

## INTERNALLY DISPLACED WOMEN FROM ETHNIC MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN COLOMBIA, DOMESTIC WORK, AND RESILIENT STRATEGIES

*Mulheres deslocadas internamente de comunidades étnicas minoritárias na Colômbia, trabalho doméstico e estratégias de resiliência*

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**Abstract.** This article elaborates on the experience of internally displaced women in Colombia with domestic work and their resilient strategies to improve their situation. With an emphasis on the case of Afro-descendant and indigenous women, the article begins by explaining why women become the main household provider as a result of internal displacement and describes their domestic work experience. Afterwards, it highlights some of the resilient strategies employed by internally displaced women which could serve as an example for other women going through similar situations. This article is based on data collected between 2014 and 2019 in Colombia following a Constructivist Grounded Theory methodology for my PhD research project, and on the revision of literature available on this topic.

**Keywords:** internally displaced women; Afro Colombian women; indigenous women; ethnic minorities; resilient strategies; domestic work; Colombia.

**Resumo.** Este artigo trata sobre a experiência de mulheres deslocadas internamente na Colômbia com o trabalho doméstico e suas estratégias resilientes para melhorar a sua situação. Com ênfase no caso de mulheres afrodescendentes e indígenas, o artigo começa explicando o motivo pelo qual as mulheres se tornam as principais provedoras de seus lares, como resultado do deslocamento interno e descreve suas experiências com o trabalho doméstico. Posteriormente, destaca algumas das estratégias resilientes empregadas pelas mulheres deslocadas internamente, que poderiam servir de exemplo para outras mulheres que passam por situações semelhantes. Este artigo baseia-se em dados recolhidos entre 2014 e 2019 na Colômbia, seguindo uma metodologia de Teoria Fundamentada Construtivista para o meu projeto de investigação de doutorado, e na revisão da literatura disponível sobre este tema.

**Palavras-chave:** mulheres deslocadas internamente; mulheres afro-colombianas; mulheres indígenas; minorias étnicas; estratégias resilientes; trabalho doméstico; Colômbia.

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## Introduction

In Colombia there are more than eight million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) due to conflict (Unidad de Víctimas, 2022). The struggle over land tenure for economic and political reasons has nurtured a conflict that has lasted for decades, and which is mostly experienced in the rural parts of the country. As a result, peasants, Afro-descendants and Indigenous have been forced to displace toward the urban centers of Colombia. Among the internally displaced population, approximately four million and a half correspond to women (Unidad de Víctimas, 2022). They flee either together with their families - including their partners when they have not been killed- or alone with their children.

In the context of displacement, women, mostly used to conducting activities related to the maintenance of the household, encounter more opportunities to be employed than men. While in their traditional role (particularly in the rural areas), men are used to provide for their families by means of working the land, in the urban centers they are confronted with a lack of job opportunities which forces them to assume a secondary role within the household (CIDH, 2006, p. 31). Women, on the contrary, are able to make a living by either working in family homes, selling food, and sewing or washing clothes. Yet, in extreme cases, some single mothers fall prey to sexual exploitation as a way to provide for their family due to the situation of loneliness and increased vulnerability (Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres, 2013, p. 82 and 59).

From another perspective, women from minority communities suffer from discrimination due to race, gender and socioeconomic status. An example of discrimination due to socioeconomic status regards the way in which they are assigned a room in the employer's home, which turns out to be cramped and unfavorable (Osorio, Jimenez, 2019, p. 107). The Colombian society has a strong tradition to be divided among social classes which are usually separated through geographical limits (i.e., different areas of the cities). When people from different social classes share the same space, there is a marked set of barriers which remains visible for all of the actors. In the case of domestic workers, there is a traditional habit to avoid sharing the same spaces at home. For instance, the worker is usually sent to eat in the kitchen while the employer eats in the dining room. As such, drawing a line between the employer and the employee is perceived as an automatic practice in the country. According to Osorio, and Jimenez (2019), discrimination is part of the daily experience and the way in which the relationship between the employer's household and the female worker takes place.

