interpretations about female bodies and its uses.

Castañeda and Zavella's research study provides a clear example of contemporary practices of masculine domination and some of its consequences. A type of domination that is based on body schemes and constructions of social embodiments. This domination, according to Bourdieu (2000, 53-54) is based on two mechanisms: masculine domination and feminine submission. It is produced through schemes of perception, appreciation and action that constitute long-lasting habitus that the conscience cannot govern. Bourdieu (2000) suggests that there is a somaticized social relation, a law transformed into an embodied law that produces practices of oppression and submission. Thereafter, a social and corporeal order is reproduced and, at the same time, produces and reproduces practices.

Strategies and techniques of avoidance and protection against sexual violence utilized by migrant women have been previously explored by different scholars and organizations: Raj and Silverman 2002; Castañeda and Zavella 2006; Amnesty International 2010; FRA 2012; Quemada 2013; Siegal and Bonello 2014, among others. Nonetheless, the category: *migrant women* may entail generalizations that could overlook particular and heterogeneous experiences. In this sense, race, class, migration paths, motivations, legal status among others, must be taken into consideration when exploring violent dynamics against women migrating. In the same way, violence against migrant women studies have generally focused on international migration and refugees. Such an inclination leaves internal migration –and in this case, internal displacement– as an under researched problematic in which many women find themselves.

Preliminary research questions

The previously mentioned problematics of actual conflict and forced displacement dynamics in global south states –namely, Sudan and Mexico, constitute the base of the research questions for this project. Inquiries that acknowledge the crucial role of culture and society in the invention of bodies, sexes and genders as a starting point. The research questions that guide this work are:

- Is it possible to find forms of resistance against [sexual[5]] violence in the narratives of internally displaced women by conflict, generalized violence and other situations of violence in Sudan and Mexico?
    - Before displacement (in conflict area), during displacement and after settling in Mexico City or Khartoum
- If so, what are the techniques and strategies of protection and avoidance that internally displaced women utilize as a form of resistance to be positioned in victimizing situations of violence?
    - What similarities or differences can be identified between the strategies utilized by Sudanese and Mexican women?

The case of Mexico City and Khartoum is especially interesting when analyzing urban displacement. Mexico City and Khartoum are both multimillion cities with a significant number of IDPs and urban poor (Denissen 2014). They are both capitals of federal government systems, both located in the global south with a strong history of colonialism, today in coloniality (See Aníbal Quijano) and heavily affected by violent dynamics related to ethnic cleansing, government interests and drug wars –in the case of Mexico–. Moreover, in both countries abuse and violence against women have become naturalized and common practices.

By comparing two non-obvious cases, it may be possible to reveal interesting dynamics about violence against internally displaced women as well as the strategies and techniques utilized to protect and avoid victimization in different levels.

Methodology and methods

Methodology

The methodology that I utilized to answer the above research inquires, are linked to the theoretical and contextual framework of displacement dynamics in the global South, as well as with my ontological, epistemological and axiological positioning. As for the ontology, I adhere to the constructivist-interpretivists belief that "there exist multiple, constructed realities" and that realities are subjective since they are influenced by individual's personal perceptions and experiences (Ponterotto 2005: 130). Additionally, along the lines of critical theory, I recognize that realities are shaped by dimensions such as gender, ethnicity, culture, social- and political values,

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[5] Sexual violence is the main focus of attention, however, I do not consider that this is the only type of

etc. Furthermore, I do not strive for objectivity, rather I acknowledge that knowledge-production around lived experiences of people is subjective. It is also partial and location-specific. Lastly, coming to axiology, I follow feminist researchers' postulates referent to knowledge production in the encounter between the researcher and 'researched', and both are influenced and changed by the other (England 2006). To clarify, with Flick's words, "[t]he subjectivity of the researcher and of those being studied becomes part of the research process." (Flick, 2009, p.16, author's italics). Therefore, my positioning as researcher in this work is of great importance.

