SILENCED DIVERSITY: THE ANONYMITY OF CHILDREN DISPLACED IN COLOMBIAN SCHOOLS

DIVERSIDAD SILENCIADA: EL ANONIMATO DE LOS NIÑOS Y NIÑAS DESPLAZADOS EN LAS ESCUELAS COLOMBIANAS

DIVERSIDADE SILENCIOSA: AS ANÔNIMAS DE CRIANÇAS DESLOCADAS NAS ESCOLAS COLOMBIANAS

David DONCEL ABAD, Esther VEGA BLANCO, & Cristina HERRERO VILLORIA
Universidad de Salamanca

ABSTRACT: This work addresses the strategies of concealment of the condition of forced displaced boys, girls and adolescents in Colombian schools. From the theoretical level, silence is conceived as a social practice. The general objective is to understand the silencing of the displaced condition by the victims themselves. To achieve the proposed goal, a qualitative methodological approach is adopted, as it is interesting to know how displaced girls and boys perceive the educational reality. A total of 26 interviews between open and semi-structured have been conducted. The sample has been composed of children, adolescents, parents, and professionals linked to the educational context. The technique of analysis followed is the theory based as an analysis technique. Specifically, we have followed an axial coding procedure defined by Strauss and Corbin. The conclusions show how meaningful each profile of respondents gives their action to silence the displaced person's condition. And how, these strategies paradoxically act as a mechanism of exclusion in the educational context.

RESUMEN: En el presente trabajo se abordan las estrategias de niños, niñas y adolescentes para ocultar su condición de desplazado forzado en las escuelas colombianas. Desde el plano teórico se concibe el silencio como una práctica social. El objetivo general estriba en comprender el silenciamiento de la condición de desplazado por parte de las propias víctimas. Para alcanzar dicha meta se adopta un planteamiento metodológico cualitativo, pues interesa conocer cómo se percibe la realidad educativa de las niñas y niños desplazados. Se han realizado un total de 26 entrevistas entre abiertas y semiestructuradas. La muestra se ha compuesto por niños/as, adolescentes, padres/madres y profesionales vinculados al contexto educativo. La estrategia de análisis seguida es la teoría fundamentada. Concretamente, se ha

CONTACT WITH THE AUTHORS
DAVID DONCEL ABAD. Correo: davidoncel@usal.es

seguido el procedimiento de codificación axial definida por Strauss y Corbin. Las conclusiones muestran qué sentido da a su acción cada perfil de entrevistados a la hora de silenciar la condición de desplazado. Y cómo, paradójicamente, estas estrategias actúan como mecanismo de exclusión en el contexto educativo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:	RESUMO:
deslocamento forçado escola anonimato silêncio	Este artigo aborda as estratégias de ocultação da condição de meninas deslocadas forçadas, meninos adolescentes em escolas colombianas. Do nível teórico, o silêncio é concebido como uma prática social. O objetivo geral é entender o silenciamento da condição de deslocamento pelas próprias vítimas. Para atingir o objetivo proposto, é adotada uma abordagem metodológica qualitativa, pois é interessante saber como meninas e meninos deslocados percebem a realidade educacional. Foram realizadas 26 entrevistas entre abertas e semiestruturadas. A amostra foi composta por crianças, adolescentes, pais e profissionais ligados ao contexto educacional. A técnica de análise seguida é a teoria baseada em uma técnica de análise. Especificamente, seguimos um procedimento de codificação axial definido por Strauss e Corbin. As conclusões mostram o quão significativo cada perfil de entrevistados dá sua ação para silenciar a condição da pessoa deslocada. E quão, paradoxalmente essas estratégias agem como um mecanismo de exclusão no contexto educacional.

1. Introduction

Colombia is one of the countries with the highest number of internal displacements in the world due to conflicts. For instance, from 1997 until 2013, 5.185.406 internal displacements were registered (UN Refugee Agency [UNHCR], 2013). Rural populations have been struck by conflicts, which are especially intense in these areas. Due to the lack of material means of survival, they have been forced to abandon their homes and flee to cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla or Bucaramanga.

These recipient cities still have not been able to implement socially satisfactory solutions in face of the human challenge that arises from forced displacement due to the fact that it is difficult to the real scale of the issue, among other aspects (Corredor, 2010; Jaramillo, 2006; Naranjo, 2004; Villa, 2009). It is estimated that families and people registered as displaced only represent 30% of the total number, this circumstance reduces the possibilities of receiving aid from public entities that is adapted to the population's individual needs (Corredor, 2010; Jaramillo, 2006; Naranjo, 2004; Villa, 2009). This lack of a faithful registry shows its most harrowing facets in the child population.