In this context, internally displaced women have found ways to contest their situation through practices that allow them to generate any type of income, and/or by joining associations or organizations that have created

paths for them to be legally protected as well as to find resources that serve to support their initiatives. Considering this framework, this article looks at the experience of internally displaced Afro-descendant and indigenous women with domestic work in Colombia, with the aim to understand which strategies are being used to improve their situation. For this matter, the article is divided into four sections, beginning with an explanation of why Afro-descendant and indigenous women become the main household provider as a result of internal displacement, followed by a second section which describes their experience with domestic work. A third section analyzes their strategies to improve their working situation. And lastly, a fourth section elaborates on final considerations.

This article is based on data collected for my PhD project by using the Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT). The latter is a qualitative methodology which provides a systematic analytical framework to collect and analyze data (Charmaz, 2014, p. 1), always integrating the "...flexibility of the researchers to co-construct theoretical explanations of phenomenon with participants" (Nagel *et al.*, 2015, p. 368). The data was collected between 2014 and 2019 through a focus group and semi-structured interviews with Afro-descendant and indigenous internally displaced women living in the cities of Cartagena and Villavicencio. The participants of this research were women who had experienced internal displacement as a result of conflict; were officially registered as IDPs in Colombia; and who were between 18 and 80 years of age. Additionally, the literature selected for this article was based on the literature review prepared for my PhD project. I focused on literature describing the work of organizations with women and their initiatives. Resilience was analyzed considering the approach of the Social Ecology of Resilience proposed by Michael Ungar.

### **Internal displacement makes women the main household provider**

The experience of internal displacement generates an abrupt change in the role of women within the family. Men, used to provide for their families by working on the land, suddenly face a lack of job opportunities in the urban centers (CIDH, 2006, p. 31). Women, on the other hand, used to take care of their homes, become the main provider as they are able to make a living by working in family homes, sewing, or selling food on the streets (Ruta Pacífica de las Mujeres, 2013, p. 82). While women become responsible for the economic, social and affective aspects of the family, men lose their autonomy, authority and are forced to assume a secondary role (Romero-Picón, Chávez-Plazas, 2013, p. 257; CIDH, 2006, p. 31).

This situation leads some men to alcohol as an outlet and exposes women to intra-familial violence and the abandonment by their partners (CIDH, 2006, p. 29). According to Romero-Picón and Chávez-Plazas (2013), displacement

accentuates the feminization of poverty which is translated into a major material impoverishment, worsening of life conditions and vulnerability of the fundamental women rights (2013, p. 257). The same source states that the role of head of household for women is complicated when they face an atmosphere of poor laboral insertion, salary disorientation, and violence against women. In this regard, internal displacement, the lack of protection by the State, the absence of comprehensive policies to intervene and overcome the problem, and the ineffectiveness of the measures adopted for mitigating and overcoming the risks, results in a precarious access to social, economic, and cultural rights for women (La Liga de Las Mujeres, 2007, as cited by Osorio, Jiménez, 2019, p. 87).

Most importantly, their situation is worsened due to the failure to complete basic levels of schooling which, in the rural areas of the country, responds to a deeply rooted belief that the education for girls is not a priority (Osorio, Jiménez, 2019, p. 97). This is the case of an indigenous women internally displaced from the department of Putumayo and now living in Villavicencio, who claims having attended only half a year of primary school because her parents removed her in order to work on the land (Indigenous woman, personal communication, 2017).

### **The experience with domestic work**

According to the nonprofit organization Dejusticia (2019), many of the domestic workers comprise migrants, displaced by social or armed conflicts, who come from remote regions to large and intermediate cities in search of opportunities. Many of them are Afro-descendant and indigenous women for whom domestic work represents the main possibility to make a living, considering their low scholarly level and lack of preparation in other areas. In this regard, Romero-Picón and Chávez-Plazas (2013) claim that even if they are offered some type of training, they still require further resources to develop their socioeconomic stabilization projects. This is the case of an Afro-descendant woman in the city of Villavicencio who was selected as a beneficiary of an income generation governmental project. According to her, she was provided with a mill to make Arepas<sup>1</sup> and a table set with the objective to set up a restaurant. Yet, they did not help her with the resources necessary to start the business (Afro-descendant woman, personal communication, 2017).