From this standpoint, and since my focus of attention is the lived experiences, meaning-making and 'common differences' (Mohanty 2008), of internally displaced persons, the appropriate way forward that I undertook was to apply qualitative research methods. Qualitative research gives the opportunity for an "in-depth investigation of knowledge" (Grix, 2010, p.120) and to study complex social phenomena. The aim is not to generalize over a larger population, such as in quantitative research. As Flick (2009: 15) suggests, in qualitative research "the validity of the study is assessed with reference to the object under study" and "qualitative research's central criteria depend on whether findings are grounded in empirical material or whether the methods are appropriately selected and applied, as well as the relevance of findings and the reflexivity of proceedings".

Likewise, I join the efforts of global South feminists researchers dedicated to the study of the intricacies of peoples' everyday struggles. Who focus, as Trinidad Gavlán (2011: 137) suggests, "on glocal gender-violence and women's grassroots efforts to confront corporate greed and exploitation." This explorations require "methodologies dedicated to creating relationships in the field and connections across nation-states". In the same vein, Suárez Navaz (2008) agrees with the need to establish transborder ideologies, research and activist alliances. Suárez Navaz argues that "decolonization involves working in hybrid, multiclass, transnational alliances to potentiate a transformative feminist movement that can counteract with structure, solidarity, and strength the dramatic bearing that neoliberal capitalism has on the lives of women of the global south" (2008, p. 67).

At this point, the reflection of my positionality evident. As a woman born and raised in a country of the global south, Mexico, culturally identified with numerous constructions and de-constructions of Mexican imagined communities; the problematics addressed in this research are unquestionably marked by my own subjectivity. Therefore, this qualitative research does not

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violence exerted against displaced women.

attempt at the provision of closed or fixed answers to those intricate inquiries. On the contrary, it intends to provide new perspectives, understandings and questionings related to such a complex problematic. Overall, being reflexive is of great importance, meaning shedding light on one's position, scrutinizing it and what it can come to mean (Rose 1997).

Along this positioning reflection, it is important to mention that the idea of developing my MA thesis research with internally displaced women was initially developed during my internship in UN Women, Khartoum, Sudan. During my stay in the Sudan, my embodied, gendered, sexuated subjectivity was challenged by the complex gender and power relations that are performed day by day. The contact with people during my daily life in which my academic and professional lives intersected, stimulated my interest on having a closer look of the interesting dynamics of such a complex geopolitical space.

Similarly, as part of my internship I had the opportunity to learn about forced internal displacement processes mainly linked to armed conflict in the western region of Sudan: Darfur, and its profound impacts on women. A difficult situation that strongly attracted my attention and originated an interest on researching and exploring similarities and contrasts between that nation-state and my country of origin, Mexico. A geopolitical space deeply affected by violence and conflict.

In this way, I concretized my interest on exploring the experiences of internally displaced Sudanese women in Khartoum, and Mexican women in Mexico City –particularly, their techniques and strategies of avoidance and protection against [sexual] violence, as a form of resistance to patrilineal power relations.

Methods and Procedure

20 semi-structures interviews with civil society activist, NGOs members, civil associations and displaced persons living in Khartoum and Mexico City during November, 2015 until January, 2016 (see Annex 2 – Table of interviews, see Annex 3 See Annex 1 for the Topics list). All the interviews had an approximate duration of 1.5 hours.

A recorder was utilized in almost all of the interviews and field notes were taken in the totality of them.

Phase 1 – Khartoum, Sudan

During my stay in Sudan from July 18, 2015 to November 26, 2015, I framed and developed my research topic and methodology. Firstly, I explored the theoretical arguments and postulates of the Sociology of knowledge, mainly following the theses provided by Butler, Bourdieu, Foucault, Mauss, Sabido and Castañeda. Likewise, I studied the conflict process in Darfur and learnt about its development and actual state, including international conventions and agreements. Nonetheless, the analysis of conflict in Sudan is out of the scope of my research.