In the period of time between 1985 and 2007, approximately 2.380.274 children and teenagers grew up in the midst of harsh conditions of uprooting and exile due to forced displacement (Vanegas, Bonilla & Camacho, 2011). Out of this population, 41% were younger than 14 years old at the moment of displacement and only four out of ten had access to education (Vanegas, Bonilla & Camacho, 2011). This life experience marks these children for life and, above all, affects their individual development process (Romero & Castañeda, 2009). The data brings to light that Colombian children in a situation of forced displacement represent a weak and defenceless part of a specific population that is already vulnerable as is. For instance, they are huddled in host cities nearly deprived of public services such as schooling and health services, without truly understanding why they have ended up in such situation of scarcity (Vanegas, Bonilla & Camacho, 2011).

Forced displacement compromises formal schooling of thousands of children, thus compromising their overall development. They are forced to abandon their rural schools, their teachers and classmates, to enter urban host schools, but now as a displaced person. The arrival of these children has a significant impact on recipient educational communities due to the fact that their arrival increases the complexity of social relationships at classroom. They represent an educational reality tinted by great heterogeneity and social and cultural diversity which blurs the lines of the equality in educational opportunities. This is not due to the diversity in itself, but rather to the heterogeneity silenced by the own victims (Vera, Parra & Parra, 2007). That is, it is a group that is present in Colombian classrooms, but that is in social anonymity. In such a complex educational context like this, offering a level learning field and education seems a difficult a difficult ideal to attain.

Nowadays, research on displacement and school inclusion has mainly focused on aspects such as quality, curricular flexibility, school inclusion, diversity and right to education or on violence. For example, Ruiz Castro (2010) analyses how educational content and the right to education in Colombian schools with students who are victims of forced displacement is managed. Her research managed to pinpoint good practices that better guarantee this student group's right to education. For their part, Villegas and Rojas (2011) carry out a documentary analysis in order to discover the scope of the education on Human Rights in Restoring the Right to Education for children and

[David DONCEL ABAD, Esther VEGA BLANCO, & Cristina HERRERO VILLORIA]

teenagers affected by armed conflict. This article shines a light on how education becomes a key part in restoring countries in situations of conflict.

It is worth mentioning the work of Vera, Parra and Parra (2007) where they note that displaced minors prefer to go unnoticed in fear of being discriminated or rejected when starting at a new school. In this sense, the authors identify three mechanisms in place that do not allow visibility of forced displacement in schools, namely: denying the condition, not recognising the existence of displaced persons in the classrooms, or not offering special treatment to displaced children based on their condition.

For their part, in the study of Vera, Palacio and Patino (2014), they try to understand the social situation generated in the school community after receiving victims of political violence. At the same time, they try to analyse whether the educational response encourages inclusion. In their results, they note how this social group is truly excluded.

Emphasising on the educational context, in Vera-Márquez, Palacio and Holgado's study (2015) they assess the children's psychological and sociocultural adaptation process in terms of forced displacement in Colombia. The authors identify a series of factors that hinder or encourage their adaptation. They also shed a light on the school's role in achieving integration of the child population victim of violence when this reality comes about in the school context. In this regard, in the work of Barajas and Moreno (2015), they conclude that the process of educational inclusion must be a collective task and all of the actors involved in the educational community must play their part, thus breaking with the imposed fantasy that arises from the modern thinking of uniformity that poses that there is an "excluded" subject and an "inclusive" subject. This investigation precisely articulates all of the actors in their particular scenario in such a way that the process of inclusion is built along a two-way road and drawn from the existing needs and subjectivity at the school of Nuevo Chile in Colombia.

Overall, the advances in this matter have been covered by the empirical evidence that has been consulted, yet there are also some grey areas that should also be addressed. It is worth noting that there are not many studies that assess the inclusion of displaced children in Colombia. Most of the studies focused on educational equality and inclusion in schools are focused on people with disabilities. In this sense, we see that it is still necessary to evaluate educational inclusion from the perspective of the own victims. For example, certain questions arise such as why is this condition silenced by the displaced population in the school context? Or more specifically, what is the reason behind these children silencing their condition of displaced person in schools?

For these reasons, the object of this study is to understand why the own victims silence their condition of displaced persons. Finally, this study aims to contribute to fill the gaps that exist in this sense, by exploring a social condition that seems to hinder the ideal of educational inclusion of forcefully displaced children and teenagers in the schools of Comuna Uno in Bucaramanga. According to the Unique Registry of Displacement Bucaramanga, it is listed as one of the largest receiver of the displaced population in Colombia during the last years.

2. Methodology

In this investigation, the starting point is the silence of displaced persons which is not associated with prudence or grandeur, but by staying silent, the person listens to the voice of the universe and finds their own self. In this sense, it refers to silence that is linked to the axis of power: an imposed silence emerges from a mandatory silence. Freire (2012) in his work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, states that in silence culture there is a clear link between the oppressor and the oppressed that, from the banking approach, excludes the less advantaged. For Freire, "silence culture" is generated in an oppressing model where both the oppressed person and the oppressor carry out the violent act together. The latter coerces the former and this one lives and acknowledges the violent act and contributes to breach the Law (Freire, 2012).