In this scenario, Esguerra *et al.* (2018) claim that there is a correspondence between having migrated, being exiled, or displaced and engaging in domestic work, at least as a gateway to the urban labor market (2018, p. 23). In this way, even if many internally displaced women count with abilities that could serve

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<sup>1</sup> Arepas are a type of bread made of corn and eaten everywhere in Colombia.

to create their own businesses, domestic work appears as an occupation for which no further requirements are demanded. Moreover, in the case of women from minority communities such as Afro-descendant and indigenous, often the society is predisposed to believe that they are 'ideal' for such occupation. For instance, Osorio, and Jimenez (2019) state that the fact of being women and black, is assumed by some employers as characteristics that imply having the skills to perform well in domestic work (2019, p. 95).

Concerning race, the society still holds as true many notions created during the colonial times. For example, according to Osorio, and Jimenez (2019), the presumption of dishonesty and bad faith of the worker, because she is black and poor, reinforces the framework of imaginaries that results in mistrust in the work relationship, as well as controls towards the worker, and even the violation of her privacy and the right to due process (2019, p. 149). Another type of discrimination results from the access to education which is conceived as a marker of socioeconomic status. In this regard, the situation of people from the rural zones of the country immediately becomes a disadvantage considering that for many of them education is not a priority. For instance, the National Indigenous Organization of Colombia (ONIC) sustains that the lack of education and knowledge of Spanish among indigenous women limits their employment opportunities, forcing them to accept activities foreign to their culture such as working in households and even selling their bodies (as cited by Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos [cidh], 2006).

In this regard, domestic work emerges as the only possibility for income generation. However, it is crucial to be aware that, as stated by Natalia Quiroz, domestic work is characterized by multiple interconnected forms of violence and the impossibility of finding institutional frameworks that provide effective protection. For this reason, the same source claims that very often, social violence is unloaded on the poorest women - those who usually care for others since childhood and until they become old and sick because of their work, but who do not have any type of labor rights (in Osorio, Jimenez, 2019, p. 12).

The degree of vulnerability for domestic workers is so high that by 2013, there were 753.333 domestic workers - 96 percent of them being women - but by 2018 only 102.123 of them appeared as paying health, pension and risk insurance contributions (Dejusticia, 2019). Considering that this is a responsibility of the employers, it leads to many questions regarding the legality of the hiring process. This situation is worsened in the context of displacement, because many women are hired illegally and hence become exposed to labor exploitation. Dejusticia (2019) also found that in the country 61 percent of the domestic workers earns less than the minimum salary, 77 percent gets food as a payment, and 99 percent does not receive any payment for extra hours.

Additionally, despite being entitled to the service bonus 'prima de servicios'<sup>2</sup> for Christmas, this payment has only increased a 3,5 percent since the law 1788 of 2016 was enacted.

According to Osorio, and Jimenez, (2019) for the Colombian society it is still difficult to assume the domestic worker as a worker per se. This obeys to a deeply rooted notion that domestic work is a 'collaboration' exempt from any framework of formality and legality (2019, p. 100). Consequently many times, the way to hire a domestic employee is done verbally. This is the case of an indigenous woman living in Villavicencio who worked for two years cleaning and cooking at a bar. She claims that there she learned to endure humiliation, but she stayed because she needed the job and she wanted to demonstrate that she was a good worker (Indigenous woman, personal communication, 2015).

Other women, accept domestic work as a way to pay back for a shelter and food. In the case of an indigenous woman settled in Cartagena, and who was displaced with her mother and two children, she claimed having been helped by a woman who offered them shelter and food in exchange for cleaning, cooking and washing clothes (Interview K, 2015). The same woman, later moved to another place where she was offered shelter in exchange of taking care of an elderly person. However, in this case, she did not receive food, so she had to find alternative income opportunities in order to cover such expense. This example demonstrates the vulnerability experienced by internally displaced women. They are unaware of their rights as domestic workers and lack opportunities to employ themselves in other activities.

Consequently, many women end up assuming as natural the idea that domestic work is an activity that can be catalogued as 'doing nothing'. According to Osorio, and Jimenez (2019), women feel that their lack of preparation and studies is an obstacle to find a job, and their only option is to become domestic workers, an occupation for which there is not preparation required. In this scenario, women start thinking of their work as being 'nothing'. Unfortunately, they also end up linking that 'nothing' to who they are which traps them into believing that they are nothing and they do not deserve much for their work (Osorio, Jimenez, 2019, p. 98).