In order to explore the inquiries above mentioned, I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with civil society activist, NGOs and displaced persons living in IDP areas on the outskirts of Khartoum. The initial contact with the participants was the first person who accepted to be interviewed, a social activist, A., who was contacted by a colleague in UN Women Sudan. This person brought me to two IDP areas: El Fateh and Mayo. In El Fateh, I interviewed 6 internally displaced persons, 4 women and 2 men. Among which 2 women and a couple were approached together in their homes, the rest were interviewed individually. In Mayo I interviewed 6 internally displaced women. Due to time restrictions set by the coordinators of the IDP area, the first participant was interviewed individually and the other five were interviewed in a focus group.

The interviews with IDPs were done in Arabic, with the help of a Sudanese interpreter who helped me to translate all the interviews from English to Arabic and vice versa. All the interviews lasted approximately 1.5 hours and took place either in the homes of the participants (in El Fatah) or in a room provided by the cultural center in Mayo.

Similarly, A. introduced me to staff members of three NGOs working with IDPs in Khartoum. The interviews with workers, were mostly done in English, with the help of a Sudanese interpreter in case of any communication issue. All the interviews with NGO workers and social activists lasted approximately 1.5 hours and took place in the offices of the NGOs.

All the participants were informed about the objective of the interview and that their participation would be totally anonymous and their answers confidential. After they accepted to be interviewed, they were asked to be recorded. Some of them did not accept to be recorded, therefore I asked for their permission to take notes during the interview, all of them agreed with this.

Phase 2 – Mexico City

In Mexico City I intended to follow the same research strategy. I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with civil society activists, civil associations and displaced persons living in Mexico City.

The initial contact with civil society associations working with migrants and displaced persons was gained through the assistance to the commemoration event of the migrant's day, the 18th of December, 2015. An event organized by the collective: Red Acción Migrante (Migrant Action Network). Red Acción Migrante is composed by a number of civil society associations working with human mobility issues in Mexico. During this commemoration, Red Acción Migrante stated their positioning and claimed for actions of denunciation and articulation of the axis of migration with dignity. During the activities organized around the migrant's day commemoration, I had the opportunity to contact different NGOs and civil society associations working with migrants and displaced people in Mexico. These social actors were key informants, and at the same time put me in contact with other associations, organizations and displaced persons willing to be interviewed.

In total I interviewed workers of five civil society associations and sent specific questions and received a reply by email, to the Comisión Mexicana para la Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos A.C., CMDPDH (Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights). Correspondingly, I interviewed six internally displaced persons, three of them where approached individually and three of them (displaced family) were interviewed together. All the interviews lasted approximately 1 hour and took place at cafés, offices of the associations, and homes of displaced persons.

All the participants were informed about the objective of the interview and that their participation would be totally anonymous and their answers confidential. Some of the participants did not want their testimony to be anonymous, therefore their names will be included. After the participants accepted to be interviewed, they were asked to be recorded. All of them agreed.

All the interviews will be analyzed through content analysis, with the use of the software Atlas TI and Iramuteq.

Preliminary findings

In this section, part of the preliminary findings will be presented. The core category of analysis as well as some categories will be listed, including part of the narratives of the participants. This section has not been completed and does not reflect the entire image and results of the study.

During posterior phases of the analysis, theoretical postulates and other concepts and categories will be added.

Working categories

- Core category: resistance. Avoidance and protection strategies
    - Religion
    - Alliances
    - Report (police/community leaders)
    - Keep silent
    - Create community and alliances with other IDPs
    - Self-confidence and strength
    - Use of protection items tools
    - Gendered income generating activities
- Human rights violations perpetrated by soldiers, marines, police officer
- Sexual torture as a tool of repression and control
- Lack of protection
    - Government institutions do not protect IDPs
    - No shelters for IDPs
    - Lack of structure to support IDPs
- Proliferation of NGOs and civil associations
- Second displacement

Resistance: Strategies of avoidance and protection

- S2.13.11.15
  In case of rape:
    -Shout for the neighbors to come
    -Some women go to the police
    -The majority keep silence to avoid being accused of *Sina* and avoid stigmatization of community members
    -Talk with friends and neighbors
    -There is one way to keep yourself strong: Don't talk with others on the road, Don't laugh on the street, Don't go out, stay in the house
    -Talk to men is a shame
    -Fight if someone attacks: use of knives and sticks
    -She used to have a gun in Darfur, she knows ow to use it
- S4.13.11.15

- o Some women come to me to report that they were attacked. We write a report and send to the police. They do nothing.