The silence imposed by a violent context impacts society because "imposed silence, always an ally of the aggressor, perpetuates the victim's condition whilst allowing the aggressor to go unpunished" (Cury, 2007, p. 77). Thus, in silence culture, many are the oppressors: the State, political parties in charge, but also the displaced persons. Due to the fact that the latter choose to remain silent, accepting their prohibition to participate autonomously in the transformation of the society, they end up consenting oppression. Invisibility is one of the silence culture's powerful instruments because it perpetuates inequality, injustice, violations and violence (Arteta, 2010).

However, silence does not manifest as an individual condition, yet as a communitarian condition. That is, not only those who live and directly experience the effects of violence are the ones who remain silent, yet the ones who witness them. This mindset of lack of general interest in the matter gives place to a process that leads to the alienation

and self-denial of the oppressed and the oppressors (Freire, 2012). Likewise, silence is also linked to secrecy (Mendoza, 2009). Secrecy as the deliberate concealment of information is a key example of silence in social interaction (Simmel, 1977). Both dimensions, indifference and secrecy, come together in a key process: communication, both in terms of the speaker's denial as well as the concealment of information (Tacussel, 1994).

From communication, we can get an in-depth understanding of silence linked to secrecy through Jakobson's functions of language (Gallego, 2013). From this perspective, secrecy means one thing or the other depending on the emphasis put on each of the factors that are present in the process of communication: sender, receiver, context, code and reference. If secrecy silences the sender, anonymity is produced. If it suppresses the receiver, silence is produced because the existence of the receiver is unknown (speaker). If emphasis is placed on the message, it refers to lies. In this case, the message is concealed. If emphasis is placed on the channel with an aim to cancel or avoid contact, isolation is produced. If the code is concealed, it refers to cryptography to conceal information. And, finally, if the context is concealed, it gives place to hiding. For instance, in regards to displaced persons, if the reference is cancelled (the displaced person), they remain anonymous.

In consequence, based on this approach, the object of study is silence, understood as a social practice. This approach allows us to analyse the reason behind the silence and anonymity strategies that the own actors put in place.

In order to reach our objective, we believe that a qualitative analysis gives added value when delving in the key players' subjectivity in terms of interpreting the reason behind the silence of displaced persons. It is rather difficult to use numbers to understand feelings, fear, frustration or hopelessness that forcefully displaced children experience. Therefore, we believe that a qualitative analysis is the most appropriate option to retrieve the subjectivity and the point of view of the own actors (Martínez, 2006), who are the victims of the conflict and of the people who, in one way or the other, are in contact with this issue.

The data is gathered by different qualitative techniques that allow us to get a closer look at the actors' different standpoints in regards to the problem in question. This set of techniques was also used to retrieve the collective subjectivity that marks the conflict in the specific context of Comuna Uno in Bucaramanga. The following techniques were selected:

- *In-depth interview*, adapted for children, teenagers, parents or caregivers of victims of forced displacement. This type of interview was proposed for this group taking into account that the participants are aware of their situation, that they can reflect on it and, at the same time, can contribute to the search of pertinent solutions (Delgado & Gutiérrez, 1994; Cánovas, Riquelme, Orellana & Sanz, 2019).

- *Semi-structured interview*. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a group a professionals, dubbed the *Institutional voice* (IV) for the purposes of this study, made up of teachers and psychosocial experts. These interviews are key to the study in that the point of view of the IV allows us to understand silence, the object of the investigation.

The study group was chosen from the public school institutions in Comuna Uno in Bucaramanga and the students enrolled that fit in the profile of victim of armed conflict and their families were called to participate. Once the consent to access the educational centers was received, invitations were sent to parents or guardians who achieve the previously established profile; since they should know the study significance. Before interviewing girls and boys, they were informed that their names would be omitted to protect their identity, as well as that of their families and near people. These measures were established to provide them with the confidentiality and confidence necessary to develop their stories with relief, observing article 153 of Law 1098 of 2006, Childhood and Adolescence Law.

In this process, the study group was made up of those people who fit in the previously established profiles and who decided to participate voluntarily. We can also call this group a "self-selected group" because the people themselves are the ones who propose to participate (Hernández, Fernández & Baptista, 1998). It is important to note that it is not easy to access this population due to the fact that they are reluctant to tell their experiences related to displacement and because they live in a state of constant concealment from the moment they flee their homes. The group of professionals was selected amongst the representatives of seven schools, each of which was chosen by the rest of the team of their corresponding school in an initial work meeting. The topic of the investigation was also disclosed in this first encounter.

Finally, we established four profiles: the first one made up of children and teenagers who are victims of forced displacement; the second one made up of parents or caregivers of victims of forced displacement; and the "Institutional voice", which is subdivided into two more profiles: on the

[David DONCEL ABAD, Esther VEGA BLANCO, & Cristina HERRERO VILLORIA]

one hand, teachers, and on the other, psychosocial professionals.

The final study group was made up of 26 individuals divided up in the following way (Table 1).