Despite this dynamic, there is a strong legal framework in Colombia which regulates domestic work. It guarantees similar rights to those recognized for people employed in different sectors. For instance, the Sentence of the Constitutional Court T-237 of 2011 reiterates the responsibility of employers to

<sup>2</sup> The employer is obliged to pay to its employee or employees the social benefit called prima de servicios (service bonus), which corresponds to 30 days of salary per year, recognized in two payments, as follows: half no later than June 30 and the other half no later than the first twenty days of December.

comply with the affiliation of workers to the Social Security System, in view of the fact that

...the known risks of discriminatory and exploitative treatment of people hired to perform domestic work (...) found traditional materialization, connivance and indifference, in a remnant of the slavery and servitude of the past, maintaining social segregation and differences in working conditions. (Sentencia T-237/de 2011 as cited by Fundación Hablemos de Trabajo Doméstico, 2022)

Such affiliation also includes the payment of incapacity for health reasons (Sentencia T-237/de 2011 as cited by Fundación Hablemos de Trabajo Doméstico, 2022). Additionally, those people employed even for short periods of time are also protected under the Decree 2616 of 2013 which regulates social security contributions for dependent workers who work even for less than one month (Fundación Hablemos de Trabajo Doméstico, 2022). Besides having the right to be included in the Social Security System, domestic workers also have the right to receive the service bonus called 'prima de servicios' as established by the law 1788 of 2016 (Ministerio de Trabajo, 2022).

More importantly, according to Fundación Hablemos de Trabajo Doméstico (2022), the law 1413 of 2010 regulates the inclusion of the care economy in the system of national accounts in order to measure the contribution of women to the economic and social development of the country and as a fundamental tool for the definition and implementation of public policies. Such law makes it mandatory to measure the time that women invest in paid and unpaid care work (domestic workers, among others) on the understanding that the home is a productive economic unit and therefore those who work in it have similar rights to those employees who work in companies (Fundación Hablemos de Trabajo Doméstico, 2022). Nevertheless, Esguerra *et al.* (2018) found in the stories of women in Cali, Medellín, Bogotá and Cartagena that although domestic work constitutes the main source of employment for women in the country, it is still highly informal (2018, p. 22).

### **Resilient Strategies employed by internally displaced women**

Despite experiencing a situation of vulnerability concerning income generation opportunities, and being exposed to unfair conditions as domestic workers, internally displaced women have invented, according to Natalia Quiroz, emancipatory organizational forms to articulate the production of a very special value through the development of a work that sustains life itself (in Osorio, Jimenez, 2019, p. 11). Furthermore, they have developed resilient strategies to improve their life condition. Resilience, understood as a holistic process, emerges as a result of the interaction between personal characteristics and/or processes and those of a person's "...social and physical ecologies..." (Ungar, 2012, p. 14). In other words, resilience is

...both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to the psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that sustain their well-being, and their capacity individually and collectively to negotiate for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaningful ways. (Ungar, 2008, p. 225 as cited in Ungar, 2011, p. 10)

However, resilience can only occur if there is "...an opportunity structure, an (...) [ecology] that facilitates access to resources, and a willingness by those who control resources to provide what individuals need in ways that are congruent with their culture" (Ungar, 2013, p. 256). Hence, it is important to be aware of the strategies being used by internally displaced women in order to support them. With this in mind, the role of both the civil society, the government and the international civil society become crucial because the "...interventions created by the international civil society should be directed towards the strengthening of the local civil society in a combined effort with the government as a way to provide more inclusive solutions for IDPs in Colombia" (Ahedo, 2020, as cited in Escobar, 2022).

When looking at the strategies employed by women, it can be noticed that many of them "...have turned to the creation of associations as a way to gain more knowledge regarding their rights, feel protected and become more empowered" (Escobar, 2022). In this regard, it is possible to identify the work of hundreds of organizations focused on improving the situation of internally displaced women through different initiatives. For instance, the "Afro Colombian Domestic Service Workers Union" (UTRASD) is a trade union organization of domestic worker women, mostly of African descent, which promotes the formalization of domestic work through the recognition of decent and dignified working conditions, and respect for labor rights for all domestic workers in the country before employers, governments and the society. One of its biggest achievements is their leading role in the enactment of the Law 1788 of 2016 which guarantees the right of domestic workers to receive the service bonus called *prima de servicios*<sup>3</sup>.