Human rights violations perpetrated by soldiers, marines, police officer

- SUDAN - S5.13.11.15
    - o Uniformed armed soldiers have entered El Fateh Camp to rape, steal and abuse IDPs
- S2.13.11.15, S7.17.11.15
    - o In Darfur rape commited by soldiers is common

- MEXICO
  -Yecenia Armenta Graciano (policías ministeriales) Culiacán, Sinaloa
  -Claudia Medina Tamariz (Secretaría de marina Semar) Veracruz
  -Belinda Garza Melo (policía federal preventiva) Torreón. Víctima de la guerra contra el crimen organizado
  -Miriam Isaura López Vargas (soldados del retén de Loma Dorada, Ensenada, Baja California)
  -Verónica Razo (policías federales en el DF)
  -Inés Fernández Ortega y Valentina Rosendo Cantú (fuerzas armadas) indígenas me'phaa de Guerrero
  -Cristel Piña Jasso (policía de Chihuahua)

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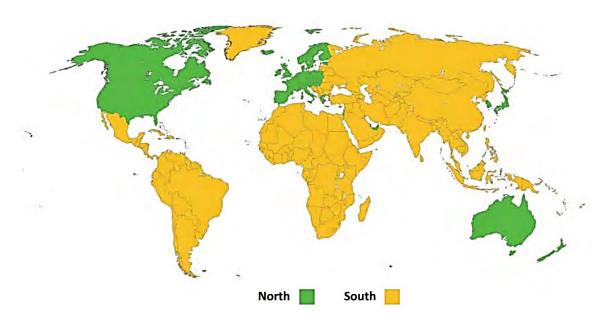
Annexes

Annex 1 – UNDP classification of global North and global South

This classification adopts a broader development approach and uses the Human Development Index (HDI)[6] as the criterion for distinguishing countries based on health (life expectancy at birth), educational aspects (mean and expected years of schooling) and income (IOM 2013: 43).

In 2010, 42 countries reached a very high HDI were thus considered to be developed countries or the 'North'. The categorization resulting from the HDI corresponds more closely to the one used by the World Bank, whereby the 'North' includes most high-income countries in Latin America, the Middle East and Asia (not included in the UN DESA definition). Nonetheless, compared to the World Bank categorization, the total number of countries defined as being part of the 'North' is significantly lower, mainly due to the non-inclusion of small (island) States (IOM 2013: 44).

South' includes countries ranking low, medium and high on the HDI. 'North' include countries/territories ranking very high on the HDI: Andorra; Australia; Austria; Bahrain; Barbados; Belgium; Brunei Darussalam; Canada; Cyprus; Czech Republic; Denmark; Estonia; Finland; France; Germany; Greece; Hong Kong, China; Hungary; Iceland; Ireland; Israel; Italy; Japan; Liechtenstein; Luxembourg; Malta; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland; Portugal; Qatar; Republic of Korea; Singapore; Slovakia; Slovenia; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; United Arab Emirates; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; and the United States of America.

North ■   South ■

Map 1 'North2 and 'South' 2010 UNDP classification (in IOM 2013: 20)

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[6] The UNDP Human Development Index is a way of measuring development by combining indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a composite single statistic that serves as a frame of reference for both social and economic development. HDI sets a minimum and a maximum for each dimension, called goalposts, and then shows where each country stands in relation to these goalposts, expressed as a value between 0 and 1. See http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi/ for more details.