Table 1. Sample by profiles and techniques used.		
Profiles	**Techniques**	**Number and code of interviews**
Girls, boys and teenagers	In-depth interview	E1-E2-E3-E4-E5-E6-E7-E8-E9-E10
Parents	Ind-epth interview	F1-F2-F3-F4-F5-F6
Teachers	Semi-structured Interview	M1-M2-M3-M4-M5-M6
Professional	Semi-structured Interview	PS1-PS2-PS3-PS4

The script elaborated to subtract the vision of each one of the groups of interviewees has been concretized in a battery of analysis questions, connected with the category of analysis, silence, which are presented below:

Children who are victims of displacement:

C1: Initial relationship with classmates and teachers.

C2: Information on behalf of the school on rights and obligations as a displaced student.

C3: Support given by teachers and directors (principal, coordinator, psychologist, social worker) for displaced children.

C4: Form of communication with the school (teachers and directors) on the need of assistance due to their situation of displaced children.

Parents:

C5: Information on behalf of the school on their children's rights and obligations as displaced children.

C6: Integration of their child in the education process in their institution.

Psychosocial professionals:

P1: Which changes have you witnessed in the situation of displaced students?

P2: Which public policies is the school implementing in favour of displaced students?

Teachers:

P3: As a teacher, do you know which of your students are displaced?

P4: What are the classmates 'attitudes towards displaced students entering the classroom? How is the relationship between them?

Finally, Grounded Theory is adopted as an analytical technique. We followed the process of axial coding defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as a way to relate the categories with their subcategories. By using axial coding, we analyse the interviews based on the initial categories. After checking the memorandums, we build subcategories and categories in order to proceed to the detailed analysis of the data obtained, taking into account microanalysis. Finally, we display an analytical strategy focused on the detailed study of each group or within each profile, according to the profiles (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

Following this, the matrix designed to lead to axial coding is presented. This is a logical diagram to establish the relationships between the initial analysis category and the emerging subcategories (see table 2).

Table 2. Matrix for Axial Coding					
FILE	**Categories**	**Codes**	**Fragments**	**Memorandum code**	**Memorandum by category**
Interview-Nu. Question-Nu.					

Table 3 shows the structure developed for the analysis from which the emerging sub-categories were constructed.
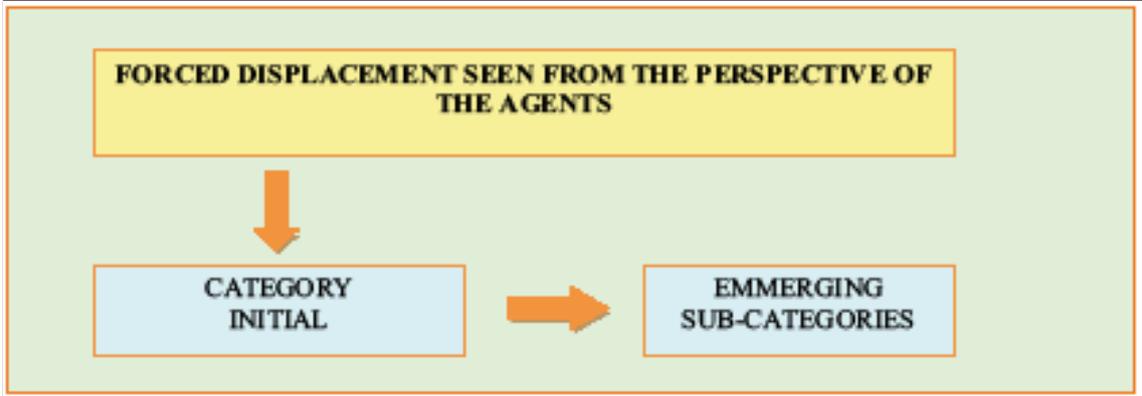
3. Results

This section is subdivided into two more sections. On the one hand, we present an analysis of the interviews to children and teenagers as well as the interviews of parents who are victims of forced displacement. On the other hand, we show the results of the interviews that have been carried out with what we call the *Institutional voice*. This structure allows us to specify the points of union and separation found among the actors involved in forced displacement, according to their sense in terms of the silencing strategies or pursuit of anonymity. To finalise, it is worth mentioning that the interviewee's remarks appear alongside that person's number or code, and it is followed by the category or question, both in brackets. For example, interviewee 1 and category 1 (I1-C1).

3.1. *Silence in parents, children and teenagers*

There is an interesting phenomenon linked to silence: the feeling of insecurity. Being displaced is coupled with a set of experiences and social expectations that give place to feelings of inferiority in the person who suffers such situation. These fears derive from their perception of vulnerability which creates a social fear of finger-pointing and rejection: "because it's something that you don't tell in fear of being rejected and them thinking that you're an invader" (I8-C1). Fear of prejudice, isolation, discrimination, pity, to be seen as the "weird one" because of their appearance: "plus, I don't comment in fear of people looking bad at me" (I5-C1), which makes them stay on the path towards anonymity: "I'd prefer to stay quiet, plus my parents don't want me talking about the displacement" (I8-C1); "my teachers and psychologist don't know I'm displaced, I haven't told them" (I3-C3).