However, the organization also offers training, education, information, communication and consulting services. Most importantly, UTRASD created the first union of domestic workers in 2013 with a group of 28 women with an Afro ethnic approach but which also accepts women from any ethnicity (Fundación Bien Humano, 2020b). Today, UTRASD is part of the program "Inclusion for Peace Activity" (IPA), created by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) with the objective to "...close the economic and social

<sup>3</sup> The employer is obliged to pay to its employee or employees the social benefit called *prima de servicios* (service bonus), which corresponds to 30 days of salary per year, recognized in two payments, as follows: half no later than June 30 and the other half no later than the first twenty days of December.

inclusion gaps between the general population and ethnic communities in Colombia” (USAID, 2017). Thanks to this support, in 2017, UTRASD became one of the organizations conducting the project “Trabajadoras Domésticas Afrocolombianas” [Afro Colombian Domestic Workers], which provides women, leaders of UTRASD, the necessary tools to strengthen its organization (Fundación Bien Humano, 2020b).

By looking at some of the stories of domestic workers, beneficiaries of the work of UTRASD, it becomes evident how important the role of this organization has been for vulnerable women. As accounted by Marcela Gutiérrez - a domestic worker - she saw her labor rights violated when her employer found out that she was pregnant and pressured her to abort. After trying to dialogue with her employer, Marcela understood that she needed to do something else. She then resourced to the organization which helped her achieve a new judicial milestone in an expeditious manner: they were able to have Marcela’s fixed-term contract extended until the end of her pregnancy, restoring hope to the expectant mother (Fundación Bien Humano, 2020a).

This example illustrates the vulnerability experienced by many domestic workers in Colombia. The problem is that many are unaware of their rights and/or do not know how to demand for them. In this manner, women have understood that by creating or joining associations or organizations, it is possible to gain a voice, have access to more resources and establish a support network through which they can guarantee a better quality of life. At the same time, the work of organizations such as UTRASD, nurtures a role as agents of change in women who end up realizing that it is not only about them but also about helping other women who might be facing a tougher situation.

The creation of associations has also proved useful for indigenous communities who have been internally displaced due to conflict. In Villavicencio, the “Corporación Indígena Desplazados De La Orinoquia Y Amazonia Colombiana” (Corpodiac), has the objective to accompany projects for the benefit of the communities. This organization has ten indigenous food production initiatives for commercialization. However, they also face obstacles such as not being able to create a micro-enterprise due to the lack of economic resources. Additionally, the organization works with several women, providing them with training because many of them have only completed the fifth grade. Accordingly, the association works toward the promotion of alternative pathways for employment, being aware of the discrimination faced by indigenous people. Based on the accounts of the interviewed leader, many of the women carry out activities as domestic workers and are hired per day which does not provide them with a fixed income generation possibility (Indigenous leader, personal communication, 2014).

Another organization which has been working for the welfare of women affected by the conflict since 1995, is the organization “Ruta Pacifica de Las Mujeres por la Paz”. One of its areas of work regards the investigation of situations of sexual and domestic slavery with the objective to position them as forms of sexual violence against women (MZC, SISMA, 2010). As an example of its work, there is the case of the region of Uraba, North of Colombia, where the organization managed the construction of a care route for women victims of violence, to disseminate information about where to go in case of aggression, abuse and mistreatment (Osorio, Jimenez, 2019). This route became a space for mutual support, reflection and political training, in which women were able to make visible, denounce and seek solutions to the violence they experience in the daily dynamics of the municipality and the region. As a result, women started seeing themselves as political subjects, leaving aside the pain and giving way to the reconstruction of a life project, both individually and collectively (Osorio, Jimenez, 2019, p. 94).

From another perspective, the case of women from the peasant community of El Salado, demonstrates how they assumed the main providers’ role for their families while living in the condition of internal displacement, and how such role served them to become aware of their strengths and their capacity to be active agents in the reconstruction of their town. They developed resilient strategies in the context of displacement which helped them comprehend the changes they needed when returning to their place of origin. However, they faced resistance by men who expected them to assume their old roles - those previous to displacement – which means taking care of the household and being excluded from the decision-making processes of the community (Conte, 2010, p. 80).