Annex 2 – Table of Interviews

Khartoum			Mexico City		
Code	Type	Date	Code	Type	Date
S1.11.11.15	NGO/civil association/experte/**activist**	11-Nov-2015	M1.18.12.2015	NGO/**Civil association**/Expert	18-dec-2015
S2.13.11.15	IDP 1 woman	13-Nov-2015	M.2.5.1.16	NGO/**Civil association**/Expert	5-Jan-2016
S3.13.11.15	IDP 2 women	13-Nov-2015	M.3.5.1.16	IDP 1 woman	5-Jan-2016
S4.13.11.15	IDP Community leader	13-Nov-2015	M.4.11.1.16	NGO/**Civil association**/Expert	11-Jan-2016
S5.14.11.15	IDP Family: father, mother, 2 children	13-Nov-2015	M.5.14.1.16	NGO/**Civil association**/Expert	14-Jan-2016
S6.14.11.15	**NGO**/Civil association/Expert/activist	13-Nov-2015	M.6.14.1.16	NGO/**Civil association**/Expert	15-Jan-2016
S7.17.11.15	**NGO**/Civil association/Expert/activist	17-Nov-2015	M.7.14.1.16	NGO/**Civil association**/Expert	19-Jan-2016
S8.17.11.15	**NGO**/Civil association/Expert/activist	17-Nov-2015	M.8.22.1.16	IDP 1 woman	22-Jan2016
S9.21.11.15	IDP 1 woman	21-Nov-2015	M.9.22.1.16	IDP 1 woman	22-Jan2016
S10.21.11.15	IDP focus group 5 women	21-Nov-2015	M.10.28.1.16	IDP family: mother, 2 sons	28-Jan2016

Annex 3 – Topics list for interviews[7]

Khartoum State

National and International Non-governmental Organizations, civil society, activists, academics working with IDPs in Khartoum State		
ORGANI ZATION		Can you provide a short overview of the work of your organization? - History – Objective – Mission – Vision - Main areas of work and programs
COMMUNIT Y WORK		- What are the main sectors/programs in direct contact with the community? - How is the relation between community workers and the community? - What are the most common challenges when working in direct contact with the community? - Based on your experience, what are the most urgent areas of work with IDPs in Khartoum?
INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN	Programs	- Is there any program directly focused on women's issues? Which one? -Is there any program to provide attention to survivor of sexual violence? - What are the main challenges in this sector? How are they usually addressed? Can you provide an example? - Based on your experience, what are the most urgent areas of work with internally displaced women in Khartoum?

	Violence	- Do you consider the IDP area to be a safe place for women? Why?
		- In your opinion, what are the most common issues/abuses that displaced women face? (*origin* place of residence, *during* displacement, in *hosting* area)
		- Where are they safer? Where does it usually happen the most?
		- Have you ever heard of any case of sexual abuse/rape of displaced women inside the IDP area or elsewhere in Khartoum? Can you give an example?
		   - Who was involved? - - What happened? What did people do?
		   - How did the situation evolve? - - How did it end?

	Consequences	- Can you describe some of the consequences of sexual violence against displaced women at the *community* and *individual* level?
		   - In place of habitual residence?
		   - During displacement?
		   - In settlement at the hosting place?
		- Is sexual violence openly discussed in the community?
		- Are the survivors open about it?

	Resistance	*Protection/prevention/avoidance* - What do displaced women do to avoid being victims of sexual violence? - If they were sexually abused, what do they do? - Police - Social networks: family, friends, community - NGOs support - Strategies to avoid being abused again
	Contacts	*Internally displaced women* Would it be possible to talk with some of the women that your organization works with? *Other Organizations* Do you know about other organizations working with internally displaced women? Government? Community organizations? Women's networks?

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[7] This topics list is not exhaustive. Throughout the conversation, additional questions will be posed to the participants.

Internally Displaced Women in Khartoum State					
Personal	Name	Age	Marital status	Period of stay in IDP area	Occupation
	Habitual place of residence				Place of birth

INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN IN IDP AREA	**Life in IDP**	- How would you describe your life in the IDP area? What are your daily activities/occupations? - What are the main occupations for ID women in Khartoum? - How do they differ from the usual occupation for women in you habitual place of residence?

	Challenges	- In your opinion, what are the main challenges that ID women encounter in Khartoum? Can you give an example?
		    - Who was involved? - - What happened? What did people do?
		    - How did the situation evolve? -- How did it end?
		- If you want to address a problem in the IDP area, what do you do? Can you give an example of something you undertook to address a specific challenge?