However, in the interviews we can see that the decision to conceal their condition is not an unequivocal decision on behalf of the children, yet they are backed by their own parents. At this point, it is interesting to verify how the parents' construct their own biographical story that aims to define their new social identity based on the denial of past life experiences before the displacement. This biographical narration is mixed into three emerging categories extracted from the parents' story, namely: *Taboo, Protection and Denial*.

In terms of *Taboo*, the parents encourage their children to not ask about aspects related to their previous life: "It's best not to talk about it, not to remember it; they're better off if they don't have any problems" (P2-C6). Nonetheless, the minors ask their family members about going back to their old school or about when they will be able to meet up with their old friends – "they ask when they're going back to their old school to be with their friends again" (P4-C3) –. And, in general, they are anxious to get back to their old lives; this is how one of the interviewees responds in regards to their child's questions: "When will they be able to get back what they were before, find their own space, their past memories and experiences? And when will they be able to go back home?" (P4-C3). In this sense, parents channel their anonymity strategy by forgetting their past in order to erase their condition of displaced persons.

Behind this strategy is an underlying fear of the families that their children will be recognised

as "displaced", and that they will be exposed to a situation of defencelessness, as one of the younger interviewees has stated: "My mom is afraid of going to the psychologist or the principal because she's always told me not to tell anyone where I come from or how we left the village" (I1-C9). In face of this situation of vulnerability, parents want to *Protect* their children by urging them not to talk about their displacement, as one of the interviewees has stated, "it's best not to talk about it, not to remember it; it's best that they don't ask about it; they could get in trouble; they could be more aggressive and be in danger if they talk about this with their classmates" (E2-C6).

Parents believe that confronting the situation could give place to problems in school. This fear makes them urge their children to not say anything at their school about their origin, aiming to Deny their life story, as we can see in the following statements: "I haven't told anyone that I'm displaced" (I7-C9) or, "she's always told me not to tell anyone where I come from" (I1-C9).

However, it is a paradox that the parents silence their situation as forcefully displaced persons if we understand this attitude as a better strategy to deal with the adversities that they can face if their reality were to come to light. Especially in regards to the fact that their decision implies ignoring the rights that are conferred to them specifically because they are displaced persons, which ultimately leads to a lack of institutional support: "I don't know which rights displaced children have because of that reason: I prefer not to ask nor say anything; it's best to stay safe and avoid being pointed at because you're displaced" (I3-C5). This anonymity not only prevents them from knowing and enjoying their rights as displaced persons, but it also obliterates any chance to deal with their situation with the educational tools available at their schools.

Overall, parents, as well as children, are consciously interested in concealing their situation in order to achieve normalcy and it has become the norm. This silence is justified by the negative connotations that they perceive as displaced persons. This is the reason why they keep their situation concealed despite not being able to have support on behalf of schools.

3.2. The silence in the Institutional Voice

Throughout the interviews with the actors that fall into the category of what we have dubbed the Institutional Voice, we can see a point of union with the previous interviews that emerges from the perception of the displaced population's vulnerability. Again, there is a strong negative charge associated with the "displaced" label. For instance, the Institutional Voice's statements show that they believe that it would be reckless to identify children as displaced due to the risk of being stigmatised. For this reason, they keep their condition of displacement in anonymity although this group goes to teachers for other reasons: "We have reunions with parents where we cover different topics to help them with their children's upbringing and we have special consultations when they ask for it. Up to the moment, we have not specifically dealt with displacement" (PS1-C5).

Silence is presented as the Institutional Voice's decision backed by the victims' revelations that it could embarrass children and put them at risk, as we can see in the following statements:

"As a teacher, I like observing these situations, in this case, we can only assume because we don't know for sure who are the displaced children; I try to control the situation so I don't embarrass them in front of their classmates and I support them by encouraging participation in class because that's where they differ" (PS6-P3).

"In general, we don't identify them because we don't want to stigmatise them and because we have so many students in the classroom which makes it difficult to individually monitor them. We know that there are students that come from the countryside or other regions because of their particular way of speaking, their hairstyles and their way of behaving" (PS1-P3).

However, in terms of the Institutional Voice's silence, some statements stand out: "Plus, we often feat that they [the displaced children] take advantage of their situation, either because they're corrupted or because of lack of information, in order to manipulate teachers or the school" (PS6-P3); "Everybody is afraid to say anything because they come from violent places and because they've escaped vengeance; it's not an easy topic for the school" (PS2-C6). The previous statements shed a light on prejudice towards the displaced population. Displaced persons are attributed a tendency to take advantage of their situation for their own benefit. Likewise, this prejudice could be founded on the lack of knowledge on each person's specific situation, whether they are displaced parents or children, and, at the same time, on the differential attention needed by each person according to their condition.