As a result, women decided to look for the support of a non-profit organization which helped them create an association where they were able to gain more knowledge regarding their rights, feel protected and be more empowered. In this collective space, women realized that they had been living with a problem of domestic violence and started developing strategies against it (Conte, 2010, p. 85). Also, they became aware that they could assume roles that had traditionally been for men such as working in agriculture (Conte, 2010, p. 84). Consequently, they developed economic initiatives of their own, first through a communal garden in which they cultivated corn and sesame seeds, and later, by looking for more land to cultivate different crops (Conte, 2010).

In a different case, the organization “Iniciativa de Mujeres por La Paz” (IMP), helps women victims of the armed conflict by documenting their cases, providing legal representation before instances of Justicia para La Paz<sup>4</sup>, counseling

<sup>4</sup> Justicia para La Paz refers to the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP). It is the justice component of the Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Repetition, created by the Peace Agreement between the National Government and the FARC-EP.

and offering psychological accompaniment when claiming for their rights, and psychosocial care. Among its work, IMP provides training processes through workshops on empowerment and strengthening of rights, and the preparation of texts aimed at victims of the armed conflict to inform them of their rights and provide them with guidance (MZC, SISMA, 2010, p. 42). The IMP is comprised of seven national organizations, 248 local women's organizations and seven sectors (indigenous, peasant, trade union, youth, academic and feminist, peace and culture and afro-descendants). It is present in six regions of the country, and 54 municipalities.

From another angle, the "Organización Femenina Popular" (OFP) also carries out actions to improve the reality of women in vulnerable situations. It has developed programs for soup kitchens, popular markets, production groups, technical training and family vegetable gardens to create alternative conditions to overcome the hunger and malnutrition experienced by women and their families (MZC, SISMA, 2010, p. 45). Finally, the "Fundación Hablemos de Trabajo Doméstico" promotes the positioning of domestic and care work as a structural economic sector, encouraging labor formalization and decent living conditions for domestic workers, through social, political, academic, cultural and business projects.

### **Final Considerations**

The nature of internal displacement involves a situation of high vulnerability for women who in the urban centers become the main economic provider for their families. This vulnerability is even higher for Afro-descendant and indigenous women who due to their lack of preparation, education, language skills, and the discrimination based on gender, socioeconomic status and race, find more obstacles getting an employment and guarantying their laboral rights.

In this context, they have resourced to domestic work as the only possibility to generate an income for their family, but they have encountered situations in which they have had to choose between their dignity and the payment. For this reason, women have turned to the creation of associations as a strategy to improve their situation. For women, associations and /or organizations represent spaces where they can learn about their rights, get professional training, and be supported by other women. They have found a space for protection, trust and care. As a result, some domestic workers have managed to claim for their rights, improve their employment condition and assume an active role as agents of change.

In this sense, associations have appeared as a resource for internally displaced women to enter the labor market in a fairer way, aware of their rights, and knowing that there is a support network that has their backs whenever

needed. This in turn proves beneficial for their process of resilience as it provides them with external resources that can enhance their recovery path. Ultimately, it can be said that domestic work in Colombia constitutes an important resource for women. However, it is crucial to educate the society regarding the legal framework available which guarantees a dignified condition of work. There is yet much to do in this regard, nonetheless, the activities promoted by many organizations are already creating more awareness about the need to break with many of the racist, sexist and classist prejudices deeply rooted in the Colombian society.

Most importantly, there is much to consider regarding the case of minority groups and the need to protect them as different peoples. More emphasis should be given to initiatives that aim at integrating their specific knowledge and cultural practices as part of the solution. In this regard, the focus should not be to defend and teach them about their rights in the context of domestic work, but rather to enhance their efforts to find an economic alternative based on practices that they are experts in, and which they do not consider foreign to their culture. For instance, in the case of indigenous, they do not consider natural to do domestic work at other people's houses. They prefer to work with handcrafts, natural medicine, cultivating plants or preparing food to sell (Personal communication, 2014). In this context, the role of the local and international civil society becomes crucial as intermediaries between the organizations and the government (Escobar, 2022), in an effort to promote initiatives which integrate the particular knowledge of minority groups into the market so they can find more culturally specific opportunities of employment.

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