	Attention/servic	- In case of any challenge, do you report with any authority?
		    - IF YES, who? What do they do to solve the issue?
		    - IF NOT, what do you do? (Social networks…)
		- Is there any NGO/gov. program directly focused on women?
		    - IF YES, which ones? Can you describe one of them?

	Violence	- Do you consider the IDP area to be a safe place for women? Why?
		- In your opinion, what are the most common issues/abuses that displaced women face? (*origin* place of residence, *during* displacement, in *hosting* area)
		- Have you ever heard of any case of sexual abuse/rape of displaced women inside the IDP area or elsewhere in Khartoum? Can you give an example?
		    - Who was involved? -- What happened? What did people do?
		    - How did the situation evolve? - - How did it end?

	Consequences	- Can you describe some of the consequences of sexual abuse against displaced women at the community and individual level?
		    - In place of habitual residence? -- During displacement -
		    - In settlement at the hosting area
		- Is sexual violence openly discussed in the community?
		- Are the survivors open about it?

	Resistance Strategies	*Protection/prevention/avoidance*
		- Is sexual abuse against displaced women common?
		- What do displaced women do to avoid being victims of sexual violence?
		- If they were sexually abused, what do they do?
		    - Police
		    - Social networks: family, friends, community
		    - NGOs support
		- Strategies to avoid being abused again

Contacts		*Internally displaced women* Would it be possible to contact other women that would like to discuss these topics?

Mexico City

	National and International Non-governmental Organizations, civil society, activists, academics working with IDPs in Mexico City
ORGANIZATIO	Can you provide a short overview of the work of your organization? - History – Objective – Mission – Vision - Main areas of work and programs
COMMUNITY WORK	- What are the main sectors/programs in direct contact with the community? - How is the relation between community workers and the community? - What are the most common challenges when working in direct contact with the community? - Based on your experience, what are the most urgent areas of work with IDPs in Khartoum?

INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN	**Programs**	- Is there any program directly focused on women's issues? Which one? -Is there any program to provide attention to survivor of sexual violence? - What are the main challenges in this sector? How are they usually addressed? Can you provide an example? - Based on your experience, what are the most urgent areas of work with internally displaced women in Khartoum?

	Violence	- Do you consider the IDP area to be a safe place for women? Why?
		- In your opinion, what are the most common issues/abuses that displaced women face? (*origin* place of residence, *during* displacement, in *hosting* area)
		- Where are they safer? Where does it usually happen the most?
		- Have you ever heard of any case of sexual abuse/rape of displaced women inside the IDP area or elsewhere in Khartoum? Can you give an example?
		   - Who was involved? -- What happened? What did people do?
		   - How did the situation evolve? - How did it end?

	Consequences	- Can you describe some of the consequences of sexual violence against displaced women at the *community* and *individual* level?
		   - In place of habitual residence? - During displacement?
		   - In settlement at the hosting place?
		- Is sexual violence openly discussed in the community?
		- Are the survivors open about it?

	Resistance	*Protection/prevention/avoidance*
		- What do displaced women do to avoid being victims of sexual violence?
		- If they were sexually abused, what do they do?
		   - Police
		   - Social networks: family, friends, community
		   - NGOs support
		- Strategies to avoid being abused again

	Contacts	*Internally displaced women* Would it be possible to talk with some of the women that your organization works with? *Other Organizations* Do you know about other organizations working with internally displaced women? Government? - Community organizations? - Women's networks?

Internally Displaced Women in Mexico City					
Personal info	Name	Age	Marital status	Period of stay in IDP area	Occupation
	Habitual place of residence				Place of birth

INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN IN IDP AREA	Life in IDP	- How would you describe your life in the IDP area? What are your daily activities/occupations? - What are the main occupations for ID women in Khartoum? - How do they differ from the usual occupation for women in you habitual place of residence?

	Challenges	- In your opinion, what are the main challenges that ID women encounter in Khartoum? Can you give an example?
		    - Who was involved?
		    - What happened? What did people do?
		    - How did the situation evolve?
		    - How did it end?
		- If you want to address a problem in the IDP area, what do you do? Can you give an example of something you undertook to address a specific challenge?