In sum, according to the analysis of the Institutional Voice's statements, we can conclude that silence acts as an exclusion mechanism for displaced children because it tends to make the

condition anonymous. Minors and parents silent about their displaced lives. However, in the educational context, teachers and psychosocial professionals also admit to not confronting this phenomenon in the classroom or in activities that they carry out with parents, as well as in terms of the attention that psychosocial professionals give to students and their parents. The Institutional voice's silence is related to concealing information on the situation of displaced children. The silence in this case is considered as a form of protection, both for the institution itself as well as for minors, because they do not mention the subject to avoid embarrassing them, exposing them socially and putting them at risk. Despite violating many of these children and teenagers' rights which are recognised by multiple international treaties, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by 192 countries, Colombia being one of them, they are denying the necessary and specific guidance and protection they need in their situation of forced displacement.

4. Conclusions

Armed conflict has driven a great number of Colombians from their homes, who flee in fear for their lives to other areas in the national territory. They leave behind their memories and belongings, although the biggest challenge of all is integrating into their host societies. The arrival of the displaced populations in the host city classrooms creates an emergency of educational realities crossed by great social diversity and heterogeneity that clash with the principle of educational equality. This is not due to the increase of social diversity but because part of that heterogeneity is silenced.

According to the analysis of the statements, we associate the strategy of making the displaced group anonymous in the classroom with vulnerability. However, we observe variability in the meaning of silence according to each profile (see graphic 1).

Graphic 1. Category of Analysis and emergent Sub-categories
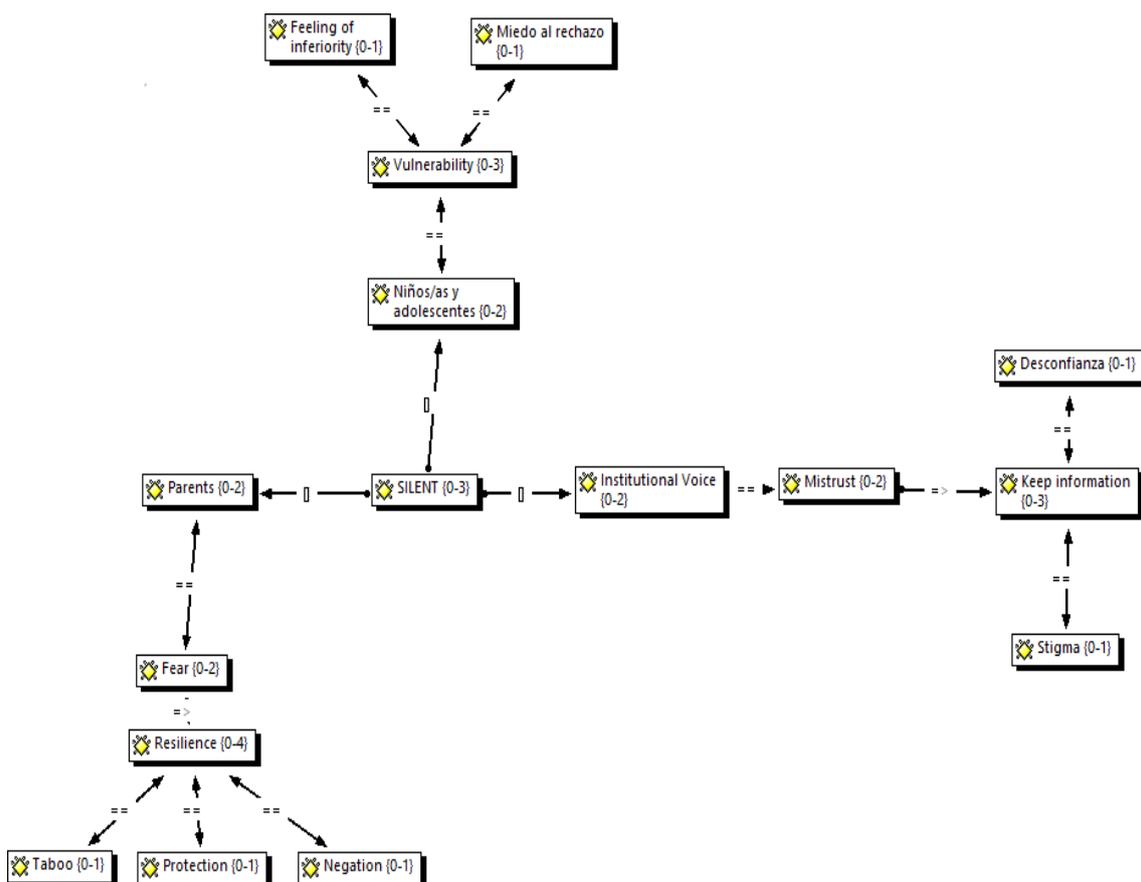
Parents search for anonymity due to their fear of threat, persecution or death that hangs over the heads of their children. This fear proves the parents' resilience, who tries to offer their children with the best possible strategy to deal with their reality. It is a dynamic of silencing their condition as displaced persons from the start by urging their children to not delve into their past, thus, avoiding

[David DONCEL ABAD, Esther VEGA BLANCO, & Cristina HERRERO VILLORIA]

a process of stigmatisation due to their new condition. For their part, the Institutional voice's silence has to do with concealing information on the displaced children's condition. In this case, this silence comes as a response in order to avoid stigmatising this social group or as a result of the institution's own prejudice towards this group.