	Attention/service	- In case of any challenge, do you report with any authority?
		    - IF YES, who? What do they do to solve the issue?
		    - IF NOT, what do you do? (Social networks…)
		- Is there any NGO/gov. program directly focused on women?
		    - IF YES, which ones? Can you describe one of them?

	Violence	- Do you consider the IDP area to be a safe place for women? Why?
		- In your opinion, what are the most common issues/abuses that displaced women face? (*origin* place of residence, *during* displacement, in *hosting* area)
		- Have you ever heard of any case of sexual abuse/rape of displaced women inside the IDP area or elsewhere in Khartoum? Can you give an example?
		    - Who was involved? - - What happened? What did people do?
		    - How did the situation evolve? - - How did it end?

	Consequences	- Can you describe some of the consequences of sexual abuse against displaced women at the community and individual level?
		    - In place of habitual residence?
		    - During displacement
		    - In settlement at the hosting area
		- Is sexual violence openly discussed in the community?
		- Are the survivors open about it?

	Resistance Strategies	*Protection/prevention/avoidance*
		- Is sexual abuse against displaced women common?
		- What do displaced women do to avoid being victims of sexual violence?
		- If they were sexually abused, what do they do?
		    - Police
		    - Social networks: family, friends, community
		    - NGOs support - …
		- Strategies to avoid being abused again

Contacts		*Internally displaced women* Would it be possible to contact other women that would like to discuss these topics?

Ciudad de México (Spanish version)

ONGs nacionales e internacionales, sociedad civil, activistas, académicos trabajando con PIDs en la Cd. De México	
ORGANIZACION	¿Puede proporcionar un breve resumen de la labor de su organización? - Historia – Objetivo – Misión – Visión – Principales áreas de trabajo y programas
TRABAJO COMUNITARIO	- ¿Cuáles son los principales sectores / programas que están en contacto directo con la comunidad? - ¿Cómo es la relación entre los trabajadores comunitarios y la comunidad? - ¿Cuáles son los retos más comunes cuando se trabaja en contacto directo con la comunidad? - Con base en su experiencia, ¿cuáles son las áreas más urgentes de trabajo con desplazados internos en la Cd. de México?
MUJERES INTERNAMENTE DESPLAZADAS — Programas	- ¿Hay algún programa enfocado directamente en asuntos de la mujer? ¿Cúal? - ¿Hay algún programa que proporcione atención a sobrevivientes de violencia sexual? - ¿Cuáles son los principales retos en este sector? ¿Cómo suelen abordarse? ¿Puede dar un ejemplo? - Con base en su experiencia, ¿cuáles son las áreas más urgentes de trabajo con mujeres desplazadas en la Cd. de México?
MUJERES INTERNAMENTE DESPLAZADAS — Violencia	- ¿En qué zonas de la Ciudad de México se concentran las personas internamente desplazadas? - ¿Considera que esas áreas son seguras para las mujeres? ¿Por qué? - En su opinión, ¿cuáles son los problemas/abusos más comunes que las mujeres internamente desplazadas enfrentan? (lugar de *residencia habitual, durante* el desplazamiento*, lugar de *destino*) - ¿Dónde están más seguras? ¿Dónde suele ocurrir con mayor frecuencia? - ¿Alguna vez ha escuchado acerca de algún caso de abuso sexual/violación de mujeres desplazadas en la Ciudad de México? ¿Podría dar un ejemplo? ¿Quien estuvo involucrado? - ¿Qué pasó? - ¿Cómo evolucionó la situación? - ¿Cómo terminó?

MUJERES INTERNAMENTE DESPLAZADAS — Consecuencias	- ¿Puede describir algunas de las consecuencias de violencia sexual contra las mujeres desplazadas a nivel comunitario e individual?
	   - lugar de *residencia habitual,*
	   - *durante* el desplazamiento*,*
	   - lugar de *destino*
	- ¿La violencia sexual se discute abiertamente en la comunidad?
	- ¿Los sobrevivientes son abiertos al respecto?

MUJERES INTERNAMENTE DESPLAZADAS — Estrategias de	*Protección/Prevención/evitación*
	- ¿Qué hacen las mujeres desplazadas para evitar ser víctimas de la violencia sexual?
	- Si fueron abusadas sexualmente, ¿qué hacen?
	   - Policía - Redes sociales: familia, amigos, comunidad
	   - Apoyo de ONG - ...
	   - Estrategias para evitar que se abuse de nuevo

MUJERES INTERNAMENTE DESPLAZADAS — Contactos	*Mujeres internamente desplazadas* ¿Sería posible hablar con algunas de las mujeres con quienes trabaja su organización? *Otras Organizaciones* ¿Sabe usted acerca de otras organizaciones que trabajen con mujeres internamente desplazadas? ¿Gobierno? ¿Organizaciones comunitarias? ¿Redes de mujeres?

Mujeres internamente desplazadas en la Ciudad de México					

Info. Personal	Nombre	Edad	Estado Civil	Período de estancia en DF (albergue…)	Ocupación
	Lugar de residencia habitual			Lugar de nacimiento	

MUJERES INTERNAMENTE DESPLAZADAS EN LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO	**Vida en DF**	- ¿Cómo describirías tu vida en DF (albergue…)? ¿Cuáles son sus actividades/ocupaciones diarias? - ¿Cuáles son las principales ocupaciones de las mujeres internamente desplazadas en la Ciudad de México? - ¿Cómo se diferencian de las ocupaciones usuales para las mujeres en tu lugar de residencia habitual?
	Desafíos/Dificulta	En su opinión, ¿cuáles son los principales desafíos que las mujeres enfrentan en la Cd. de México? ¿Puede dar un ejemplo? ¿Quien estuvo involucrado? - ¿Qué pasó? - ¿Cómo evolucionó la situación? - ¿Cómo terminó? - Si desea tratar un problema en la Cd. de México (albergue…), ¿qué haces? ¿Puede dar un ejemplo de algo que hayas hecho para abordar un reto específico?

	Atención/servicio	- En caso de cualquier dificultas, ¿reportas con alguna autoridad?
		    - SI ¿con quién? ¿Qué hacen para resolver el problema?
		    - NO, ¿Qué haces? (Redes sociales…)
		- ¿Sabe de alguna ONG/programa gubernamental enfocado específicamente en las mujeres?
		    - SI, ¿cuáles? ¿Puede describir uno de ellos?

	Violencia	- ¿Considera que esas áreas son seguras para las mujeres? ¿Por qué? - En su opinión, ¿cuáles son los problemas/abusos más comunes que las mujeres internamente desplazadas enfrentan? (lugar de *residencia habitual, durante* el desplazamiento*, lugar de *destino*) - ¿Dónde están más seguras? ¿Dónde suele ocurrir con mayor frecuencia? - ¿Alguna vez ha escuchado acerca de algún caso de abuso sexual/violación de mujeres desplazadas en la Ciudad de México? ¿Podría dar un ejemplo? ¿Quien estuvo involucrado? - ¿Qué pasó? - ¿Cómo evolucionó la situación? - ¿Cómo terminó?
	Consecuencias	- ¿Puede describir algunas de las consecuencias de violencia sexual contra las mujeres desplazadas a nivel comunitario e individual? - lugar de *residencia habitual, - durante* el desplazamiento*, - lugar de *destino* - ¿La violencia sexual se discute abiertamente en la comunidad? - ¿Los sobrevivientes son abiertos al respecto?

	Estrategias de	*Protección/Prevención/evitación*
		- ¿Qué hacen las mujeres desplazadas para evitar ser víctimas de la violencia sexual?
		- Si fueron abusadas sexualmente, ¿qué hacen?
		    - Policía
		    - Redes sociales: familia, amigos, comunidad
		    - Apoyo de ONG
		    - …
		- Estrategias para evitar que se abuse de nuevo

	Contactos	*Mujeres internamente desplazadas* ¿Sería posible hablar con alguna otra mujer que quisiera discutir estos temas?