However, these silencing strategies, interpreted as mechanisms to protect a vulnerable social group are truly connected to the axis of power. Victims stay silent due to fear; the institution, due to suspicion, but both feel mutual mistrust which comes to reality as a contradiction in the school context. The results show how silencing displacement acts as a mechanism for exclusion of children and teenagers insofar that they cannot be supported as such.

Although, despite this contradiction being founded as conscious silence, in terms of its meaning as a dynamic for anonymity, the key to showing this reality, and making it possible to intervene, resides in establishing the necessary communication, as understood by Paulo Freire, which can allow the actors involved to understand the complexity of this reality.

In conclusion, the several interviews have allowed us to have a minimum sample of the veracity and credibility that has allowed us to reach the following conclusions backed by the proposed methodology. Nonetheless, although there are limitations related to using qualitative techniques in order to reach representative conclusions on the population, the possibility of having testimonies of a group that is so difficult to interview such as forcefully displaced persons and, in particular, children, is a relevant asset in the empirical evidence obtained. In addition, from the categories obtained, we can suggest that new lines of investigation need to be developed in order to understand how the process of stigmatisation in the classroom towards displaced persons is created.

References

Agencia de la ONU para los Refugiados (ACNUR-COLOMBIA) (2013). *Situación Colombia*. Retrieved from de: http://www.acnur.org.

Agencia de la ONU para los Refugiados (ACNUR-COLOMBIA) e Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar ICBF. (2010). *Directriz Para La Atención Diferencial De Los Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes Víctimas del Desplazamiento En Colombia*. Bogotá: CMS Communication & Marketing Solutions.

Arteta, A. (2010). *Mal consentido. La Complicidad Del Espectador Indiferente*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Asociación de Neurociencia y Desarrollo Humano (2011). *Subjetividad Colectiva*. Retrieved from: http://www.oscoyneurociencias.com.

Barajas, D., Moreno, C., & Moreno, V. (2015). *Una Escuela para la Diversidad: La Inclusión De Adolescentes Victimas Del Desplazamiento Por El Conflicto Armado* (Trabajo de Fin de Máster). Universidad Libre: Bogotá.

Cabrera, L. A. (2013). El derecho a la memoria y su protección jurídica: avance de investigación. *Pensamiento Jurídico*, 36, 173-188. Retrieved from https://revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/peju/article/view/40321.

Camargo, J.A. & Blanco, C.A. (2010). Voces y Silencios Sobre El Desplazamiento Forzado en Santa Martha. *Civilizar*, 10(18), 135-154. doi: 10.22518/16578953.9.

Cánovas, P., Riquelme, V., Orellana, N., & Sáez, B. (2019). Víctimas invisibles: Análisis de la intervención socioeducativa de niñas y niños expuestos a violencia de género en la familia. *Pedagogía social: Revista Interuniversitaria*, 34, 113-127. doi: 10.7179/PSRI.

Corredor, C. (2010). *La Política Social en Clave de Derechos*. Colombia: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Cury, M. (2007). Tras el silencio. *Arteterapia. Papeles De Arteterapia Y educación artística Para La inclusión Social*, 2, 71-86. Retrieved from https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ARTE/article/view/ARTE0707110071A.

Delgado, J.M., & Gutiérrez, J. (1994). *Métodos y Técnicas Cualitativas De Investigación En Ciencias Sociales*. Madrid: Síntesis, S.A.

Freire, P. (2012). *Pedagogía Del Oprimido*. España: Siglo XXI.

Gallego, F. J. (2013). Gramática del Secreto (Sociolingüística y Secreteo). *Tonos Digital*, 25, Vol.II, Retrieved from http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum25/secciones/estudios-12- gramatica_del_secreto.htm.

Hernández, R., Fernández, C., & Baptista, M.ªP. (1998). *Metodología De La Investigación*. México: Interamericana Editores.

Jaramillo, J. (2006). Reubicación y restablecimiento en la ciudad. Estudio de caso con población en situación de desplazamiento. *Universitas Humanística*, 62(2): 143-168. Retrieved from https://revistas.javeriana.edu.co/index.php/univhumanistica/article/view/2213.

Martínez, M. (2006). *Ciencia y Arte De La Metodología Cualitativa*. México, D.F.: Trillas.

Mendoza, J. (2009). Dicho y no Dicho: El silencio como material del olvido Mendoza *Polis*, 5(2), 121-154. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1870233320090002000005&lng=es&tlng=e.

Mendoza, A. M. (2012). El Desplazamiento Forzado En Colombia y La Intervención Del Estado. *Revista De Economía Institucional*, 14(26): 169-202.Recuperado de: https://revistas.uexternado.edu.co/index.php/ecoins/article/view/3146

Miles, M., &Haberman, M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: a sourcebook of new methods*. California: Sage.

Naranjo, G (2004). Ciudadanía y Desplazamiento Forzado en Colombia: una Relación Conflictiva Interpretada desde la Teoría del Reconocimiento. *Estudios Políticos*, 25, 137-160. Retrieved from http://aprendeenlinea.udea.edu.co/revistas/index.php/estudiospoliticos/article/view/1915.

Noelle-Neuman. E. (1995). *La Espiral Del Silencio Opinión Pública: Nuestra Piel Social*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Romero, T., & Castañeda, E. (2009). *Colombia: Huellas Del Conflicto Primera Infancia*. Colombia: Panamericana Formas e Impresiones.

Ruíz, L. J. (2010). *Procesos de gestión curricular al incluir a niños víctimas del desplazamiento forzado en el I.E.D*. Arborizadora Alta (Trabajo de Fin de Máster). Pontificia Universidad Javeriana: Colombia. Retrieved from: https://repository.javeriana.edu.co/bitstream/handle/10554/1244/edu68.pdf?sequence.

Simmel, G. (1977). *El secreto y la Sociedad Secreta de Simmel*. Madrid: Ediciones Sequitur.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Bases De La Investigación Cualitativa: Técnicas y procedimientos Para Desarrollar La Teoría Fundamentada*. Medellín: Editorial Universidad de Antioquía.

Tacussel, P. (1994). Las Leyes de lo no dicho. Notes para uuna sociología del Silencio. *Revista de Occidente,* 154, 67-86.

Vanegas, J., Bonilla, C., & Camacho, L. (2011). *Significado Del Desplazamiento Forzado Por Conflicto Armado Por Niños y Niñas*. Fundamentos en Humanidades: Universidad Nacional De San Luis - Argentina.

Vera, A.V., Parra, F. & Parra, R. (2007). *Los Estudiantes Invisibles ¿Cómo Trabajar Con Niños Desplazados En Las Escuelas?* Universidad del Rosario y Universidad de Ibagué: Banco Iberoamericano de Desarrollo, BID.

Vera, A.V., Palacio, J.E., & Patiño, L. (2014). Población infantil víctima del conflicto armado en Colombia: Dinámicas de subjetivación e inclusión en un escenario escolar. *Perfiles educativos, 36*(145), 12-31. Retrieved from *http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185269820140003000002&lng=es&tlng=es.*

Vera, A.V., Palacio, J.E., Maga, I., & Holgado, D. (2015). Identidad social y procesos de adaptación de niños víctimas de violencia política en Colombia. *Revista latinoamericana de psicología, 47*(3), 167-176. doi: 10.1016/j.rlp.2015.06.006.

Villa, M. I. (2009). Desplazamiento forzado en Colombia. El miedo: un eje transversal del éxodo y de la lucha por la ciudadanía. *Revista Controversia*, (187), 12-45. Retrieved from https://www.revistacontroversia.com/index.php?journal=controversia&page=article&op=view&path[]=164.

Villegas, M., & Rojas, F. (2011). *Niños, Niñas y Jóvenes Afectados Por El Conflicto Armado, Educación En Derechos Humanos y Derecho a La Educación*. (Tesis para optar a Magister). Universidad Javeriana: Bogotá.

Wiesel, E. (1999). *¿Por qué Roosevelt no permitió el desembarco de esos refugiados?* Recuperado de: https://discursos-famosos.blogspot.com.es/2016/01/elie-wiesel-por-que-roosevelt-no.html.

HOW TO CITE THE ARTICLE

AUTHOR'S ADDRESS

DAVID DONCEL ABAD. Universidad de Salamanca. Facultad de Educación. Paseo de Canalejas, 164. 37006 Salamanca. España. davidoncel@usal.es

ESTHER VEGA BLANCO. esveblan@hotmail.com

CRISTINA HERRERO VILLORIA. khrys@usal.es

ACADEMIC PROFILE

DAVID DONCEL ABAD. Doctor en Sociología, es profesor en el Departamento de Sociología y Comunicación de la Universidad de Salamanca. Entre sus intereses de investigación se encuentran la sociología de la educación y los estudios de Asia Oriental. Es autor de varios artículos en revistas científicas en el ámbito de la Sociología de la Educación.

ESTHER VEGA BLANCO. Doctora en Sociología, investigadora colombiana con trayectoria profesional en el área social y política. Ha trabajado durante 25 años por el mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida y acceso a los derechos fundamentales de poblaciones en situación socioeconómica vulnerable y exclusión social en Colombia.

CRISTINA HERRERO VILLORIA. Personal investigador en formación de la Universidad de Salamanca. Doctoranda en Estadística Multivariante Aplicada. Trabajadora Social especialista en infancia y adolescencia. Entre sus líneas de investigación se encuentra, además de la promoción y defensa de los derechos de niños, niñas y adolescentes, el género como eje transversal y la violencia sexual que sufre el género femenino.